

COLLECTED WORKS OF
LIU SHAO CH'I

1958-1967

UNION RESEARCH INSTITUTE

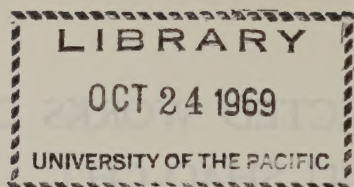


WITHDRAWN

COLLECTED WORKS OF
LIU SHAO-CH'I

11
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INTRODUCTION

As I take up my pen, I recall the face of a serious young man whom I first saw forty-six years ago in Soviet Russia. At the time, a famine had engulfed the Soviet Union, and there was likewise an acute shortage of food and fuel in Moscow. People complained and even the Communists who publicly presented a bold front were mumbling in private. But this tall, skinny, pale young man, endured the hunger and cold without observable murmur or depression. In 1922, the Communists were passionate and full of verve; but he seldom displayed any excitement. He was somewhat bookish, thoughtful, rather taciturn, but clearly persevering. His friends soon recognized these characteristics as genuine, cultivated from childhood. Some people, however, found him a bit too glum and devoid of youthfulness.

This plain young man was a member of the Chinese Socialist Youth League of the newly established Chinese Communist Party, and was one of the first group of the eight students sent by the CCP to the Communist University of the Toilers of the East in Moscow. His name was Liu Shao-ch'i.

Confucius said: "The ardent will advance and get what they want; the stoical will refrain from doing what they do not want." Liu Shao-ch'i belongs to the latter category. He ascended step by step, not by obvious talents, but by solid hard work. Slowly he reached the position of Head of State of the Chinese Communist regime; but then some of those old friends with whom he had fought side by side for so many years could no longer tolerate him, and he was struck down ruthlessly. All these successes and failures are closely connected with his stoical character.

Liu Shao-ch'i and I were not only comrade-in-arms, but also intimate personal friends in our younger days. Our association probably started earlier than his association with any of those still around him. Though I am only about two years older than he, he was a student when we first met, whereas I was, as one of the founders of CCP, a delegate to the Congress of the Toilers of the Far East convened by the Comintern. Meeting in a strange country facilitated the growth of our friendship; and he often called on me either to talk about the national and international situation or to discuss theoretical

problems of Communism. Though he respected me as a leader and teacher, I regarded myself as his comrade and friend. Our friendship was pure and sincere; there was no inhibition or reservation.

At that time some CCP members emphasized ideology and theory, and others, action and practice. I belonged to the second group and, being the Director of Organization of CCP Central Committee, was regarded as the leader of the "practical workers." The same division existed among the Chinese students in Moscow. Some, such as Peng Shu-chih, stressed the theoretical, while others, the practical. And as Liu Shao-ch'i was the leader of the latter group, the two of us were naturally drawn together.

Perhaps I might elaborate a little on these two inclinations. In the initial period of CCP development, emphasizing the practical side, meant a policy of organizing workers, students, women and the poor masses to rise up and struggle for improvement of their livelihood. The stress was on the labor movement. Under the influence of the Western European labor movement, we developed an attitude of respecting the interests of the masses and taking action on the basis of practical conditions. This was an attitude of realism, not opposed to amelioration and progress, striving for legal benefits and legal activities.

Those who emphasized theoretical studies were different. They were engrossed in leftist thoughts and the theoretical development of the leftist movement — the doctrines of Leninism, which concentrated on the ways and means to organize and expand the Party, to exert leadership, planning and control in the Party, to conduct secret activities, and, taking a step further, to lead masses in armed rebellions, to seize power and establish the regime of proletarian dictatorship. This was considered the essence of Leninism, i.e., the theory of the realization of proletarian dictatorship. In such theoretical studies, one was apt to ignore the interests of the masses to the extent of exploiting them for the Party's political goals. Indeed, one might even feel that any amelioration, progress, or legal activity would only be an obstruction to the revolution and the seizure of power. Thus, the difference between these two factions was a fundamental one.

In his earlier years, Mao Tse-tung drew some experience from the labor movement, which he later applied to the peasant movement; and he also drew some Leninist strategies for the establishment of the dictatorship from those who emphasized theoretical studies, thus enriching his strategic arsenal for political struggle. He grew up in guerrilla war, and his doctrines were to become a branch of the

Communist movement, which was indeed not at all orthodox, being what one might call a mixture of Li Tzu-cheng and Stalin.

Thus we might perceive the key reason why Liu Shao-ch'i could not work harmoniously with people like Peng Shu-chi, Chin Panghsien and Chang Wen-tien, and why he could not be assimilated into the so-called Thought of Mao Tse-tung, and had to be discriminated against and eventually expelled.

I returned to Shanghai in March 1922, undertaking primarily the task of Directorship of the Secretariat for Labor Organizations. Soon, Liu Shao-ch'i also returned to Shanghai, as he was disappointed in the study programs in Moscow and requested to be transferred back home for some practical work. So I invited him to serve as the Secretary of my underground office. My work often required me to travel, and, even when I was in Shanghai, there were other duties to attend at the CCP Central Committee. So I left all the daily work of the Secretariat for Labor Organizations to Liu Shao-ch'i, and he assisted me wholeheartedly. Sitting face to face in the small office, we worked for six months in perfect cooperation.

In practical work, Liu Shao-ch'i not only obeyed the decisions of superiors and carried them out, but also proposed his own ideas in proper ways. At that time there were over a dozen young leaders in the Shanghai labor movement working under Liu Shao-ch'i; they all got along with him very well, and their programs were always orderly arranged. Had it not been for reasons of security, none of us would have wanted to break up that working relationship.

Liu Shao-ch'i was transferred in September 1922 to work among the coal miners of An-yuan, putting him in direct contact with Mao Tse-tung who was Secretary of CCP Hunan District Committee and in charge of labor movement in Hunan Province. This was also the first time that Liu Shao-ch'i cooperated with Li Li-san who was the Director of An-yuan Miners' Labor Union. Liu became his Deputy Director, and the two started their partnership.

In March 1925, I returned to the CCP Central Committee in Shanghai together with my wife, whom I had married one year before and who had been imprisoned with me in Peking. We moved into the dormitory of the Labor Movement Committee of the CCP Central Committee. Liu Shao-ch'i and his newly-wed wife Ho Pao-chen were living in another room of the dormitory. I assumed the Directorship of CCP Central Labor Movement Committee, and Liu became my Deputy, again assisting me in the daily work with perfect cooperation. In early May of that year we went together to attend the Second National Labor Congress held in Canton. After-

wards he immediately returned to Shanghai, while I was detained by other missions and did not return until the afternoon of May 30, the day the "May 30 Incident" broke out. That night, Chen Tu-hsiu, Li Li-san, Liu Shao-ch'i and a few others held an emergency conference in my bedroom, and we resolved to launch a movement for general strikes in the factories, schools and markets. We started working immediately. On June 1, I announced the establishment of the Shanghai Federation of Trade Unions in my capacity of Director of Shanghai Office of All-China Federation of Trade Unions. The first Congress, held that afternoon, elected Li Li-san Chairman of the Shanghai Federation of Trade Unions and Liu Shao-ch'i Director of General Affairs, while I was invited to provide guidance as the representative of All-China Federation of Trade Unions. In the period that followed we all worked feverishly. Liu Shao-ch'i, Li Li-san and I myself struggled in close cooperation, and our friendship flourished.

Li Li-san and Liu Shao-ch'i were a good combination in the labor movement. Liu Shao-ch'i once remarked that Li Li-san had a strong impetus and was an expert in agitation, capable of launching offensives and capturing new beachheads, but the programs he set up were always chaotic, requiring Liu Shao-ch'i to put in a lot of hard work to sort them out, to get the masses organized and the programs functioning. I was often called upon to help them solve their difficulties, and found this a recurrent pattern.

In the autumn of 1926, the Northern Expedition caused the CCP to move into a new stage. The Central Committee sent me to Wuhan as the front commander in charge of the programs of the Hupei District Party Committee, and soon Liu Shao-ch'i and Li Li-san were sent to assist me. They were both experienced, top-level CCP leaders in the labor movement by that time and were quite successful in their work with the newly established Hupei Provincial Federation of Trade Unions. My own work had shifted in gravity, leaving little time for the trade union movement since the May 30 Incident; for in that highly complicated and fluid situation, labor was only one link in the general program. Nevertheless, whenever Liu Shao-ch'i and the others (including Li Li-san at that time) encountered difficulties, they would come to consult with me. This was probably because we shared the same emphasis on the interests of the masses.

The complete breakdown of the KMT-CCP relationship came in the summer of 1927. I went to participate in the Nanchang Uprising, and later escaped back to Shanghai, while Liu Shao-ch'i worked underground in and around Wuhan. In late November he also returned to

Shanghai, and we again lived together for about three months. It was a period of great danger. Sometimes we fought back to back; sometimes we helped each other run for our lives in narrow escapes from death. In February of the next year (1928) the CCP Central Committee sent Liu Shao-ch'i to other places for underground work, and I did not communicate with him for a long time. When I met him again in June 1937 in Yen-an, he was already the Secretary of the CCP Northern Bureau and Director of the Department for Work in Kuomintang-Controlled Areas at the central level, occupying an ever more important position.

In 1935-36, a dispute broke out in the CCP Central Committee as to whether the policy of launching the Chinese Soviet movement had been correct. The dispute unprecedented in its seriousness in CCP history, started when the Red 1st Army Corps under the leadership of Mao Tse-tung and the Red 4th Army Corps under my leadership joined forces at Moukung in the western part of Szechuan Province. I asserted that the Soviet policy had been entirely wrong, and that it had proved to be a failure in fact. Mao Tse-tung opposed my view, saying that it was a slander against the correct leadership of the CCP Central Committee. In addition, there were disputes concerning the routes to be taken for the Long March and other military problems. Thus, there arose the demand for the reorganization of the CCP central leadership. I pointed out that among the original seven members of the Politburo elected by the CCP Sixth Party Congress held in Moscow in July 1928 — Hsiung Chung-fa, Li Li-san, Chou En-lai, Hsiung Ying, Chu Chiu-pai, Tsai Ho-sheng and I myself — only Chou and I were left. The Fourth Plenary Session of Sixth Central Committee in January 1931, after abolishing Li Li-san's Line, elected Chen Shao-yu into the Politburo; and the Fifth Plenary Session elected Chang Wen-tien, Chin Pang-hsien, Wang Chia-hsiang and others into the Politburo. Those were all measures taken under special circumstances. The Tsunyi Conference in January 1935 was even more unwarrantable. It did not examine the mistakes of the Soviet movement, nor did it properly criticize the policy mistakes of the CCP Central Committee, but simply bestowed Politburo membership to Mao Tse-tung and let him take over the actual leadership of CCP Central Committee. Such arrangements could not be considered normal and legal. For the Politburo had been torn to shreds, and Mao, not being a Politburo member at time, was not properly qualified to assume leadership over it. Moreover, a meeting of the Politburo was not authorized to elect or appoint new members. Therefore, I called for the convening of an enlarged meeting of the

cadres at the central level, to reorganize central organizations and elect new members to the Politburo. Mao Tse-tung firmly opposed my proposal, accusing me of attempting to reorganize the central organizations by military coercion. The result was a split at the central level and the confrontation of two central authorities, i.e., the Politburo under Mao's leadership and the second provisional central authority under my leadership.

During this serious and complex struggle, two persons were lucky enough to keep out of the storm. To avoid involvement, Chou En-lai used the pretext that he was busy with external affairs and Liu Shao-ch'i remained in Kuomintang-controlled area.

In June 1937, Liu Shao-ch'i arrived in Yen-an from Peking, for consultation with CCP Central authorities on programs in Kuomintang-controlled area. It was after the Sian Incident and before the July 7 Incident, when the relationship between the Chinese Communist Party and Kuomintang was in a most subtle stage. The Nanking government demanded a complete surrender of the Communists, and the Communists were trying to create an impression that they might submit themselves to Kuomintang leadership, while they were secretly making preparations for resistance. So there was apparent tranquility in Yen-an but a lot of apprehension among the Communist leaders for a revival of war with Kuomintang. Liu Shao-ch'i had heard about the quarrels between Mao Tse-tung and me; and, as a newcomer, he seemingly did not want to get involved. So, as soon as he arrived in Yen-an, he holed up to write his reports and refrained from contacting others.

A few days later, Tung Pi-wu came to see me and told me that Liu Shao-ch'i had written a long letter reviewing CCP policies over the past sixteen years. In Liu's view, the CCP had always committed leftist-adventurist, and not rightist-opportunist errors, including Chen Tu-hsiu during the First KMT-CCP Cooperation Period. This remark on Chen Tu-hsiu was a most peculiar and significant point. Liu Shao-ch'i reportedly wrote that it was indeed childish of Communists to join the Kuomintang and to attempt to seize its leadership with bared claws while the CCP did not have much real strength of its own. The subsequent peasant uprisings were acts of leftist-recklessness, and the establishment of the Soviet Government in Kiangsi, together with its practical measures, was even more decidedly leftist-adventurism. Liu Shao-ch'i stated that the reason why he made this examination was because CCP had now decided to take the national anti-Japanese united front as its primary policy, wishing to cooperate with Kuomintang once more, and therefore the mistakes committed

in the past should be carefully avoided and the principles for the resist-Japanese movement in the future should be carefully set up.

Liu's letter, when presented for discussion at the Politburo, caused a severe shock. Chang Wen-tien and others were reportedly indignant, saying it was outrageous. To say Chen Tu-hsiu was a left-adventurist instead of a right-opportunist was to be more offensive and more rightist than Chang Kuo-tao. Though it did not attack Mao Tse-tung directly, the letter did criticize the policies and lines which Mao had been applying. Chang Wen-tien and others suspected that Liu Shao-ch'i was collaborating with me in a plot to renew attacks against the CCP central authorities. Mao Tse-tung must have shared this suspicion to some extent. Moreover, he was aware that the relationship between Liu Shao-ch'i and me was deeper than Liu's relationship with himself. Thus apparently it was Mao who asked Tung Pi-wu to visit and sound me out. Tung Pi-wu said to me probingly: "Well, it's been about three months since you stopped going to Politburo meetings. Are you still sulking? Now, there is this matter of Liu Shao-ch'i's letter. So why don't you attend a meeting and make a few remarks to dispel all suspicion?"

Then I told Tung Pi-wu frankly: I don't want to attend Politburo meetings, or to receive comrades to discuss Party affairs. Furthermore I wish to withdraw from the central leadership of the Party. I'm now teaching economics with you at the North Shensi Public School; isn't this just fine? As for Liu Shao-ch'i's letter, he has not come to see me and I have not called on him. We have not yet met each other here; there is absolutely no collaboration or understanding between us. I don't know his intention in writing this letter, so why should I go to the Politburo to say something which might complicate matters even further?

Tung Pi-wu undoubtedly reported our conversation to Mao Tse-tung. Mao probably had been at a loss as to what to do with Liu Shao-ch'i; and, at Tung's report, decided that instead of casting suspicion on Liu Shao-ch'i and criticizing him, he would cultivate his friendship. Perhaps he reasoned: Since it seems that Liu Shao-ch'i and Chang Kuo-tao are not in collaboration, there would appear to be an essential difference between Liu and Chang. This is to say that while Liu has suffered much and is discontented with the central authorities and may even be more rightist than Chang, he is not opposed to Mao personally. He is not a rebel, and should be able to be appeased.

In any event, Mao Tse-tung went out of his way to win Liu Shao-ch'i, sympathizing with his frustrations, accepting many of his opinions,

making concessions and awarding him with Politburo membership. In doing so, however, Mao had to make a considerable effort to overcome the opposition of Chang Wen-tien and others. Nevertheless, they eventually had to go along. For the Party had just weathered the anti-Chang Kuo-tao struggle and could hardly afford an anti-Liu Shao-ch'i struggle, particularly as this might arouse a joint attack on the central authorities by Liu Shao-ch'i and Chang Kuo-tao. Moreover, there were other problems at this time which demanded party unity. For example, the Kuomintang-CCP alliance was precarious at best and could have broken at any moment. So it was Mao Tse-tung acted promptly, winning over Liu Shao-ch'i, suppressing Chang Wen-tien and the others, and, on the pretext of urgent programs in the Kuomintang-Controlled Areas, he sent Liu Shao-ch'i back to Peking. Liu's letter was quietly suppressed.

Mao Tse-tung's promptness was admired by many leaders at that time. However, some commented to me: "Well, how Fortune's fickle wheel turns! You criticized the central authorities, demanded reorganization, and got a big bloody nose for your trouble. Liu Shao-ch'i followed your steps, made equally severe criticisms against the central authorities, and he got some unexpected rewards including Politburo membership."

Nevertheless, we can now see in retrospect that the unusual compromise, or one might say instant matrimony, between Mao and Liu was after all somewhat unnatural. Perhaps we might say that Liu Shao-ch'i was relatively honest and straightforward, while Mao Tse-tung was cunning, and that Mao exploited Liu for the sake of suppressing Chang Wen-tien.

Liu Shao-ch'i's letter must have been his first systematic statement concerning Party policies. During the great proletarian cultural revolution, Liu Shao-ch'i has been attacked from all angles and by all conceivable means; but somehow this letter written in 1937 has not been published for criticism. Possibly this is because its contents were largely accepted by Mao Tse-tung and absorbed into the "Decision Concerning Certain Historical Problems" adopted by the 7th Plenary Session of CCP Sixth Central Committee in April 1945, making it inconvenient if not embarrassing to dig it up. Nevertheless, that Liu Shao-ch'i would criticize Chen Tu-hsiu for left-adventurism clearly indicates Liu's own inclination for solid prudent policies.

Many people previously thought that Liu Shao-ch'i supported Mao Tse-tung wholeheartedly. This view has been proved wrong. Basically, the characters of Mao and Liu are antithetic; and Liu was never much of an admirer of Mao's. He once said to me that,

in his opinion, Mao was somewhat illogical in his approach to problems, stubborn, indiscriminate in his choice of means, and lacking in self-culture. As a matter of fact, Liu Shao-ch'i himself is a person of rather refined self-culture. He does not delight in conspiracies; he is endowed with a strong moral sense; he upholds the constitution of the Party; he advocates policies of reconciliation; he does not enjoy class struggle; he does not cherish guerrilla-ism; he wants to establish a good regime and gradually industrialize and modernize China. Mao Tse-tung, on the other hand, has little respect for reasoning, is highly interested in clandestine manoeuvrings, and lacks any sense of morality. He seems to be a disciple of Tsao Tsao who said, "I would prefer that I wrong all the people in the world, rather than that I be wronged by them." Some people consider Liu Shao-ch'i pro-Russia; this view is unreliable. In the Chinese Communist Party, it is Chen Shao-yu and his followers who are pro-Russia. Liu Shao-ch'i's discontent for Soviet Russia should at least equal that of Mao Tse-tung, but Liu probably does not approve of the extent of the present split with Soviet Russia. And he would never approve of a foreign policy which antagonized the whole world.

Because of his character, and his position as Mao's heir, Liu Shao-ch'i, it seems, did not endeavor to build up his own faction in the Party; but he has enjoyed the support of many important cadres, even in the army. Generally speaking, those cadres at higher levels who are more prudent and less opportunistic are congenial with him; and it is exactly this kind of cadre who has been purged as revisionist.

Liu Shao-ch'i has displayed a far greater sense of justice and selflessness than Mao Tse-tung; and the policies advocated by him have been far more prudent and correct than those advocated by Mao Tse-tung. But in this present political struggle, the process of reverse selection has functioned again, and leaders such as Liu Shao-ch'i have been unable to hold their own. This is the great tragedy of the Chinese Communist Party.

Since the purge of Liu Shao-ch'i, Maoists have regarded his works as poisonous weeds to be completely destroyed. My friends in the Union Research Institute are trying their best to collect the recorded works and speeches of Liu Shao-ch'i and publish them for historic records. They asked me to write an introduction to the collection. I think their effort is commendable, and have thus added a few words about the author and his works.

Chang Kuo-tao

April 1968

PREFACE

This is one of the volumes of the *Collected Works of Liu Shao-ch'i* to be published by Union Research Institute. The present volume is a collection of the complete texts of available letters, speeches, reports and writings of Liu Shao-ch'i for the period 1958-1967. Joint statements are not included.

We are fully aware that this is not an exhaustive collection as few complete texts of Liu's letters, writings and the like have been published by Peking or have otherwise found their way out of China. Moreover, there are undoubtedly some that have escaped our attention.

Except for *Talk at A Debate at the Peking College of Construction Engineering*, *Talk to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution Corps*, *Talk to the August 1 Combat Corps*, *Talk to the Work Team of the Peking College of Construction Engineering*, *Self-Criticism*, *Confession* and *Self-Examination*, all the texts included in this volume are from official sources, meaning they were published by the government and/or Party-controlled publishing houses or news agencies in Peking.

The four Talks are taken from a Red Guard publication. They should not be considered accurate or verbatim records of what Liu said but rather what Liu might have said. The Red Guard publication clearly states that the talks are "based on the records of one of those present at the meetings and checked by members of the work team who were present and who are now in Peking and by two members of the College's bogus cultural revolution leading group who were present at the meetings."

The *Self-Criticism* should not be considered an official or accurate record either, as it was transcribed from a wall poster in Peking by a Japanese newspaperman. The *Confession* and *Self-Examination* are from Red Guard publications, and their accuracy might well be questioned.

A minimum of editing has been done. The works are reprints, with the exception of those texts which did not have an English edition.

The texts are arranged chronologically according to date of presentation, not according to publication date.

Acknowledgements and thanks should be made to Mr. Huang Yu-chuan for doing much of the ground work of locating the texts, to Mr. Geoffrey Chiang for his effort at translating, and to Mr. Gary E. Dilley for his patient work as the editor of this volume.

We are particularly grateful to Mr. Chang Kuo-t'ao, one of the founders of the Chinese Communist Party, for writing the Introduction to this series of collected works. Mr. Chang's account of his association with Liu Shao-ch'i since 1922 and his comments on the personalities of Liu and Mao are most interesting and revealing.

A companion volume to this series on the *Collected Works of Liu Shao-ch'i* is a chronology of the major events and activities of his life up through the early part of 1967. It will be published in the near future by Union Research Institute.

Union Research Institute
Hong Kong
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REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA TO THE SECOND SESSION OF THE EIGHTH NATIONAL CONGRESS

May 5, 1958

Comrades!

On behalf of the Central Committee I now report to the Second Session of the Party's Eighth National Congress on its work. My report deals with the present situation, the Party's general line for socialist construction and its future tasks

I

Over a year has passed since the First Session of the Eighth National Congress. During this time, the Party has correctly carried out and developed the policies laid down at the First Session, and achieved great successes in every field of work.

In the past year or so, many changes of great historic significance have taken place, internationally and at home.

Internationally, all of us know the now famous conclusion drawn by Comrade Mao Tse-tung that the world situation has recently reached a new turning point in its development. In extent of popular support, size of populations and rate of development of production, the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union has long since surpassed the imperialist camp. For a time in 1956, however, the sky was overcast. The imperialist camp and reactionaries in various

Liu Shao-ch'i made this report as a comrade on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. The text is taken from *Second Session of the Eighth National Congress of the Communist Party of China*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1958, pp. 16-66.

countries on more than one occasion launched violent campaigns against communism, against the people and against national independence. The imperialists incited and aided the counter-revolutionary uprising in Hungary, and at the same time carried out armed aggression against Egypt. At that time we pointed out that the dark clouds would soon disperse. As it turned out, the revolutionary proletariat of Hungary, with the help of the Soviet Union and the support of the revolutionary forces of the world, quickly stamped out the uprising. The struggles of Egypt and Syria against aggression also triumphed with the support of the Soviet Union and the forces of peace throughout the world. In October and November last year, the Soviet Union launched two artificial earth satellites. This made the whole world acknowledge that in science and technology too the Soviet Union has surpassed the United States, the most developed of the capitalist countries. In November last year, a meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries was held in Moscow, followed by a meeting of sixty-four Communist Parties. These meetings issued two declarations of historic significance, greatly strengthened the solidarity of the ranks of the international working class and the socialist camp, and promoted the development of the world peace movement. All this shows that the east wind has prevailed over the west wind, and will continue to do so in the future.

The Moscow Meetings of Communist and Workers' Parties marked the beginning of a new stage in the present-day international communist movement. Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping will give a special report on the Moscow meetings and the declarations adopted at these meetings. All I wish to say here is that the development of the international situation over the past six months has proved that the appraisal and analysis made in the Moscow declarations are wholly correct. The United States, leader of the imperialist camp, is now in the throes of another serious economic crisis; its production has fallen off drastically and the number of unemployed increased enormously. This crisis is hitting the entire capitalist world, and has thoroughly exploded the deceptive propaganda spread since the war by bourgeois politicians and scholars, reformists and revisionists that capitalist economy can avoid crises. The contradictions within the imperialist countries have deepened, and the workers' and people's movements in these countries have made much headway. The contradictions among the imperialist countries, first of all those between the United States, Britain and France, have sharpened, though at present they are still mutually linked up in the NATO, the Bagdad Treaty Organization and the SEATO for the objective

of opposing communism, the people and the national independence movements. The tendency to neutralism continues to grow in many capitalist countries. In Asia, Africa and Latin America, national independence movements are forging ahead. Though the imperialists are trying to undermine these movements by underhand means and by force, and though certain sections of the bourgeoisie in those nations are trying to restrict the growth of the people's forces which are most resolutely opposed to imperialism, facts have proved that they cannot hold back the historical advance of the people's national and democratic struggles. The struggle of the Indonesian Government and people in defence of their national sovereignty and unity is pushing ahead triumphantly. The Algerian people are waging heroic struggles against the colonial rule of the French imperialists. The people of the whole world strongly demand peace. They demand that the proposals made by the Soviet Union for a summit conference, for the easing of international tension, for the reduction of armaments and the banning of the use and testing of nuclear weapons, be put into effect and that colonial rule and interference in the internal affairs of other countries be ended. But the imperialist bloc headed by the United States is stubbornly opposed to all this. Thus U.S. imperialism is becoming increasingly discredited in the eyes of the world. The U.S. imperialists still continue their war threats and preparations for a new war. We must be keenly vigilant against this. But, as the Moscow Declaration says: "Should the bellicose imperialist maniacs, regardless of everything, venture to unleash war, imperialism will doom itself to destruction, for the peoples will not tolerate a system that brings them so much suffering and exacts so many sacrifices."

In contrast to the situation in the imperialist camp, the socialist camp is growing stronger and more prosperous day by day. The economies of the Soviet Union, China and many other socialist countries are developing much faster than before; the living standards of their peoples are steadily improving. The unity of the socialist camp is becoming more firmly consolidated and its relations of mutual aid are being further extended. The peace proposals of the Soviet Union and our other fraternal countries of Eastern Europe, and the withdrawal of the Chinese People's Volunteers from Korea have greatly enhanced the prestige of the socialist camp among the peace-loving peoples and countries the world over. The fact that the economies of the countries in the socialist camp are making rapid progress and are free from crisis, is bringing more and more people in the capitalist countries to a clear realization that socialism is the only bright road before them.

Faced with acute contemporary struggles between the socialist system and the capitalist system and between the working class and the bourgeoisie, the imperialists, in an attempt to save themselves from destruction, have not only resorted to threats of war, war preparations, armed aggression and intensified exploitation and suppression of the people in their own countries and in the colonies and semi-colonies, but have tried hard to find new tools among the ranks of the working class so as to undermine from within the socialist countries and the international communist movement. Recently at its Seventh Congress, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia adopted an anti-Marxist-Leninist and out-and-out revisionist programme in opposition to the Declaration of the Moscow Meetings of Communist and Workers' Parties. This programme runs diametrically counter to the interests of the international communist movement and only suits the needs of the imperialists and particularly the U.S. imperialists. Therefore, we must wage a resolute struggle against modern revisionism. This is one of the major tasks facing us internationally at the present time. Only by thoroughly crushing modern revisionism and resolutely defending Marxism-Leninism can the unity of the international communist movement and the socialist countries be strengthened. By basing ourselves on this unity we can further rally the working people throughout the world and all those who oppose imperialism, war and national enslavement in a common struggle to win greater victories for the cause of world peace, national independence, democracy, freedom and socialism.

The present international situation is undoubtedly favourable to the peoples striving for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism and those engaged in peaceful socialist construction in various countries. It is unfavourable only to the aggressive imperialist bloc and the revisionists who persist in defending imperialist policies and betraying the interests of socialism.

In China, as everyone can see, the rectification campaign led by the Chinese Communist Party and conducted in accordance with the guiding principles laid down by Comrade Mao Tse-tung for the correct handling of contradictions among the people, has achieved great results on the political, economic, ideological and cultural fronts. It is the purpose of the rectification campaign, by means of criticism and self-criticism, to raise the level of communist consciousness of the masses and to adjust relationships among the people in a systematic way so that they meet the needs of consolidating the socialist system and further expanding the productive forces of society. Serving as a lever, the rectification campaign has pushed forward the

work of the Party and the state in every field. The rectification campaign of the Communist Party and the struggle against the rightists have developed into a rectification campaign among every section of the people, and the upsurge in this nation-wide rectification campaign has in turn brought about a new upsurge in production and construction throughout the country.

The rectification campaign and the anti-rightist struggle are the socialist revolution carried out on the ideological and political fronts in our country. They are a decisive struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road. Thanks to the victory in this struggle, a communist ideological emancipation movement is taking place among the broadest masses of the people. This is bringing about profound changes in the alignment of class forces in our country.

There are two exploiting classes and two labouring classes in China today. One of the exploiting classes comprises the bourgeois rightists who oppose socialism, the landlord and compradore classes whose rule had been overthrown, and other reactionaries. The bourgeois rightists are to all intents and purposes agents of the imperialists, the remnant feudal and compradore forces, and Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang. The other exploiting class comprises the national bourgeoisie and their intellectuals who are accepting socialist transformation step by step. Most of them are in a state of transition, wavering between the socialist road and the capitalist road. One of the labouring classes comprises the peasants and other labourers who formerly worked on their own. The overwhelming majority of these have joined co-operatives and are becoming increasingly enthusiastic supporters of socialism. The other is the working class, the most advanced contingent of the whole people and the leading force in our state power and the cause of socialism. All these four categories of people have undergone tremendous changes in the course of the rectification campaign and the anti-rightist struggle.

As a result of the anti-rightist struggle, the anti-communist, anti-popular and anti-socialist bourgeois rightists have been thoroughly isolated by the masses and their ranks have begun to disintegrate. With victory won in this struggle, further heavy blows have also been dealt against the remnant counter-revolutionaries and all sorts of bad elements who tried to undermine socialism. Socialist public order has been greatly strengthened.

The anti-rightist struggle has also been of profound significance within our Party. We expelled a number of rightists from the Party. They were alien class elements who had sneaked into the Party and renegades to the cause of socialism. They developed individualism,

sectarianism, localism and nationalism to an extreme degree within the Party and carried out revisionist and other anti-socialist and anti-communist activities. In league with the rightists outside the Party, they attacked the Party and the socialist system. To rid the Party of these alien class elements and renegades is a great victory for its cause.

The national bourgeoisie, the bourgeois intellectuals and the members of the various democratic parties, who stand in the middle of the road and are half-hearted about socialism, have changed, or are changing, to a greater or lesser degree, their old political outlooks in the course of the struggle against the rightists, in the subsequent drive against waste and conservative ideas and practices, and in the great leaps forward in production and other fields of socialist construction. Most of these people, sensing "the compelling force of circumstances," now feel that they must make further progress and must not remain in their middle-of-the-road position as before. They have begun to admit their dual character in relation to the socialist revolution and the need to correct their many wrong views. They have expressed their determination to remould themselves, "give their hearts" to the Communist Party and strive to become left-wingers. Many intellectuals have taken an active part in the rectification campaign and indicated their resolve to become socialist-minded and professionally expert so as to turn themselves into thoroughly red specialists. Some of them have gone among the working people, taking part in manual labour, so as to build sincere contacts with the broad masses of the working people.

In many regions inhabited by national minorities, in the course of the rectification campaign and the struggle against the rightists, local nationalism has been seriously criticized, certain separatists and bourgeois rightists among the national minorities who impair the unity of the motherland have been exposed, and, at the same time, the tendency towards Han chauvinism among certain Han cadres has been further overcome. In this way, the socialist consciousness of the masses among the national minorities has been raised and there is a new look to the brotherhood and unity of the various nationalities.

The experience of the rectification campaign and the anti-rightist struggle once again shows that throughout the transition period, that is, before completion of the building of a socialist society, the main contradiction inside our country is and remains that between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the socialist road and the capitalist road. In certain fields this contradiction manifests it-

self as a fierce life-and-death struggle between the enemy and ourselves; that was the case in the attack launched by the bourgeois rightists in 1957. This attack was repelled, but in the future they will try again to make trouble whenever opportunity arises. We must, therefore, be prepared to wage prolonged and repeated struggles against the bourgeois rightists before their contradictions with the people can be fully resolved. We must also continue to suppress other remnant counter-revolutionaries and all sorts of criminals breaking law and order. In the actual conditions existing in our country, however, the contradictions between the two classes and the two roads in most cases manifest themselves as contradictions within the ranks of the people. As to the contradictions among the people—be they contradictions between the national bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie on the one hand and the proletariat on the other, or contradictions within the proletariat arising from bourgeois and petty bourgeois influences upon sections of the proletariat—they should, as a rule, be resolved through the rectification campaign. As to contradictions among the working people arising from differences in their conceptions of right and wrong, or between the advanced and the backward elements among them, since some are connected with bourgeois and petty bourgeois influences, and most of them do not fall into the category of contradictions between classes at all, it is all the more obvious that such contradictions should be resolved by means of the rectification campaign.

The political atmosphere among the working people has also undergone a deep change following the rectification campaign and the anti-rightist struggle. The political consciousness and socialist initiative of the masses, whether workers or peasants, have been greatly enhanced, as a result of the socialist revolution on the ideological and political fronts and the great debates on the capitalist road and the socialist road, which have been carried out on the broadest scale among the masses, and as a result of the development to the fullest extent of criticism and self-criticism in regard to mistakes and shortcomings in our work, by encouraging a full and frank airing of views, great debates and the posting of *tatsepao*.* Leading cadres in many units have made sincere self-criticisms before the masses and earnest efforts to improve their work and ways. This has moved the masses and strengthened their faith in the leading role of the Party; at the same time it led them on their own initiative, to criticize

*Opinions and criticisms written out in bold Chinese characters on large sheets of paper and posted freely for everybody to see.

their own shortcomings, rectify the wrong ideas and backward habits which they carried over from the old society, and to improve their own work. This, in all places where the rectification campaign has been carried out thoroughly, has put both the masses and the cadres at ease; any estrangement that existed between them in the past has been eliminated. Feeling that the Party has given its heart to them, the masses too give their hearts to the Party. As a result, all sorts of negative trends reflecting surviving bourgeois ideas in these places have been greatly reduced and the just spirit of communism is in the ascendant. Many who were formerly backward are now ideologically emancipated and, becoming communist-minded, they are rapidly catching up with the more advanced. This is an important sign of the great victory we have won in the socialist revolution on the ideological and political fronts.

In the greater part of the country today, in the cities and countryside, in offices, enterprises, schools and army units, *tatsepao* are being put up, debates are being held, criticism and self-criticism are being vigorously conducted. Throughout the nation a new custom, a new habit is taking shape—to handle all contradictions among the people correctly by way of the rectification campaign, namely, by “starting from the desire for unity, to solve contradictions through criticism or struggle and thus to achieve a new unity on a new basis.” Criticism and self-criticism among the masses and cadres all aim at overcoming bureaucracy, sectarianism and subjectivism, doing away with the “five bad airs”: bureaucratic airs, apathetic airs, extravagant airs, arrogant airs and finicky airs, doing away with every kind of waste and conservative practices in construction, correcting what is irrational in the organization and management of labour and changing those regulations and institutions that restrain development of the forces of production and the initiative of the masses. By relying on the exposures, criticisms, and proposals made by the masses and their supervision and practical work, many problems long unresolved have been solved rapidly. The masses openly criticize leading personnel by name and also openly criticize each other by name without mincing words and without the slightest hesitation. The aim of such criticism and self-criticism is to serve the interests of the state and the collective, to do better work in the common cause of socialism. Towards those being criticized their attitude is that of a real comrade; they don’t aim to “deal them a fatal blow,” but acknowledge their achievements and help them to correct their shortcomings and make progress. This is the noble, communist way of doing things.

Radical changes in human relations have taken place in our

country with the development of criticism and self-criticism. Cadres in industrial and mining enterprises and agricultural co-operatives have begun to devote regularly part of their time to participation in manual labour alongside the rank and file of workers and peasants. Many leaders of rural work are working on "experimental plots" alongside the peasants. Large numbers of office workers and intellectuals have gone to the countryside and the mountain areas or to work in the basic units of enterprises. The example set by the masses has inspired the cadres and that set by the cadres has also inspired the masses. Managerial personnel now directly participate in some manual labour; and the workers in some managerial work. The relationship of mutual aid and co-operation, of learning from each other and of emulation, between those in the upper and the lower grades, between the managerial personnel and those who directly take part in production, between brain and manual workers, between city and countryside, has greatly developed. Many who were prone to bossiness have changed a great deal in this rectification campaign. So long as we continue to make use of the *tatsepao* and the debates, and constantly practise criticism and self-criticism, we shall certainly be able to get rid of the bossy style of work effectively and thoroughly, and gradually eliminate the evil bureaucratic habits carried over from thousands of years of history.

Such universal criticism and self-criticism as was unfolded in the course of the rectification campaign, such sharp attacks against bureaucracy and the subsequent achievement of such equality in human relations, are unthinkable in any capitalist country. Never before has there been a political party like our Party of the proletariat that regards the interests of the people as its only interest, that firmly trusts the majority of the masses and is bold enough to practise democracy on such an extensive scale. The bourgeois rightists and the revisionists allege that bureaucracy is a product of the proletarian dictatorship. The fact is just the opposite. Only the socialist state can, under the leadership of the Communist Party, gradually eliminate bureaucracy by relying on the revolutionary initiative of the working people. In order to develop the people's democracy and eliminate bureaucracy, it is necessary to strengthen the leading role of the Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat, not to weaken them.

Our principle is democratic centralism. Our democracy is democracy under centralized guidance and our centralism is centralism based on democracy. The facts prove that the practice of the most broadly-based democracy among the people, instead of hampering

centralism, facilitates the realization of a high degree of centralization. Instead of weakening socialist discipline, it facilitates the consolidation of socialist discipline based on conscious acceptance by the masses. When cadres shed their bureaucratic airs and haughty attitude and mix with the masses, the prestige of the leadership waxes instead of waning. Thanks to the rectification campaign, a vigorous and lively political situation is developing throughout our public life in which there are both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind.

The broad masses of the working people have realized more fully that individual and immediate interests depend on and are bound up with collective and long-term interests and that the happiness of the individual lies in the realization of the lofty socialist ideals of all the people. That is why they have displayed an heroic communist spirit of self-sacrifice in the work. Their slogan is: "Hard work for a few years, happiness for a thousand." This mighty torrent of communist ideas has swept away many stumbling blocks—individualism, departmentalism, localism and nationalism. In city and countryside, people vie with each other in joining in all kinds of voluntary labour. In building irrigation works, the peasants in many places have thrown aside the age-old narrow-minded idea of only looking after their native places. In the nation-wide emulation drive, many advanced units and individuals have enthusiastically passed on their technical experience, inventions and creations to the backward units and individuals so that the latter can catch up with them. Many enterprises, organizations, schools, army units and individuals have taken the initiative in co-ordinating their activities with those of others so as to promote the progress of all concerned. All this is, as Lenin said, "the actual beginning of communism," "the beginning of a change which is of world historic significance."

All the factors mentioned above have combined to form the great revolutionary drive for socialist construction. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has put forward the slogans "catch up with and outstrip Britain in 15 years," "build socialism by exerting our utmost efforts and pressing ahead consistently to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results," "to be promoters of progress not of retrogression," "build our country and run our households industriously and with frugality" and "battle hard for three years to bring about a basic change in the features of most areas"—all these calls have quickly gripped the imagination of the huge army of hundreds of millions of working people and have been transformed into an immense material

force. There has emerged in physical labour and other work a high degree of socialist initiative, a surging, militant spirit, a keenness in learning and studying that will not rest short of its aims, a fearless creative spirit. An emulation drive in which the backward learn from and catch up and compete with the advanced has been launched between individuals, production teams, enterprises, co-operatives, counties and cities. Set norms are being constantly surpassed and new techniques invented. Time after time the masses outstrip the targets set by enterprises and administrative organs.

The spring of 1958 witnessed the beginning of a leap forward on every front in our socialist construction. Industry, agriculture and all other fields of activity are registering greater and more rapid growth.

To begin with industry. The total value of industrial output for the first four months of this year was 26 per cent higher than in the same period last year; the April increase was 42 per cent. According to estimates made on the basis of the present situation, China's steel output this year will be over 7.1 million tons, coal output will reach 180 million tons; 60,000 machine-tools will be produced and irrigation machinery with more than 3.5 million horse-power; the output of chemical fertilizers will amount to 1.35 million tons. In view of this, the rate of growth of China's industrial production this year will be much higher than that set in the original plan and will surpass that of any year in the First Five-Year Plan period.

The revolutionary energy of the masses of workers has also found expression in the trial manufacture of new products, in technical renovation, in the improvement of quality and lowering of production costs. In the first four months of the year, many kinds of small-sized tractors were successfully produced on a trial basis. Several of them can be used equally well for the cultivation of paddy fields, dry fields, mountain areas and terraced fields or for transport, for operating irrigation machinery or generating power for the processing of agricultural products and other purposes. In the first four months of the year, Shanghai successfully produced more than one thousand kinds of new products on a trial basis. By adopting the new technique of three-tapping troughs, the Taiyuan Steel Plant has raised productivity by nearly 50 per cent. As labour productivity is being raised and raw materials are saved, it will be possible to reduce production costs in industry this year by about 10 per cent compared with last year. This will save the state about 1,400 million yuan.

An upsurge is shaping up in capital construction in industry this

year. Nearly one thousand above-norm* projects will be under construction this year; this is more than the total number of such projects under construction in the First Five-Year Plan period. In addition, construction work has already started on thousands of medium and small-sized coal mines, power stations, oil refineries, iron and steel plants, non-ferrous mines, chemical fertilizer plants, cement plants, engineering works and agricultural and animal products processing plants.

The output of local industry this year will show a considerable increase as a result of widespread industrial capital construction undertaken by local authorities. Take iron and steel for example. The amount of iron to be produced by local enterprises this year will reach 1,730,000 tons (as against the 593,000 tons produced last year) and that of steel will reach 1,410,000 tons (as against the 790,000 tons of last year). The rapid growth of the local industries is one of the outstanding features of this year's industrial upswing.

As a result of the intensive drive against waste and conservatism, the costs of capital construction in industry this year will be greatly reduced. In many cases, the same amount of funds needed to build one factory in the past now suffices to build two. For example, in terms of the planned costs, where it would previously have cost about 1,000 million yuan to build an iron and steel plant with an annual capacity of one million tons, such a plant can now be built for little more than 400 million yuan; for 60 million yuan we can now build a nitrogenous fertilizer plant with an annual capacity of 50,000 tons of synthetic ammonium, in the past such a plant would have cost 130 million yuan. The time needed for building a capital construction project, too, is much shorter now than in the past.

The upsurge in agriculture last winter and this spring gave a vigorous push to the new industrial upsurge of this year. The rapid development of industry in turn has prompted an even swifter growth of agriculture.

In agriculture, the most striking leap took place in the campaign of the co-operative farmers to build irrigation works. From last October to April this year, the irrigated acreage throughout the country increased by 350 million *mou*, that is, 80 million *mou* more than the total added during the eight years since liberation and 110 million *mou* more than the total acreage brought under irrigation in the thou-

*The "norm" of investment in capital construction for heavy industry ranges between five and ten million yuan and that for light industry, between three and five million yuan.

sands of years before liberation. At the same time, more than 200 million *mou* of low-lying and easily waterlogged farmland was transformed and irrigation facilities were improved on another 140 million *mou* of land. The loss of water and soil was brought under control over an area of 160,000 square kilometres. This gives proof of the power to conquer nature which the masses of the people have demonstrated in the field of agriculture following the great socialist revolution on the economic, political and ideological fronts and release on a tremendous scale of our social productive forces.

In the same period, the peasants all over the country accumulated about 310,000 million *tan* of fertilizers (including all kinds of fertilizers mostly clay and mud fertilizers). This averages over 18,000 catties to a *mou*, which, calculated according to the amount of plant nutrients, is more than three times the amount accumulated in 1956, one of the best of recent years. In many places, work was undertaken on a large scale to improve the soil and level the ground.

In the first four months of this year, over 190 million *mou* of land was afforested in the country, one and a half times the total acreage afforested in the past eight years. Big advance was also registered in the development of mountain areas, land reclamation, utilization of wild plants, etc.

The labour organization of our agricultural co-operatives has made further improvement. In most co-operatives, attendance by able-bodied members (men and women) in collective work was over 90 per cent in last winter and this spring.

A mass movement to improve farm tools is now spreading throughout the countryside. Tens of millions of peasants have made all sorts of improved and semi-mechanized farm implements, water lifts, means of transportation and equipment for processing farm produce. Thus the centuries-old tradition of primitive manual labour has begun to change and labour productivity has increased enormously. At the same time, the peasants in various places have made energetic efforts to improve systems and methods of cultivation in accordance with local conditions. This is the budding of a great technical revolution in the rural areas.

Work is also going ahead by leaps and bounds in transport and communications, commerce and other branches of the national economy. New records and inventions are being made continuously.

Rapid developments are also taking place in the fields of culture, education and public health. Energetic efforts are being made in many villages throughout the country to eliminate illiteracy and establish large numbers of primary and secondary schools financed by the

people. Cultural and artistic activities among the masses are advancing quickly. The public health campaign centred on the elimination of the four pests* has already spread to every urban and rural district and achieved notable results.

The fact is that the growth of the social productive forces calls for a socialist revolution and the spiritual emancipation of the people; the victory of this revolution and emancipation in turn spurs a forward leap in the social productive forces; and this in turn impels a progressive change in the socialist relations of production and an advance in man's ideology. In their ceaseless struggle to transform nature, the people are continuously transforming society and themselves.

Karl Marx prophesied that the proletarian revolution would usher us into a great epoch when "twenty years are concentrated in a day." If in past revolutionary struggles we experienced such great times, then is not our present socialist construction another great time again? Here one can see how the courageous and hard-working Chinese people, under the leadership of the great Chinese Communist Party and its leader Comrade Mao Tse-tung, have poured forth their history-making strength and wisdom in endless measure.

II

The current mighty leap forward in socialist construction is the product not only of the successful development of the anti-rightist struggle and the rectification campaign but also of a correct implementation of the Party's general line—to build socialism by exerting our utmost efforts, and pressing ahead consistently to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has often said that there are two methods of carrying on socialist transformation and construction: One will result in doing the work faster and better; the other slowly and not so well. Which method shall we adopt? This has been an issue. In his work *On the Question of Agricultural Co-operation* published in 1955, Comrade Mao Tse-tung provided a theoretical solution to the struggle between these two methods regarding the socialist revolution in the ownership of the means of production. Furthermore, this struggle was decided in practice by the upsurge in socialist transformation which took place between the autumn of 1956 and the spring of 1956. There was also a conflict between the two methods in con-

*Rats, flies, mosquitoes and grain-destroying sparrows.

nection with the socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts, and this too was worked out theoretically by Comrade Mao Tse-tung in his article *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* published last year, and was resolved in practice by the rectification campaign and anti-rightist struggle which began last year. In connection with socialist construction too, the Central Committee of the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung have always taken a clear-cut stand, insisting that the method of working faster and better be adopted and the other method, of working slowly and not so well, be rejected. However, on this question some comrades still clung to such outmoded ideas as "keeping to the right is better than keeping to the left," "it's better to go slower than faster" or "it's better to take small steps than to go striding forward." The struggle between the two methods in dealing with this question was not fully decided until the launching of the rectification campaign and the anti-rightist struggle.

As early as March 1949, the Seventh Central Committee of the Party pointed out in its resolution adopted at its Second Plenary Session: "China's economic heritage is backward but the Chinese people are brave and industrious, and with the victory of the Chinese people's revolution, the establishment of the Chinese People's Republic, the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, and the help of the proletariat in other countries throughout the world, and primarily the help of the Soviet Union, economic construction in China will be carried on not slowly but probably at a considerable speed. We can already count the days when China will attain prosperity. There are no grounds whatsoever for being pessimistic about China's economic revival." In mapping out the First Five-Year Plan for Development of the National Economy, the Central Committee of the Party refuted all fallacious views favouring the slowing down of economic construction. The rate of development of the national economy envisaged in the First Five-Year Plan was unprecedented in China's history. Nevertheless, the Central Committee of the Party believed that the Plan not only could be fulfilled, but could probably be fulfilled ahead of schedule and overfulfilled. As a matter of fact, in the winter of 1955 when it was apparent that a decisive victory of the socialist revolution in the ownership of the means of production was to be won very shortly and when a mass upsurge in production and construction was beginning to take place, the "norms" set in the First Five-Year Plan should have been revised upward. Comrade Mao Tse-tung issued a timely call for a speedier tempo than that envisaged

in the First Five-Year Plan. In December 1955, he wrote in the preface to the book *Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside*:

The problem facing the entire Party and the nation is no longer one of combating rightist conservative ideas about the speed of the socialist transformation of agriculture. That problem has already been solved. Nor is it a problem of the speed of transformation of capitalist industry and commerce, by entire trades, into state-private enterprises. That problem too has been solved. In the first half of 1956 we must discuss the speed of the socialist transformation of handicrafts. But that problem will easily be solved too. The problem today is none of these, but concerns other fields. It affects agricultural production; industrial production (including state, joint state-private and co-operative industries); handicraft production; the scale and speed of capital construction in industry, communications and transport; the co-ordination of commerce with other branches of the economy; and the co-ordination of activities in science, culture, education, public health, and so on, with various economic undertakings. In all these fields there is an under-estimation of the situation which must be criticized and corrected if these activities are to keep pace with the development of the situation as a whole. People's thinking must adapt itself to changed conditions. Of course no one should go off into wild flights of fancy, or make plans unwarranted by the objective situation, or insist on attempting the impossible. The problem today is that rightist conservatism is still causing trouble in many fields and preventing work in these fields from keeping pace with the development of the objective situation. The present problem is that many people consider impossible things which would be done if they exerted themselves. It is absolutely necessary, therefore, to keep on criticizing rightist conservative ideas which actually exist.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung subsequently summed up the ideas expounded in this preface in the slogan of building socialism by achieving "greater, faster, better and more economical results." He pointed out that the urgent task confronting the entire Party was to overcome rightist conservative ideas which actually existed. He called on all members of the Party to be promoters of progress and not of retrogression in construction, in order to push forward vigorously the country's industrial and agricultural production and construction.

On the proposal of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the Party in January 1956 put before the people a "Draft National Programme for Agricultural Development, 1956 to 1967." This is a programme for developing socialist agriculture by achieving "greater, faster, better and more economical results." Not only did it set great goals for rural work throughout the country but it gave a correct orientation for development of the entire work of socialist construction.

In April of the same year, at an enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Mao Tse-tung made a report on "Ten Sets of Relationships" in which he called the whole Party's attention to the correct handling of the relationships:

- 1 — between industry and agriculture and between heavy and light industries;
- 2 — between coastal industries and inland industries;
- 3 — between economic construction and national defence;
- 4 — between the state, the co-operatives and the individual;
- 5 — between the central and local authorities;
- 6 — between the Han people and the national minorities;
- 7 — between the Party and non-Party people;
- 8 — between revolution and counter-revolution;
- 9 — between right and wrong inside and outside the Party, and
- 10 — international relations.

In this report, Comrade Mao Tse-tung outlined a series of important policies in amplification of the general line of building socialism by achieving "greater, faster, better and more economical results." Under items 1 and 5, he set forth the principle of developing industry and agriculture simultaneously while giving priority to heavy industry, and the principle of combining centralization of powers with decentralization. Under items 2 and 3, he pointed to the necessity of making full use of the industrial bases in the coastal areas and amassing ample funds for economic construction. He pointed out under item 4 the necessity of handling correctly the relations between the individual and the collective, between the part and the whole, and between consumption and accumulation. The remaining items centred mainly around the view of correctly handling contradictions among the people, a view which was later elaborated. The general idea of the report was to mobilize all positive factors and available forces for building China into a modern, prosperous and mighty socialist state in the shortest possible time. It was on the basis of the guiding lines and policies laid down by Comrade Mao Tse-tung on handling the ten sets of relationships that the Central Committee of the Party drew

up its political report for the First Session of the Eighth National Congress.

These guiding lines and policies formulated by Comrade Mao Tse-tung have played a tremendous role in our work. In 1956, every phase of China's economy and culture made a mighty leap forward. In that year, industrial output shot up 31 per cent, capital construction 62 per cent, and agricultural output 4.9 per cent despite severe natural calamities. Thus, within a space of four years, we reached ahead of schedule the targets set in the First Five-Year Plan for total value of industrial output, and total output of food crops and communications and transport; in capital construction, we also created favourable conditions for the overfulfilment of the First Five-Year Plan.

There were individual defects in our work during the leap forward in 1956. These consisted mainly in a certain strain in supplying the market due to the taking on of an excessive number of new workers and staff and excessive increases in certain categories of wages. These defects paled before the tremendous achievements made at the time and the problems arising from these defects were solved after a few months of efforts by the people throughout the country in a campaign launched at the call of the Party to increase production and practise economy. However, some comrades at the time magnified these defects and underestimated the great achievements attained, and hence regarded the leap forward of 1956 as a "reckless advance." In a flurry of opposition to this so-called "reckless advance," some people even had misgivings about the principle of "achieving greater, faster, better, and more economical results" and the 40-article Programme for Agricultural Development. This dampened the initiative of the masses and hampered progress on the production front in 1957, and particularly on the agricultural front. But the Party soon corrected this error. The Third Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Party held in September last year reaffirmed the need to adhere to the principle of achieving "greater, faster, better and more economical results" in building socialism. Following that, the Central Committee made public a revised version of the Draft Programme for Agricultural Development, and Comrade Mao Tse-tung issued a militant call to overtake and surpass Britain the output of iron and steel and other major industrial products in 15 years. Such correct guidance by the Central Committee, combined with the initiative of the masses evoked by the rectification campaign and the anti-rightist struggle, gave rise to the all-round forward leap which is currently developing on an even larger scale in our socialist construction. Many of those comrades who expressed misgivings about the principle of building

socialism by achieving "greater, faster, better and more economical results," have learned a lesson from all this. But some of them have not yet learned anything. They say: "We'll settle accounts with you after the autumn harvest." Well, let them wait to settle accounts. They will lose out in the end!

The development is U-shaped, i.e., high at the beginning and the end, but low in the middle. Didn't we see very clearly how things developed on the production front in 1956—1957—1958 in the form of an upsurge, then an ebb, and then an even bigger upsurge or, in other words, a leap forward, then a conservative phase and then another big leap forward?

The Party and the masses have learned a lesson from this U-shaped development.

Now the people everywhere are full of confidence in the forward leap in production; they are determined to further speed up socialist construction. They are eager to remove the obstacles placed in their way by technical and cultural backwardness. In view of basic victory of the socialist revolution already achieved on the economic, political and ideological fronts, the Central Committee of the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung consider that the time is ripe to set new revolutionary tasks before the Party and the people, that now is the time to call for a technical revolution and, along with it, a cultural revolution.

Marx, Engels and Lenin often pointed out that the watchword of the working class should be "uninterrupted revolution." In putting forward new revolutionary tasks in good time, so that there is no halfway halt in the revolutionary advance of the people, the revolutionary fervour of the masses will not subside with interruptions of the revolution, and Party and state functionaries will not rest content with the success won and grow arrogant or apathetic, the Central Committee of the Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung have always guided the Chinese revolution by this Marxist-Leninist theory of uninterrupted revolution. Already on the eve of the victory of the democratic revolution, the Seventh Central Committee of the Party, in a resolution adopted in March 1949 at its Second Plenary Session, clearly put forward the task of "transforming the new-democratic state into a socialist state." After the founding of the People's Republic of China and immediately following the completion of land reform, the Central Committee, in December 1951, pointed out the road to collective farming through the mutual-aid and co-operative movement, and in 1953 carried out extensive publicity and education among the people for the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and private industry and commerce. After

the socialist revolution in the ownership of the means of production had been basically won, the Central Committee launched the socialist revolution on the ideological and political fronts. All this has enabled the revolution to advance at the opportune moment from one stage to another, scoring one victory after another.

The issuance of the call for the technical and cultural revolution means that our constantly developing revolution must now advance to a new stage. The broad masses of workers, peasants and intellectuals have given an immediate and enthusiastic response to this timely call of the Party. In fact, the masses have already swung into action. In many places, the great march to overcome our technical and cultural backwardness has already started with vigour and vitality.

As we have noted above, the Party's general line for socialist construction, which has gradually taken shape during the past eight years of construction, has proved its correctness at every step in the course of practical work. While this line still needs to be tested further in future practice, to be developed and perfected, we believe that the correctness of its basic orientation and its major principles should and can be regarded as established.

In the light of the practical experience gained in the people's struggle and of the development of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's thinking in the past few years, the Central Committee of the Party is of the opinion that the following are the basic points of our general line, which is to build socialism by exerting our utmost efforts, and pressing ahead consistently to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results:

To mobilize all positive factors and correctly handle contradictions among the people;

To consolidate and develop socialist ownership, i.e., ownership by the whole people and collective ownership, and consolidate the proletarian dictatorship and proletarian international solidarity;

To carry out the technical revolution and cultural revolution step by step, while completing the socialist revolution on the economic, political and ideological fronts;

To develop industry and agriculture simultaneously while giving priority to heavy industry;

With centralized leadership, over-all planning, proper division of labour and co-ordination, to develop national and local industries, and large, small and medium-sized enterprises simultaneously; and

By means of all this to build our country, in the shortest possible time, into a great socialist country with modern industry, modern agriculture and modern science and culture.

Based on the requirements of this general line, what are the main tasks facing the Party and the people in the technical and cultural revolutions?

The main tasks of the technical revolution are as follows:

To put the national economy, including agriculture and handicrafts, systematically and in a planned way on a new technological basis, i.e., the technological basis of modern, large-scale production, so that machinery can be used wherever feasible and electrification is brought to all the cities and villages of the country;

To turn all big and medium-sized cities throughout the country into industrial cities; and to build up new industrial bases in those places where the necessary conditions exist, to enable all the county towns and many townships to have their own industries, and to increase the value of industrial output of all the provinces and autonomous regions and even most of the special administrative regions and counties so that it exceeds the value of their agricultural output;

To set up a transport network and post and telecommunications services equipped mainly with modern facilities, reaching every part of the country; and

While introducing as far as possible the world's up-to-date techniques, to launch a widespread mass movement in the cities and villages throughout the country to improve tools and introduce technical innovations so that semi-mechanized or fully mechanized operations can be properly combined with the necessary hand work.

To meet the requirements of the technical revolution, we must at the same time carry through a cultural revolution, promoting culture, education and public health in the interest of economic construction. The main tasks in this are as follows:

To wipe out illiteracy, to institute compulsory primary education and step by step to bring secondary schools to the townships in general, and higher educational institutions and scientific research bodies to the special administrative regions in general and to many counties;

To complete the work of devising written languages for the national minorities or improving those already in existence and to make energetic efforts to reform the written languages used by the Han people;

To wipe out the "four pests," improve sanitary conditions, promote sports, eliminate the principal diseases, break down superstitions, reform customs and change habits, and invigorate the national spirit;

To promote cultural and recreational activities among the masses and develop socialist literature and arts;

To train new intellectuals and remould the old intellectuals in order to establish a gigantic force of tens of millions of working-class intellectuals, consisting of technicians, who will account for the greatest number, professors, teachers, scientists, journalists, writers, artists and Marxist theoreticians.

By vigorously carrying out the Party's general line for socialist construction and bringing about a technical revolution and a cultural revolution, we shall achieve an enormous development of our social productive forces and a great increase in our labour productivity. This will enable our industry to catch up with and surpass Britain within 15 years or less in the output of iron and steel and other major industrial products, enable our agriculture, on the basis of carrying out the National Programme for Agricultural Development ahead of schedule, to surpass quickly the agricultural achievements of the capitalist countries, and our science and technology, on the basis of carrying out the twelve-year Programme for the Development of Science, to catch up with the world's most advanced levels in the shortest possible time.

The speed of construction has been the most important question confronting us since the victory of the socialist revolution. The aim of our revolution is to expand the social productive forces as quickly as possible. Our country's economy has been very backward, and there are imperialist countries abroad; only by speeding up construction to the utmost can we, within the shortest possible period, consolidate our socialist state and raise the people's standards of living. The speedy building of socialism in a big country like ours, with a population of more than 600 million, will greatly enhance the supremacy already possessed by the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union, promote mutual aid and co-operation between the countries in the socialist camp and between all the forces of peace throughout the world, and help to defend world peace.

Some people do not recognize the importance of increasing the speed of construction; they do not approve of the policy of consistently achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results, and they have raised various objections.

Some say that speeding up construction makes people feel "tense," and so it's better to slow down the tempo. But are things not going to get tense if the speed of construction is slowed down? Surely one should be able to see that a really terribly tense situation would exist if more than 600 million people had to live in poverty and cultural backwardness for a prolonged period, had to exert their utmost efforts just to eke out a bare living, and were unable to resist natural ca-

lamities effectively, unable to put a quick stop to possible foreign aggression and utterly unable to master their own fate. It was to pull themselves out of such a situation, that the hundreds of millions of our people summoned up their energies to throw themselves, full of confidence, into the heat of work and struggle. This is simply normal revolutionary activity to which we should give our heartiest approval. This kind of "tension" is nothing to be afraid of.

It goes without saying that we should guide the workers and peasants to direct their efforts to improve their technique, tools, methods of work and labour organization so as to bring about a forward leap in production. We should see to it that the masses enjoy necessary rest periods as production surges ahead, so as to alternate hard battles with necessary rest and enable production and construction to advance in a rhythmic manner; in addition, we should pay attention to safety measures.

During this great movement in which hundreds of millions of people have been mobilized, it is inevitable that there should be some defects in our work even while great successes are being scored, and that, as we advance, we should meet with some difficulties—even great, unforeseeable difficulties. We should make provision for all this. The broad masses of our people who have forged a solid unity among themselves will certainly not be frightened by these defects and difficulties, and they will surely be able to overcome them in good time. Some people criticize us for "craving greatness and success," for seeking "quick success and instant benefits." What they say about us is right! And shouldn't we crave greatness for our 600 million people and the success of socialism? Should we rather crave smallness and court failure, reject success and benefits, and rest content with lagging behind and doing nothing?

Some people wonder whether the implementation of the policy of consistently achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results won't lead to waste. Of course, if this policy is followed out piecemeal and if we merely go in for quantity and speed and neglect quality and economy, or vice versa, then of course there will be waste. "Greater" and "faster" results are concerned with quantity and speed; "better" and "more economical" with quality and cost. They supplement and condition each other. Facts have proved that by implementing the policy of achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in a comprehensive way, the initiative and potentialities of the people can be brought into fullest play, and the greatest economies can be effected in developing production and construction. Conversely, opposition to this policy and restriction

of the initiative and potentialities of the people will certainly result in great wastes of manpower, money, materials and precious time.

Others are worried that implementation of this policy will throw the various branches of production off balance as well as financial revenue and expenditure. There is bound to be imbalance. Even if we do not carry out this policy, there will always be imbalance, because any balance is temporary and conditional, and hence relative. There is no absolute balance. Of course, in order to conform to the objective law of the proportionate development of socialist economy, a balance should be maintained between the various branches of our national economy over a certain period of time and to a certain extent. This is precisely the purpose of planning in a socialist state. The question is how that balance should be brought about: by getting the backward to catch up with the advanced, or by forcing the advanced to fall back in line with the backward? To overcome the imbalance between financial revenue and expenditure, the positive approach is to expand production and better exploit financial resources; the negative approach is to view things purely from the financial angle, and put a curb on the development of construction. Back in 1942 in his work *Economic and Financial Questions During the Period of the Anti-Japanese War*, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out why the negative approach is wrong. "While a good or bad financial policy may affect the economy," he wrote, "it is the economy as a whole that determines the financial situation. We will never overcome our financial difficulties unless we have a sound economy, or achieve an abundance of financial resources without developing the economy." He wrote: "The conservative view which overlooks the development of the economy or fails to exploit financial resources better, but wants to overcome financial difficulties by cutting down on essential expenditures, cannot solve any questions at all." Since the time of the Anti-Japanese War, our financial difficulties have all been solved successfully on the basis of this principle put forward by Comrade Mao Tse-tung. It is clear, therefore, that what we should guard against is not the occurrence of imbalance, but alarm when imbalance appears, and proneness to get the advance to fall back in line with the backward—a desire "to trim the toes to fit the shoe," or "to give up food for fear of choking."

Thus, none of the criticisms directed against the policy of increasing the speed of construction and of achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results, can hold water.

Why is it that, to increase the speed of construction, industry and agriculture must be developed simultaneously? This is because

ours is a large agricultural country, and of our over 600 million people, more than 500 million are peasants who constitute a most powerful force both in the revolutionary struggle and construction. Only by relying on this powerful ally and giving full play to the peasants' initiative and creativeness can the working class of our country achieve victory. The paramount importance of the peasantry as an ally is just the same in the period of construction as it was in the period of revolution. Whenever political mistakes were made they invariably had something to do with this question. While giving priority to the growth of heavy industry, we must make great efforts to develop agriculture, which means to get the greatest domestic market in the world to place immense orders for heavy and light industrial products, including farm machinery, chemical fertilizers, building materials, fuels, electrical power and transport facilities; and to mobilize the biggest labour force in the world to increase the production of food-stuffs, meat, vegetables, etc., and the output of cotton and other industrial crops, to contribute its astonishing labour power to produce enormous wealth, accumulate large amounts of funds for national industrial construction, and itself to build small industrial enterprises in the village. The energetic development of agriculture, therefore, will certainly speed up the industrialization of our nation and growth of the entire national economy; it will help greatly to improve the livelihood of the people throughout the country and consolidate the worker-peasant alliance. Without the rapid development of agriculture, there can be no rapid development of light and heavy industries, or of the national economy as a whole. The facts in the past eight years, and in this year in particular, have fully proved this.

Some comrades are worried that, though the development of agriculture can accumulate funds for industrialization, it will for the present at least divert some funds which could be used by the state for industrialization. The upsurges in agriculture in 1956 and 1958 have proved such worries unnecessary. So long as we know how to rely on this great force of our 500 million peasants, we can greatly expand the scope of agricultural construction even if there is no increase in state investments in agriculture. The state has invested 1,450 million yuan to harness the Huai River, and completed over 1,600 million cubic metres of masonry and earth work in the past eight years. But by depending mainly on the labour, money and material resources of the peasants themselves, in six months of the winter of 1957 and spring 1958, more than 12,000 million cubic metres of masonry and earth work were completed in Honan and Anhwei Provinces alone.

Some people doubted whether agricultural production could expand very rapidly. They quoted authoritative works, chapter and verse, to prove that agriculture could only advance slowly and that, what is more, its growth could in no way be guaranteed. Some scholars even asserted that the rate of agricultural growth could not keep pace with the growth of population. They argued that as the population grows, consumption will increase and there won't be much of an increase in accumulation. From this they draw their pessimistic conclusions on the rate of growth of agriculture in our country, and, indeed, of the national economy as a whole. Underlying such ideas is an underestimation of the organized revolutionary peasants of our country, and the facts inevitably gave them the lie. The great forward leap in agricultural production and construction this year has not only completely knocked the bottom out of their contention that agriculture cannot make quick progress but also blown sky high their argument that a big population impedes accumulation. All they see is that men are consumers and that the greater the population, the bigger the consumption. They fail to see that men are first of all producers and that when there is a large population there is also the possibility of greater production and more accumulation. Their views obviously run counter to Marxism-Leninism.

Why is it necessary to undertake the simultaneous development of national and local industries, and of large, small and medium-sized enterprises to increase the speed of construction? Since the development of industrial production is the universal demand of the whole population, it is necessary to follow the principle of building industries by the efforts of the whole Party and population, and completely explode the myth that industry can be run only by the few. "The fire burns high when everybody adds wood to it"—it is only when all central and local authorities at every level down to the co-operatives get going at it, only when there is a division of labour and co-operation between big, small and medium-sized enterprises, that we can achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results. It is necessary for the central, provincial, municipal and autonomous region authorities to build a certain number of big enterprises. Big enterprises which have a big output and a high technical level can solve key problems having a decisive bearing on the national economy. They form the backbone of the force that pushes forward the industrial development of the country. But small and medium-sized enterprises have the advantages which big enterprises do not have: they require less investments and can more easily absorb funds from scattered

sources; they require less time to build and produce quicker results; they can be designed and equipped locally; they can make do with various simple types of equipment which are readily available in the localities. They can be set up over a wide area so as to facilitate industrialization of the country as a whole, promote the training of technical personnel throughout the country and a balanced development of the economies of the various regions. They can produce a great variety of goods and can be flexibly adapted to produce new types of goods. Close to the sources of raw materials and markets, they can reduce transport costs and make flexible use of available resources, making it easier to bring about a satisfactory relation between supply, production and sales. It is easier for them to make flexible use of the labour power available in the countryside and of casual labour, depending on the amount of work to be done, and thus help reduce the differences between city and countryside, between workers and peasants.

In the period of the First Five-Year Plan, we paid attention first of all to the development of industries run by the Central Government, to giant enterprises; this was absolutely necessary. But not enough attention was paid to the development of local industries and small and medium-sized industries; this was a shortcoming. In the past two years or more, the Central Committee has repeatedly pointed out that this shortcoming must be remedied. With the improvement made in the system of industrial management and the encouragement to develop small and medium-sized industries, there is a growing initiative in various regions to develop their own industries. In quite a short space of time, industrial plants will dot every part of the country like stars in the sky provided the twenty-odd provinces, municipalities under the central authority and autonomous regions, over 180 special administrative regions and autonomous *chou*, over 2,000 counties and autonomous counties, over 80,000 towns and townships, over 100,000 handicrafts co-operatives and over 700,000 agricultural co-operatives in the country display full initiative in a proper way in developing industry. In that case, industrial development in our country will naturally be much faster than if it depended solely on a number of big enterprises run by the Central Government. This will inevitably result in: 1. quickening the pace of the nation's industrialization; 2. quickening the pace of mechanization of agriculture; and 3. quickening the speed at which differences between city and countryside are reduced.

A big development of local industries, and of small and medium-sized enterprises, will give rise to many new problems which it is difficult for us to foresee at the moment. But here it must be especially emphasized that this growth of local industries and small and medium-sized enterprises which we encourage must be placed under centralized leadership and over-all planning, with a proper division of labour and co-ordination of efforts; there must be no blind development nor development through free competition. To prevent or reduce any possible waste in resources and funds and idle stocks of products, the Central Government and local authorities at all levels must seriously improve the work of co-ordination and balance, firmly oppose capitalist ideas in management, and any tendency to localism or departmentalism. At the same time, whether in national or local industries, in giant enterprises or small and medium-sized enterprises, it is necessary to oppose resolutely any tendency to chase only after the latest technical equipment, while failing to make full use of all that is on hand; oppose any tendency to overemphasize the role of experts to the disparagement of the great role that can be played by the workers and peasants in developing new production techniques. All such tendencies which lead away from reality and from the masses, no less than the tendency to resign oneself to backwardness and make no attempts to advance, are detrimental to the nation's progress in construction.

The Party's general line for socialist construction is the application and development of its mass line in socialist construction. We must fully combine centralized leadership with decentralized management and co-ordinate, the resources of the Central Government with those of the local authorities, the resources of the state with those of the masses, the giant undertakings with small and medium-sized plants, the striving to raise the quality of work with popularization—all this is applicable not only to industry but also to other economic and cultural undertakings, and to the technical and cultural revolutions as a whole. All Party and state functionaries must acquire a deep and comprehensive understanding of the Party's general line for socialist construction and follow this line in their work. As for scientific, technical, cultural and educational workers, they must be specially taught to adhere firmly to the principle of keeping in close contact with reality, production and the masses so that they can effectively serve the socialist cause of the proletariat and promote the growth of the social productive forces.

III

The tasks of the Party at present are, on the basis of the rectification campaign, to continue to handle contradictions among the people, systematically improve the work of the state, strengthen the work of Party organizations at all levels, and work unswervingly for the implementation of the general line for socialist construction.

As mentioned above, the rectification campaign which started in May 1957 has achieved great results. But, we would be making a big mistake to become dizzy with the successes already won and think that now everything is all right. We must not overlook the fact that the development of the campaign is not even. In some units, some places and among some people, it has not been carried out thoroughly enough, it has not got down to the roots of things. In some units, styles of work marked by bureaucracy, commandism, sectarianism and subjectivism have not been shaken; there are even cases where leading positions are still occupied by bourgeois rightists and rotten elements; and the initiative of the masses is still being hampered. Even in places where the campaign has been carried out fairly thoroughly, not all the problems brought up by the masses that must be solved have received satisfactory solutions. The leading organizations must undertake a thorough check-up, make energetic efforts to strengthen weaker units, give serious consideration to the suggestions of the masses, and persist in carrying through the rectification campaign to complete victory.

The central task of the rectification campaign is to handle correctly the contradictions among the people and improve human relations in socialist labour and all other group activities. We have in the main accomplished the socialist transformation of the means of production, which is the prerequisite for changing the relationships between men. In a society where exploitation of man by man exists, such as in economic organizations under Kuomintang rule, there is antagonism between the exploiters and the exploited, and class antagonisms are also reflected in the relations between the ordinary administrative personnel and actual producers, between the ordinary brain workers and manual workers. With the carrying out of socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, these antagonisms have been transformed in the main and a comradely relationship of mutual aid and co-operation is shaping up between the administrative personnel and brain workers on the one hand and the rank and file on

the other. However, many of the administrative personnel and brain workers have not yet learned to treat the masses on a footing of complete equality; they have not yet done away with some survivals of the working style of the Kuomintang and still have certain bureaucratic airs. This makes it difficult for them to gain the full confidence of the masses. This has also prevented part of the workers and peasants from taking the sort of attitude to socialist labour that befits the masters of the state and the enterprises. This state of affairs has been radically changed as a result of the rectification campaign. In many state enterprises and co-operatives, genuine comradesly mutual aid and co-operation develops successfully between the administrative personnel and brain workers and the masses, the advantages of socialist production relations are given full play, and thereby the productive forces of society are further released.

The present task is to effect a thorough and systematic readjustment in the relationships between people, rooting out the capitalist and feudal survivals of bygone days and building completely new socialist relations, not only in all our enterprises and co-operatives, but in all government and popular organizations, schools, and in every walk of life. All functionaries (and first of all those who are members of the Communist Party) must, irrespective of their position or seniority, get rid of their bureaucratic airs, behave like ordinary labouring people, treat their subordinates and the rank and file as real equals, and make them feel that you are one of them and that you have given your hearts to them, in a word, be at one with the masses. The leading personnel at all levels must go down to the lower levels of administration and out among the masses. The system under which leading personnel at the national, provincial, and autonomous region levels spend one-third of their time each year at the lower levels of administration and among the masses must be carried through.

The rectification campaign must also be carried through to the end in the People's Liberation Army. The People's Liberation Army is the defender as well as builder of the cause of socialism. It has a glorious tradition of industry, bravery, hard work and plain living, and of forging close ties with the masses. Thanks to the rectification campaign, this glorious tradition has been further developed. The relations between the higher and lower ranks in the army, between officers and men and between the army and the people have become still closer and the leadership of Party committees of various levels over army units has been strengthened. Earnest efforts must be made to consolidate all these achievements of the rectification cam-

paign. The Central Committee of the Party and the local Party committees must further strengthen their leadership over military work, pay attention to political work in the army, military training, and the work of the militia. They should look into these things several times a year. This will greatly help raise the political and military qualities of the army, thereby helping to strengthen our national defence, and the cause of liberating Taiwan and defending peace.

In those enterprises, offices, organizations, schools and army units where reforms have been carried out, the rectification campaign will soon enter the fourth stage when each individual studies documents, and undertakes self-criticism and self-examination so as to raise his own ideological level. During this stage, all cadres, and those who are Party members in particular, must seriously study the Party's policies and its style of work, sum up the gains derived from the rectification campaign, examine the shortcomings in their thinking and work, undertake criticism and self-criticism so as to raise their own level of political understanding, and further strengthen unity within the Party and unity between the Party and the masses. Leading cadres at the county level and above and those at the battalion level and above should pay special attention to studying the Party's general line for socialist construction and the Marxist-Leninist ways of thinking and doing things.

A positive attitude must be taken towards the rectification campaign among the national bourgeoisie, the bourgeois intelligentsia and the various democratic parties and groups; they must be given help in educating and remoulding themselves. A thoroughgoing rectification campaign among these people will result in the further consolidation of the people's democratic united front, which is led by the Communist Party, on the new basis of serving socialism. It will enable the people's democratic united front to continue to play its part in the life of the state, and the democratic parties to co-exist for a long period of time with the Communist Party and exercise mutual supervision in meeting the needs of the new society.

Of course, it is impossible to resolve all contradictions through one single rectification campaign. To build a socialist and communist society, we must not only wipe out all the old systems of exploitation and oppression of man by man, but also utterly eliminate obsolete ideas and habits which are derived from and served these old systems; we must eliminate bourgeois ideology and foster proletarian ideology, that is to say, eventually eliminate all vestiges of the exploiting classes and exploiting systems from the minds of the people. This is a much

more difficult task than that of eliminating the exploiting classes economically. It can be accomplished only through a long and complicated process of education and struggle. As to other contradictions among the working people outside this scope, such as those between the right and the wrong, between the advanced and the backward, they will always exist and must be resolved continually as they arise. Progress will be made in the process of resolving them. Therefore it is undoubtedly wrong to imagine that a single rectification campaign can settle all questions at a single stroke and that there will be no more twists and turns or ups and downs in the struggle. That is why from now on the method of the rectification campaign, the method of criticism and self-criticism through full and frank airing of views, great debates and posting *tatsepao* must be made the regular method of reforming ideology and improving work. All-round rectification campaigns should be launched at set intervals to handle systematically the contradictions among the people and other contradictions that may have come to light at that time.

Under all circumstances, a strict distinction must be drawn between the methods used to handle contradictions among the people and those used to handle contradictions between the enemy and ourselves. So far as ideological problems among the people are concerned, no matter whether it is a case of a few against the many, or of the many against a few, they must be tackled by means of persuasion and education, not by means of force and coercion. In the fields of culture and academic studies we must continue to carry out the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend." This is a method, a scientific Marxist method, of promoting constant progress and advance in the sciences and arts. It is also a method of resolving contradictions among the people. As to the utterances and activities of those who aim to undermine socialism and restore capitalism, we have never sanctioned such utterances and activities, because they are not permitted under the socialist system. But we allow the anti-socialist poisonous weeds to grow and confront the people with contrasts, so that by way of comparison, the people can see clearly what they really are, and roused to indignation, rally together to uproot them. In this way, the fighting ability of the masses will be tempered and it will open up bright prospects for the socialist blossoming of a hundred flowers. This policy has been publicly announced. It was followed in the past and will be followed in the future. The existence of poisonous weeds is an objective phenomena. They will keep cropping up ten thousand years hence. But the poisonous weeds which will emerge in the far

distant future will not wear the stamp of class struggle as they do now. Since poisonous weeds exist objectively, if we did not allow them to grow as they are, they would have appeared in disguise, and poisoned the people in secret. We had better tell them openly: "Poisonous weeds are illegal, they've got to be uprooted when they grow. But we do not stop you from sprouting if you want to. Whoever wants to come out and fight, let them do so!" This policy has proved very effective. Large numbers of poisonous weeds furiously attacked the people, and were uprooted by them. Those which have not been uprooted have learned nothing from those which have been eradicated; they still come out and fight. They will certainly come out if they are given the chance, and we shall have to uproot them again. To uproot poisonous weeds is a question between the enemy and ourselves. To let a hundred flowers blossom is a question among the people. These are two different kinds of contradictions and there are two different methods of handling them. The reactionary rightists of the bourgeoisie claimed to be one of the hundred socialist flowers. But that was simply a fraud. They can't be recognized as such.

In improving the work of the state, the most important task at the moment is to find quick and correct solutions to the problem of combining centralization with decentralization. As I said before, this is at present a key problem in carrying out the Party's general line for socialist construction. Local authorities should be allowed greater scope so that construction in all fields throughout the country can develop along the line of achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results, and the central government departments can concentrate upon the things they should assume responsibility for. This principle was put forward by Comrade Mao Tse-tung back in April 1956 in his report on "Ten Sets of Relationships." In actual work, we commenced to carry out this principle, but until quite recently it was being carried out very slowly and not at all thoroughly. In accordance with the discussions at the Nanning and Chengtu conferences convoked by the Central Committee of the Party in the spring of this year, from now on, with the exception of some special, key enterprises or enterprises of an experimental nature, all enterprises formerly run and managed by the various ministries under the State Council will, as a rule, be handed over to the local authorities and placed under their management. Light industries will be handed over to the local authorities first; later, heavy industries will gradually be handed over. Authority to run other economic undertakings, as well as cultural, educational, political and judicial affairs will also be

handed over to the local authorities. The central authorities must see to it that the initiative of the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions is brought into full play; on their part, the latter must see to it that the initiative of the special administrative regions, autonomous *chou*, counties, autonomous counties and townships is brought into full play.

With the improvement in the managerial system, the forward leap in production and construction and the raising of the political consciousness of the masses, existing rules and regulations governing economic and other work must be improved thoroughly and systematically. The experience of the rectification campaign shows that many of these rules and regulations are necessary and suitable, but that there are also quite a few which are wholly superfluous or even breed waste and conservatism, hamper the initiative of the local authorities and the masses and hinder the carrying out of the general line for socialist construction. Our task is thus to mobilize the masses to make an over-all examination of all existing rules and regulations in the light of the policy of building socialism by achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results, by means of full and frank airing of views and great debates so that things may be dealt with in a discerning way after a serious study has been made of the opinions voiced by the masses. Those parts of existing rules and regulations which are necessary and justifiable should be preserved; the rest should be revoked or revised, or replaced by new ones suited to local conditions and current needs, which should be introduced to other places after an experimental phase. Improvement of rules and regulations is a work of great importance; the various regions and departments must devote a certain amount of time and manpower to it and, while doing so, concretely solve urgent problems so as to keep the high tide of production and construction rolling.

One of the important questions of the day which must claim our attention is the continued streamlining of state organs, enterprises and undertakings, improvement of organization and management of labour and the reform of irrational rules and regulations in these fields. Since being streamlined last year, many state-owned and joint state and private enterprises, building, transport and commercial enterprises, and other undertakings and state organs have overcome in great measure the overlapping and overstaffing which resulted from previous defects in the allocation of labour power and management of labour. But this problem has not yet been completely settled. There are even cases where workers and employees who have not done any work at all over long periods are still kept on the payroll.

Such cases of waste of manpower and funds, which amount to expropriation of the fruits of other people's labour, are impermissible. We must, while improving the managerial system and rules and regulations, further streamline our organizations and use every possible rational means to raise the rate of utilization of labour power and labour productivity. We must promptly transfer redundant workers and employees to other jobs, so that not a single working day is wasted, and everyone who has some ability can be properly engaged in production or other useful work.

On condition that production is expanded and the living standards of the people are steadily improved, the proportion of funds in the national income going to accumulation should be suitably increased both in state and collective economies so that we can build socialism with greater and faster results. State policies in regard to wages, subsidies, welfare, bonuses, prices, taxes and profits must take state, collective and individual interests into account. Certain reasonable differentials between the living standards of workers and peasants, between living standards in city and countryside, and between the wages for various trades, technical grades and localities are necessary, but unreasonable and excessive differences must be avoided. Measures suited to conditions in the rural and semi-rural regions must be worked out in regard to wages, labour insurance and welfare in enterprises run by the counties and administrative units below the county level; the measures now in force in big enterprises in big cities should not be mechanically applied here.

Both the rectification campaign and improvements in the work of the state are aimed at making the superstructure meet the needs of the economic base, and the relations of production meet the needs of the development of productive forces. Therefore, these efforts must, directly or indirectly, result in the development of production and construction and, first of all, in the successes of great forward leaps in production and construction this year. This year is the first year of the Second Five-Year Plan, the first of three years of hard struggle; it is also the first of the fifteen years in which we are to catch up with Britain. Our achievements this year will be an important gauge of the success of the rectification campaign and the general line for socialist construction, and everybody is watching. So, we must pay great attention to the work of this year and try to do it well. The important thing here is that the leadership must really be in the van of the masses, in the van of the movement, and not lag behind them. The masses are now very enthusiastic; this is the main thing we must rely on if we are to make all our undertakings advance rapidly. We

must set great store by this enthusiasm, and never throw cold water on it. Leaders, however, must combine revolutionary enthusiasm with business-like sense. They must be able not only to put forward advanced targets but also to adopt effective measures in time to ensure the realization of the targets. They must not indulge in empty talk and bluff. The targets we put forward should be those that can be reached with hard work. Do not lightly publicize as plan that which is not really attainable, lest failure dampen the enthusiasm of the masses and delight the conservatives. Allowance should be made for difficulties and shortcomings and care should always be taken in the course of the work to uncover difficulties and shortcomings and, without exaggerating or minimizing them, and by working together with the masses overcome them, by every possible means and in a realistic manner. If this is done, we shall surely achieve very great things in our work, unless exceptionally severe natural calamities or other accidents intervene.

The guarantee of success in all our work of socialist construction is the Party's correct leadership. The Central Committee of the Party and local Party committees at all levels must be the leading core of the government at all levels. In the past few years, the leadership of the Party concentrated its efforts mainly on the socialist revolution. While we shall continue to pay attention to this work, we now can and must concentrate greater efforts on socialist construction. Party committees at all levels must give the same resolute leadership to socialist construction and the technical and cultural revolutions as they have been giving the democratic and socialist revolutions. The mistaken tendency among some people both inside and outside the Party to think that the Party cannot lead construction work, or work in the fields of science and technology, culture and education must be thoroughly corrected.

In the period of socialist construction, the period of technical and cultural revolutions, the Party cadres must have a real understanding of their jobs and the necessary knowledge in science and technology to guide the work properly. All Party cadres must put themselves to work on "experimental plots," since this is a good method of combining political work with professional activities and enabling the cadres to keep in close touch with the masses. Naturally, while paying attention to technique and one's own speciality, one must never ignore politics. We must neither become shallow "politicians" who know nothing about their jobs, nor "practical men of business" who have lost their bearings. To be both "red" and "expert"—this is the way of progress for intellectuals and technicians

throughout the country; this is also the way of progress for all Party cadres at all levels.

Ideological and political work is always the soul and guide of every kind of work. In every case, abandonment or neglect of ideological and political work by the Party will divorce us from the masses and lead us astray. In the past few years, among leading cadres in the field of construction, we have seen, on the one hand, the shortcomings of not being well versed in their jobs or not trying to learn about them, while, on the other hand, there has also been a tendency to ignore ideological and political work although they have learned their jobs. It should be realized that machines are made and operated by men, and materials are produced only through the efforts of men. It is man that counts; the subjective initiative of the masses is a mighty driving force. To ignore this great driving force will run counter to Marxism-Leninism. Some people say that ideological and political work can produce neither grain nor coal or iron. This is like failing to see the wood for the trees. One may ask: Have we not produced more grain, coal and iron by formulating and carrying out correct political lines, by correctly handling contradictions among the people, and by raising the socialist consciousness of the workers and arousing the enthusiasm of the masses, and are we not going to produce more and more by so doing?

Party committees at all levels must pay attention to ideological trends inside and outside the Party, strengthen ideological and political work, pay attention to theoretical problems, seriously study the line and policies of the Party and put a firm stop to the vulgar habit which has prevailed hitherto in many places and departments, of talking about professional matters only and ignoring ideological problems. Party committees at all levels must pay attention to work in connection with the press, the school education and culture, and must regard as a major political task the fostering and training of an army of working-class intellectuals and Marxist-Leninist theoreticians.

Marxism-Leninism is the theoretical foundation on which all the work of our Party is based. The whole Party must learn to apply Marxism-Leninism and dialectical materialism to practical work, and thoroughly oppose any tendency to doctrinairism and empiricism. Doctrinairism and empiricism are forms of subjectivism and metaphysics which are divorced from practice and from the masses; they hinder people from acquiring the ability to analyse and sum up experience, to distinguish between the essence and the outward appearance of things, between the main trend and side issues and thus make

them prone to commit political mistakes. We must free ourselves completely from the shackles of doctrinairism and empiricism, and foster a lively and active growth of our minds and our work. We must respect the practical deeds of the masses, their revolutionary drive and creative spirit; and this means respect for materialism and dialectics. We must learn from Comrade Mao Tse-tung and from many other comrades who keep in close contact with the masses (including the many leaders of the Party at the central, provincial, special administrative regional, county and township levels and among the masses). We must follow their examples in invariably applying Marxism-Leninism, dialectics, and materialism to practical work, in combining the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the actual practice of the Chinese revolution, and combining a serious and principled stand with a lively, creative spirit, in identifying themselves with the millions, seeing the correct direction, grasping the truth, and throwing themselves into the struggle for that truth, dauntlessly braving all difficulties.

We are now in a great period in the history of our country, the period of development by leaps and bounds. Our Party and our country now need a host of people who think, speak and act with courage and daring, who dare to topple the old idols, to make innovations and create new things, who dare to uphold the truth, conquer ever new positions for the truth and raise the banner of progress and revolution. Only by relying on such people can we lead the people of the whole country in making one forward leap after another and complete the great work of socialist construction by achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results.

For more than a hundred years our country suffered from the oppression of foreign aggressors which made us backward in many respects. Although China has been liberated and has made rapid advances in every field, the mentality of quite a few of our people still bears the imprint of the oppressed, their minds are still filled with all kinds of shibboleths, fears and feelings of inferiority. Instead of exerting their utmost efforts, they are apathetic, and instead of pressing ahead consistently, they are resigned to backwardness. The proletariat and the people's militants must rid themselves lock, stock and barrel of such states of mind; they should cultivate the noble way of firmly believing in the truth, resolutely relying on the masses and being fearless of any authority. We must remember that modesty helps one to make progress whereas conceit makes one lag behind. But the practical modesty we advocate has nothing to do with any

sense of inferiority. We have a population of more than 600 million and our Party has ties of flesh and blood with this vast population. By relying on this great force we can, or soon can, do anything within the realms of human possibility. It is true that for the time being this population of 600 million and more is economically poor and culturally is like a clean sheet of white paper. But what does this matter to Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries? Comrade Mao Tse-tung has put it well: "In addition to other characteristics, our more than 600 million people are characterized by poverty and 'whiteness.' This appears to be a bad thing, but in fact it is a good thing. Poor people want to change, to work hard and make a revolution. A clean sheet of white paper has nothing written on it and is therefore well suited for writing the newest and most beautiful words on and for drawing the newest and most beautiful pictures." Isn't this a fact? Our 600 million and more people have already far surpassed the most advanced capitalist countries in the West in the speed of the upsurge of their revolutionary consciousness and of the victories of their revolutionary struggles and will definitely far surpass them too in the speed of economic and cultural growth. In history, it is always the newcomers who outstrip the old, always the new-born things, which for a time appear weak and small but represent what is progressive, that defeat the moribund things, which appear powerful but represent what is conservative. Within a very short historical period we shall certainly leave every capitalist country in the world far behind us. And so, shouldn't we have confidence in ourselves and discard everything that smacks of superstition, fear and feelings of inferiority?

The inevitable victory of our cause is also grounded in the fraternal aid of the countries in the socialist camp headed by the great Soviet Union—which is internationally the most important factor in our favour. We shall continue to draw on the advanced experience of the Soviet Union and other countries, continue to strengthen mutual assistance and co-operation with the other countries in the socialist camp and, shoulder to shoulder with our fraternal parties in all countries, raise still higher the banner of Marxism-Leninism and reinforce the militant solidarity of the international communist movement. We resolutely support the peace proposals of the Soviet Union, the efforts of the peoples of all lands to safeguard peace, and all national movements which oppose aggression, defend their sovereign rights and seek independence. The struggles of the people of all countries support our cause and through our work we in turn support the people of all countries.

Comrades! Let us, on the basis of the Party's general line for socialist construction, strengthen ceaselessly the unity of the entire Party and unity between the Party and all the people. Let us strengthen ceaselessly our solidarity with the Soviet Union and other countries in the socialist camp and with all the peoples of the world in the common cause of peace, democracy and socialism. Victory will surely be ours!

MESSAGE OF GREETINGS TO THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF DELEGATES FROM OUTSTANDING UNITS IN BUILDING SOCIALISM IN AGRICULTURE

December 25, 1958

Comrades:

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, I warmly greet the National Conference of Delegates from Outstanding Units in Building Socialism in Agriculture, the peasants and agricultural workers who have won great victories through diligent labour on the agricultural front.

This year, socialist construction has made an overall big leap forward on every fighting front and created an upsurge in technological and cultural revolutions. The output of such principal products as iron and steel, machinery, coal, foodgrains and cotton has increased 100 percent or more from 1957. We have also attained great achievements on the cultural, education and public health fronts. During the year, people's communes have spread fast and smoothly throughout the rural area. In the construction of water conservancy projects, comparatively all-round, systematic experience has been created, which opens the way to the comprehensive use of our water resources and the complete elimination of flooding and drought. Ordinary flooding and drought can now already be nullified in many areas. In agriculture, we have found the path of the development of production at a high speed, begun to change the backwardness of agriculture and reduplicate the output of food crops, cotton and some other farm products. It must be considered a great achievement that the

Liu Shao-ch'i delivered this message on December 25, 1958, as Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. The text is translated *Jen-min Jih-pao* (人民日報, People's Daily), December 26, 1958, p. 1. A partial translation appears in *Hsinhua News Agency Release* (December 26, 1958), pp. 10-11.

annual output of food crops has reached about 600 kilogrammes per head in a big country such as ours with so vast a population.

The accomplishments we have made in this year's industrial and agricultural big leap forward are the fruits of victory won in the Party's rectification campaign and anti-rightists struggle; they are the results of the implementation of the Party's general line for socialist construction and the fruits of the solidarity and mutual assistance among the countries of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union. These accomplishments are eloquent proof of the great vitality and boundless superiority of socialism. The more frenzied the attack of the reactionary bourgeoisie of imperialist countries on the leap forward in China, the Soviet Union and the whole socialist camp, the more it proves that our victory has actually dealt a very severe blow to them, and the gloomier their future appears to the whole world.

Our achievements have been great. But we should by no means be conceited. Our tasks ahead are still arduous and heavy. Not long ago, the Sixth Plenum of the Eighth Central Committee laid down certain principal targets for industrial and agricultural production in 1959 based on an overall estimate and the big leap forward of 1958, forwarded the task of checking over and consolidating people's communes and pointed out the tremendous prospect for the development of agricultural production. It was resolved: In agriculture, we should realize, step by step, farming with the finesse of gardening, and mechanization and electrification in the process of production; we must strive to have an average of 1,000 to 1,500 kilogrammes of foodgrains for each person per year within a short period of time; we should increase the proportion of oil-bearing crops, hemp and other industrial crops in total agricultural production and increase the production of meat, vegetables and other secondary agricultural products; and we must carry out a great revolution in the fields of agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, secondary production, and fishery, like in the field of industry, so as to thoroughly change the appearance of the whole agricultural front. It goes without saying that in order to fulfil the great tasks of 1959 demands continuous and persistent effort by all the people throughout the country. Next year will be decisive in the context of battling hard for three years. We must strive to achieve a still greater, better and more wide-spread leap forward.

To fulfil next year's tasks smoothly, and work for a complete transformation on the agricultural front within a comparatively short period, it is necessary to continue to strengthen socialist and Communist education and develop the Communist spirit among

the people; it is necessary to carry forward the struggle against rightward tending conservatism in all its different forms so that the people will always keep up their vigorous militancy and exert their utmost energy. It must be realized that it will be impossible to ensure satisfactory implementation of the Party's general line for socialist construction and to more rapidly build our country into a socialist nation with highly developed modern industry, modern agriculture and science and culture without the universal heightening of the masses' political consciousness and without increasing their revolutionary enthusiasm.

Chairman Mao has told us that to carry out our tasks, we must combine our revolutionary enthusiasm with a scientific spirit in all our work. Regardless of whether it is in our work of checking over and consolidating people's communes, in production arrangements, in the allocation of labour or in popularizing new farming techniques or reforming farm implements, we must make deep going investigations and studies, work out practical plans and formulate concrete, feasible measures and do our work in a more and more careful way. Storming vigour is not to be displayed in the fulfilment of targets from subjective desires but to be shown in true achievements attained by working strenuously, perseveringly and resourcefully. Any boastful formalist working style is incompatible with the Communist manner and will only be detrimental to our undertakings.

Attending this conference are some enthusiasts in the Campaigns for the Elimination of Four Pests and for the Promotion of Public Health. On the public health front, 1958 witnessed important accomplishments. However, our arduous tasks are far from finished. We must now sum up and popularize the successful experience gained in 1958, continue and extend mass campaigning, insist on the principle of uniting all medical workers and thoroughly applying the policy of closely combining traditional and Western medicine and linking the experts with the masses, strive within the next few years to wipe out the "four evils" and eliminate the most malignant diseases and greatly raise the level of public health in our country.

Obviously, all the successes in our work are inseparable from the leadership given by the Communist Party, and the Party's working method of the mass line. Peasants have well said, "Of the thousand and tens of thousands of ways and means, the Party's leadership is the foremost; of the thousand and tens of thousands of plans, the mass line is the topmost." Delegates! You are the advanced workers on the agricultural front, and you are the backbone and the enthusiasts of the people's communes. You must have deeply realized

in your work that once you are aloof at any time from the Party's leadership and from the masses, you can accomplish nothing. All people are now aware of the importance of "politics in command." With "politics in command" comes the vigor and the way. Essentially, "politics in command" means insistence on leadership by the Party and the correct carrying out of the Party's mass line.

At present, our undertakings are developing as if at a speed of one thousand *li* a day. The work of the people's communes is more extensive and more complicated than that of the agricultural producers' cooperatives. To tackle the work of communes requires everyone to study the Party's programme and line more satisfactorily and to carry out the Party's policy correctly and form closer ties with the masses. At present the central task in the rural areas is seriously to check over and consolidate the people's communes in combination with winter production. In checking over and consolidating the communes a high level of democracy must be practiced, and the masses must be consulted in all matters and their opinions listened to with modesty. To run the people's communes well, the mass line must be carried out thoroughly. The people's communes are no longer simply organizers of production among the people. They are organizers of the life of the people. Therefore, we must rely on the people not only to manage production well and fulfil the various other tasks, but also to take serious care of the people's daily life, properly arranging time for labour, study, rest and recreation, to exert every effort to run the dining rooms, the nurseries, the old folk homes and the other welfare amenities really well.

Delegates! You have already attained great achievements at your respective posts. We hope that you will not only strive to retain the titles of being advanced persons and units, but also try to help other individuals and other units raise to an advanced level. The Central Committee believes that all the comrades attending the conference today will certainly, together with the people of the whole nation and under the leadership of the Party and the great leader of the Party and the people, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, continue to make greater contributions to building socialism in the motherland. Let us wish our comrades success in their work hereafter and a successful conference.

LETTER TO CHAIRMAN JOHANNES DIECKMANN

March 23, 1959

I have the honour to receive your letter of February 3, 1959 on the problem of the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany and the statements issued on January 21, 1959, by the Parliamentary Party Groups of the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic and by the Government of the German Democratic Republic in connection with the proposal of the Soviet Government for the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany.

I have closely studied these two documents and fully support the solemn and just stand expressed in the two documents on the problem of the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany.

Just as pointed out in the statement of the Parliamentary Party Group of the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic: "the conclusion of a peace treaty will lead to an extensive relaxation of tension in the heart of Europe and provide a firm guarantee to the security in Europe."

I believe that you have already known that the Government of the People's Republic of China in its statement of January 21, 1959, and its note to the Soviet Government dated March 19, 1959, has clearly and definitely expressed its full support to the proposals of the Government of the Soviet Union for the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany. Now in the name of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China, I once again assure you that the Chinese people fully support the proposal put forward by the Government of the Soviet Union on

Liu Shao-ch'i, as Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of the Chinese People's Republic, sent this letter to Johannes Dieckmann, Chairman of the Presidium of the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic, in response to the latter's letter of February 3, 1959. The text is taken from *Hsinhua News Agency Release* (March 25, 1959), p. 13.

January 10, 1959, on the convening of a peace conference to discuss and conclude a peace treaty with Germany. I am deeply convinced that the sacred cause of the German people for the peaceful reunification of their fatherland with the universal support of all the peace-loving people throughout the world, will be crowned with final victory.

With the loftiest regards.

THE VICTORY OF MARXISM-LENINISM IN CHINA

September 14, 1959

Ten years have passed since the founding of the great People's Republic of China.

The Chinese revolution is the continuation of the great October Revolution. The great October Revolution opened up a new era in human history and began to change the face of the world. The success of the Soviet Union in building socialism, the victory of the anti-fascist world war in which the Soviet Union was the main force, and the founding of many socialist states in Europe and Asia, all demonstrate the irresistible historical law of the rise of socialism and the decline of capitalism. The victory of the Chinese revolution further changed the face of the world. The Chinese revolution made a very big breach on the imperialist front in the East and dealt a fatal blow to the imperialist colonial system. New China joined the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union, China and the other socialist countries form the big socialist family of unity and friendship which embraces one-third of the world's population and extends over a vast, compact landmass in Europe and Asia. The Chinese revolution has a great attraction for peoples in all the backward countries that have suffered, or are suffering, from imperialist oppression. They feel that they should also be able to do what the Chinese have done. All this clearly shows that there has been a new change in the relative strengths of capitalism and socialism in the world.

Liu Shao-ch'i, as Chairman of the People's Republic of China wrote this article for the *World Marxist Review (Problems of Peace and Socialism)* under the title "The Triumph of Marxism-Leninism in China" in celebration of the tenth anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China. The text is taken from *The Victory of Marxism-Leninism in China*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1959.

The victory of the Chinese revolution has brought about the thorough liberation of China's social productive forces and has enabled China's socialist construction to advance at top speed, thus effecting rapid changes in the poverty and backwardness of China.

In the first three years following the liberation of the whole country, from 1950 to 1952, China successfully completed the task of rehabilitating the national economy and raised its industrial and agricultural production generally up to and beyond the highest levels ever achieved in old China. From 1953 to 1957 the Chinese people carried out the First Five-Year Plan, which increased the total value of industrial output by 141 per cent, of agricultural output by 25 per cent, and raised the proportion of modern industry in the national economy from 26.7 per cent in 1952 to 40 per cent in 1957. The fulfilment of the First Five-Year Plan laid the preliminary foundation of China's industrialization. In 1958 we began to implement the Second Five-Year Plan. The big leap in the national economy took place in this year. The total value of industrial output rose by 66 per cent and the total value of agricultural output increased by 25 per cent over 1957. On the basis of last year's big leap forward, this year is witnessing a continued leap forward. Compared with 1958, it is planned that this year the total value of industrial and agricultural production will increase by 20 per cent, the increase in the total value of industrial output being 25.6 per cent and that of agricultural output 10 per cent. The planned output of major industrial and agricultural products such as steel, coal, metallurgical equipment, electric power generating equipment, metal-cutting machine tools, cotton yarn, timber, grain and cotton will all fulfil, overfulfil or nearly fulfil their respective 1962 targets originally set in the Second Five-Year Plan. China's lightning speed in developing its social productive forces cannot be matched by any capitalist country and it certainly could never be dreamed of in old China.

Marx's saying that "revolutions are the locomotives of history"* is absolutely correct. In China, without the democratic revolution that overthrew imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, without the socialist revolution that abolished the capitalist system, there could be no rapid progress of modern industry, modern agriculture and modern science and culture; no situation as the one that prevails today when the people of the whole country are working for the cause of socialism and communism vigorously and resolutely.

*K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1951, Vol. I, p. 198.

Revolution has brought the Chinese people boundless hope and an extremely brilliant future.

The victory of the Chinese people in the past ten years is the victory of Marxism-Leninism, the victory of the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and the victory of the general lines of the Chinese Communist Party for democratic revolution, for socialist revolution and for socialist construction.

During the period of China's democratic revolution, Comrade Mao Tse-tung repeatedly expounded the idea that "the whole Chinese revolutionary movement led by the Chinese Communist Party is a complete revolutionary movement embracing the two revolutionary stages, democratic and socialist We can give correct leadership to the Chinese revolution only on the basis of a clear understanding of both the differences between the democratic and socialist revolutions and their interconnections."* On the one hand, the right opportunists in the Chinese revolution, like the Russian Mensheviks, set up a "Great Wall" between the democratic and socialist revolutions, failed to see the interconnections of the two revolutions and the possible prospect, during the democratic revolution, of transforming it into a socialist revolution. On the other hand, the "left" opportunists, like the Russian Trotskyites, confused the distinction between the democratic and socialist revolutions and would eliminate the bourgeoisie and carry out the tasks of the socialist revolution in the stage of the democratic revolution. Both of these two erroneous tendencies cost the Chinese revolution dearly. Contrary to "left" and right opportunism, the correct policy represented by Comrade Mao Tse-tung in guiding the Chinese revolution was: on the one hand, by following the Marxist-Leninist theory of revolutionary development by stages, a clear distinction was made between the revolutionary tasks of the two stages, the democratic and socialist revolutions; on the other hand, by following the Marxist-Leninist theory of uninterrupted revolution, the two revolutions were closely linked together and every means was sought during the stage of democratic revolution to create the conditions for the future realization of socialist revolution, so that the struggles of the socialist revolution could be waged without interruption immediately after the nationwide victory of the democratic revolution.

The firm grasping of the hegemony in the democratic revolution by the proletariat through the Communist Party is the key to ensuring

**Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Lawrence & Wishart, London, 1954, Vol. III, p. 101.

the thorough victory of the democratic revolution and the successful switch-over from the democratic revolution to the socialist revolution. None of the Chinese bourgeois political parties could put forward a thorough anti-imperialist and anti-feudal programme, could carry the Chinese democratic revolution to the end. Our Party's general line in leading the democratic revolution was to unite all the forces that could be united and thoroughly carry out the struggle against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism under the leadership of the proletariat and on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance. This general line is summed up and defined by Comrade Mao Tse-tung as "the revolution of the masses of people, led by the proletariat, to oppose imperialism, feudalism and bureau crat-capitalism."*

China was a big, backward country. Over 80 per cent of her people lived in the rural areas; 70 per cent of this rural population were poor peasants and farm labourers. The peasant question was the central question in our democratic revolution. The rule of reaction in old China was extremely barbarous. The masses of the people had no rights whatsoever. Progressive revolutionaries were subject to mass arrests and execution. In the democratic revolutionary period, the Chinese Communist Party, therefore, went deep into the villages and for 22 years led the armed revolutionary struggle which used the villages to encircle the cities. What the Party adopted was the mass line policy of resolutely relying on the peasants' political consciousness and organized strength, mobilizing the peasants to save themselves, to overthrow the landlords, to acquire land and safeguard the land (this policy of the Party was carried out continuously up to the land reform after the founding of the People's Republic of China); not the contrary bourgeois policy of "bestowing" land on the peasants as a favour. This enabled the Party to build powerful and reliable revolutionary bastions in the rural areas, to build up the revolutionary army and revolutionary bases, gradually raise the revolutionary enthusiasm and revolutionary discipline of the broad masses of impoverished peasants close to the level of the revolutionary proletariat, and receive from them the continuous supply of manpower and material reserves needed by the Party and the people's army led by the Party. By depending on rural revolutionary bases the Chinese Communist Party waged the revolutionary war, and carried out land reform and economic and cultural construction in rural revolutionary bases. Essentially these were great, protracted and recurrent rehearsals in preparation for the nationwide victory. These rehearsals

*From *Talk at the Conference of Cadres from Shansi and Suiyuan*.

educated the masses, tempered the army, stored up revolutionary strength, trained the cadres and enabled the Party's leadership to acquire rich experience in all fields.

With the establishment of the closest alliance between the proletariat and the peasant masses in the democratic revolution, we were able to solve the question of forming a revolutionary united front with the national bourgeoisie in a correct way. Taking China's specific conditions into consideration, we properly distinguished between the two sections of the Chinese bourgeoisie: One was the bourgeoisie of bureaucrats and compradors who were the tools of imperialism, defenders of feudalism and its allies and the vicious enemy of the national democratic revolution against whom resolute struggles must be waged. The other was the national bourgeoisie, who, oppressed and pushed around by imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, desired an independent development of the nation's economy and therefore it was possible for them to join the revolution or stay neutral in the revolution. But they were also weak-kneed, had the dual character of being revolutionary as well as reactionary, and often took a wavering middle-of-the-road position. This made it necessary for us, on the one hand, to unite with them under certain conditions to carry on the revolution against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism; and on the other hand, also to struggle against their proneness to compromises. By putting such a united front policy into practice, we realized our aim of expanding the revolutionary forces, winning over the middle-of-the-road forces and isolating the reactionary forces; solidly preserved the hegemony of the proletariat in the revolution and rallied the broadest possible masses of the people.

During the period of democratic revolution in China, neither the right opportunists, who severed the connections between the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution, nor the "left" opportunists, who mixed the two up, understood how great the significance of the peasant question was for our revolutionary cause; therefore, they were not able to handle the question of the bourgeoisie correctly. The right opportunists pursued a policy of capitulation towards the bourgeoisie and regarded the democratic revolution mainly as the concern of the bourgeoisie. They did not rely on the worker-peasant alliance, but mainly on the united front with the bourgeoisie, and only united with them without waging the necessary struggles. In doing so they gave up the hegemony of the proletariat, thus causing the defeat of the revolution and serious setbacks to the cause of the proletariat and the broad masses when the bourgeoisie betrayed the revolution. Even when the conditions for the victory of the revolution

were ripe and it was necessary to seize the opportunity to wage a decisive struggle, the right opportunists did not have the courage to strive for victory and even tried to prevent victory. The "left" opportunists did not feel like uniting with all sorts of petty-bourgeois masses and the national bourgeoisie; they wrongly regarded the middle-of-the-road forces as the main target of their blows and denied the necessity and possibility of uniting with, or neutralizing, the various middle-of-the-road forces in the democratic revolution. They only waged struggles against the national bourgeoisie, did not properly unite with them and still less were they willing to concentrate the fire against the main enemy by exploiting the concrete contradictions among the enemies. This, too, resulted in abandoning the hegemony of the proletariat, leaving the proletariat to carry on the struggle single-handed and rendering it impossible for the revolution to gain victory. The "left" opportunists and the right opportunists had one thing in common: both of them ignored the revolutionary urge and perseverance of the peasants and, during the reign of reaction, denied that we could hold on in the countryside, establish revolutionary bases there and finally succeed in seizing the cities by encircling them from the countryside. Under certain conditions, therefore, the "left" opportunists and right opportunists could change positions. For instance, Comrade Wang Ming was the main exponent of the third "leftist" line during the period of the Second Revolutionary Civil War in our country, but by the time of the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression, he became the main exponent of right opportunism.

In their struggles against "left" and right opportunism, the Chinese Marxist-Leninists, headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, have united the whole Party and have thus made the Chinese revolution progress along a correct path and achieve one revolutionary victory after another.

The victory of the people's revolution led by the Chinese Communist Party thoroughly smashed the reactionary rule of the Kuo-mintang in old China and the bureaucratic and warlord institutions it employed to oppress the people. This led to the founding of the great People's Republic in 1949 which is essentially a dictatorship of the proletariat, and thus successfully brought about the switch-over from the democratic revolution to the socialist revolution. As far as the main question of the revolution is concerned, i.e., the question of state power, the founding of the People's Republic of China marked the end of the democratic revolution and the beginning of the socialist revolution in China. While leading the democratic revolution to victory, the Chinese proletariat firmly established its political control

of the state; therefore, there was no longer any need to conduct another struggle for the seizure of state power to ensure the victory of socialism. The reason for this is that during the democratic revolution our Party never forgot for a moment that our final goal is to carry out the socialist revolution and throughout the protracted struggles of the democratic revolution it already paid close attention to the establishment and consolidation of the hegemony of the proletariat.

In March 1949, on the eve of the nationwide victory, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, speaking at the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, pointed out that after the nationwide victory of the Chinese revolution, the main external contradiction would still be the contradiction between the Chinese people and imperialism, while at home, the main contradiction between the Chinese people, on the one hand, and the landlord class and bureaucrat-capitalists, on the other, would give way to the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie, that is, the contradiction between socialism and capitalism. He also set forth a series of fundamental policies for the resolution of this contradiction. In the early years following the nationwide victory, although it was still necessary for the Chinese people to continue to carry out the tasks left over from the period of the democratic revolution, mainly the task of implementing land reform over a large part of the country to eliminate the feudal landlord class, the transition to socialism had actually begun in 1949. With the support of the broad masses of the people and the power of the state, the Chinese proletariat confiscated bureaucrat-capital, kept a firm hold on the essential economic mainsprings of the state, energetically established a powerful socialist state economy and secured its leading position in the entire national economy.

Towards the end of 1952, when the tasks of restoring the national economy and clearing away the survivals of feudalism had been in the main fulfilled, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung put forward the general line for the period of transition, that is, the general line of simultaneous development of socialist revolution and socialist construction, and set forth the task of realizing the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicraft industry, and capitalist industry and commerce step by step, throughout the country, and the task of realizing the socialist industrialization of the country step by step. This general line was put forward at the time when the Chinese people were in the thick of the great war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea. We resolutely fought the U.S. imperialists who tried to strangle New China, rallied

the entire nation and won great victories in the struggle. At the same time, on the home front, we carried on socialist transformation and construction without interruption.

This general line of the Chinese Communist Party was a line to lead Chinese society in its transition from the complicated economic structure of that time, which embraced not only socialist economy but also capitalist and individual economies, to a homogeneous socialist economic structure. At that time some people denied the necessity of the transition to socialism. They either attempted to develop capitalism in China and follow the old capitalist road, or tried to halt the revolution and preserve for a long time to come the status quo—with the socialist economy and capitalist economy existing side by side. The Marxist-Leninist general line of the Party affirmed the necessity of the transition from capitalism to socialism and thus rejected the various erroneous rightist viewpoints. At the same time, this Marxist-Leninist general line of the Party also affirmed that the transition to socialism must be gradual and that the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce must also be gradual and thus rejected the erroneous “leftist” viewpoint which hoped to make a clean sweep of capitalism overnight.

In effecting the socialist transformation of agriculture, of capitalist industry and commerce, we took a series of steps characteristic of our national peculiarities, in the light of the specific conditions in our country.

Three successive steps were taken in the socialist transformation of our agriculture. Step one: the land reform was immediately followed by the extensive development of mutual-aid organizations for collective labour on the basis of the individual economy. These mutual-aid organizations which were in the nature of embryonic socialism had already emerged in the revolutionary bases at an earlier period. Step two: this was again immediately followed by the development, on the basis of the mutual-aid movement, of agricultural producers' cooperatives with their special features of pooling the land as shares and unified management. These co-operatives were semi-socialist in nature, since the land and the principal means of production were still privately owned. We called them agricultural producers' co-operatives of the elementary type. Step three: the collectivization of the land and the principal means of production and the establishment of agricultural producers' co-operatives entirely socialist in nature, which were known as agricultural producers' co-operatives of the advanced type.

There were at one time controversies between different viewpoints within our Party on the question of agricultural co-operation.

One viewpoint was that the level of our industrialization was still very low and that we were not yet in a position to effect the mechanization of agriculture, so it was impossible and improper to introduce agricultural co-operation too soon. The facts, however, have exploded this viewpoint. We carried out the task of agricultural co-operation in the virtual absence of mechanization.

Another viewpoint was that the rapid realization of co-operation would inevitably lower agricultural production. The facts have exploded this viewpoint too. In the course of agricultural co-operation and afterwards, China's agricultural production continued to rise, and at considerable speed at that, rather than decline.

Still another viewpoint was that the realization of agricultural co-operation at such high speed would impair the unity of the peasants, or, in other words, that in addition to the rich peasants, the well-to-do middle peasants would also feel dissatisfied with us or even oppose us while only those peasants who were relatively worse off would support us. The facts have exploded this viewpoint too. Thanks to our policy of uniting with the well-to-do middle peasants and the policy of paying compensation in annual instalments to the well-to-do middle peasants who joined the co-operatives with their large farm implements and draught animals, and thanks to the rise in the production of the co-operatives year by year, the overwhelming majority of the well-to-do middle peasants were satisfied in the main with agricultural co-operation.

In short, the facts have shown that our method of "striking the iron while it is hot," setting up without delay typical examples for the rest to follow and popularizing them step by step to carry out agricultural co-operation immediately after the land reform, is a good Marxist-Leninist policy. If we had kept the revolution at a standstill after the land reform, let the spontaneous forces of capitalism in the countryside grow, and allowed the polarization of the peasantry into two extremes, we would have faced fairly strong resistance and met with much greater difficulties in carrying out agricultural co-operation at a later date.

How did we realize the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce? We did this mainly by carrying out the policy of utilizing, restricting and transforming capitalist industry and commerce, and through various forms of state capitalism, achiev-

ing the aim of socialist nationalization. Generally speaking, the initial form of state capitalism was to supply private capitalist industries with raw materials, to place orders with them for processing and manufacturing goods and let the state enterprises exclusively purchase and market their goods. As to private capitalist commercial enterprises, they were allowed to serve as retail distributors or commission agents for the state. The higher form of state capitalism was to place private capitalist enterprises under joint state-private management—beginning with the conversion of individual concerns into joint state-private enterprises and going on to the placing of capitalist enterprises under joint state-private management by whole trades, paying the capitalists a fixed rate of interest for a definite number of years.

There were also some controversies between different viewpoints within our Party on the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce.

One view held that capitalist industry and commerce should only be utilized but should not be restricted and transformed, or that we had placed too many restrictions and had carried out the transformation too hastily. This was in effect an attempt to preserve the capitalist system for a long period of time. It is impossible for the capitalist system of exploitation and the socialist system of public ownership to live side by side for long in one and the same society—one must defeat the other.

Another view contended that we had “compromised too much” since we not only had carried out the transformation of capitalist industry and commerce in a step-by-step process, but had also practised redemption, given the bourgeoisie the right to vote and given a definite political status to the representatives of the bourgeoisie. They held that it was impermissible in principle to continue to maintain a united front with the national bourgeoisie after the victory of the Chinese revolution. They asked that we apply the same policy towards the national bourgeoisie as we did towards the landlord class and the bureaucrat-capitalist class, i.e., to confiscate the property of the national bourgeoisie or to adopt simple policies which would quickly squeeze capitalist industry and commerce out of the national economy, and to deprive the capitalists of the right to vote. These people forgot that it is advantageous to the proletariat to adopt the policy of redemption in certain concrete historical conditions. Marx and Lenin had expressed this view many times. Regarding the question that the dictatorship of the proletariat does not necessarily have to deprive the bourgeoisie of the right to vote, Lenin, too, referred to it in *Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*. He said: “The question

of restricting the franchise is a nationally specific and not a general question of the dictatorship.”*

Have we adopted a policy of “class collaboration” in handling the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie? Certainly not. Such doubts represent a misunderstanding or distortion resulting from complete ignorance of Marxism-Leninism. As a matter of fact, the policy of uniting with the national bourgeoisie and struggling with it, which we adopted to resolve this contradiction, is a very firm proletarian class policy which has nothing in common with the policy of “class collaboration.” The success of our socialist transformation proves this fully.

In short, our policy of socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce has enabled us to reduce the opposition to the transformation, and in the course of the gradual transformation, to use capitalism conditionally to serve socialism, so as to facilitate the progress of socialist construction. As a result, we have been able to eliminate capitalism completely in the ownership of the means of production, and we shall transform the bourgeois elements gradually into working people earning their own living. Of course, this too is good Marxist-Leninist policy which fully suits Chinese conditions.

The method of gradual transition which we adopted in the socialist transformation of agriculture and of capitalist industry and commerce did not prolong the time of transformation, as some people alleged. On the contrary, the transformation was carried out very rapidly. By the second half of 1955 we had already set up agricultural co-operatives of the advanced type throughout the countryside, and immediately afterwards, in 1956, we converted capitalist industrial and commercial concerns into joint state-private enterprises by whole trades, and at the same time organized the handicraftsmen into co-operatives. This means that in less than seven years after the founding of the People's Republic of China we accomplished in the main the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce, and basically solved the question of “who will win” in the ownership of the means of production. In the course of fulfilling this task, practically no destruction was involved and industrial and agricultural production rose steadily.

Has the socialist revolution in China come to an end with the completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production? Some people think it has, and that there is

*V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, Part 2, p. 64.

no need to carry on any revolution whatsoever. We think this viewpoint is wrong. The socialist revolution has not yet ended, it must go on and it must be carried on to the end. Today the capitalists in our country are still receiving a fixed rate of interest. Economically the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie as two classes has not been entirely eliminated. Even if the bourgeoisie as a class has disappeared economically, the bourgeois world outlook, the political influences of the bourgeoisie and the force of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois habits will continue to exist for a long time in conflict with the socialist system. The bourgeois rightists, particularly, will take advantage of all this and launch attacks against socialism whenever they have the opportunity and plot for the restoration of capitalism. At times their attacks can still be extremely frantic. That is why we cannot limit the socialist revolution to the economic front; it must be carried out on the political and ideological fronts as well. In his *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed this out clearly. He said:

The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between various political forces, and the class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will still be long and devious and at times may even become very acute. The proletariat seeks to transform the world according to its own world outlook, so does the bourgeoisie. In this respect, the question whether socialism or capitalism will win is still not really settled. Marxists are still a minority of the entire population as well as of the intellectuals. Marxism therefore must still develop through struggle.*

The political and ideological struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is unavoidable throughout the period of transition. But such struggle are like waves, with ups and downs. Sometimes they become acute and at other times they are mild. Such struggles will disappear only when the bourgeois political and ideological influences are finally wiped out.

To carry on the socialist revolution to the end, Comrade Mao Tse-tung suggested that we should distinguish between two types of contradictions of different natures — contradictions between ourselves and the enemy and contradictions among the people — and that we should employ different methods in approaching and dealing with these two types of contradictions. He also put forward the policy

*Mao Tse-tung: *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1959, pp. 50-51.

of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend." In 1957 our Party launched the rectification campaign in the whole Party and among the whole people to readjust the relations among the people and waged a struggle against the frantic attack of the bourgeois rightists. The result was that the enthusiasm and initiative of the masses of the people to build socialism was greatly sparked and the reactionary influences of the exploiting classes in the political and ideological fields were dealt a heavy blow and greatly weakened. On this basis our Party put forward the policy of "politics in command," strengthened the leadership of the Party in economic and other work, and adjusted the relations between the central and the local governments, between the leaders and the led, as well as relations in other fields. At the same time the Party presented to the whole nation the slogan of "toppling superstitions, emancipating the mind, promoting the communist style of thinking, speaking and acting boldly," encouraged experiments of a revolutionary character and mass innovations and creation of a mass character, and guided the people to revise and abolish those rules and regulations that are no longer suitable. In order to carry out the revolution in education, the Party put forward the policy of education in the service of proletarian politics and the integration of education with productive labour. As a result of all these revolutionary measures, "a vigorous and lively political situation in which there are both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, and both unity of will and personal ease of mind," as Comrade Mao Tse-tung described it, has been developing ever more extensively in our country. In the spring of 1958 our Party put forward the timely general line of "going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results to build socialism."

Inspired by the Party's general line for socialist construction, the people throughout the country were high in spirit and strong in morale so that a big leap forward was effected in the national economy and people's communes were established throughout the countryside in 1958. Unprecedented achievements were also made in the development of science, technology, culture and education. This is the result of carrying the socialist revolution to the end and correctly handling contradictions among the people and thereby releasing the social productive forces thoroughly.

There have been controversies between different views within our Party on the questions of distinguishing between the two types of contradictions, the big leap forward and the people's communes. Under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, our Party has res-

olutely upheld the correct line, repudiated various erroneous views within the Party and has therefore been able to unite the entire Party and people throughout the country and continuously win new victories in the cause of socialism.

Some people say that while it is understandable that contradictions exist between ourselves and the enemy in the period of transition, it is hard to understand that contradictions among the people should exist under socialism. They hold that there is no need to draw a line between the two types of contradictions—the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy and the contradictions among the people. This view is wrong. Drawing a clear-cut line between the two types of contradictions is of great theoretical and practical significance for the correct carrying out of the class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat and for the correct handling of the various contradictions among the labouring people that do not fall into the category of the class struggle.

In present-day China, there exist not only contradictions between ourselves and the enemy, but also a large number of contradictions among the labouring people. For example, the contradictions arising from the differences between the working class and the peasantry and between mental and manual labour, from the remnant habits and ideological influences of the exploiting classes among the labouring people, etc. As to the contradictions between the social productive forces and the relations of production, the contradictions between the economic base and the superstructure, and the contradictions that arise from the differences between the correct and erroneous views of the people and between the advanced and the backward, they have always existed. They exist now and they will exist for ever. It is only that in socialist society, the character of these contradictions and the method of resolving them differ fundamentally from those in class society. The view that under the socialist system, or when mankind enters classless communist society, there will no longer be any contradictions among the people counter to Marxism-Leninism and is entirely wrong.

All types of contradictions that exist in society will inevitably find expression in the political and economic life of our country and in our inner Party life. Therefore, we must learn to recognize and handle these contradictions correctly. Only thus can we thoroughly eliminate the hostile anti-socialist forces, complete the transformation of members of the bourgeoisie and the upper strata of the petty bourgeoisie and their intellectuals, adjust the relations among the people, and carry our cause forward successfully. In socialist society and

communist society, the unity and struggle of contradictions and the resolution of contradictions are still the driving force of social progress.

Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, neglecting to make a clear distinction between these two types of contradictions of different natures will give rise to the following wrong tendencies: Failing to see contradictions between ourselves and the enemy, or taking these to be contradictions among the people, not knowing that in handling such contradictions the method of dictatorship, i.e., the method of isolating, splitting up, punishing and suppression, should be used, and, instead of this, using the method of handling contradictions among the people to handle contradictions between ourselves and the enemy—this will inevitably make people commit mistakes. On the other hand, failing to see contradictions among the people, exaggerating contradictions between ourselves and the enemy and taking contradictions among the people to be contradictions between ourselves and the enemy, not knowing that in handling contradictions among the people the democratic method, i.e., the method of “starting from a desire for unity and resolving contradictions through criticism or struggle, so as to achieve a new unity on a new basis,” should be used and, instead of this, using the method of handling contradictions between ourselves and the enemy, i.e., the high-handed method, and not the method of persuasion, to handle contradictions among the people—this will also inevitably make people commit mistakes. Besides, each of the two types of contradictions can turn into the other under certain conditions. If they do become so transformed, but our methods of handling them do not change correspondingly, we will also unavoidably commit mistakes. There are quite a few instances of our comrades committing mistakes on this question, and therefore it is vitally necessary to acquire a serious understanding of this question.

Some people say that our adoption of the policy of “letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend” is tantamount to the adoption of the policy of bourgeois “liberalism,” or the policy of so-called “liberalization.” There are also some people who worry lest our implementation of such a policy should help the anti-socialist poisonous weeds grow and result in bourgeois ideas running riot. All these people are thinking in a wrong way.

We have pursued this policy because we have full confidence in the Party’s leadership, in the great majority of the mass of the people, in the superiority of the socialist system and in the truth of Marxism. To adopt this policy is by no means to implement the bourgeois policy of “liberalization,” but to pursue an extremely firm class policy

of the proletariat. Our purpose in adopting this policy is to promote the development and flourishing of science, art and culture and the development of Marxism and socialist ideology guided by Marxism. The purpose of carrying out this policy at a time when bourgeois ideological influences still exist in society is to help the proletariat defeat the bourgeoisie politically and ideologically, to eliminate its influence, and not to permit bourgeois ideology to run riot. This policy also applies to the correct handling of contradictions among the people in the political sphere. In a socialist society, Marxist ideology still has to develop in the struggle with all kinds of non-Marxist ideologies; socialist ideology still has to extend its own hold in the struggle with all kinds of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideologies. As to the various views held among the people, we must allow them to be fully expressed and they must be fully debated by using the methods of criticism and reasoning. Only in this way can correct views be advanced, erroneous views overcome and the issues truly settled.

It is true that the bourgeoisie will make use of this policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" to engage in anti-socialist activities. However, under present conditions in China, the proletariat has the upper hand in every aspect. We have nothing to fear from the bourgeoisie using this slogan to wage their struggle against the proletariat. We have never recognized anti-socialist utterances and acts of the bourgeoisie as being under the proletarian dictatorship. We have always openly declared that in our garden, the hundred flowers of socialism should be in full bloom and that the anti-socialist poisonous weeds should be weeded out. The question is: what means should we use to weed out the anti-socialist poisonous weeds effectively? In a socialist society, so long as the political and ideological influence of the bourgeoisie has not been wiped out, anti-socialist bourgeois poisonous weeds will exist objectively and will often appear in the guise of fragrant flowers of socialism. When people lack experience in struggling against poisonous weeds, they are often not so good at distinguishing them from fragrant flowers. It is even possible that they greet a disguised anti-socialist poisonous weed as a fragrant flower of socialism. In certain branches of our cultural work, some comrades at one time only allowed what they considered to be fragrant flowers to grow for fear that poisonous weeds might appear. As a result, many fragrant flowers beneficial to socialism were mistaken for poisonous weeds and their growth was thwarted. On the other hand, many harmful poisonous weeds were able to grow surreptitiously in disguise. The

ideas of these comrades were wrong and childish. As a matter of fact, it is those anti-socialist poisonous weeds which are hidden or appear in disguise that are the more harmful to the proletarian dictatorship. It is not a bad thing to let poisonous weeds come out in their true colours. On the contrary, it is a very good thing. For only by so doing can the mass of people be trained to discern a poisonous weed and develop their ability to fight against poisonous weeds and thus the aim of letting a hundred flowers of socialism blossom and weeding out the anti-socialist poisonous weeds can be achieved. This was the method that we used to fight the bourgeois rightists in 1957 and, by relying on the mass of the people, repulse the ferocious attacks of the rightists.

The facts have shown that the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" has indeed strengthened the leadership of Marxism in the realm of ideology and has not in the least weakened that position of leadership. It has enhanced the ability of the mass of people to struggle against reactionary ideologies and not weakened that ability in the slightest. Under existing conditions in China, this policy benefits the proletariat and operates to the disadvantage of the bourgeoisie, which is opposed to socialism.

In 1958, the Chinese people created a situation in which the national economy made a big leap forward. The facts of this big leap forward are undeniable. However, certain people assert that our country's big leap forward in 1958 is an abnormal phenomenon, that organizing mass movements in economic construction can only cause dislocation in production and that even though a temporary leap forward may be effected it will inevitably result in such disproportions in the national economy that it will be impossible to keep the leap forward going. This point of view is entirely wrong.

In carrying on economic construction, is it a good thing or not to organize mass movements? Our socialist construction is based on the conscious effort of millions of people. It would be impossible to have vigorous socialist construction without bringing into full play the creative energy of the masses. Our country's 650 million people who are liberated, united and organized are a truly great creative force. In the mass campaign to make iron and steel last year, ten of millions of people neglected their sleep and meals and paid no attention to material remuneration. They were in the highest of spirits and showed boundless enthusiasm and communist daring in building a new life. The net result of all this is that a rational distribution of the iron and steel industry throughout the country has been brought about gradually

and its development accelerated. In the same way, it was through large-scale mass movements and by bringing mass initiative into full play that we built the myriads of small and medium-sized water conservancy projects and the hundreds of thousands of small and medium-sized enterprises which now dot the entire country. By mobilizing the masses and pressing ahead with socialist emulation campaigns—under the slogan of “emulating the advanced, overtaking the advanced, and learning from the advanced!”—many large enterprises have been able to bring about a rapid rise in production capacity and labour productivity and many construction projects were able to greatly economize on investments and were completed ahead of schedule. The facts prove that by mobilizing the masses to work on the front of socialist construction, we can make our national economy grow by leaps and bounds.

It is by no means fortuitous that these mass movements have come about. To bring about a speedy change in China's poverty and backwardness is the strong urge of the 650 million people of our country. Since they have become liberated under the socialist system, this urge is transformed inevitably into action and becomes a powerful and irresistible material force. With correct leadership, such mass movements can certainly become the most dynamic and constant factor facilitating the economic leap forward of our country. Our mass movements are launched under the centralized guidance of the Party. Party guidance means integrating political work with economic work, integrating the political education of the masses with material incentives and placing politics in command, making it the driving force. Hence it becomes possible under the Party's guidance to organize the mass movements for socialist construction and keep them going, bringing the initiative of the people into fullest play in the work of construction. Our national economy will continue to leap forward without pause as long as we lead the masses always to go all out and aim high and rely on the workers, peasants and technicians to carry out the technical and cultural revolutions so as to continuously introduce more modern implements and expand the application of modern techniques in production. There can be no doubt about this.

When a mass movement is in full swing, some production regimes will be upset. But the mass movement upsets only those outdated regimes which hinder the expansion of production; at the same time it establishes new regimes which stimulate production. In 1958 we introduced through mass movements many readjustments in human relations in our enterprises. We introduced the system of workers

participating in management and cadres participating in productive labour, and also the system of closely integrating under the leadership of the Party committees the work of the leading cadres, the workers and the technical and management personnel. Under proper guidance rules and regulations which had outlived their usefulness were changed. All this helped greatly to raise the level of management and production in our enterprises. The socialist system is not something petrified and fixed for all time. By changing the old order of things and introducing new ones under guidance, the advantages of the socialist system are developed and brought into full play. But to do this, we must rely on the masses; we must struggle against the force of habits which hinders the growth of the productive forces; and we must make continuous readjustments in the relations of production and the superstructure so that they can fit in with the needs of the growing social productive forces. So long as we do this, we shall be able to spur the swift advance of technical reforms and the technical revolution, stimulate the speedy growth of the social productive forces of our country and maintain a continued leap forward in the national economy.

Lenin once said:

It is important to realize how infinitely mendacious is the ordinary bourgeois conception of socialism as something lifeless, petrified, fixed once for all, whereas in reality only under socialism will a rapid, genuine, really mass forward movement, embracing first the majority and then the whole of the population, commence in all spheres of public and personal life.*

In the big leap forward which started in 1958, we are actually witnessing the emergence of such a mass forward movement in our country. Those who are critical of the mass movement stand aloof from it. They find fault with it, dampen the enthusiasm of the masses and spread feelings of despondency, dissatisfaction and pessimism. Their attitude towards the mass movement has nothing in common with the highly enthusiastic attitude which one expects of a Communist. Theirs is the lordly attitude of the bourgeoisie.

Some people assert that the adoption of a leap forward rate of advance goes against objective economic laws and will give rise to disproportions in the various branches of the national economy. But the facts controvert these assertions. Our leap forward is a new thing appearing in our country that fits in exactly with socialist economic laws. Objective economic laws cannot be violated; they must be

*V. I. Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Part 1, p. 303.

observed. If those laws are violated it is impossible for the national economy to develop by leaps and bounds. The general line laid down by our Party comprises the whole set of policies known as "simultaneous development." They are: the simultaneous development of industry and agriculture and the simultaneous development of heavy and light industries, while giving priority to heavy industry; the simultaneous development of national and local industries and of large, medium-sized and small enterprises and the simultaneous employment of modern and indigenous methods of production under centralized leadership, with over-all planning, proper division of labour and co-ordination. This set of policies later on received the popular name of "walking on two legs." The adoption of such policies will avoid various types of one-sidedness in the leap forward of the national economy, such as emphasizing the importance of industry to the neglect of agriculture, emphasizing the importance of heavy industry to the neglect of light industry, emphasizing the importance of large enterprises to the neglect of medium-sized and small ones, emphasizing the importance of unified management of industries by the central authorities to the neglect of the initiative of local authorities in the development of industry, and emphasizing the importance of modern methods of production to the neglect of indigenous methods of production, and so on. That is to say, while developing the national economy at high speed, the general line of our Party calls for a unity of objective possibility and subjective activity, due attention to the various kinds of proportions and observance of objective economic laws. Since the big leap forward last year, harmonious and suitable proportions, in general, exist between the various branches of the national economy, between industry and agriculture, between heavy and light industries, and between consumption and accumulation. Although certain isolated, partial and temporary disproportions occurred, they were quickly discovered and overcome. Such isolated, partial and temporary disproportions will crop up from time to time, and if they do, they are easy to overcome. Correct implementation of the general line of the Party and the policies of "simultaneous development" is a guarantee against the occurrence of long-term, over-all disproportions.

It goes without saying that we must do a good job of economic planning to enable, as far as possible, the various branches of the national economy to spurt ahead in harmony. We want both high speed and over-all balance. This is not easy to achieve; in high-speed development it is more likely that certain imbalances will occur. We should not, however, give way to "fear of the wolf in front and the

tiger behind," vainly hoping for a haven of peace by adopting the method of reducing speed unjustifiably to achieve a balance. So long as we pay attention to summing up our experience and seriously study objective economic laws, balance can and should be achieved while developing our economy at high speed.

The speed of development of the national economy cannot possibly be the same every year. It may be higher in one year and lower in another. This is a normal state of affairs. But it can be stated positively that our economy will continue to grow year by year and that we can maintain the speed of the leap forward in its development.

Those who find fault with our big leap forward and the mass movement also find fault with our rural people's communes. They maintain that the people's communes were set up "much too soon," are "in a mess" and "outstep the level of social development and the level of the people's political consciousness." There is no valid ground at all for such charges.

It is wrong to regard the growth of the people's communes as lacking objective necessity. Those who do so fail to see that the people's communes are a new form of social organization which has grown up on the basis of the advanced agricultural producers' co-operatives. This form of social organization was created by the hundreds of millions of Chinese peasants to meet the needs of growing productive forces. It is the product of the big growth of agricultural production, which took place during the big leap forward of 1958 along with the great extension of water conservancy work, the peasants' enthusiasm in running industries and the great upsurge of socialist consciousness among the peasants. The mass of Chinese peasants have seen that the building of water conservancy works and industries, the comprehensive development of a diversified rural economy and the practice of co-ordination in the work of building various kinds of fairly large productive projects must necessarily exceed the scope of the original agricultural producers' co-operatives and require that certain kinds of new relations of production and new forms of organization should be established on the basis of developing the original agricultural producers' co-operatives. This is the people's commune. A people's commune has at its disposal the manpower of several thousand and even around ten thousand households and several tens of thousands or even over a hundred thousand *mou* of land, is able to deploy manpower and utilize natural resources more rationally for the development of the rural economy and facilitate the gradual mechanization and electrification of agriculture. The educational and cultural services

and collective welfare establishments urgently needed by the peasant can also be extensively developed in the people's communes. A great economy in labour has been achieved as a result of the setting up of such collective welfare establishments as community dining-rooms and kindergartens. In particular a very great number of women are freed from household chores. Only one year has passed since the rural people's communes were established, but they have fully demonstrated in practice their immense vitality. That is why the people's commune movement is a great mass movement that meets the need of the Chinese peasants to develop the rural economy rapidly and transform the poverty-stricken and backward face of the Chinese countryside, a mass movement which conforms to the laws of historical development under the conditions obtaining in China. Such a mass movement is not something that can emerge because somebody shouts for it, nor will it collapse because somebody opposes it.

Some people hold that because the people's communes as they now stand still have socialist collective ownership, there is not much difference between them and the agricultural producers' co-operatives and therefore there is no need to establish them. Such people fail to see that a new content is added on the basis of the original advanced agricultural producers' co-operatives and so a vast difference exists between the two. Within the people's commune, industry, agriculture, trade, education and military affairs are integrated (agriculture comprises farming, forestry, livestock raising, rural side lines and fishery); it organizes production as well as the livelihood of its members, and the basic unit of state power in the countryside is merged with the people's commune administration — all these things were absent in the advanced agricultural producers' co-operative. Of particular importance is the fact that although ownership in the people's commune is still socialist collective ownership and although the collective ownership of the production brigade which corresponds to the original advanced agricultural producers' co-operative is the basic form of ownership while only part of the ownership is vested in the commune as a whole, this part of the ownership now vested in the people's commune did not exist in the advanced agricultural producers' co-operative and this already contains certain elements of ownership by the whole people. As the commune is able every year to draw suitable sums for its accumulation fund from the income of the production brigades, to be put to the use of commune-run enterprises, and as the commune-run enterprises are developed and the state extends help to the commune, that part of the ownership vested in the commune will be gradually enlarged, until it becomes the basic form of ownership, while

the production brigades only retain a part of the ownership. Although at present only part of the ownership is vested in the people's commune as a whole, it is this part of the ownership which holds its greatest hopes and prospects. When that part of the ownership now vested in the people's commune as a whole becomes the basic form of ownership, a reliable foundation will have been laid for the transition from socialist collective ownership to socialist ownership by the whole people in the countryside. As to the distribution system in the people's communes, at the present time they implement, in the main, a wage system based on the principle "to each according to his work" and at the same time they adopt a supply system which to some extent embodies the rudiments of the principle of "to each according to his needs." This also did not exist in the original agricultural producers' co-operatives. Many people's communes have put into effect a supply system which provides members with a suitable amount of free supplies. (Generally speaking, these free allocations constitute 20 to 30 per cent of the total incomes of the members.) At present its main purpose is to ensure that provision is made for the livelihood of those who are not able-bodied and of the children. This is a very good method of implementing social insurance in our rural areas and of helping families which have more children or have other heavy burdens. It meets the present actual needs of life of the peasant masses. Of course, this does not yet signify implementation of the communist principle "to each according to his needs."

Some people are of the opinion that people's communes can only be communist in nature and must fully adopt the principle "to each according to his needs," otherwise, they cannot be called people's communes. They therefore regard the setting up of people's communes under present conditions as merely a utopian measure divorced from reality. They give a completely mechanical interpretation to the nature of the people's communes. They do not understand that our present people's communes in the rural areas are a form of basic social organization possessing all the above-mentioned special features; that this form of social organization, therefore, has very great flexibility and is capable of accommodating productive forces at different levels in both socialist and communist society and their corresponding levels of relations of production. As far as our country is concerned, this form of social organization suits not only the socialist collective ownership of the present but future socialist ownership by the whole people as well, not only the present socialist system of giving to each according to his work but the future communist system of giving to each according to his needs. There is every reason to believe that this form of social

organization, the people's commune, will also be a suitable form of social organization at the primary level after our country has entered communism. The commune system, as Comrade Mao Tse-tung points out, embodies a process of development. In our countryside, this social organization, the people's commune, can rapidly advance rural economic development while social economic growth will, in its turn, promote the development of the people's commune system both in content and form. With the birth of this social organization, the people's commune, we have in practice discovered the road that, under the prevailing conditions in our country, will lead to the gradual transition from socialist collective ownership to socialist ownership by the whole people, and to the future gradual transition from socialism to communism in the countryside. It is wrong to think that all expectations for the commune can be realized once the people's commune is established. It will be a complete mistake to think that because the people's communes need a process of gradual development, they were set up too early, that it would have been better not to set them up and that those already set up should be dissolved.

To find fault with our big leap and people's communes means to find fault with our Party's general line for building socialism. Who are these people finding fault with the Party's general line? In our own ranks, they are the right opportunists. They represent bourgeois ideology within our Party. When hostile forces at home and abroad were viciously attacking us, they even denied the great achievements in our work and described our great cause as being in an awful mess, using as their pretext certain shortcomings in our work, which had long ago been discovered and corrected by the Party's Central Committee. They tried to prevent our cause from advancing, to prevent the continued leap forward this year and prevent the thorough implementation of the Party's general line. The Eighth Plenary Session of the Party's Eighth Central Committee pointed out that right opportunism is the principal danger in our country today. To wage a struggle against right opportunism, overcome right opportunism and wipe out its influences is a major task of our Party at the present time.

The general line of our Party is correct and our achievements are great. Now we are successfully waging the struggle against right opportunism. In response to the call of the Eighth Plenary Session of the Party's Eighth Central Committee, the broad masses of the people are working for a big new upsurge to increase production and practise economy; this is a powerful rejoinder to the attacks launched by hostile forces at home and abroad, at the same time it is also a reply to the attacks by right opportunists.

Our great cause is advancing successfully. Our Party shares the destiny and life-breath of the Chinese people; our cause, we have always believed, is a component part of the socialist cause of all the world. In our country's revolution and construction, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have given us very great help while the working people of the whole world and the progressive forces of all lands have also given us a very great measure of sympathy and support. With the Soviet Union and other socialist countries our country has established a friendship and unity which is indestructible and is growing daily. Our slogans are: "Long live the great unity of the Chinese people!" "Long live the great unity of the peoples of all lands!" Supported by these two great unities, our cause is invincible.

All our victories are fresh confirmations of, and fresh victories for, Marxism-Leninism. There was once some talk about Marxism only being applicable to well developed capitalist countries but not to economically backward countries; only to the West, not to the East. After the victory of the Russian October Revolution and the Chinese revolution, there has been another kind of talk about Marxism only being applicable to the Eastern and not to the Western countries. All such ideas are myths spread by the bourgeois reactionaries and their henchmen. In actual fact, since the emergence of Marxism, whether in economically advanced countries or in economically backward countries, whether in the West or the East, every historical event and every revolutionary experience has proved repeatedly the correctness of Marxism. The struggles and revolutions of the masses in the various countries take place and progress in different historical environments and under different historical conditions, but, no matter how complex and tortuous are the revolutions in the various countries, it is no more possible for the development of any country to depart from the common historical course pointed out by Marxism than it is for the earth to leave its orbit revolving round the sun.

The Chinese Communist Party, which has led the Chinese revolution to victory, is armed with Marxism-Leninism; this is epitomized in the famous words of Comrade Mao Tse-tung: "The integration of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution." Under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese Communist Party has made consistent efforts to enable itself to solve the various problems of the Chinese revolution and construction by flexibly applying the general principles of Marxism-Leninism in the light of the concrete conditions in China. The fact that Marxism-Leninism has been widely disseminated in such a large Eastern country as ours with a population of 650 million and that it

has resulted in victory in the actual practice of the revolution and construction must, by all accounts, be considered a big event in the history of the development of Marxism-Leninism. Of course, revolution and construction in China have features peculiar to this country. But it is also possible that some of these important special features may reappear in some other countries. In this sense, Chinese experience is to a certain extent of international significance.

Let us raise high the banner of Marxism-Leninism and march forward!

Long live the victory of Marxism-Leninism throughout the world!

OPENING SPEECH AT THE MEETING TO CELEBRATE THE 10TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

September 28, 1959

Dear Comrades and Friends,

The meeting to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China is now declared open. To our dear guests who have come from afar to attend our National Day ceremonies, to the leading comrades of our great ally, the Soviet Union, and of the other socialist countries, to our comrades the delegates of the Communist Parties of various countries, to friends from all countries in the world, let us express our sincerest thanks and warmest welcome.

Ten years ago, the people of all nationalities of our country, led by the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, achieved the great victory of the people's democratic revolution against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism and founded the People's Republic of China, thereby opening in China's history the new era of socialism.

In these ten years we have speedily achieved the great victory of the socialist revolution, thus completely freeing the social productive forces of our country. Our socialist construction is developing at a high speed. In ten years our industrial output has increased more than elevenfold and our agricultural production by 150 per cent. There has been an all-round rise in the living standard of our people. Our education, culture, science and health services are flourishing.

Liu Shao-ch'i, as Chairman of the People's Republic of China, delivered this opening speech on the evening of September 28, 1959, in Peking at the meeting to celebrate the 10th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China. The text is taken from Supplement to *Peking Review*, II, No. 39 (October 1, 1959).

All our achievements have been created by the diligent labour of the broad masses of our people. The Great Hall of the People, in which we are holding this meeting, is itself a most eloquent testimony of the great creative power of the people. We will avail ourselves of this opportunity to convey our highest greetings to the more than 14,000 building workers and technical personnel who built this hall in ten months and to the entire working people who, holding aloft the glorious banner of the Party's general line for socialist construction, have achieved great successes in the great leap forward and in the people's commune movement.

During the last ten years we have received fraternal aid from the great Soviet Union and other socialist countries, sympathy and support from the proletariat of various countries and from all peace-loving countries and peoples of the world. We are sincerely grateful for this great aid and support given to us by our international friends.

Ten years is a short time. In so far as the needs of our country and people are concerned, our achievements are quite small and the leap forward in our construction is just beginning. Gigantic tasks still face us. To accomplish them we must constantly consolidate and strengthen the great unity of the Chinese people and the great unity of the peoples of the world.

The great unity of the Chinese people is the basic condition for winning victory in our revolution and construction. Under the banner of socialism, the people of all nationalities of our country are closely united in the big family of the motherland. The mass of workers, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals have forged strong ties between them through years of struggle and they are united with all patriots. As long as our 650 million people rally still more closely around the Chinese Communist Party, dedicate ourselves heart and soul to the same cause and tackle our work courageously and with might and main, we will certainly be able to overcome all difficulties and achieve our great goal.

The great unity of the world's peoples is the basic condition for the world's attaining peace and progress; it is also the international condition under which the cause of socialism triumphs in our country. We shall always unite with the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist camp. We shall always unite with the working people, the democratic and progressive forces, and the Communist Parties of various countries. We shall always unite with all people and governments in the world who stand for the preservation of peace, strive for national independence and oppose the policy of aggression and war.

We hold that in order to safeguard peace all states whatever their social systems should coexist peacefully and carry on peaceful competition in accordance with the five principles. Meanwhile, to safeguard peace we must curb aggression. To this day the U.S.A. still occupies our territory Taiwan, and this the Chinese people absolutely cannot tolerate. We Chinese people are determined to liberate our territory Taiwan, Penghu, Quemoy and Matsu.

The countries of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union have always worked for the easing of international tension and for lasting world peace. Thanks to the efforts of the peace-loving countries and peoples the world over, the desire for peace is striking a deeper chord in the hearts of the people with each passing day. During the past decade, our 650 million Chinese people have always stood in the foremost position in defence of peace in Asia and the world and in the future we will continue to fight, hand in hand with all peace forces in the world, for the cause of peace and for mutual friendship among the peoples of all lands.

The world situation is favourable to the people engaged in safeguarding peace and fighting for independence and progress, favourable to the enhancement of the cause of peaceful construction of the socialist states and favourable to the enhancement of the cause of peaceful construction of the Chinese people.

May the entire people, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, under the ever-victorious banner of Marxism-Leninism, and under the guiding light of the Party's general line for socialist construction, march forward bravely from victory to ever greater victory!

Long live the great unity of the Chinese people!

Long live the great unity of all the peoples of the world!

Long live the People's Republic of China!

SPEECH AT A STATE BANQUET HONOURING CHAIRMAN HAXHI LLESHI

June 3, 1960

Dear Comrade Chairman Haxhi Lleshi,
Dear Comrade L. Belishova,
Dear Honourable Guests from Albania,
Comrades and Friends,

Comrade Haxhi Lleshi, Chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Republic of Albania, Comrade L. Belishova, Member of the Presidium and other honourable Albanian guests have come a long way to visit us. They have brought us the most precious friendship of the people of Albania. This has made us very happy and exulted. I wish to avail myself of this opportunity to once again express our warm welcome and our great respect to the emissaries of the fraternal Albanian people.

Since liberation, the industrious and courageous Albanian people with rich revolutionary traditions have carried out socialist revolution and socialist construction under very difficult conditions. The Albanian people, however, have never bowed to difficulties in their forward march but surmounted them as they appeared. They have persisted in carrying socialist revolution through to the end and built their motherland at a fast leaping speed. Now, Albania has become a socialist agricultural and industrial country with modern industry and cooperative agriculture. This year, the Albanian people will fulfil their Second Five-Year Plan ahead of schedule and start to

Liu Shao-ch'i, as Chairman of the People's Republic of China, delivered this speech at a state banquet in Peking on the evening of June 3, 1960, given in honour of Haxhi Lleshi, Chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of Albania. The text is translated from *Jen-min Jih-pao* (人民日報, People's Daily), June 4, 1960, p. 1. Partial translations appear in *Hsinhua News Agency Release*, No. 060348 (June 5, 1960), pp. 6-7 and *Hsinhua News Agency Release*, No. 060363 (June 5, 1960), pp. 19-20.

formulate their Third Five-Year Plan on a grand scale. An even more brilliant picture is emerging in front of the people of Albania. Such magnificent achievements as those attained by the Albanians in such a short time are fundamentally attributable to the existence of a Marxist-Leninist Party, the Albanian Labour Party, which has persistently pursued a correct line by fully relying on the enthusiasm and initiative of the Albanian people. The people of China warmly congratulate the people of Albania for their tremendous achievements and highly respect their experience in revolution and construction. Your achievements and experiences are strong encouragement to our people who are making continuous leaps forward in socialist construction.

The People's Republic of Albania is a resolute and strong member of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union. Although Albania is geographically situated within the encirclement of capitalist countries and is on no side adjacent to other socialist nations, the heroic Albanian people have always stood firm at the southwestern front of our camp. They have always regarded U.S. imperialism and its lackeys as nothing and waged stubborn and unflinching struggles against them. It is particularly worth mentioning that the Albanian Labour Party and the Albanian people, holding high the banner of Marxism-Leninism, have continuously dealt blows against the provocations and subversive activities of the Yugoslav modern revisionists and thoroughly exposed the ugly features of the Tito clique as agents of imperialism. All this constitutes an outstanding contribution to the defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism and the strengthening of the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement, as well as inspiring the revolutionary enthusiasm of the working people of the whole world. The Chinese people sincerely admire this fearless heroism and high degree of principled revolutionary spirit of the fraternal Albanian people. The Chinese people, the peoples of the other socialist countries and all progressive humanity forever stand on the side of the Albanian people.

The development of the international situation is more and more favourable to the struggles waged by the people of all countries for peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism. The aggression of U.S. imperialism against the Soviet Union, its sabotage of the Four Power Summit Conference and its criminal activities have most intensively and reversely educated the world people and further aroused the indignation of the people of the world against U.S. imperialism. More and more people have come to realize that notwithstanding this or that change in U.S. imperialist strategy, the dual

policy of war preparation and "peace" deceptions carried out simultaneously or alternately, her imperialist nature and ambition to dominate the world and to enslave the people of the world, remain unchanged. The experience gained by the people of various countries in their struggles against imperialism after World War II explains not once but many times that we must never entertain any unrealistic notions about such a vicious enemy as U.S. imperialism. On the contrary, we must wage tit-for-tat struggles against them. We must have the courage to rebuff U.S. imperialism and not be cowed by it when it threatens or launches aggressive war, and we must be adept at seeing through and exposing its deceitful tactics and not be taken in when it plays with "peace" schemes. Only in this way can we extinguish U.S. imperialism's flames of aggression. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said, "Imperialism fears most the consciousness of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples and that of the people of the world." We firmly believe that following the heightening of the consciousness of the world's people and the expansion of the anti-imperialist united front, all aggression and war preparation of imperialism headed by the United States will be smashed one after another. Regardless of what new plots U.S. imperialism may yet hatch, its doom can never be doubted.

The socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union will remain a solid bastion for safeguarding world peace. We socialist countries have always persisted in a policy of peace, advocated peaceful co-existence among countries with differing social systems and untiringly tried to mitigate a tense world situation. We socialist countries absolutely will not, cannot and should not carry out aggression against any country. But, if imperialism should mistake the sincere desire of the socialist countries for peace for a sign of weakness and dares to take provocative action against any one of the socialist countries, it will surely meet with a determined rebuff from all the socialist countries acting as one. The Chinese people, together with the peoples of the other socialist countries, resolutely support Comrade N.S. Khrushchov's May 16 statement in Paris and the just struggle of the Soviet people against U.S. imperialist aggression and provocation. They believe that such a struggle exposes the true nature of U.S. imperialism and carries great significance in encouraging the people of the world in their struggle for safeguarding world peace. The Chinese people will forever stand together with the peoples of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and with the peace-loving countries and their peoples, and with them wage untiring strug-

gle against the U.S. led imperialist policy of war and aggression and for the safeguarding of world peace.

Although U.S. imperialism and its chieftain Eisenhower has single-handedly wrecked the Four Power Conference of government heads in which the whole world was interested and is posing a grave threat to world peace, we are of the consistent opinion that all international disputes should be settled by means of negotiation without resorting to force. We hold, however, that all international negotiations must be conducted on the basis of equality and have the minimum condition of non-infringement on each other's sovereignty and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. Experience shows that the imperialists, first of all the U.S. imperialists, are devoid of all sincerity for peace and totally faithless in international dealings. They will not accept negotiations unless hard pressed by circumstances, and even when forced to accept negotiations they still try by all means to stall and sabotage them. Even if agreement has been reached, they can go back on the agreement and tear it up at any moment. Therefore, in order to realise the peace proposals of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, in order to realise the desire of the peace-loving countries and people of the world for relaxation of international tension, the peoples of the world must carry out persistent struggles against U.S. imperialism, strike incessant blows against its scheming activities to sabotage peace and isolate it to the greatest possible extent. Only thus can we force the U.S. imperialists to sit down and enter into negotiations with us, put off and even stop their plan for launching a new war, and provide a reliable guarantee for world peace.

China and Albania are closely united fraternal countries; our unity is based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and can never be split. In the past ten years our countries have closely cooperated and supported each other in our common struggles against imperialism and modern revisionism and in our common cause of building socialism. We believe that this visit of Comrade Lleshi and Comrade Belishova will surely contribute to the further promotion of the mutual assistance, cooperation and fraternal friendship between our two peoples.

Comrades and friends, let us raise our cups and drink
to the prosperity and affluence of the People's Republic of
Albania,

to the unbreakable fraternal friendship between the peoples
of China and Albania,

to the great unity of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union,

to world peace,

to the health of Enver Hoxha, Mahmet Shehu and other Albanian Party and Government leaders,

to the health of Chairman Lleshi, Comrade Belishova and other honoured guests from Albania.

SPEECH AT A RECEPTION FOR CHAIRMAN HAXHI LLESHI

June 6, 1960

Dear Comrade Chairman Haxhi Lleshi,
Dear Comrade L. Belishova,
Dear Comrade Ambassador M. Prifti,
Dear Comrades from Albania,
Comrades and Guests,

We are very glad to have another opportunity to gather with our honourable guests, Comrade Haxhi Lleshi, Comrade L. Belishova and other comrades from Albania.

Comrade Haxhi Lleshi will leave Peking tomorrow to visit other places in our country. Comrade Haxhi Lleshi's visit with our people, especially the people of Peking, has brought them great encouragement. Having learned that the people of Albania fearlessly and resolutely waged struggles against imperialism and its lackeys and satisfactorily carried out socialist construction under such conditions as they experienced, the people of China under conditions several times worse than theirs must more courageously wage struggles and more effectively forge ahead with their programme of socialist construction. Whether in Peking or in the places you are to visit, you will find how much the Chinese people love and respect the fraternal Albanian people. The contacts and exchanges of experience made between the leaders of our two countries have doubtlessly promoted the development of our common undertakings.

The Chinese people have steadfastly strived to consolidate and strengthen the friendship and unity among the peoples of various

Liu Shao-ch'i, as Chairman of the People's Republic of China, delivered this speech on June 6, 1960, at a reception given by the Albanian Ambassador to China, M. Prifti, for Chairman Haxhi Lleshi. The text is translated from *Jen-min Jih-pao* (人民日報, People's Daily), June 7, 1960, p. 1.

countries, but first of all the friendship and unity in the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union. The unity among the socialist countries founded on Marxism-Leninism is unbreakable. The plots of the imperialists and modern revisionists to sabotage the unity of the socialist countries are doomed to failure. We deeply believe that the visit of Comrade Haxhi Lleshi and Comrade L. Belishova will further consolidate and develop the friendly relations between our two countries and strengthen the great unity of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union.

Comrades and friends, I propose to drink
to the eternal brotherly friendship between the peoples of China
and Albania,
to the great unity of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet
Union,
to the health of Comrade Haxhi Lleshi, Comrade L. Belishova
and other Albanian comrades,
to the health of Comrade Enver Hoxha, Comrade Mahmet
Shehu and other Party and Government leaders of Albania.

TOAST AT A NATIONAL DAY RECEPTION

September 30, 1960

His Excellency the Honourable Prime Minister U Nu,
His Excellency the Honourable General Ne Win,
His Excellency the Honourable Prime Minister Abbas Ferhat,
The Honourable Comrade Vice-Chairman A. Kellezi,
Guests, Comrades and Friends,

We thank all the friends coming to China to attend our National Day celebrations. Let us unite together. The people of the world unite. Let us drink to the friendship of the people of various countries, to world peace, to independence and liberation of all the oppressed nations, to democracy and freedom, to social progress and to the health of all guests attending the reception.

Liu Shao-ch'i, as Chairman of the People's Republic of China, offered this toast at a National Day reception given by Premier Chou En-lai in Peking on the evening of September 30, 1960. The text is taken from *Hsinhua News Agency Release*, No. 093057 (October 1, 1960), p. 58.

ARRIVAL SPEECH AT MOSCOW AIRPORT

November 5, 1960

Dear Comrade Khrushchov,
Dear Comrade Brezhnev,
Dear Comrades,

We, the Chinese Party and Government Delegation, have come to Moscow with feelings of great pleasure at the invitation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government. We shall celebrate the 43rd anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution with the great Soviet people. We, on behalf of the Chinese people, the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Government, extend to you and through you to the entire great Soviet people, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government, our warm and heartfelt congratulations. (Enthusiastic applause.)

The October Socialist Revolution carried out by the Soviet people under the leadership of the great Lenin and the Bolshevik Party was a great turning point in human history, opening up an entire era of mankind's transition from capitalism to communism. The path of the October Revolution reflects universal laws during a specific historical stage in the long journey of the development of human society. It develops and enhances the great theory of Marxism-Leninism on the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, and has become a common path along which all oppressed nations and oppressed peoples throughout the world advance towards socialism and communism.

Liu Shao-ch'i, as head of the Chinese Party and Government Delegation to the USSR, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman of the People's Republic of China, delivered this speech upon the delegation's arrival at the Moscow airport on November 5, 1960. The text is taken from *Peking Review*, III, No. 45 (November 8, 1960), p. 10.

The Soviet Union, as the great outcome of the October Revolution, has scored brilliant successes in socialist and communist construction over the past 43 years. Now, the Soviet Union has become a first-rate socialist power with a modern industry, modern agriculture and modern science and culture. The Soviet Union has left the United States far behind in the most important scientific and technological fields. The Soviet people, led by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union headed by Comrade N.S. Khrushchov, are successfully fulfilling the magnificent Seven-Year Plan for extensive communist building. The Soviet Union has made tremendous contributions to opposing imperialist aggression and defending world peace, to supporting the liberation struggles of the oppressed nations and the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples, and to enhancing the might of the socialist camp. The Chinese people, like the people the world over, are infinitely elated and inspired by the great achievements of the fraternal Soviet people.

Now, we are facing an excellent situation in the anti-imperialist struggle of the people all over the world. Like the Soviet Union, China and other socialist countries have all won tremendous successes in socialist construction. The entire socialist camp is becoming more prosperous every day. The national and democratic revolutionary movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America are developing vigorously. The revolutionary struggle of the peoples of the capitalist countries and the movement in defence of peace throughout the world have made extensive progress. Now, the forces of the socialist camp have surpassed those of the imperialist camp; the forces of the people have surpassed the forces of reaction and the forces of peace have surpassed the forces of war. So long as the people of the world further unite, form the broadest international united front against the imperialist aggressive forces headed by the United States and wage persistent and untiring struggles, it is certainly possible to prevent imperialism from launching a new world war, to realize peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems and safeguard world peace.

The Chinese people heartily thank the Soviet Union for the tremendous assistance it has rendered to the Chinese revolution and construction. Everlasting and unbreakable friendship and unity have been forged between the peoples of China and the Soviet Union in their joint struggle against the enemy. This unity has undergone the test of history and will stand the test of history in the future too. In all circumstances, no matter whether great storms or difficulties

occur in the world, people will see that the 860 million people of China and the Soviet Union will always stand together. (Enthusiastic applause.) The strengthening of the unity between China and the Soviet Union and the strengthening of the unity of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union are the most reliable guarantee for the people of the world in striving for peace, democracy, national liberation and the cause of socialism. The Communist Party of China and the Chinese people have all along safeguarded and strengthened this unity and are confident that this unity will assuredly be further consolidated and developed on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. (Applause.)

Long live the Great October Socialist Revolution!

Long live the great Soviet Union!

Long live the unity of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union!

Long live the everlasting, unbreakable friendship between the peoples of China and the Soviet Union!

Long live world peace! (Enthusiastic applause.)

SPEECH IN THE KIROV PLANT

December 3, 1960

Dear Comrade Workers and Functionaries of the Kirov Plant,
Dear Comrade L.I. Kdhamz,
Dear Comrade F.R. Kozlov,
Dear Comrade Director of the Plant and
Dear Comrade Secrb1 of the Plant Committee of the Communist
Party,

We the Chinese Party and Government Delegation are very happy to have visited your plant today. I extend heartfelt thanks to you for your warm welcome.

Your plant has a long, glorious revolutionary tradition. The great Lenin carried out revolutionary activities in his life time in this plant and made world famous speeches here on many occasions. Your plant has trained many outstanding revolutionary activists and functionaries in the building of socialism and communism. Enterprises, mines, villages, army units and government institutions, like your plant have come into being in China during its protracted revolutionary struggle. Plants, mines, villages and army units, like the Kirov Plant, have established excellent revolutionary tradition and working style, that is, integrating theory with practice, leaders having close contacts with the masses and carrying out of criticism and self-criticism. Large numbers of functionaries trained by your plant have gone to work in various parts of your country, spreading this excellent style of work to various places and further developing and enhancing it. There, the work of a plant, a village or an army unit that has been done well has not only nationwide significance, but also world significance. I hope that you will continuously develop

Liu Shao-ch'i, as Chairman of the People's Republic of China, delivered this speech at a meeting in the Kirov Plant in Leningrad on December 3, 1960. The text is taken from *Hsinhua News Agency Release*, No. 120428 (December 5, 1960). pp. 23-24.

the Lenin type of excellent revolutionary tradition and excellent working style of the Kirov Plant.

Your plant has turned out very important machines and equipment and every moment of your labour is strengthening the might of the socialist camp. Your plant has supplied China with very good equipment and helped our cause of building socialism. At the same time, our technical functionaries have also undergone practical training in your plant and studied technique. On behalf of the Chinese people, the Communist Party and the Chinese Government, I extend my heartfelt thanks to you and through you to the entire Soviet people, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government.

The Chinese people will stand forever together with the Soviet people. We the Delegation are deeply convinced and just as the rest of the Chinese people are deeply convinced that the great Soviet Union and the Soviet people will always stand together with us. The Chinese people are the most reliable and the closest brothers and friends of the Soviet Union in our common struggle.

Long live the unbreakable friendship between the great Chinese and Soviet peoples!

Long live the great Soviet people!

Long live the great Communist Party of the Soviet Union!

Long live the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union headed by Comrade Khrushchov!

Long live world peace!

SPEECH AT A BANQUET IN LENINGRAD

December 4, 1960

Dear Comrade L.I. Brezhnev,
Dear Comrade F.R. Kozlov,
Dear Comrade N.I. Smirnov,
Dear Comrade V.S. Tolstikov,
Dear Comrade A.P. Boikova and
Dear Comrades and Friends,

We the Chinese Party and Government Delegation feel very happy to have the opportunity to pay a visit to Leningrad. In the past two days, we were accorded a passionate welcome everywhere by the people of Leningrad. We have visited the Kirov Plant, the Smolny Palace, the cruiser *Avrora* and the Museum in the Winter Palace, and seen an artistic performance. We are highly grateful to the Party and Government leading comrades of Leningrad and its entire population for the warm welcome and cordial hospitality which they have extended to us.

Leningrad was the cradle of the great October Revolution. In the fifty to sixty years before the October Revolution, the Chinese people had sought for everywhere the truth for liberation. At that time, all the progressive people in China wanted to take the path of western bourgeois revolution, made experiments on various kinds of theories of bourgeois revolution but they all failed. The salvos of the October Revolution brought to us Marxism-Leninism, enabling the progressive people in China to observe and solve the question of the Chinese revolution from Marxist-Leninist viewpoints, thus opening a brand-new historic epoch in the Chinese revolution. In

Liu Shao-ch'i, as Chairman of the People's Republic of China, delivered this speech at a banquet given by the Leningrad City Committee of the CPSU and the Executive Committee of the Leningrad City Soviet on December 4, 1960. The text is taken from *Hsinhua News Agency Release*, No. 120507 (December 6, 1960), pp. 1-3.

the fourth year after the October Revolution, the Chinese Communist Party declared its founding. The Chinese people, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, have, following the path of the October Revolution and through repeated struggles, finally won victory in the people's democratic revolution and the socialist revolution and are now carrying out socialist construction. Precisely because of this, the Chinese people forever remember the great October Revolution and forever remember the people of Lenin-grad who were the first to raise this revolutionary torch. This glorious city of yours is infinitely dear to the Chinese people.

Your city is worthy of the name of the city of Lenin. During the great patriotic war, you upheld and developed, under extremely difficult conditions, Lenin's revolutionary traditions and victoriously defended this holy land of revolution. Your valiant and stubborn struggle had inspired the Chinese people in their war of resistance to Japanese aggression and the anti-fascist peoples of the whole world.

Your city has made important contributions to the strengthening of the friendship between China and the Soviet Union. You have turned out many complete sets of equipment for our country, provided large quantities of designing data, sent excellent specialists and trained many technical personnel and builders for us. This is part of the tremendous assistance to the socialist construction in our country rendered by the Soviet Government and the Soviet people. Please allow me, on behalf of the Chinese Government and the Chinese people, to extend here heartfelt thanks and pay high tribute to you for this internationalist assistance. (Warm applause)

At present, the Soviet people, under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, are successfully realising the magnificent Seven-Year Plan of unfolding extensively the building of communism. Three days ago, the Soviet Union successfully launched a third space ship. This proves once again that the Soviet Union have left the United States farther behind in the most important fields of science and technique. The great Soviet Union is always a powerful bulwark of world peace. The Soviet Government has made persistent and unflagging efforts for safeguarding lasting world peace. Recently the Soviet delegation led by Comrade N.S. Khrushchov and the delegations of other fraternal countries have, at the 15th Session of the United Nations General Assembly, waged a head-on struggle against imperialism and exposed the crimes of imperialism and colonialism. This is of service to the world people. The various proposals put forward by the Soviet Government for the relaxation of international tension, for general and complete disarmament and for realising

peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems have won the sympathy and support of all peace-loving countries and peoples. (Applause)

We, China and the Soviet Union are socialist fraternal countries. The peoples of our two countries are long tested, closest comrades-in-arms. In the common struggle against the enemy we have always been sharing the same breath and destiny. We all know that the results of the recent Meeting of Representatives of Communist and Workers, Parties of the various countries have strengthened the unity of the entire communist movement and the unity between the Parties of China and the Soviet Union and between the two countries. I am deeply convinced that the unity and friendship between us are monolithic and unbreakable. (Warm applause)

Comrades, the prospects of the people of various countries striving for world peace and human progress have never been so bright as they are now. Faced with this excellent situation, we, the Chinese people will always unite with the Soviet people, unite with the peoples of all other countries of the socialist camp, holding still higher the banner of Marxism-Leninism and going from victory to victory in the common struggle against imperialist aggression and in defence of world peace, and in the common cause of building socialism and communism.

Allow me to propose a toast

to the still more brilliant achievements to be scored by the great Soviet people in the cause of building communism,

to the everlasting, unbreakable-great friendship and unity between the Chinese and Soviet peoples,

to the health of leading comrades of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union headed by Comrade N.S. Khrushchov and

to the health of the heroic people of Leningrad and leading Party and Government comrades of Leningrad! (Warm applause)

SPEECH AT THE MINSK RAILWAY STATION

December 5, 1960

Dear Comrade Brezhnev,
Dear Comrade Mazurov,
Dear Comrade Kozlov,
Dear Comrade Kisselev,
Dear Comrades and Friends!

The Chinese Party and Government Delegation has come with great pleasure to Minsk, capital of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic. It happens that today is a great festival of the Soviet people—the Constitution Day. We have brought with us the fraternal regards and warm greetings of the entire Chinese people to the Byelorussian and all other people of the Soviet Union.

The Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic is a Union Republic of the USSR familiar to the Chinese people. The heroic exploits you performed in resisting the fascist gang in the great patriotic war and the brilliant achievements you made in your speedy rehabilitation and reconstruction after the war have all greatly inspired the Chinese people. Today, the Byelorussian Republic has become one of the important industrial and cultural centres of the Soviet Union. Dear comrades, the Chinese people extend their warm congratulations on the brilliant achievements of yours and all other Soviet people.

Sino-Soviet friendship is founded on the basis of Marxim-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The Chinese people regard the consolidation of this friendship as their most sacred internationalist obligation. The Chinese Party and Government Delegation is making the current visit to the Soviet Union for the very purpose of

Liu Shao-ch'i, as Chairman of the People's Republic of China, delivered this speech at the railway station in Minsk, capital of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, on December 5, 1960. The text is taken from *Hsinhua News Agency Release*, No. 120547 (December 6, 1960), pp. 20-21.

further consolidating and strengthening the friendship and unity of the Chinese and Soviet peoples. China and the Soviet Union are under particularly important obligations to the course of advance of the history of the world, and the great friendship and unity of our two peoples are a reliable guarantee for the advance to victory of the cause of world peace and human progress. The imperialists are making vain efforts trying by hook or by crook to undermine this great friendship and unity. The Chinese and Soviet peoples are forever the closest brothers, and forever trustworthy comrades-in-arms.

Comrades, let us shout:

Long live the eternal, indestructible friendship between the Chinese and Soviet peoples!

Long live the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union headed by Comrade Khrushchov!

SPEECH AT A BANQUET IN MINSK

December 5, 1960

Dear Comrade L.I. Brezhnev,
Dear Comrades K.T. Mazurov, V.I. Kozlov and T.Y. Kisselev,
Dear Comrades,

We the Chinese Party and Government Delegation feel very happy and much honoured to have come to Minsk — capital of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, one of the important Union Republics of our great ally the USSR—to pay a friendly visit. Allow me first to extend our fraternal, heartfelt gratitude to the warm welcome and cordial hospitality accorded to us by leading comrades of the Byelorussian Party and Government and the working people in Minsk. (Warm applause)

Though the stay of our delegation here is short, yet we are deeply impressed by this visit. First of all, the fact that your people are a heroic people has won our admiration. During the period of the great patriotic war of the Soviet Union, many leading comrades of yours, together with your people, heroically and indomitably carried out an extensive guerrilla war, dealt heavy blows to the aggressors and gave effective support to the frontal operations of the Soviet army until the great victory over Hitlerite fascism was finally won. Your exploits in this heroic struggle are especially dear to the Chinese people. In the eight years of the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression, the Chinese people also used the guerrilla warfare as the principal form of struggle to fight against the Japanese aggressors. In those trying days, every victory scored by you in the guerrilla war, just as that won in the frontal operations by the Soviet army, was

Liu Shao-ch'i, as Chairman of the People's Republic of China, delivered this speech on the afternoon of December 5, 1960, in Minsk at a banquet given in his honour. The text is taken from *Hsinhua News Agency Release*, No. 120714 (December 8, 1960), pp. 12-13.

great inspiration for the Chinese people. We consider your victories as our own. (Warm applause)

Our delegation is also greatly moved by the fact that you the Byelorussian people, with the assistance of all the Soviet people, in a short space of time after the war, have not only swiftly healed the wounds of war, but also built up Byelorussia into a country with a collectivised agriculture and industry, thereby bringing your industrial and agricultural production and culture and education far above the prewar levels. You used to be heroic and staunch fighters in the war and now you are excellent workers in peaceful construction. The fact that you have built a brand new and beautiful city of Minsk on the ruins left over by fascist bandits is a sign of the brilliant achievements scored by you in peaceful construction. This year, the Byelorussian SSR has overfulfilled the annual plan of industrial production and also scored outstanding achievements in pre-schedule delivery of grain to the state. Our people are overjoyed at the tremendous successes won by the fraternal Byelorussian people and the Soviet people in unfolding communist construction and heartily wish you fresh and still greater successes. (Warm applause)

Comrades, the countries of our socialist camp form a close and intimate great family. China and the Soviet Union are the dearest and closest brothers in this great family. The unity between the Communist Parties of China and the Soviet Union, between the two countries and their peoples constitutes the cornerstone of the unity of the socialist camp, of the unity of the international communist movement and of the great unity of the people all over the world. Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "Unity between the Chinese and Soviet peoples is of utmost importance; with the hands of these two peoples firmly joined, it is not difficult for the people in the rest of the world to be united." Today the people of various countries in the world are facing a great task to fight for lasting world peace, peaceful co-existence among countries with different social systems, national liberation, democracy and freedom and the victory of the cause of socialism. Our common enemies—the imperialist bloc headed by the United States—are ferocious and crafty. They are trying at all times to undermine our unity. But their schemes will never succeed. No force can undermine the Sino-Soviet unity based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The Chinese people, together with the Soviet people, will make all efforts to further consolidate and develop the great friendship between us. To this I am convinced that our visit will certainly make contributions. (Warm applause)

May the great unity between China and the Soviet Union be ever green!

Long live the great Soviet Union!

Long live the unity of the great socialist camp!

Long live the great unity of the people throughout the world!

Long live world peace!

Comrades, allow me to propose toasts to the brilliant achievements scored by the Byelorussian people and the entire Soviet people in communist construction, to the health of leading comrades of the Byelorussian Party and Government headed by Comrade Mazurov and to the health of the leading comrades of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union headed by Comrade Khrushchov! (Warm applause)

SPEECH AT BANQUET IN MOSCOW

December 7, 1960

Esteemed Comrade Brezhnev,
Dear Comrades and Friends,

We, the Chinese Party and Government Delegation, have come to attend the celebrations of the 43rd anniversary of the great October Socialist Revolution and for a friendly visit, at the invitation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Government of the USSR. In Moscow and other places, we have been accorded a warm welcome and a grand reception by the broad masses of the Soviet people and by leading comrades of the Soviet Party and Government. This has enabled us to become profoundly aware of the deep sincere fraternal feelings cherished by the Soviet people for the Chinese people. Now, as our visit is about to conclude, allow me to express my heartfelt gratitude for the hospitality accorded us by the Soviet people and the leading Soviet comrades.

We have come with the desire to strengthen the friendship between China and the Soviet Union. We are glad that our friendship and unity have been further consolidated and developed. The great friendship between us is eternal and indestructible.

We are pleased to note that the great Soviet people have made brilliant achievements in unfolding extensive communist construction. The various countries of our socialist camp have also made great advances in their construction work. Together with all other peoples of the world, we have been making unremitting efforts for the maintenance of world peace. I believe that so long as the peace-loving

Liu Shao-ch'i, as Chairman of the People's Republic of China, delivered this speech at a banquet given by him in the Chinese Embassy in Moscow in honour of Party and Government leaders of the Soviet Union on December 7, 1960. The text is taken from *Hsinhua News Agency Release*, No. 120754 (December 8, 1960), pp. 45-46.

countries and peoples of the world unite and struggle together, the cause of defending world peace will surely triumph.

I propose toasts
to the great Soviet people,
to the eternal friendship of the Chinese and Soviet peoples,
to the unity of the countries of the socialist camp,
to the friendship of the peoples of all lands and to world peace,
and

to the health of Comrade Khrushchov and the other leading comrades of the Party and Government of the Soviet Union!

SPEECH AT THE SOVIET-CHINESE FRIENDSHIP MEETING IN MOSCOW

December 7, 1960

Dear Comrade L.I. Brezhnev,
Dear Comrade P. Demichev,
Dear Soviet Brothers and Sisters,

We the Chinese Party and Government Delegation are happy and delighted to have come to our fraternal ally — the great Soviet Union to pay a friendly visit at the invitation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government. (Applause) Allow me, on behalf of the Chinese people, the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Government, to extend lofty respect and cordial greetings to you, and through you, to the great Soviet people, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government. (Prolonged and warm applause)

In these days, we, together with the great Soviet people, have jubilantly spent the glorious festival of the 43rd anniversary of the great October Socialist Revolution. After attending the Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of various countries in the world, we with pleasure paid friendly visits to Moscow, Leningrad and Minsk, made acquaintance with the life of the Soviet people, met communist workers on various fronts and witnessed the brilliant achievements scored by the Soviet people in various fields. Throughout the period of the visit, we have been accorded a hospitable reception. Everywhere we went, local residents bringing along old and young, whether in the day time or at night, sometimes braving rain and snow, gave us warm welcome. All this has borne witness

Liu Shao-ch'i, as Chairman of the People's Republic of China, made this speech in Moscow at the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Meeting held in honour of the Chinese Party and Government Delegation on December 7, 1960. The text is taken from *Hsinhua News Agency Release*, No. 120813 (December 10, 1960), pp. 28-34.

to the fraternal, sincere friendship of the Soviet people for the Chinese people. (Applause) Allow me to avail myself of this lofty rostrum to express heartfelt gratitude to the Moscow residents, the entire Soviet people, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government. (Warm applause)

When I witnessed in this visit the great achievements scored by the Soviet Union in communist construction, I recalled my personal experiences when I came to the Soviet Union for the first time.

I joined the Socialist Youth League of China in 1920. At that time, I only knew that socialism was good, heard about Marx and Lenin and the October Revolution and the Bolshevik Party, but I was not clear what socialism was and how could it be realised. In order to learn from the experience of the October Revolution, I and scores of other Youth League members came to your country in the spring of 1921. We went to Vladivostok from Shanghai, and from there came to Moscow via Chita. At that time, Vladivostok was still occupied by the Japanese troops and socialist transformation was not yet carried out in the Far East Republic. It took us three months to go from Vladivostok to Moscow and the train stopped frequently. At that time it used logs as fuel and sometimes the passengers had to go to the mountains to bring back logs for the train. Your country was then in the most difficult period after the revolution and we personally witnessed and went through these difficulties. Some of us wavered in their confidence in socialism on this account, but the confidence of the rest of us in socialism was further strengthened. (Applause)

This was because we met many conscious workers, peasants, fighters of the Red Army, the Party and Soviet functionaries, who, though leading a very hard life, maintained extremely high enthusiasm in work, were very proud of the victory of repulsing foreign armed interventionists and had boundless confidence in the bright prospects of the cause of socialism. They accorded warm welcome to the young people from China and helped us to overcome various difficulties. We were deeply moved by this entirely new spiritual feature and this gave us first knowledge of the arduousness of socialist revolution and its profound significance, thereby enhancing our determination and firmness to devote ourselves to the cause of revolution. Thus soon after arriving in Moscow, I joined the Communist Party in the winter of 1921. (Applause) Since then, I have worked for supporting the Soviet Union and developing and consolidating the friendship between the peoples of China and the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union which I see now is entirely different from what it was in the

past, but the unprecedentedly prosperous Soviet Union of today is precisely the continuation and development of the Soviet Union of yesterday which had gone through hard struggles. (Warm applause)

At that time, we Chinese youths came to the Soviet Union for the very purpose of seeking a correct path for the Chinese revolution. Just as Comrade Mao Tse-tung said in the article *On People's Democratic Dictatorship* that "the salvoes of the October Revolution awoke us to Marxism-Leninism. The October Revolution helped the progressives in China and throughout the world to adopt the proletarian world outlook as an instrument for studying a nation's destiny and reconsidering their own problems. The conclusion was: 'Follow the path of the Russians.'" (Applause) My personal experience has proved this.

The great October Revolution was like a flash of light breaking through the dark sky of China. In this light, China's advanced workers and revolutionary intellectuals saw the image of the great Lenin, saw the first country in the history of mankind in which the workers and peasants became masters, saw the great victory of Marxism-Leninism, (applause) and all this had aroused the enthusiasm to learn from the Soviet Union. Previously, the Chinese people in the midst of their ordeals had tried to seek in the western bourgeois "civilisation" a path to liberate themselves, but had met with one failure after another in their quest. After the October Revolution, the advanced workers and revolutionary intellectuals of China turned their heads to learn from the Soviet Union, and it was then that they found the correct path for the Chinese revolution. (Warm applause) From the very beginning, the Chinese communists have regarded the Chinese revolution as a continuation of the October Revolution. (Prolonged and warm applause) The great Soviet Union has always been a good teacher and sincere friend in the eyes of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people. For the past forty-three years, the great Soviet people, led by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, have made remarkable and persevering efforts in building and defending the socialist Soviet Union and have won great successes in socialist construction and the great victory in the patriotic war. An impoverished, backward Russia has been built into an advanced socialist power in a short period of time. All these miraculous achievements have strengthened the forces of peace and socialism and inspired the confidence of the people of various countries in their strivings for a better future. (Applause) Now the Soviet people, led by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union headed by Comrade N.S. Khrushchov, are successfully carrying out the magnificent Seven-Year

Plan and unfolding all-round communist construction, attracting the broad masses of the working people of all countries the world over by their new successes. In the course of our visit, we have seen everywhere the surging labour enthusiasm of the Soviet people, the extensive unfolding of the socialist emulation drive for the pre-fulfilment of the Seven-Year Plan and the continuous expansion of the ranks of communist labourers. All this has deeply convinced us that the Seven-Year Plan will surely be fulfilled ahead of schedule (warm applause) and that the Soviet Union will certainly be able in the near future to lead the world in the total output of industry and agriculture and then to surpass the United States in per capita production level. In science and technique, particularly in the conquest of cosmic space, the Soviet Union has shaken the entire world by its successive pioneering feats, demonstrating that the Soviet Union has left the United States far behind in the most important fields of science and technique. (Warm applause) The Chinese people whole-heartedly greet every success of the Soviet people in communist construction. Your achievements are ours (warm applause) and for this we are filled with pride. (Prolonged and warm applause)

The great Soviet Union is a powerful bulwark of world peace. The Soviet Union together with China and other fraternal socialist countries, have formed the powerful socialist camp. The Soviet Union discharges its obligations of fraternal mutual assistance and cooperation to the fraternal socialist countries, actively supports the struggle of the oppressed nations and peoples in the capitalist world for liberation and consistently strives for the realisation of peaceful co-existence among countries with different social systems. The Chinese people firmly support these policies pursued by the Soviet Union in international affairs. Not long ago, the Soviet delegation headed by Comrade N.S. Khrushchov, together with the delegations of other socialist countries, made new, helpful efforts at the 15th Session of the United Nations General Assembly to lay bare the policies of aggression and war of the imperialist bloc headed by the United States and expose the ugly colonialist system. To ease international tension, the Soviet Union put forward the proposals for general and complete disarmament and the banning of nuclear weapons which have won warm response and support among all the peace-loving countries and peoples of the world. (Applause) The Chinese people are grateful to Comrade Khrushchov, for at the 15th Session of the United Nations General Assembly he resolutely stood for the restoration of China's legitimate rights in the United Nations and

solemnly refuted the shameless smearing and slanders of the United States against China.

Comrades and friends: We know very well that you are highly interested in China's cause of socialist construction. I will tell you that China already fulfilled ahead of schedule last year the major targets for industrial production set in the Second Five-Year Plan. (Warm applause) China's industrial production plan for this year will probably be over fulfilled. Only in agriculture there are some difficulties owing to serious natural calamities. However, these difficulties, instead of over powering the Chinese people, have aroused their determination to rise in greater vigour. (Warm applause) The great aspiration of the Chinese people is to turn in a not too long period their own land from an economically and culturally backward agricultural country into a powerful, prosperous socialist state with modern industry, modern agriculture and modern science and culture. Reflecting this urgent desire of the broad masses of the people, the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung have put forward the general line for building socialism aimed at rapidly changing the backward features. In the past three years, China's national economy has steadily grown at a continued leap forward speed, that is, a high speed advance. The people's communes set up in China's rural areas and cities, have become more and more consolidated with each passing day and have shown their rich vitality. The Chinese Communist Party has adhered to the principle of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practices of construction in China and has adopted in socialist construction some concrete measures appropriate to China's conditions. These measures are experimental even so far as we ourselves are concerned. They have been proved effective through practice and have won the warm welcome and support by the 650 million Chinese people. (Warm applause) We will persist in carrying them out so as to achieve the purpose of rapidly eliminating backwardness and steadily pushing forward the cause of building socialism. The Chinese people, in socialist construction just as in the revolution in the past, have received tremendous assistance from the Soviet Union. The Chinese people will never forget the assistance rendered by the Soviet Union. I would like once again to convey the gratitude of the Chinese people to the Soviet people. (Prolonged and warm applause)

In international affairs China consistently stands together with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries and exerts all its efforts to contribute to the cause of opposing imperialism and defending world peace and striving for human progress. In

the relations with the fraternal socialist countries, China will persist in discharging its internationalist obligations, carrying out mutual assistance and cooperation with the Soviet Union and all other fraternal socialist countries. China resolutely gives active sympathy and support for the national democratic revolutionary movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America and to the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of the capitalist countries. (Warm applause) Like all other socialist countries, China persistently pursues a foreign policy of peace, advocates the realisation of peaceful co-existence among countries with different social systems on the basis of the Five Principles and works for the relaxation of international tension. In recent years, China has concluded friendship treaties with Burma, Nepal, Afghanistan, Guinea and Yemen, and at the same time made various efforts to improve its relations with other countries. China will forever stand together with the entire socialist camp, together with all the peace-loving countries and peoples, and struggle to the end for the victory of the cause of world peace. (Warm applause)

Comrades, as you know, a Meeting of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties has recently been held in Moscow and adopted unanimously a statement and an appeal to all the peoples of the world. This is another event of great historic significance after the 1957 Moscow Conference and the declarations adopted by it. The Statement of the Meeting published yesterday reiterates the 1957 Moscow Declarations, sums up the development of the international situation in the past three years, elucidates many important questions facing the international communist movement and sets forth militant future tasks for the communist and workers parties of various countries. There is no doubt that the result of this meeting will further strengthen the unity of the socialist camp and the unity of the entire international communist movement, further encourage the revolutionary and progressive people of the world and all the freedom-and-peace-loving forces, and bring the world people's cause of striving for peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism to new and still greater victories. (Warm applause)

As the Statement of the Meeting of the Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties says, today the struggle waged by the people of the various countries for world peace, national liberation, democracy and freedom and socialism has entered a period of new upsurge. The forces of peace have surpassed the forces of war, the forces of progress have surpassed the forces of reaction, and the forces of socialism have surpassed the forces of imperialism. Bright prospects for the cause of peace, democracy, national liberation and

socialism are opening up before us. The peoples embracing one-third of the world's population now engaged in socialist and communist construction and the people of various countries in the capitalist world participating in the working class revolutionary movement, the national democratic movement and the general democratic movement have formed a mighty torrent impinging on the imperialist world system. We see on the one hand that the nature of imperialism has not changed and the danger of a new world war is not over. The people of the world must maintain a particularly high degree of vigilance. On the other hand, we see that as a result of the change in the balance of international class forces, it is possible in our era to prevent imperialism from unleashing a world war by relying on the joint struggle of the powerful forces at the present times for safeguarding the cause of peace. Despite the fact that imperialism headed by the U.S. is stubbornly and feverishly carrying out arms expansion and war preparations and aggressive activities, imperialism can assuredly be prevented from launching a world war, and world peace safeguarded, if only the peoples of the world are further mobilised to form an international united front against the imperialist policies of aggression and war and carry out persistent struggles against the imperialist bloc headed by the U.S. (Warm applause)

In the cause of the peoples of the various countries to strive for world peace, national liberation, democracy and freedom and socialism, the unity of the socialist camp and the unity of the international communist movement are the most important guarantees for winning victory. (Prolonged and warm applause) Unity is life, unity is strength and unity is victory. The more closely we unite, the happier will be the people the world over, the more will they be inspired and the greater will be their confidence in their own strength. The Chinese Communist Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union are the two biggest parties in the international communist movement. China and the Soviet Union are the two biggest countries in the socialist camp. Our two parties and our two countries have particularly important responsibilities in our common cause. The unity of our two parties and our two countries is therefore of particularly great significance. (Warm applause) Our common enemy — the imperialists headed by the U.S. — is always trying to undermine the unity between China and the Soviet Union by every conceivable means. But, just as one cannot see the sun rising from the west, they will always fail to find separation between the two great parties, great countries, and great peoples of China and the Soviet Union. (Prolonged and stormy applause) Our unity is linked by the common ideals and common cause,

developed and consolidated in the joint struggle against the common enemy, and based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. This great unity has long stood the tests of storms and no force in the world can undermine it. (Prolonged and warm applause) The whole world can see that in the common struggle against imperialism and for the realisation of communism, the Chinese people will always stand together with the Soviet people in storm or rain. (Prolonged and warm applause) We are firmly convinced that the Chinese Communist Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Chinese people and the Soviet people will forever unswervingly protect the unity of our two parties and of the peoples of our two countries like the apple of the eye. (Warm applause) Let us unite more closely and march forward side by side under the great banner of Marxism-Leninism and for the victory of our common cause. (Warm applause)

Long live the great Soviet Union! (Warm applause)

Long live the great Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its Central Committee headed by Comrade Khrushchov! (Warm applause)

Long live the unity of the great socialist camp! (Warm applause)

Long live the everlasting and unbreakable friendship and unity between the peoples of China and the Soviet Union! (Warm applause)

Long live world peace! (Warm applause)

Long live the victory of Marxism-Leninism in the whole world! (Prolonged and stormy applause)

SPEECH AT A STATE BANQUET IN MOSCOW

December 7, 1960

Dear Comrade L.I. Brezhnev,
Dear Comrades and Friends,

Allow me to express my thanks to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the USSR Council of Ministers for giving such a grand banquet for us. In these days, we have been completely immersed in the friendship of the Soviet people. Wherever we go, the plain, honest and hospitable Soviet people have conveyed to us, in the most vivid and most enthusiastic ways, their fraternal friendship for the Chinese people. We will certainly take back home to the Chinese people this precious and genuine friendship of the Soviet people. We wish to assure the great Soviet people that the Chinese people are the most loyal friends of the Soviet people and that they will forever stand side by side with their Soviet brothers and sisters.

Although the time of our visit to your country is short, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government have made such fine arrangements for us that we have been able to make full use of the time to familiarise ourselves with the life of the Soviet people in various fields. In Moscow, Leningrad and Minsk, we visited plants and farms, saw excellent art performances and have had extensive intercourse with the representatives of all circles in the Soviet Union. Your great achievements in the fields of economy, culture, science and technology, and the close unity and growing prosperity of the people of all nationalities in the Soviet Union have impressed us deeply. The Chinese people used to say: the Soviet Union's today is China's tomorrow. Every achievement of yours is

Liu Shao-ch'i, as Chairman of the People's Republic of China, delivered this speech at a state banquet given in Moscow on December 7, 1960, to honour him and the Chinese Party and Government Delegation. The text is taken from *Hsinhua News Agency Release*, No. 120815 (December 9, 1960), pp. 33-35.

a very great inspiration to the Chinese people. Dear comrades, we wish that the Soviet people, under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, headed by Comrade Khrushchov, will steadily achieve new and more brilliant victories in the great cause of building communism.

The two socialist countries of China and the Soviet Union are closely united together by a common ideological basis, a common objective of struggle and by the close ties of alliance. The relations between China and the Soviet Union, like those existing among all the socialist countries, are entirely a new type of state relations and the best state relations on earth. Whether in the cause of building socialism and communism or in the cause of opposing imperialist aggression and defending world peace, our two countries, together, with other socialist countries, have always supported, and co-operated with each other and marched forward shoulder by shoulder. Here, I wish to mention particularly the great assistance given by the Soviet people to the Chinese people's cause of revolution and construction, and wish to express once again the heartfelt gratitude of the Chinese people to the Soviet people. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said: "To strengthen our solidarity with the Soviet Union, to strengthen our solidarity with all socialist countries — this is our fundamental policy; herein lies our basic interests."

The Chinese people will consistently and unswervingly make every best possible effort to safeguard and strengthen the great solidarity between the peoples of China and the Soviet Union.

Dear comrades, the visit of the Chinese Party and Government Delegation to the Soviet Union will soon come to a close. At this hour of bidding farewell, I, in the name of the entire delegation, wish to thank once again the great Soviet people, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government for the cordial welcome and reception given us.

Now, allow me to propose a toast:

to the great Soviet people,

to the lasting and unbreakable friendship between the peoples of China and the Soviet Union,

to the firm and strong unity of the entire socialist camp,

to the friendship among the people of all countries and world peace,

to the good health of leading comrades of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government headed by Comrade Khrushchov, and

to the good health of Comrade Brezhnev, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

FAREWELL SPEECH AT MOSCOW AIRPORT

December 8, 1960

Dear Comrade Brezhnev,
Dear Comrades and Friends,

Our Party and Government Delegation will soon conclude its visit to our great ally — the Soviet Union. In the course of its visit, our delegation has been accorded enthusiastic welcome and family like hospitality and has witnessed the tremendous achievements of the Soviet Union in various fields. At this moment when we are about to leave Moscow, allow me to express once again, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese Government and the Chinese people, profound gratitude to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet Government and the Soviet people and to wish you fresh and still more brilliant successes in the cause of all-out building of communism.

More than one month ago, our delegation came here bringing with it the Chinese people's fraternal friendship for the Soviet people and now we shall leave here bringing back the fraternal friendship of the Soviet people for the Chinese people. We are convinced that through our current visit and the talks with the leading comrades of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the friendship between the Chinese and Soviet peoples will be further consolidated and developed, and the unity between our two Parties and countries will be further strengthened.

Liu Shao-ch'i, as head of the Chinese Party and Government Delegation to the USSR and Chairman of the People's Republic of China, delivered this farewell speech at the Moscow airport on December 8, 1960, as the delegation was preparing to journey home. The text is translated from *Hsin-hua Pan-yueh-k'an* (新華半月刊, Hsinhua Semi-Monthly), No. 24 (December 27, 1960), p. 53. A partial translation appears in *Hsinhua News Agency Release*, No. 120830 (December 10, 1960), pp. 14-17.

During its stay in the Soviet Union, our delegation has also accomplished an important task, namely, we have in joint efforts with the representatives of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and other fraternal parties made the Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties a success. The result of this meeting will undoubtedly greatly promote a new upsurge in the struggle of the people of all countries for world peace, national liberation, democratic freedom, and socialism, enhance the victorious development of the international communist movement and promote still greater consolidation and powerfulness of the socialist camp.

Long live the everlasting, unbreakable friendship and unity between the two Parties, the two countries and the peoples of China and the Soviet Union!

Long live the world peace!

Farewell dear comrades!

SPEECH AT A BANQUET IN IRKUTSK

December 9, 1960

Dear Comrade Brezhnev,
Dear Comrade Shchetinin,
Dear Comrade Grichenko,
Dear Comrades,

I sincerely thank the people and leading comrades of the Party and Government of Irkutsk for their warm welcome and reception extended to us. Having visited Moscow, Leningrad and Minsk, we the Chinese Party and Government Delegation are very happy to have visited your city.

Here we have seen your city and the Irkutsk hydro-power station. Your people have built Irkutsk into a big rising industrial city by your selfless, creative labour. Your city is undertaking an important task and has already made outstanding achievements in the cause of realising the magnificent Seven Year Plan and of the extensive building of communism. All these have left deep impressions on us. We heartily rejoice over your achievements and wish you new and still greater successes in your future work.

Your city borders on our country and serves as an important thoroughfare for the exchange of fraternal, friendly visits between the people of our two countries. Thousands upon thousands of the Chinese and Soviet people pass through here every year on their way to various parts of China and the Soviet Union. Your city is very dear to the Chinese people.

Liu Shao-ch'i, as Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Chairman of the Chinese People's Republic and Head of the Chinese Party and Government Delegation to the Soviet Union, delivered this speech on December 9, 1960, in Irkutsk at a banquet given in his honour by the Irkutsk Regional Committee of the CPSU and the Executive Committee of the Irkutsk Regional Soviet. The text is taken from *Hsinhua News Agency Release*, No. 121080 (December 12, 1960), pp. 23-24.

Comrades:

After this visit to your country and making contacts with people in various circles, I have reached the conclusion that both the Soviet and Chinese peoples have a strong desire to enhance their unity. People are overjoyed whenever we speak of strengthening the unity between the two parties and the two countries and the friendship between the peoples. On the other hand, any word or deed detrimental to the unity between our two parties and two countries, any word or deed damaging the basis of this unity — the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism — will not be tolerated by either the Chinese or Soviet people. Neither will this, I believe, be tolerated among the peoples of all countries of the socialist camp, nor among the people who form more than ninety percent of the total population of the capitalist world. This is because: feelings of friendship between the peoples of China and the Soviet Union have a long-standing deep-rooted historical foundation; confronting us still are strong enemies — imperialism and reaction; our two countries and all the other socialist countries are facing the serious tasks of common struggle and of building socialism and communism; and the people who form more than ninety percent of the total population of the capitalist world want revolution, and world peace and demand the joint support of the socialist camp and, first of all, that of the two big powers — China and the Soviet Union. Therefore, the peoples of all countries of the socialist camp and the people who form more than ninety percent of the total population of the capitalist world all strongly demand the firm unity of the two parties and the two countries of China and the Soviet Union. History is created by the people. This strong desire of the great majority of the people throughout the world cannot and should not be countered. Our two parties — the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Chinese Communist Party — and their Central Committees, and our two Governments — the Government of the USSR and the Chinese Government — all reflect strong desires of the peoples of our two countries and the great majority of the people of the world for unity and have done in earnest everything necessary they should do to strengthen the unity between our two parties and two countries.

Now, allow me to toast:

to the eternal, unbreakable friendship and unity between the two parties, two countries and the peoples of China and the Soviet Union;

to the brilliant achievements scored by the great Soviet people in unfolding communist construction;

to the health of leading comrades of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government headed by Comrade Khrushchov;

I wish especially to thank Comrade Brezhnev, because he has accompanied us to visit all places we wanted to visit, and so to the health of Comrade Brezhnev and to the health of leading comrades of Irkutsk Party and Government.

TELEGRAM TO N.S. KHRUSHCHOV AND L. I. BREZHNEV

December 9, 1960

Dear Comrade Khrushchov and Comrade Brezhnev:

As we are about to leave your great country, allow me, dear comrades, in the name of the Chinese Party and Government Delegation, to express once again heartfelt thanks for your invitation and cordial reception and to extend our best wishes to you, and through you, to the Soviet people, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government.

May the Soviet people, under the leadership of the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union, achieve new and still greater successes in the lofty cause of building communism and defending world peace.

May the fraternal friendship between the peoples of China and the Soviet Union be ever green!

Liu Shao-chi

December 9, 1960, on the plane

Liu Shao-ch'i, as Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Chairman of the People's Republic of China and Head of the Chinese Party and Government Delegation, sent this telegram of thanks to N.S. Khrushchov, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU and Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and L.I. Brezhnev, Member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the CPSU and President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, on December 9, 1960, as he was flying from Irkutsk back to the People's Republic of China. The text is taken from *Hsinhua News Agency Release*, No. 120919 (December 10, 1960), p. 10.

WELCOME SPEECH TO PRINCE SIHANOUK

December 15, 1960

Today we are very glad and much honoured that His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, outstanding statesman of Cambodia and respected friend of the Chinese people, has once again come to our capital Peking. On behalf of the Chinese people and the Government of the People's Republic of China and in my own name, I wish to extend the warmest welcome to His Royal Highness the Prince as well as His Excellency Penn Nouth, Vice-President of the High Throne Council of Cambodia; His Excellency Pho Proeung, Prime Minister of the Royal Government of Cambodia; His Excellency Nhiek Tiouloung, Deputy Prime Minister, and the other distinguished guests who accompany His Royal Highness on the visit to our country.

China and Cambodia are peace-loving countries and intimate neighbours. There is a profound traditional friendship between our two peoples who have always lived together in peace and amity. We note with great satisfaction that since the liberation of the Chinese people and the independence of the Cambodian people, the traditional friendship between our two peoples and the relations of friendship and cooperation between our two countries have steadily developed on a new basis. This is a result of the common efforts made by our two peoples and Governments and at the same time a proof of the great vitality of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the Bandung Spirit. His Royal Highness Prince Sihanouk has visited our country twice, each time bringing the kinsman-like friendship of the Cambodian people for the Chinese people and making the relations between our two countries still closer. Your Royal Highness

Liu Shao-ch'i, as Chairman of the People's Republic of China, delivered this welcome speech to Prince Sihanouk on December 15, 1960, at the Peking railway station. The text is taken from *Hsinhua News Agency Release*, No. 121519 (December 16, 1960), pp. 12-13.

Respected Prince, I am deeply convinced that the present visit to our country by Your Royal Highness and all other distinguished guests from Cambodia will certainly make new contributions to the further strengthening of the friendship between our two peoples and the promotion of friendly cooperation between our two countries.

The Chinese people greatly respect and admire the brilliant achievements gained by the Cambodian people in their cause of promoting the prosperity and strength of their country and defending their national independence. We are glad to see that the Government of the Kingdom of Cambodia which has consistently pursued a policy of peace and neutrality is playing a more and more positive role in international affairs and consequently enjoying more and more support and praise by peace-loving countries and peoples. The Chinese people are ready to further link their arms with the Cambodian people for close cooperation and mutual support in the common cause of building our respective motherlands, defending our national independence and safeguarding Asian and world peace.

Long live the profound friendship between the Chinese and Cambodian peoples!

Long live the great solidarity of the peoples of Asia and the world!

Long live world peace!

SPEECH AT A STATE BANQUET HONOURING PRINCE SIHANOUK

December 16, 1960

Your Royal Highness Respected Prince Norodom Sihanouk,
Respected Distinguished Guests from Cambodia,
Friends and Comrades,

We are holding a banquet here with boundless joy to entertain our noble guests from our friendly neighbor the Kingdom of Cambodia. Please allow me, on behalf of the Chinese people and Government and in my own name, to express once again our sincere and warm welcome to His Royal Highness Prince Sihanouk, esteemed friend of our people, as well as His Excellency Samdech Penn Nouth, His Excellency Prime Minister Pho Proeung, His Excellency Deputy Prime Minister Nhiek Tioulong and all the other distinguished guests from Cambodia who have come to our country in company of His Royal Highness the Prince, and through them to extend our greetings to the kinsman-like Cambodian people.

This is the third time His Royal Highness Prince Sihanouk has come to our country. We note with pleasure that His Royal Highness' each visit has brought about new progress in the friendly relations between our two countries and left a fine, unforgettable impression on our people. Your Royal Highness Respected Prince, your first visit promoted mutual understanding and mutual confidence between our two countries. When you came to our country the second time, our two countries had already established formal diplomatic relations. This time, you have again brought us the very precious friendship of the Cambodian people. Your Royal Highness is moreover ac-

Liu Shao-ch'i, as Chairman of the People's Republic of China, delivered this speech at a state banquet honouring Prince Sihanouk in Peking on the evening of December 16, 1960. The text is taken from *Hsinhua News Agency Release*, No. 121655 (December 17, 1960), pp. 56-57.

accompanied on this visit to our country by so many important high-ranking officials of the Kingdom of Cambodia. This is a grand event rare in the history of the relations between our two countries. Undoubtedly, this is another important development in the friendly relations of our two countries.

A long traditional friendship has existed for ages between the Chinese and Cambodian peoples. What is especially worth treasuring by us is the fact that our two countries have always lived together in peace and amity and no dispute has ever occurred between them. Since the independence of our two countries, still broader prospects have been opened for the development of this traditional friendship between our two peoples. Our two countries have the common experience of suffering long from the plague of colonialism, cherish the common desire to develop our independent national economies and face the common task of opposing colonialism and winning world peace. Both our two countries adhere faithfully to the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence and have made sincere and unremitting efforts to strengthen the friendship between our two peoples. In recent years, the friendly intercourse and mutual help and cooperation in the fields of economy and culture between our two Governments and peoples have undergone a rapid development. Mutual support between our two countries in international affairs is also being strengthened with each passing day. His Royal Highness Prince Sihanouk and the Royal Government of Cambodia have always persisted in the policy of friendship towards China and adopted a serious and just position towards China's national sovereignty and international rights and interests. Facts have proved that these relations of mutual confidence, mutual respect and friendly cooperation between our two countries are closer than in any other periods in history. Please rest assured, Your Royal Highness Respected Prince, that the Chinese people will be the most faithful friends of the Cambodian people whether in our respective causes of safeguarding our national independence or in our common cause of defending world peace. We will maintain close cooperation and permanent friendship with the Cambodian people.

The Chinese people have always held in great esteem and admiration the firm stand taken by His Royal Highness Prince Sihanouk and the Royal Government of Cambodia in pursuance of the policy of peace and neutrality. Thanks to the outstanding activities and contributions of His Royal Highness Prince Sihanouk in the cause of defending national independence and safeguarding peace in Asia and the world, the international status of the Kingdom of Cambodia

is daily raised, its role in international affairs continuously strengthened, and the independent and sovereign foreign policy of Cambodia is winning more and more extensive support and praise. A most vivid proof of this is the fact that His Royal Highness Prince Sihanouk has been accorded warm welcome everywhere in his recent visits to three socialist countries: Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union and Mongolia. This also shows that any country, whether big or small, so long as its policy is correct and its stand is just, will certainly have a positive effect on itself and the surrounding world and engender great strength. Because it has such a leader and a hardworking and courageous people, the Kingdom of Cambodia is firm and invincible. We believe that the Cambodian people, under the leadership of His Royal Highness Prince Sihanouk, can surely smash any aggression and subversive plots from outside, lead their country on the path of prosperity and strength, and continue to make new and greater contributions to the cause of peace in Asia and the world.

The Chinese people, led by the Communist Party of China and Comrade Mao Tse-tung and holding high the victorious banners of the general line, the big leap forward and the people's commune, are carrying on selfless labor in high spirits to change rapidly the "poor and blank" features of their country. Our country has achieved tremendous successes in the socialist construction, but there are also shortcomings and difficulties in our work. We sincerely hope that Your Royal Highness the Prince and all the other distinguished guests, through your personal contacts in this visit in our country will get an all-round understanding of the conditions in our country and that you will benefit us with your impressions and criticisms of our work. Your Royal Highness Respected Prince Sihanouk, respected distinguished guests from Cambodia, please allow me to express once again our heartfelt thanks for your visit and our best wishes for the complete success of your visit.

Now, I propose a toast

to the health of His Royal Highness Prince Sihanouk,

to the health of His Excellency Samdech Penn Nouth, His Excellency Prime Minister Pho Proeung and His Excellency Deputy Prime Minister Nhieh Tioulong,

to the health of all the other distinguished guests from Cambodia,
to the daily-growing friendship between the Chinese and Cambodian peoples, and
to world peace!

FAREWELL SPEECH TO PRINCE SIHANOUK

December 20, 1960

His Royal Highness Prince Sihanouk and the other distinguished guests from Cambodia are now leaving Peking to visit other parts of our country. We are here to bid farewell, with a sense of regret, to our good friend His Royal Highness Prince Sihanouk as well as His Excellency Vice-President Samdech Penn Nouth, His Excellency Prime Minister Pho Proeung, His Excellency Deputy Prime Minister Nhiek Tiouloung and the other distinguished guests from Cambodia who accompany His Royal Highness the Prince on the visit to our country. At this moment of parting, please allow me, on behalf of our country and people and in my own name, to express our sincere thanks and respect to His Royal Highness the Prince for the precious contribution he has made to the strengthening of Sino-Cambodian friendship.

The present visit of His Royal Highness Prince Sihanouk has written a new page in the annals of the friendly relations between China and Cambodia. During the visit, many friendly contacts and cordial talks were held between the leaders of our two countries and opinions were exchanged extensively and frankly on the further strengthening of the relations of friendship and cooperation between the two countries and other questions of common interest to the two countries. Yesterday, the Governments of our two countries concluded the Sino-Cambodian Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Non-Aggression. This is a great event in the relations between our two countries and also a great event in the political lives of our two peoples. Your Royal Highness the Prince, this shows that both our sides have the firm faith and determination to fulfil our common

Liu Shao-ch'i, as Chairman of the People's Republic of China, delivered this farewell speech to Prince Sihanouk on December 20, 1960, at the Peking railway station. The text is taken from *Hsinhua News Agency Release*, No. 122009 (December 21, 1960), p. 6.

desire that China and Cambodia will always live together in peace and amity and cooperate in a friendly way, and that the Chinese and Cambodian peoples will forever remain close to each other like brothers and share each other's weal and woe. Let the Governments and peoples of our two countries make joint efforts and help each other to build up our respective countries better and more quickly, and continuously to win new victories in the cause of safeguarding national independence and defending world peace.

Your Royal Highness Respected Prince and the other respected distinguished guests from Cambodia, during your short stay of several days, you must have seen what profound friendship our people have for the kinsman-like Cambodian people and what high respect they cherish for Your Royal Highness the Prince. The profound friendship of the Cambodian people you have brought will forever remain in the hearts of the 650 million Chinese people. There is no force on earth that can undermine the friendship between our two peoples, nor any force that can prevent the marching forward of our two peoples side by side.

I wish Your Royal Highness Prince Sihanouk and all the other distinguished guests from Cambodia good health and bon voyage!

ADDRESS AT THE MEETING IN CELEBRATION OF THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

June 30, 1961

Comrades and Friends,

We are gathered here today to celebrate the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of China.

The forty years since the founding of the Communist Party of China have been years during which our Party has led the people of the whole country in heroic struggles and in achieving great victories, years during which Marxism-Leninism has spread widely in China and has won great victories.

Before the founding of the Communist Party of China the Chinese people waged a long struggle against imperialism and feudalism, with new fighters always stepping forward as others fell, a struggle that moves us to song and tears. However, they never attained genuine victory. It was not until Marxism-Leninism spread to China following the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia that the Chinese people found the best theoretical weapon for their liberation. The Communist Party of China wielded this weapon and formulated the correct objectives, policies and methods for the struggle to liberate the Chinese people. From then on the march of the Chinese people from victory to victory has been irresistible.

During these forty years the Communist Party of China, together with the Chinese people, has accomplished a great deal. To sum

Liu Shao-ch'i as Chairman of the People's Republic of China, delivered this speech in the Great Hall of the People in Peking before an audience of some 10,000 on June 30, 1961. The text is taken from *Address at the Meeting in Celebration of the 40th Anniversary of the Founding of the Communist Party of China*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1961, pp. 1-21.

up, what has been accomplished consists mainly of two important things:

First, we carried out the people's democratic revolution in China. Because of its weakness the Chinese national bourgeoisie could not lead China's bourgeois-democratic revolution to victory. The responsibility of leading this revolution had to be shouldered by the proletariat. For a very long time many people tried to establish in China the system of a bourgeois republic, but all these attempts ended in bankruptcy. In China, if a republic was to be set up, it had to be a people's democratic republic under the leadership of the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance. Our Party united the people of the whole country and after twenty-eight years, from 1921 to 1949, finally overthrew the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism and established the People's Republic of China.

Second, we have been carrying out the socialist revolution and socialist construction in China. We have been doing this for the past twelve years and we are continuing to do it. The founding of the People's Republic of China marked the beginning of the transition from the democratic to the socialist revolution. The Chinese people's democratic state power is in essence the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the past twelve years we have basically completed the socialist revolution and have achieved immense successes in socialist construction. A very long time is still required to build China into a great socialist country with modern industry, modern agriculture and modern science and culture. And a longer historical period is required to realize the transition from socialism to communism. Nevertheless, anyone can see that the socialist system is already established in this great land of China and that China is no longer a stagnant country but is forging ahead vigorously.

It is a great event in the history of the development of Marxism-Leninism that in a large country with a population of 650 million, under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, the people's democratic revolution has won complete victory, the socialist revolution has won decisive victory and socialist construction has won initial victory. Both before and after the October Revolution Lenin predicted many times that the Chinese revolution and the revolutions in other Asian countries would exert a profound and far-reaching influence on the course of human history. His prediction has begun to come true. Undoubtedly, the victory of the Chinese revolution has changed to a certain degree the international balance of forces in favour of the people of the world and against imperialism and all

the reactionaries. This victory has therefore been welcomed by the working people and peace-loving people the world over. It has also incurred the enmity of the imperialists, the reactionaries of various countries and the Yugoslav revisionist group. The imperialists, the reactionaries of various countries and the Yugoslav revisionist group have been and are cursing us venomously and will go on doing so. This is inevitable and not surprising. But it will not harm us in the slightest.

The historical facts of forty years have proved that the Communist Party of China is a great, glorious and correct Marxist-Leninist political party. It has been unswerving in its loyalty to the interests of the Chinese people and the Chinese nation. It has never bent nor flinched before domestic or foreign enemies. It has led the Chinese people to great victories and will lead them to still greater victories.

As we look back over the forty years of history, we pay high tribute to our glorious martyrs to the cause of communism and the cause of the liberation of the Chinese people. Among them were many members of the Communist Party, many working people and many persons outside the Party. In the struggle they gave their last blood and sacrificed their lives. They will live in our hearts forever!

The history of the Communist Party of China is the history of the ever closer integration of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said, "The victories of the revolution and construction in our country are all victories of Marxism-Leninism. The ideological principle consistently followed by our Party is to link closely the theory of Marxism-Leninism and the practice of the Chinese revolution."

In every historical period of our Party it has been the leader of our Party, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, who has stood at the very forefront and who has been the most able in integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of China.

Confronted with the extreme complexity of the Chinese revolution, Comrade Mao Tse-tung correctly posed and resolved a series of theoretical and tactical problems, thus enabling the Chinese revolution to steer clear of one shoal after another and to capture one position after another.

Proceeding from a concrete analysis of the classes in Chinese society, Comrade Mao Tse-tung charted the historical course of the Chinese revolution. He pointed out that the Chinese revolution must advance in two steps, the first was the people's democratic revolution and the second, the socialist revolution.

The enemies of China's democratic revolution were imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism and they were very powerful. But the latent revolutionary strength of the Chinese people was even more powerful. The peasantry constituted the overwhelming majority of the population of our country. By forming a solid worker-peasant alliance with the broad masses of peasants and by uniting on the basis of this alliance with the people of various nationalities and of all revolutionary strata, the Chinese working class could defeat these powerful enemies. Comrade Mao Tse-tung correctly resolved the problems of the peasant movement, armed struggle, the united front and the building of the Party; these were the most fundamental problems of China's democratic revolution.

During most of the twenty-eight long years of our country's democratic revolution, our Party's leadership was correct. In certain periods, however, some Right and some "Left" errors were committed. The most serious of these were the Right opportunist error of Chen Tu-hsiu in 1927 and the third "Left" dogmatist error of 1931 to 1934 under the leadership of Comrade Wang Ming. These errors all violated what Comrade Mao Tse-tung correctly advocated and they inflicted losses on the Party and the cause of the people's revolution. The many experiences, positive and negative, that were accumulated by our Party in its struggle educated the whole Party and raised the level of political consciousness of the comrades. Under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the Party overcame both the Right and the "Left" errors. The Tsunyi Meeting of January 1935 established Comrade Mao Tse-tung's leadership throughout the Party. Since then, our revolutionary cause has proceeded much more smoothly.

The rectification movement launched in the Party in 1942, which lasted more than three years, gave the cadres of the whole Party a profound education, and they learned more about how to integrate the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. The general line and various specific policies of the Party came to be really understood by the overwhelming majority of the Party's cadres. The style of linking oneself with the masses, of investigating and studying and of seeking truth from facts became the unified style of the Party. Consequently, at the Seventh Congress of the Party in 1945, the whole Party attained unprecedented unity under the banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking. This ensured that after the conclusion of the War of Resistance Against Japan, our Party could correctly lead the masses of the people of the whole country to wage the great People's War of Liberation success-

fully, and thus speedily win complete victory in the people's democratic revolution.

On the occasion of the 28th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of China, Comrade Mao Tse-tung published his well-known article, "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship." This article explained the titanic changes that had taken place since Chinese progressives adopted the proletarian world outlook as the instrument for studying the nation's destiny. The article summed up our basic experience in the period of the democratic revolution. At the same time, on the basis of the specific conditions of our country, it pointed out the fundamental road for the transition from the democratic to the socialist revolution.

After the establishment of the People's Republic of China we carried out the anti-feudal land reform in the newly liberated areas and at the same time we waged the great struggles to suppress counter-revolutionaries and to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea; thereby we further cleared the way for the socialist revolution and for socialist construction in our country.

Guided by the general line and the various specific policies for the period of transition to socialism which were laid down by the Party's Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, our socialist revolution may be said to have proceeded comparatively rapidly and smoothly.

On the socialist transformation of agriculture: We applied Lenin's theory of the worker-peasant alliance under the dictatorship of the proletariat and his theory of agricultural co-operation; we summed up the experience we had gained in our revolutionary base areas in the movement for agricultural mutual aid and co-operation; and in accordance with the concrete conditions of our country after liberation, we relied on the poor peasants and lower middle peasants, united firmly with the rest of the middle peasantry, used various transitional forms and thus enabled our agriculture to change from an individual economy to a socialist collective economy.

On the socialist transformation of the industry and commerce of the national bourgeoisie: We applied Marx's idea that in certain conditions the proletariat may adopt a policy of buying out the bourgeoisie and Lenin's ideas concerning the policy of state capitalism under proletarian dictatorship; we summed up our Party's experience in its industrial and commercial policies in the revolutionary base areas; and in accordance with the concrete conditions of our country after liberation, we carried out the combined policy of utilizing, restricting and transforming capitalist industry and commerce

and used various forms of state capitalism, ranging from the lower to the higher, in order to achieve this transformation.

In the course of executing the principles and policies just mentioned, the Central Committee of the Party corrected in good time certain Right and "Left" deviations which occurred. Meanwhile, in various movements we constantly summed up our experiences and formulated a whole set of specific policies that were needed to put into effect the general line for socialist transformation. The result was that the more than 500 million peasants led by the working class took the road of socialism in not too long a period of time and in circumstances where agriculture was not yet mechanized. Moreover, this promoted the socialist transformation of individual handicrafts and of capitalist industry and commerce.

The struggle as between the socialist and the capitalist road has not ended with the basic completion of the socialist revolution in the ownership of the means of production, and this struggle will go on for a long time especially on the political and ideological fronts. In 1957, the socialist revolution in our country won a decisive victory on the political and ideological fronts. We should follow the direction Comrade Mao Tse-tung set forth in his article, "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Within the Ranks of the People," draw a sharp line between two fundamentally different kinds of contradictions—those between the enemy and ourselves and those within the ranks of the people—and adopt different methods for resolving continuously the two different kinds of contradictions that arise in the course of the struggle between the two roads. Except in the case of enemies, over whom dictatorship must be exercised, we must resolutely carry out the policy, "proceed from the desire for unity, distinguish between right and wrong through criticism or struggle, and arrive at new unity on a new basis," in order to resolve the contradictions within the ranks of the people.

During the period of socialist transformation, our Party, basing itself on the policy put forward by Comrade Mao Tse-tung for carrying out socialist construction side by side with socialist transformation, achieved great success in the field of national economic construction, success without parallel in Chinese history.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung and the Central Committee of our Party applied the Marxist-Leninist theory on socialist construction, drew on the experiences of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in construction, and on the basis of our experience in carrying out the First Five-Year Plan formulated the general line for China's socialist construction—the general line of going all out, aiming

high and achieving more, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism.

What is the basic significance of this general line? It is to utilize to the maximum the enormous potentiality of the socialist system for developing the productive forces of society, mobilize all the positive factors, unite with all the forces that can be united with, put into effect the series of policies of "walking on two legs," and develop our national economy in a planned and proportionate way and at high speed so that our country can change at a comparatively fast rate from a backward into an advanced country.

Today our country is still economically backward. Imperialism continues to bully us. The people of our country urgently demand an end to this backwardness. There is not the slightest doubt that our Party's general line for socialist construction conforms to the aspirations of the whole people.

Guided by the Party's general line for socialist construction, our country has made big leaps forward for three consecutive years beginning with 1958. Meanwhile, in our countryside there have emerged the people's communes formed by agricultural co-operatives joining together. Thus the general line, the big leap forward and the people's commune have become the Three Red Banners that are leading the Chinese people forward.

During the three years of the big leap forward, the key targets set for industry in the Second Five-Year Plan have been fulfilled ahead of schedule, a fairly large modern industrial base has been built and consequently the productive capacity of the basic industries has increased two or more times. In agriculture, water conservancy projects have been undertaken extensively, and thus conditions essential for the future development of agricultural production have been created. In the fields of culture and education there has also been great progress over the last three years.

Inspired by the Three Red Banners — the general line, the big leap forward, and the people's commune — the broad masses of workers, peasants and intellectuals have displayed great enthusiasm and creativeness on every front of construction. During the big-leap-forward movement the masses of the people have brought their mighty strength into play to create a new life and make a new history.

The facts have proved that it is absolutely right and entirely necessary for the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people to hold high the Three Red Banners of the general line, the big leap forward and the people's commune.

Our general line is developed and perfected through practice, and the various specific policies and specific measures essential for its realization have also to be developed and perfected gradually through practice. During the big leap forward of the last three years we have had tremendous achievements, and the general line and the various specific policies and measures have all been developed. At the same time, there have also been quite a few shortcomings in our work which, together with the serious natural calamities of the two successive years, have given rise to some temporary difficulties. In a large country like ours with a population of 650 million, a country that is economically and culturally backward, it would be inconceivable for such a new undertaking as socialist construction to proceed without shortcomings, without running into any difficulty. Historical experience has proved that no difficulty, no shortcoming, can frighten us; on the contrary, we have always steeled ourselves and become stronger and more correct in the course of extending our achievements and overcoming all kinds of difficulties and shortcomings. We are fully confident that, under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung and under the guidance of the Three Red Banners, the whole Party and the whole people will surely unite as one, overcome temporary difficulties and continue our triumphant march forward.

The forty years' history of the Chinese Communist Party has proved that China's advance in revolution and construction is inseparably linked with the great unity of the whole people. This great unity under the leadership of the Communist Party of China is the fundamental guarantee of victory in all our undertakings.

The great unity of the Chinese people has been forged in the course of prolonged struggles for revolution and construction, it has stood all tests and it is therefore the firmest kind of unity.

Credit for all our achievements should go to the masses of the people of all the nationalities of our country. While celebrating the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of China, we pay tribute to the workers, peasants, engineers and technicians, teachers, professors, scientists, workers in the economic field, cultural workers, public health workers, and other working people who are carrying on heroic struggles and working hard on all fronts! We pay tribute to the patriotic democratic parties, democratic personages, national bourgeoisie and overseas compatriots that have long co-operated with our Party! We pay tribute to all the commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army who are defending our motherland! We pay tribute to all the cadres and Party members

who are working diligently and conscientiously at all posts of struggle!

The working class is the leading force in forging the great unity of the whole nation. The workers of our country will keep on playing their vanguard role in the construction work of the country. The working class should continue to raise its class consciousness, shoulder its responsibility as the leading class even better and prove itself by deeds to be the class most capable of championing the interests of the whole people.

The worker-peasant alliance is the foundation of the great unity of the people of the whole country. In our socialist construction we can create favourable prerequisites for developing the entire national economy only when we bring into full play the enthusiasm and creativeness of the more than 500 million peasants, raise labour productivity in agriculture, and comprehensively develop all the various branches of agricultural production. We must firmly carry out the basic policy put forward by Comrade Mao Tse-tung that agriculture should be the foundation and industry the guiding factor for the development of the national economy. Industry and other departments concerned must go all out in support of agriculture and do everything possible to increase the output of means of production for it, so as to meet the needs of agricultural development. Party committees and people's governments at all levels should conscientiously, thoroughly and completely carry out the series of policies and measures concerning the rural people's communes laid down by Comrade Mao Tse-tung and the Central Committee of the Party, place the people's communes, with ownership by the production brigades as their basis, on a sound footing and consolidate them, and bring into full play the superiority of the people's commune system in promoting agricultural production.

The intellectuals are an important force, indispensable to the success of our socialist construction. In our country their ranks are constantly expanding, and they have made great progress in remoulding themselves ideologically. They have made valuable contributions on all fronts of socialist construction. We should continue to enlarge the ranks of intellectuals and continue the policy of "a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend," so that the cause of socialist science and culture may flourish still more in our country.

The great unity of the people of our country, the people's democratic united front of our country, comprises two alliances — one is the alliance of the working class with the peasants and other working people, the other is the alliance between the working people and

those non-working people with whom co-operation is possible. We should continue to carry out the policy of "long-term coexistence and mutual supervision" with the democratic parties, unite with all the forces that can be united with and mobilize all positive factors that can be mobilized so as to serve the cause of socialism. Since the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, the members of the national bourgeoisie in our country have made new advances in educating and remoulding themselves politically and ideologically. We should help them to continue their fundamental remoulding so that they will become conscious socialist working people.

The Communist Party of China is the core around which the people of the whole country are united for socialist construction. Comrade Mao Tse-tung said at the Eighth National Congress of the Communist Party of China held in September 1956:

There are over 10 million members in our Party, yet they constitute only a very small minority of the country's population. In the various organs of the state and in public affairs a great deal of work has to be done by non-Party people. It is impossible to get the work done well unless we are good at relying on the masses and co-operating with non-Party people.

In order to do a good job in the interests of the great unity of the whole people and in the interests of socialist construction, all members of our Party must, under the leadership of the Central Committee, raise their ideological and political level further, perfect the Party organizations and strengthen the unity of the Party.

Our Party now has more than 17 million members. Eighty per cent of them have joined the Party since the founding of the People's Republic of China, and 70 per cent have joined since 1953. They are the Party's new blood but lack experience, and many of them have not yet had systematic Marxist-Leninist education. Those who joined the Party before liberation have gone through sanguinary revolutionary struggles and are now the backbone of our Party, but while familiar with revolution they have not yet had adequate experience in socialist construction. Therefore, all Party members, whether old or new, have a serious task before them, that is, they must learn socialist construction, conscientiously and systematically.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said, "The important thing is to be good at learning." At present the most important task is to unfold a new campaign of study throughout the Party. The pri-

mary purpose of this campaign is to help all Party cadres further to understand and grasp the objective laws of China's socialist construction, so that we can build socialism in our country with more, faster, better and more economical results. All Party members and cadres should study conscientiously the basic Marxist-Leninist principles of socialist revolution and socialist construction, study the theoretical and practical problems of China's socialist construction as elucidated by Comrade Mao Tse-tung on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles, study the general line and the various specific policies of socialist construction as formulated by the Central Committee of the Party, and study the experience in socialist construction of the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries. As for the large number of new Party members, they must in addition be given basic education in Marxism-Leninism and basic knowledge of the Party.

Through this campaign of study all Party cadres should consciously improve their style of work and further develop the traditional Marxist-Leninist style of our Party. To do this, we must, as Comrade Mao Tse-tung has consistently said, learn how to use the theory and method of Marxism-Leninism to make meticulous investigations and studies of the environment and to derive from objective reality inherent laws, and not imaginary laws, as our guide to action. Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out long ago that in order to bring about the victory of the Chinese revolution we must depend on the understanding by Chinese comrades of Chinese conditions. He has stated:

Correct and firm tactics of struggle for the Communist Party can never be produced by a handful of people sitting in a room. They can only be produced in the process of the struggles of the masses, that is to say, they can only be produced through practical experience. For only through practical experience can a correct estimate of the class forces be made, only thus can correct and firm tactics of struggle be produced and the victory of the revolution safeguarded. To this end, we need at all times to understand the conditions in society and to conduct practical investigations.

This is the Marxist-Leninist style of integrating theory with practice, the style of seeking truth from facts.

In the history of our Party, not all cadres have had this style, and much less so at the beginning. In different periods of our country's revolution, Right or "Left" errors, both the result of divorce from reality, appeared in our Party. Their common characteristics

were disregard of the investigation and study of objective reality, failure to understand the concrete conditions of China and the belief that the Chinese revolution could be directed by relying on subjective imagination and the impressions of the moment, or by merely adducing isolated quotations from certain books. It is well known that these erroneous tendencies caused setbacks of various kinds to the Chinese revolution. Our comrades must bear this lesson in mind, must in their work adhere to the style of seeking truth from facts as advocated by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, and must prevent or overcome every kind of subjectivist style.

Our Party is good at learning. When we began, we had no experience of the democratic revolution, the socialist revolution or socialist construction. But through diligent study amid practice we came to understand and grasp the objective laws of the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution, and we have also learned many things in our socialist construction. We must, however, guard against complacency. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has many times told us to be on guard against conceit and impetuosity. He has said, "Modesty makes one progress whereas conceit makes one lag." He has also said, "The enemy of study is one's own complacency; he who really wants to learn something must begin by not being complacent." We are all aware that to be satisfied with a smattering of knowledge, to fancy that one knows a great deal and so be lazy about study, shows a defective sense of responsibility towards the cause of the people's revolution. We are resolutely opposed to this erroneous attitude. There are many things about socialist construction we have yet to learn. We must study diligently. If we are diligent, we can surely attain a further knowledge and grasp of the objective laws of socialist construction.

Our Party not only shares the life and lot of the Chinese people but has always held that China's revolution and construction are a part of the people's revolutionary movement throughout the world and a part of the world socialist cause. Our Party and our people consistently uphold the principle of linking proletarian internationalism with patriotism and are firmly united with the people of the whole world.

In our revolution and construction we have received assistance from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and we also have received sympathy and support from the working people of the world and the progressive forces in all countries. At the same time, the Chinese people, too, by their exertions and struggles, support all the progressive and just causes of the people of the world. Such

internationalist mutual support and solidarity is of extremely great importance for the triumph of our common cause. Here we wish to pay high tribute to the great Soviet people and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and to the people and the fraternal Parties of the other socialist countries, to the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries, and to the people of all countries now engaged in struggles.

Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, the basic policy for our international relations has been: to develop relations of friendship, mutual assistance and co-operation with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries; to strive for peaceful coexistence with countries of different social systems on the basis of the Five Principles and to oppose the imperialist policy of aggression and war; and to support the revolutionary struggles of all oppressed peoples and nations against imperialism and colonialism. This is the general line of our foreign policy. This foreign policy which our country practises conforms to the interests of the Chinese people and also to the interests of the people of the world. It is beneficial to the unity of the socialist camp, to the national liberation movements and revolutionary struggles of the people of all countries, and to the cause of world peace. Our country has established diplomatic relations with forty states and has economic, cultural and friendly relations with more than a hundred countries and regions in the world. Our achievements in national construction and the victories of our foreign policy of peace have been acclaimed by the people of the whole world. We have friends all over the globe. The U.S. imperialist scheme to isolate our country internationally has been shattered.

U.S. imperialism, stubbornly hostile to the Chinese people, is still occupying our territory of Taiwan by force, maintaining military bases with huge forces at many places near our country, pursuing a policy of aggression and war, and gravely menacing peace in the East and the world. We must maintain our vigilance and continue to wage a tit-for-tat struggle against U.S. imperialism. Justice is entirely on our side, the people of the whole world sympathize with us and support us. The aggression of U.S. imperialism against our country and its threats of war against us will definitely be defeated. Our people's aim of liberating our sacred territory of Taiwan will definitely be attained.

Imperialism and colonialism are heading towards their doom. The general crisis of capitalism has reached a new stage, and all the contradictions inherent in the imperialist system are becoming ever more acute. After the Second World War, there emerged a series

of socialist countries and nationally independent countries and the area ruled by imperialism was greatly reduced. The dykes of imperialism and colonialism are being pounded continually by the flood of people's revolutions. Among the imperialist powers quarrels and rivalries are being intensified, above all, between the United States on the one hand and Britain and France on the other. The imperialists are in a bad way and they are having an increasingly bad time.

U.S. imperialism does nothing but evil, and this amply demonstrates the decadence of monopoly capitalism. Its deeds are making more and more people understand that U.S. imperialism is the chief bulwark of world reaction, the No. 1 enemy of the people of the whole world. U.S. imperialism is obstinately persisting in its policy of arms expansion and war preparation, everywhere encroaching upon the sovereignty of other countries, and actively fostering West German and Japanese militarism so that two dangerous hotbeds of war are being created, one in the West and one in the East. Aggression and intervention by U.S. imperialism have produced tense situations in Laos and south Vietnam in Asia, in the Congo in Africa and in Cuba in Latin America. The danger of the imperialist war forces, headed by the United States, provoking a new world war continues to menace the people of all countries. Since the Kennedy Administration took office, it has done its utmost to push a counter-revolutionary policy of "two tactics"; on the one hand it is cunningly using "peace" tactics and on the other it is intensifying its policy of war. The people of all countries who are engaged in struggle understand that Kennedy is more dangerous than Eisenhower. No matter what tricks U.S. imperialism may play, it cannot prevent the people of the world from awakening and the national liberation movements from developing. Imperialism and reaction can never, as they would like, refasten the chains on peoples who have won their liberation. The days when they could do as they pleased are gone for ever.

The situation of the East Wind prevailing over the West Wind is already perfectly clear. The victory of socialism, of national liberation, of democracy and of world peace is irresistible.

The Statement of the Moscow Meeting said:

The chief result of these years is the rapid growth of the might and international influence of the world socialist system, the vigorous process of disintegration of the colonial system under the impact of the national-liberation movement,

the intensification of class struggles in the capitalist world, and the continued decline and decay of the world capitalist system. The superiority of the forces of socialism over those of imperialism, of the forces of peace over those of war, is becoming ever more marked in the world arena.

The Moscow Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties held in November 1960 has further strengthened the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement. This great unity under the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism is the fundamental guarantee of victory for the people of the whole world.

All the countries of the socialist camp are constantly making new achievements in their work of construction. The successful launching of a manned spaceship by the Soviet Union most strikingly demonstrates the superiority of the socialist system. The socialist countries have been making ceaseless efforts to safeguard world peace. Their foreign policy of peace is exerting an ever-increasing influence on a world scale. The peaceful proposals of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries for universal disarmament, the stopping of nuclear tests and the conclusion of a German peace treaty have gained widespread support among the peace-loving peoples and countries of the whole world.

The peoples of various countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America are unfolding ever deeper and wider revolutionary struggles against imperialism and its running dogs. In Asia, the Laotian people have won great victories in their struggle against the U.S. imperialist intervention and aggression, and the Japanese people are carrying on a sustained struggle against U.S. imperialism and its followers, the Japanese reactionaries, a struggle for independence, democracy, peace and neutrality. In Africa, country after country has won independence; the people of Algeria are dauntlessly persisting in their struggle for national liberation, and the peoples of the Congo, Angola and other African countries are continuing their struggles against the new and old colonialists. In Latin America, the national democratic revolutionary struggle is surging forward; after defeating the mercenaries of U.S. imperialism, the Cuban people are continuing triumphantly to consolidate and develop their revolutionary cause.

In the major capitalist countries, more and more people are joining the ranks of the fight against the oppression of monopoly capital, for the improvements of their living conditions and for the defence of their democratic rights.

To safeguard world peace and to oppose the war policy of imperialism is the most urgent demand of the people of the whole world. The struggle in defence of world peace has become the broadest and most powerful mass struggle of our time. In this struggle, the people of the whole world are becoming more and more united and have formed a broad international united front, with the forces of socialism as its core, and embracing the forces of national liberation, the forces of democracy and the forces of peace. So long as the people of the world strengthen their unity and persist in their struggle, they will surely win new victories in the cause of world peace and human progress.

International experience and the experience of China are continually proving this truth of Marxism-Leninism: the forces of the people are the really great force that makes the history of mankind. In the last analysis, the forces of the people are invincible, the will of the people is irresistible. With the forces of the people united as one and under correct leadership, there are no difficulties that cannot be surmounted, no obstacles that can hinder our victorious advance.

Long live the Communist Party of China!

Long live Marxism-Leninism!

Long live the great unity of the Chinese people!

Long live the great unity of the people of the world!

MESSAGE OF CONGRATULATIONS TO PRESIDENT L.I. BREZHNEV

August 9, 1961

Comrade L.I. Brezhnev,
President of the Presidium of the
Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.
Moscow

The Chinese people are immensely heartened by the great exploit of the successful fulfillment of the flying mission of the Soviet manned-spaceship *Vostok-II*. The Soviet Union has achieved stirring and brilliant successes one after another in cosmic conquest, thus leaving the United States farther and farther behind in the most modern branches of science and technology. This shows that the forces of socialism have more markedly surpassed the forces of imperialism and the forces of peace have more markedly surpassed the forces of war.

At a time when the Chinese people are joyously celebrating this great victory together with the Soviet people, the peoples of the other socialist countries and the peace-loving people all over the world, dear Comrade President, please allow me, on behalf of the Chinese people and in my own name, to extend heartfelt congratulations to you and through you to the great Soviet people, to the Soviet scientists and workers and to cosmonaut Major G.S. Titov, pilot of *Vostok-II*. We are sure that the Soviet people will score even more remarkable new achievements in cosmic conquest.

Liu Shao-ch'i,
Chairman of the People's Republic
of China
August 9, 1961

The text is taken from *Hsinhua News Agency Release*, No. 080970 (August 10, 1961), pp. 47-48.

WELCOME SPEECH TO PRINCE SIHANOUK

February 12, 1963

His Royal Highness Respected Prince Norodom Sihanouk and
Madame Sihanouk,
Respected Distinguished Guests from Cambodia,
Friends and Comrades,

His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk, the Head of State of the Kingdom of Cambodia, and Madame Sihanouk have arrived at our invitation to begin a state visit. We feel greatly honoured and exulted to greet them. His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk's current visit to our country is an important mark of the continued enhancement of the mutual trust and profound friendship between China and Cambodia. On behalf of the Chinese people and Government and in the name of myself and my wife, I wish to express our friendly and cordial welcome to His Royal Highness and his wife and the distinguished guests from Cambodia.

The Kingdom of Cambodia is our good neighbour, and Prince Sihanouk is our good friend. The Cambodian Government, under the leadership of His Royal Highness Prince Sihanouk, is continuing to score new successes both in the pursuance of its foreign policy of peace and neutrality and in the development of an independent national economy. The Kingdom of Cambodia is playing a greater and greater role in international affairs. In particular, Prince Sihanouk himself has engaged in highly fruitful work and made important

Liu Shao-ch'i, as Chairman of the People's Republic of China, delivered this speech at noon on February 12, 1963, at the Peking airport welcoming Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Cambodian Head of State, his wife and party to China. The text is translated from *Hsin-hua-she Tien-hsin-kao* (新華社電訊稿, Hsinhua News Agency Release), February 12, 1963, pp. 2-3. A partial translation appears in *Hsinhua News Agency Release*, No. 021205 (February 13, 1963), p. 5.

contributions in the preservation of peace in Indo-China and Southeast Asia and the promotion of friendship and solidarity among Asian countries. We express our appreciation and thanks to his Royal Highness the Prince for his sincere efforts made and his just stand taken at the Colombo Conference to promote direct Sino-Indian negotiations for a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question.

The people of China and Cambodia cherish a common desire for friendship and cooperation, and their desire has a firm foundation. The leaders of our two countries have exerted unremitting efforts to bring about such friendship and cooperation. We are glad to note that since His Royal Highness Prince Sihanouk's last visit to our country, the relations of friendship and cooperation between our two countries have further undergone a satisfactory development, thus setting a good example for the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems. We shall have another opportunity this time to exchange views fully and candidly on questions of common concern. We believe that His Royal Highness and Madame Sihanouk and other distinguished guests from Cambodia have brought with them a new light to illuminate the friendship between China and Cambodia.

Long live Sino-Cambodian friendship!

Long live African-Asian solidarity!

Long live world peace!

SPEECH AT A STATE BANQUET HONOURING PRINCE SIHANOUK

February 12, 1963

Your Royal Highness Respected Prince Norodom Sihanouk and
Madame,
Respected Distinguished Guests from Cambodia,
Friends and Comrades,

The Kingdom of Cambodia is our intimate neighbour. And His Royal Highness Prince Sihanouk is our esteemed friend. We are extremely honoured and happy that His Royal Highness the Prince and Madame Sihanouk have now come once again to our country on a friendly visit. Accompanying them on this visit are also noble princesses, His Excellency Samdech Penn Nouth and His Excellency Son Sann, loyal assistants of His Royal Highness the Prince, and other distinguished guests from Cambodia. They have brought to the Chinese people the profound friendship of the Cambodian people. At this banquet permeated with an air of friendship between China and Cambodia, please allow me first of all, on behalf of the Chinese Government and people and in my own name and that of my wife, to extend our sincere thanks and warm welcome to His Royal Highness the Prince and Madame Sihanouk and all the other distinguished guests from Cambodia accompanying them.

The people of Cambodia treasure their independence and self-respect. Under the leadership of His Royal Highness Prince Sihanouk, the Cambodian Government and people are building up their country by relying upon their own efforts, and at the same time, in order to defend their national independence and state sovereignty, have waged

Liu Shao-ch'i, as Chairman of the People's Republic of China, delivered this speech at a state banquet in Peking given in honour of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, on the evening of February 12, 1963. The text is taken from *Hsinhua News Agency Release*, No. 021233 (February 13, 1963), pp. 31-33.

ceaseless struggles against plots of intervention and subversion of the imperialists and their followers. Cambodia is continuing to march forward on the path of independent development. The international position of the Kingdom of Cambodia is steadily rising. As a friendly neighbour of the Kingdom of Cambodia, we sincerely hope that the Cambodian people will attain new and greater achievements in their work to build up their country into a prosperous and strong one.

The Chinese and Cambodian peoples have always lived together in friendship, but never so friendly as now. In the past few years, the traditional friendship between our two peoples has continuously developed on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the Ten Principles of the Bandung Conference. Questions regarding our mutual relations and of common interest have been handled by both of us in a spirit of mutual trust and mutual understanding. It is precisely because of this that China and Cambodia have all along been able to render support and cooperation to each other whenever needed, whether in the construction of their respective countries or in the common cause of preserving Asian-African solidarity and world peace. Such friendship is most precious.

His Royal Highness Prince Sihanouk and the Cambodian Government have given valuable support to our foreign policy of peace and the struggle of our people to uphold China's sovereignty and territorial integrity. On the Sino-Indian boundary question, His Royal Highness the Prince has adopted a just attitude and made great efforts directed at bringing about a reconciliation and direct negotiations between China and India. We are deeply grateful for all this.

The Chinese Government and people have always respected the policy of peace and neutrality pursued by His Royal Highness Prince Sihanouk and resolutely supported every effort of the Cambodian people to resist aggression from without, safeguard state independence and sovereignty and strive for Asian and world peace. As is known to all, it was through the initiative and efforts of His Royal Highness Prince Sihanouk that the enlarged Geneva Conference for the settlement of the Laotian question was convened. The Chinese Government actively responded to this proposal and, together with the Cambodian Government, contributed to the reaching of an international agreement on the question of the independence and neutrality of Laos. Not long ago, the Cambodian Government proposed that the participating countries of the enlarged Geneva Conference sign two documents, i.e. "Declaration on the Neutrality of Cambodia" and "Protocol to the Declaration on the Neutrality of Cambodia" so as to guarantee the neutrality and territorial integrity of Cambodia.

The Chinese Government supports this move taken by the Kingdom of Cambodia and is prepared to sign on these two documents. We are of the opinion that this move is not only in conformity with the interests of Cambodia, but also of great significance to the preservation of peace in Indo-China and Asia.

It has always been the sincere desire of the Chinese Government to live in peace and friendship with the countries of the world, settle complicated questions left over by history through negotiations with its Asian neighbours and strive for a peaceful international environment favourable to socialist construction. In this respect, our stand is firm, our attitude sincere and our efforts highly fruitful.

It is to be regretted that the Sino-Indian boundary question has alone remained hitherto unsettled. All our friends respecting facts are aware that the Sino-Indian boundary dispute and military conflict were entirely created by India. After it was forced to strike back in self-defence and made great advances militarily, China immediately put forward three proposals for the reopening of negotiations, adopted the initiative measures of ceasefire and withdrawal, released wounded or sick captured personnel and sent back large quantities of captured weapons and military supplies. China also gave a positive response to the appeal of the Colombo Conference and agreed in principle to take the proposals of the six nations as a preliminary basis for direct negotiations between China and India. China has done its utmost and created extremely favourable conditions for Sino-Indian reconciliation. India, however, is continuing to poison Sino-Indian relations and fanning up a war atmosphere; it not only has failed to make a positive response to China's conciliatory efforts, but is attempting to make use of the proposals of the Colombo Conference to block the road to direct negotiations and to place the six friendly countries in the difficult position of arbitrators. This runs counter to the wishes of the Chinese and Indian peoples as well as the wishes of the friends in all countries who are interested in Sino-Indian reconciliation.

But at any rate, a state of cease-fire is in fact already in existence along the Sino-Indian border. The Chinese frontier guards will soon complete the plan of withdrawal on China's own initiative along the entire border. Provided that India does not conduct provocations and does not enter the areas where there is dispute about the cease-fire arrangements, the already relaxed situation on the Sino-Indian border would not become tense again. To settle the Sino-Indian boundary question through peaceful negotiations is the Chinese Government's firm and unshakable stand. We would like to see the holding of negotiations as soon as possible, but we could also patiently wait.

We hope that His Royal Highness Prince Sihanouk and the leaders of the other friendly Asian and African countries will continue their efforts to promote direct Sino-Indian negotiations and not be disappointed because of encountering some difficulties. One can be sure that such efforts will always enjoy our support and cooperation.

Respected and esteemed guests! The friendly and cooperative relations between China and Cambodia based on mutual respect, equality and mutual benefit and mutual good faith have set a fine example for peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems. We are confident that the present visit of His Royal Highness the Prince will certainly make fresh contributions to the further strengthening of the friendly and cooperative relations between China and Cambodia and to the promotion of Asian-African solidarity and the preservation of world peace. I wish success to the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince and the other distinguished guests from Cambodia.

Now I propose a toast
to the deep friendship between the Chinese and Cambodian peoples,
to the solidarity among Asian and African peoples,
to world peace,
to the health of His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, and Madame Sihanouk,
to the health of all the other distinguished guests from Cambodia,
to the health of the diplomatic envoys of various countries in China and their wives,
to the health of our guests from various countries present at this banquet, and
to the health of all our friends and comrades here present!

ARRIVAL SPEECH AT DJAKARTA AIRPORT

April 12, 1963

Your Excellency Respected President Dr. Soekarno,
Dear Friends,

I am very happy to have the opportunity to visit your beautiful country and meet the brotherly Indonesian people and my old friend His Excellency President Soekarno. I sincerely thank the Indonesian Government and people for giving us such a grand and warm welcome. And I sincerely thank President Soekarno for the cordial and friendly words he has just spoken. On behalf of the Chinese people and Government and in my own name, I would like to extend the most sincere respect and most cordial greetings to the entire Indonesian people and the state leaders of Indonesia headed by President Soekarno.

China and Indonesia have been good neighbours and good friends since ancient times. The brotherly friendship between our two peoples has been formed through our protracted struggle against imperialism and colonialism. Just as President Soekarno has pointed out a moment ago, our friendship has been continuously strengthened and developed on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the Ten Principles of the Bandung Conference. The daily growth of the relations of friendship and cooperation between our two countries is not only in accord with the fundamental interests of our two peoples, but also of great importance to the promotion of Asian-African solidarity and the defence of world peace. Entrusted by the Chinese people, I am now here on a visit aimed at further strengthening the friendly relations between our two countries. I am confident that my mission will be satisfactorily fulfilled.

The Indonesian people have a glorious revolutionary tradition.

Liu Shao-ch'i, as Chairman of the People's Republic of China, made this speech upon his arrival at the Djakarta airport on April 12, 1963. The text is taken from *Hsinhua News Agency Release*, No. 041210 (April 13, 1963), p. 2.

Indonesia is the birth-place of the Bandung Spirit. The Bandung Spirit is one of opposing imperialism and colonialism, and of striving for and safeguarding national independence, strengthening Asian-African solidarity and defending world peace. It reflects the common aspirations of all the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. In order to realize these aspirations, the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and all peace-loving countries and people of the world should strengthen their friendly cooperation and mutual support. The Chinese people will work together with the Indonesian people for the noble cause of defending world peace and promoting human progress.

Long live the friendship between China and Indonesia!

Long live peace in Asia and the world!

SPEECH AT A STATE BANQUET IN DJAKARTA

April 13, 1963

Your Excellency Respected President Doctor Sukarno,
Dear Friends,

The moment we set foot on your beautiful land yesterday, we were accorded an extremely grand and enthusiastic welcome by His Excellency President Sukarno and the Indonesian Government and people. And now we are greatly honoured and pleased that His Excellency President Sukarno is giving this magnificent banquet for us which affords us the opportunity of getting together joyously with the state leaders and friends of all circles of Indonesia. This is a great kindness shown me and my colleagues by His Excellency the President. This is also an expression of the profound friendship of the Indonesian people for the Chinese people. On behalf of the Chinese Government and people and in the name of myself and my wife, I wish to express heartfelt thanks to His Excellency the President and the Indonesian Government and people.

Indonesia is a country with a glorious revolutionary tradition. The Indonesian people is a great and heroic people. The valiant slogan "once independent, forever independent" fully demonstrates the firm will of the Indonesian people to carry through their cause of national independence. After protracted and heroic struggles, the Indonesian people succeeded in overthrowing the colonial rule which lasted for over three centuries and established their own independent republic. Since independence, Indonesia has scored a series of major victories in smashing one after another the aggressive and subversive activities of the imperialists and old and new colonialists. We are now glad to see that the national unity of Indonesia with Nasakom

Liu Shao-ch'i, as Chairman of the People's Republic of China, delivered this speech at a state banquet given in his honour by President Sukarno of Indonesia on April 13, 1963. The text is taken from *Hsinhua News Agency Release*, No. 041353 (April 15, 1963), pp. 1-3.

as its axis championed by President Sukarno is being daily strengthened, and the Indonesian people are carrying on an unremitting struggle to further consolidate their independence and build up their own country. There is a well-known Indonesian saying: "Achievements are made only at a price." We believe that a people with such self-respect and self-confidence will certainly carry through their glorious cause of national independence.

We are also glad to see that Indonesia is playing an ever more important role in international affairs, and its international status is continuously rising. It is well-known that the historic Asian-African Conference was convened in Bandung, Indonesia, on the initiative of President Sukarno. And Indonesia made outstanding contributions for the success of the Conference. It has persevered in the Ten Principles of the Bandung Conference and has engaged in much fruitful effort for the unity and anti-imperialist struggle of the Asian and African countries. At the Conference of Non-aligned Countries in Belgrade, President Sukarno held aloft the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist banner and won the acclaim of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. President Sukarno's proposal for convening a Second Asian-African Conference has received the warm welcome and support of the Asian and African peoples. His proposal for holding Games of the New Emerging Countries reflects the strong desire of the Asian and African peoples to free themselves from imperialist manipulation in international organizations. Indonesia's just stand of opposing the neo-colonialist scheme of Malaysia and supporting the revolutionary struggle of the people of North Kalimantan constitutes a serious blow to the colonialists, old and new. The Republic of Indonesia has become an important force opposing imperialism and colonialism and safeguarding the peace and security of Southeast Asia as a whole.

Profound traditional friendship has existed between the Chinese and Indonesian peoples since ancient times. Our friendly relations have further developed since our two countries achieved independence one after the other. In accordance with the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence and the Ten Principles of the Bandung Conference, our two countries have settled in a friendly way the question left over by history concerning dual nationality of Chinese residents in Indonesia. We have concluded a treaty of friendship between our two countries. We have developed our cooperation with each other in the economic, technical, cultural and other fields. The growth of the friendship between China and Indonesia is inseparable from the personal concern shown by President Sukarno. In particular the Chinese people cannot

forget the two friendly visits paid by President Sukarno to our country. All the Chinese people know that President Sukarno is the engineer who built the bridge of friendship between our two countries and is a great friend of the Chinese people.

Our two countries have always supported each other in the common struggle against imperialism and colonialism. Just as President Sukarno stressed repeatedly yesterday and today, the friendship between our two countries is no ordinary friendship but one between comrades-in-arms. The Indonesian Government and people have consistently supported our people in our struggle to liberate Taiwan and oppose the "two Chinas" plot, and stood for the restoration of China's legitimate rights in the United Nations.

Here I wish to express once again our heartfelt gratitude for this support of yours. The Chinese Government and people have consistently supported Indonesia in its just and patriotic struggle to safeguard its own independence and sovereignty and to recover West Irian. We deem it our international obligation to do so. In our view, the struggle and victory of the Indonesian people are also a great support to the Chinese people. In the common struggle against imperialism and colonialism, the Chinese people will forever remain reliable comrades-in-arms of the Indonesian people.

Now as a result of the persistent struggle of the Indonesian Government and people, the colonialists have been compelled to agree to hand over the administration of West Irian to Indonesia. On May 1, the Indonesian flag will be the sole flag flying over West Irian. This is a great victory for the Indonesian Government and people. This is a great victory won under the wise leadership of President Sukarno. The Chinese Government and people extend to you their warm congratulations. We are confident that whatever schemes the old and new colonialists may continue to engineer, they will not be able to prevent the final and complete return of West Irian to Indonesia. The national aspiration of the Indonesian people to establish a great republic extending from Sabang to Merauke will certainly be realized.

Dear friends! The present international situation is most favourable to the realization of the common aspirations of our two peoples as well as the common aspirations of all the peoples of Asia and Africa. Thirty-three countries have gained their independence since the first Bandung Conference. The national liberation movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America has grown into an irresistible historical trend. The struggle of the people of the whole world against imperialism and in defence of world peace has developed greatly. There will still be many difficulties and obstacles along

our road of progress, but so long as we remain vigilant and persevere in our unity and struggle, these difficulties and obstacles can be overcome.

China and Indonesia are two big nations in Asia, with an aggregate population of 750 million. The strengthening of the militant friendship of these 750 million people is not only in accord with the vital interests of the two peoples but also of tremendous significance to the promotion of Asian-African solidarity and to the defence of world peace. I am confident that, through the joint efforts of our two countries, this militant friendship will certainly grow in strength and develop with each passing day.

Now I propose a toast to the everlasting friendship between the peoples of China and Indonesia, to the prosperity of the Republic of Indonesia and well being of its people, to the solidarity of the peoples of Asia and Africa and throughout the world, to Asian and world peace, to the health of His Excellency President Sukarno and to the health of all our friends present here!

SPEECH AT MASS RALLY IN BALI

April 18, 1963

Your Excellency Respected Dr. Sukarno, President of the Republic of Indonesia, and Madame Hartini Sukarno,
Respected Mr. Governor, Dear Indonesian Friends,

Today we have seen the colourful traditions and customs as well as an artistic procession of the Balinese people. Moreover, Mr. Governor has just now announced the Balinese people's accomplishment of their work to wipe out illiteracy. This is a new great achievement on the part of the Balinese people in developing their national culture and education. I extend to you my warm congratulations. I am greatly honoured and pleased to have the opportunity of paying a visit to your beautiful country, giving renewed expression to my old friendship with President Sukarno and of meeting leaders and people of all circles of Indonesia. In these past few days, everywhere we went, in Djakarta, Bogor, Bandung and Jogjakarta, we were accorded an extremely grand reception and the most magnificent welcome by the Indonesian Government and people. And now, we are even more moved by this warm rally of welcome being held for us by the people of Bali. Even before we left China we have heard of the heavy damage caused to the people of Bali by the eruption of Gunung Agung, and we have been most concerned about it. I would like to take this opportunity to express on behalf of the Chinese people our sincere sympathies to the Balinese people in the affected area. The enthusiastic welcome accorded us by the people of Bali and the various parts of Java is an expression of the profound friendship of the great Indonesian people for the Chinese people. Here once again I and my colleagues would like to express our heartfelt thanks

Liu Shao-ch'i, as Chairman of the People's Republic of China, delivered this speech on April 18, 1963, at a mass rally held in Denpasar, Bali, to welcome him and Madame Liu Shao-ch'i. The text is taken from *Hsinhua News Agency Release*, No. 041961 (April 21, 1963), pp. 1-5.

to President Sukarno and the Indonesian Government and people.

The Indonesian nation is a great nation with a long-standing history. The Indonesian people is a great people with a revolutionary tradition. Their modern history is a heroic record filled with epics of resistance against foreign aggressors. With an unflinching determination, the Indonesian people shed their blood and laid down their lives in an uninterrupted heroic struggle against the colonialist aggressors to win the independence and freedom of their motherland. In August 1945, the newly emerging Republic of Indonesia was finally born amidst the flames of struggle. The history of the Republic of Indonesia in the well-nigh eighteen years since its founding remains a history of the Indonesian peoples' continuous acute struggle against imperialism and colonialism. The old colonialists have tried hard to maintain their colonial positions and interests in Indonesia, and the neo-colonialists have attempted to seize the opportunity to step in. Colluding with each other, they have vainly attempted to strangle the independence of the young Republic of Indonesia by resorting to all despicable and sinister methods, from seizing Indonesian territory, launching armed attacks, inciting armed rebellion, creating splits, up to terrorist activities and assassinations etc. But the Indonesian people, maintaining unity and persevering in struggle, smashed their plots one by one, and won one victory after another. The Chinese people are glad to see that, as a result of the resolute struggle of the Indonesian people, the day is very near when the sacred Indonesian territory of West Irian will return to the embrace of the motherland. On behalf of the Chinese people, I warmly congratulate the Indonesian people on this important victory. The victorious struggle of the Indonesian people has set a fine example for the newly independent countries of Asia and Africa, and won the respect and acclaim of the people of China and of the whole world.

The vigorous development of the national-democratic movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America and the formation of the world socialist system constitute two great historic tides of our times. Since the end of World War II, as many as fifty countries have already won in varying degrees national independence in the struggle against colonialism. The face of Asia and Africa is now undergoing a fundamental change, and a front of active struggle against imperialism has been opened in Latin America. The peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America were for centuries the object of enslavement and plunder by the European and United States imperialist powers. Now they have come to the forefront in the anti-imperialist struggle. All these are undoubtedly earth-shaking events. Just like the In-

donesian people, the Chinese people warmly hail the great victories won by the Asian, African and Latin American people in their heroic struggle against imperialism and colonialism.

But the imperialists and colonialists will by no means withdraw from Asia, Africa and Latin America of their own accord. The old colonialists invariably try hard to maintain their former colonial positions and interests. When they are compelled by the circumstances and have to quit at last, they always try their best to make the independence of the newly emerging countries a mere name or not true to its name. What calls for particularly serious attention is that the neo-colonialists, who are more cunning and more vicious than the old colonialists, are replacing the latter and becoming the chief enemy of the Asian and African peoples. While nominally recognizing the independence of the newly emerging Asian and African countries, the neo-colonialists are actually working hard to place these countries under their control by political, economic, military and cultural means. They are especially taking advantage of the financial and economic difficulties of the newly independent countries to attain their objective by means of so-called aid. President Sukarno has put it aptly: Imperialism has not yet perished, and colonialism has not yet perished. This is a conclusive fact.

In the first place, at present the people of quite a few countries have not yet won their independence and freedom. In places like southern Korea, southern Vietnam and North Kalimantan in Asia and in places like the Congo, Angola, the Cameroons and northern and southern Rhodesia in Africa, the old and new colonialists are still brutally suppressing the struggle of the peoples for liberation.

Most of the already independent Asian and African countries still need to safeguard and consolidate their independence. This is clearly shown by the history of Indonesia over the eighteen years since its independence. It is also shown by the history of the People's Republic of China over the fourteen years since its founding. Although the Chinese people have driven imperialism and its lackeys out of China's mainland and won the victory of the socialist revolution, United States imperialism is still occupying our territory of Taiwan, and is incessantly violating our territorial waters and air. The imperialists still harbour the ambition of one day coming back to China's mainland. The Chinese people are still confronted with the serious task of fighting against imperialist aggression.

Nearly all the Asian and African countries which have won independence need to lift themselves from the poverty and backwardness left over by long-term colonial rule. Political independence

alone is not yet complete independence. A country can attain complete independence only by carrying on a thorough struggle against imperialism and colonialism in every field, and by relying on the people to build up an independent national economy.

There are 3,000 million people in the world. More than half of them, who inhabit the Asian, African and Latin American countries, are nearly all still suffering in varying degrees from imperialist and colonialist aggression, intimidation, oppression and exploitation. Therefore, the struggle against imperialism and old and new colonialism and for the winning and defence of national independence remains the first and foremost task now facing the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, as well as one of the important tasks of the people of other parts of the world. It is utterly groundless to consider that colonialism has perished, and that the task of waging anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggles has receded to a secondary place.

The struggle of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples to oppose imperialism and colonialism and to win and safeguard national independence is a vital component of the world peace movement. The struggle for national independence by no means stands opposed to the struggle of defending world peace. As a matter of fact, the more the struggle against imperialism and old and new colonialism is intensified, the more effectively will world peace be safeguarded. The way to winning and safeguarding national independence is the way to defending world peace.

The forces of world socialism and of the national democratic movement are new emerging forces in the contemporary world. Imperialism and old and new colonialism are reactionary and decaying forces. The forces of socialism and the forces of the national democratic movement support and encourage each other in their common struggle, pushing the wheel of history forward. As Chairman Mao Tse-tung has pointed out, newborn revolutionary forces are invincible. The tide of the peoples revolution in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the whole world is irresistible. However desperately the imperialists and their lackeys may struggle, they cannot prevent the oppressed nations and people in the world from winning final victory, nor save imperialism and old and new colonialism from their final destruction.

Dear Indonesian friends! The Indonesian people occupies a place of honour in the struggle of the Asian and African peoples against imperialism and old and new colonialism. Under the leadership of President Sukarno, the Indonesian Government has consistently pursued an independent foreign policy, given support to the national

democratic movement of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples and worked for the strengthening of their friendship and solidarity. President Sukarno is not only a national hero of Indonesia, but also a great international fighter against colonialism.

President Sukarno and the Indonesian Government made outstanding contributions to the convocation of the first Bandung Conference of Asian and African countries. In order to carry through and develop the Bandung Spirit, the Indonesian Government and people have made many efforts. President Sukarno has time and again proposed the convening of a second conference of Asian-African countries, a proposal which is undoubtedly opportune and in accord with the desires of the Asian and African peoples. The Indonesian Government condemned the International Olympic Committee for its unreasonable decision to deprive Indonesia of its due rights, and proposed the holding of Games of New Emerging Forces. The Indonesian Government opposes the neo-colonialist scheme for Malaysia and supports the people of North Kalimantan in their struggle for independence and freedom. The Chinese Government and people resolutely support the just stand and great efforts of President Sukarno and the Indonesian Government, and are convinced that such efforts will surely achieve satisfactory results.

The Indonesian people are faced with the great task of eliminating the consequences of colonial rule and eagerly desire to build up their own country. The Indonesian people are industrious and courageous. Indonesia abounds in natural resources. The Indonesian people are making persevering efforts to carry through the principle of national unity with Nasakom as its axis as put forward by President Sukarno and the principle of regeneration through their own efforts and working hard to build up their own country. The Indonesian people is a people with high aspirations. We are sure that through their unremitting efforts the Indonesian peoples desire to build up their own country will be realised.

Dear Indonesian friends! In our common struggles in defence of our respective nation's independence and against imperialism and old and new colonialism, a close militant friendship has been forged between the Chinese and Indonesian peoples. China and Indonesia are two big countries of Asia. China has 650 million people, and Indonesia 100 million peoples. The mutual support and friendly cooperation of our two peoples not only accord with the fundamental interests of our two countries but also constitute an important force upholding Asian and world peace. In international affairs, our two countries have consistently supported each other. In the field of

national reconstruction, we have always helped each other. Our friendship stands the test of time. No storm or hurricane can shake the bridge of friendship between our two peoples. No matter what happens in the world, the Chinese people will for ever remain faithful and reliable comrades-in-arms of the Indonesian people.

Long live Indonesia!

Long live Sino-Indonesian friendship!

Long live Asian-African solidarity!

Long live world peace!

SPEECH AT A FAREWELL BANQUET IN INDONESIA

April 19, 1963

Your Excellency Respected President Doctor Sukarno,
Dear Friends,

The visit my colleagues and I are paying to your great and beautiful country is drawing to a close. Throughout the visit, the Indonesian Government has made thoughtful arrangements for us in every detail and received us so magnificently, and the Indonesian people have given us a most spectacular and enthusiastic welcome. President Sukarno has accompanied us from the beginning to the end and has been most kind and solicitous in looking after us. We are deeply moved by all this. On the eve of departure, I would like to express once again our heartfelt gratitude to His Excellency the President and the Indonesian Government and people.

This visit has left with us a profound and unforgettable impression. During these eight days, we have visited the famous cities of Djakarta, Bogor, Bandung, Jogjakarta and Denpasar. We have seen your beautiful and fertile country, met your industrious and hard-working people in the urban and rural areas and appreciated your rich and colourful national culture. In particular, through our extensive contacts with the broad masses of the Indonesian people and representative figures of all circles, we have been deeply impressed by the Indonesian people's profound friendship for the Chinese people. Everywhere we saw flying the national flags of China and Indonesia and heard the cheers of *merdeka!* and *wan sui!* Wherever we went, thousands upon thousands of Indonesian people, braving

Liu Shao-ch'i, as Chairman of the People's Republic of China, made this speech at a farewell banquet in Djakarta, Indonesia, on the evening of April 19, 1963. The text is taken from *Hsinhua News Agency Release*, No. 041971 (April 20, 1963), pp. 25-26.

the intense heat, came out enthusiastically to greet us. Through all these contacts, we are more convinced than ever that, just as President Sukarno has rightly said, the friendship between our two peoples is one between comrades-in-arms and is unbreakable.

During the visit, we held cordial and friendly talks with President Sukarno and other leaders of the Indonesian Government on the question of further developing the friendly relations between our two countries and international problems of common concern, and we have reached common understanding and identical views on many important international issues of the present day. Both our countries persevere in opposing imperialism and colonialism and safeguarding national independence and state unity, actively support the struggles of the oppressed nations for liberation, and resolutely defend Asian and world peace. In the struggle against our common enemies, our two countries have consistently encouraged and supported each other. The fundamental interests between our two peoples accord with each other. The friendship between our two countries has a bright future. I am sure that, through our joint efforts, the relations of friendship and cooperation between our two countries will be strengthened and developed with each passing day.

Dear friends! Finally I would like to mention that these days happen to coincide with the eighth anniversary of the Bandung Conference. I am particularly elated and overjoyed to be able to spend this historic anniversary in Indonesia. In the past eight years, inspired by the Bandung Spirit, dozens of countries have achieved independence. The Bandung Spirit is being brought into fuller play. Together with the Indonesian people, the Chinese people will continue to carry forward the Bandung Spirit, strengthen Asian-African solidarity, support the Asian, African and Latin American people in their just struggles to oppose imperialism and old and new colonialism, and to win and safeguard national independence. The friendship of our two countries has grown and developed through this common struggle. Let us work for the further strengthening of the relations of friendship and cooperation between our two countries!

I propose a toast

to the great friendship between the Chinese and Indonesian peoples,

to the prosperity of the Republic of Indonesia and well-being of its people,

to the solidarity of the Asian and African peoples and of the people of the whole world,

to Asian and world peace,

to the health of His Excellency President Sukarno and
to the health of all our Indonesian friends and our friends from
other countries who are present here!

FAREWELL SPEECH AT DJAKARTA AIRPORT

April 20, 1963

Your Excellency Respected President Sukarno,
Dear Friends,

My colleagues and I are now saying good-bye to you after spending eight days on a friendly visit in your beautiful and great country. This visit has left upon us a profound and unforgettable impression. It should be pointed out in particular that His Excellency President Sukarno has given us an extremely cordial and magnificent reception, shown the utmost care in looking after us and personally accompanied us throughout our tour despite the press of his work. Wherever we went, we have been enthusiastically welcomed by the Indonesian people and accorded a grand reception by the Indonesian Government. All this fully demonstrates the close relations between our two countries and the militant friendship between the Indonesian people and the Chinese people. Through our visit, the mutual understanding and mutual trust between us have been further enhanced, and we have acquired increased confidence in the bright future of the friendly relations between our two countries. President Sukarno and I have just signed a joint statement. This statement affirms our common beliefs, and also reflects the direction of our common efforts. I am confident that, with the close cooperation between our two countries, we will certainly overcome difficulties and obstacles along the road of progress, gradually realize our common ideals and further consolidate and develop the friendship between our two countries.

Dear Bung Karno, dear Indonesian brothers and sisters! We are now about to part, but just as stated in the Indonesian proverb,

Liu Shao-ch'i, as Chairman of the People's Republic of China, made this speech at the Djakarta airport on April 20, 1963, upon his departure to Burma. The text is taken from *Hsinhua News Agency Release*, No. 042028 (April 21, 1963), p. 18.

"though physically far apart, our hearts are together," in our common struggle, our hearts will forever be linked together.

In conclusion, let me once again express my best wishes on behalf of the Chinese Government and people for the prosperity of the Republic of Indonesia and the well being of the Indonesian people.

Good-bye, dear Indonesian friends!

Merdeka!

MESSAGE OF THANKS TO PRESIDENT SUKARNO

April 20, 1963

His Excellency Doctor Sukarno, President of the Republic of
Indonesia, Djakarta.

Your Excellency Respected Mister President,

We are leaving the territory of the Republic of Indonesia, carrying with us the profound friendship of the Indonesian people for the Chinese people. I would like to take this opportunity to express once again our heartfelt thanks to Your Excellency and the Indonesian Government and people for all that you have done for us during our visit. I would like to thank Your Excellency in particular for the solicitous concern you have shown us. We will treasure for ever the beautiful memories of the days we spent in Indonesia. I am confident that with the joint efforts of our two countries, our friendship will certainly strengthen and develop with each passing day.

With my highest regards,

Liu Shao-ch'i,
Chairman of the People's Republic of China.
April 20, 1963, On way from Djakarta to Rangoon.

Liu Shao-ch'i, as Chairman of the People's Republic of China, sent this message from his airplane as he was leaving Indonesia and flying towards Burma. The text is taken from *Hsinhua News Agency Release*, No. 042009 (April 21, 1963), p. 10.

SPEECH AT A STATE BANQUET IN BURMA

April 21, 1963

Your Excellency Respected General Ne Win, Chairman of the
Revolutionary Council of the Union of Burma, and Madam
Ne Win,
Dear Friends,

My wife and I and other colleagues are very glad to have this opportunity to visit our friendly neighbour. We were cordially welcomed by the state leaders and people of Burma the moment we set foot on your beautiful land. And now we are greatly honoured to attend this magnificent banquet given by Chairman Ne Win in our honour. Allow me, on behalf of the Chinese Government and people, to extend our sincere thanks to Chairman Ne Win and the Burmese Government and people.

China and Burma are neighbouring countries linked up by mountains and rivers, and our two peoples are *pauk phaws* on the closest of terms. Since our two countries attained their respective independence, our traditional friendship has been greatly developed on a new basis. We all know that Burma is one of the countries which first established diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China. Our two countries are joint initiators of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. We have settled in a friendly way the boundary question between us left over by history. A treaty of friendship and mutual non-aggression has been concluded by our two countries. There have been frequent friendly contacts between our governments and peoples. And economic and cultural ties between our countries are being expanded with each passing day.

Liu Shao-ch'i, as Chairman of the People's Republic of China, delivered this speech on the evening of April 21, 1963, at a state banquet given in his honour by General Ne Win, Chairman of the Revolutionary Council of the Union of Burma. The text is taken from *Hsinhua News Agency Release*, No. 042164 (April 22, 1963), pp. 38-40.

It is no exaggeration to say that the development of the friendly relations between China and Burma has set for the Asian and African countries a brilliant example of amicable coexistence and friendly cooperation. Here I would like to make special mention of the outstanding contributions made by Chairman Ne Win to the strengthening of Sino-Burmese friendship. The settlement of the Sino-Burmese boundary question and the conclusion of the Sino-Burmese Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Non-Aggression are all inseparable from his efforts. As Chairman Ne Win has just said, the smooth development of the friendly relations between China and Burma is the result of the joint efforts made by our countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. Both our countries were liberated from colonialist aggression and oppression not long ago. The long-term colonialist domination and aggression have left a number of questions outstanding in the relations between our countries. But in dealing with these questions the leaders of our countries have always held dear the fundamental interests of our peoples and of Asian peace, and never allowed themselves to be bound by any worn-out colonialist ideas. The relations between our countries are completely equal. Both our countries have respect for themselves as well as for others. Both our countries hold fast to the principle of settling all questions between us through friendly consultations and mutual understanding and mutual accommodation. Neither of our countries ever tries to gain benefit at the expense of the other, or impose its unilateral views on the other. The principles of peaceful coexistence are principles which apply to both sides concerned. In the relations between our two countries, we have truly put into practice the principles of respect for each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs and equality and mutual benefit. It was precisely because of this that our countries were able in a short time to reach a reasonable settlement on the extremely complicated boundary question between us and to bring about an over-all development in our relations of friendly cooperation. Our two peoples have always been friendly to each other in history, but never have the relations between our two countries been so close as they are now.

We are glad to see that the Burmese Government, consistently pursuing a policy of peace and neutrality, has made many efforts to promote Asian-African solidarity and safeguard peace in Asia and the world. Burma is one of the sponsors of the Bandung Conference, and made positive contributions to the success of that conference. Burma took part in the Geneva Conference on the Lao-

tian question, persisted in the just stand of respecting the independence and neutrality of Laos and, together with all other peace-loving countries, helped bring about the peaceful settlement of the Laotian question. In order to promote direct negotiations between China and India so as to bring about a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question, Chairman Ne Win personally took part in the Colombo Conference of six Asian-African countries and made great efforts in order that the Colombo Conference might maintain a fair stand of being friendly to both China and India. This spirit of Burma of upholding justice in international affairs not only conforms to the independent and sovereign position of Burma, but is also in the interest of peace in the Southeast Asian region and solidarity of the Asian and African peoples.

Like Burma, China also attaches great importance to the solidarity of the Asian and African countries. We have always striven to develop friendly and good-neighbourly relations with our neighbouring Asian countries and settle with them questions left over by history. Following the settlement of our boundary question with Burma, we have also settled our boundary questions with Nepal, the People's Republic of Mongolia and Pakistan. Boundary negotiations will start shortly between China and the Kingdom of Afghanistan too. During the past several years, the Chinese Government has worked untiringly for a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question. Although signs of a settlement are not in sight for the time being, we are not discouraged. Since so many of our neighbouring countries have settled their boundary questions with China, why is it that the Sino-Indian boundary question alone cannot be settled peacefully? There has been much concern about the situation on the Sino-Indian border. I can tell our friends that, as a result of the series of measures taken on China's own initiative, the Sino-Indian border situation has been relaxed. China takes the stand that China and India should accept in principle the Colombo proposals as a basis to open direct negotiations speedily. Even if such negotiations cannot be held for a time, the Chinese Government will not waver in its firm determination to settle the Sino-Indian boundary question peacefully through negotiations. It is our belief that the Sino-Indian boundary question will eventually be settled in a peaceful manner and the two big Asian countries will eventually live together in friendship.

Respected friends, the friendly and cooperative relations between China and Burma are gratifying. The friendly cooperation between us not only conforms to the fundamental interests of our two peoples, but it is also conducive to Asian-African solidarity and world peace.

It is a common duty of our two countries to further strengthen these friendly relations. I am glad to hear Chairman Ne Win's pledge of his readiness to work for the continuous strengthening of the friendship between our two countries. For our part, we will certainly fulfil our share of the duty. I am sure that, with our common efforts, the friendship between our two countries, will certainly continue to be strengthened and developed.

This is the first time for me and my wife to visit our kinsmen neighbour. We are very grateful to Chairman and Madame Ne Win and the Burmese Government for the thoughtful arrangements they have made for us, and particularly for the fact that Chairman Ne Win will personally accompany us on our tour to various parts of Burma. It is my hope that our visit will contribute to the further enhancement of the friendship and mutual trust between our two countries. Now I propose a toast

- to Sino-Burmese friendship,
- to Asian-African solidarity and world peace,
- to the victory of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence

and the Bandung Spirit,

- to the prosperity of Burma and the well-being of its people,
- to the health of Chairman Ne Win and Madame, and
- to the health of all our friends present!

SPEECH AT A FAREWELL BANQUET IN BURMA

April 25, 1963

Your Excellency Respected Chairman Ne Win,
Dear Friends,

The visit of my colleagues and myself to your country is drawing to a close. During the past few days, we have been given a cordial and friendly reception by the Burmese Government and a warm and sincere welcome by the Burmese people in the capital of your Union, Rangoon, in the capital of Shan State, Taunggyi, on the beautiful Inle Lake, and at the seashore of Ngapali. We have personally experienced the *pauk-phaw* friendship existing between our two countries, which has left upon us a profound and unforgettable impression. In particular, His Excellency Chairman and Madame Ne Win have accompanied us throughout the tour and have looked after us so well that they have made us feel completely at home, intimate, and pleasant. On the eve of departure, I should like to express once again my hearty thanks to Chairman and Madame Ne Win and the Government and people of the Union of Burma.

During our visit, we held cordial and friendly talks with His Excellency Chairman Ne Win and other leaders of the Burmese Government. Following a free exchange of views on the relations between our two countries, as well as on international problems of common interest, we have reached a common understanding and decided to issue a joint communique. Through this visit, the mutual understanding and trust between our two countries have been strengthened, and this will undoubtedly contribute to the further development of the friendly relations between our two countries and our cooperation in international affairs.

Liu Shao-ch'i, as Chairman of the People's Republic of China, delivered this speech in Rangoon, Burma, on the evening of April 25, 1963, at a farewell banquet he gave in honour of Chairman Ne Win. The text is taken from *Hsinhua News Agency Release*, No. 042597 (April 26, 1963), pp. 43-44.

Your Excellency Respected Chairman, dear friends! The friendly relations between our two countries have been most gratifying. Just as Chairman Ne Win said at the banquet the other day, there exist no insoluble issues between our two countries, and our friendly relations have now reached a stage where they remain firm and unshakable. I am glad that both our countries share the determination to continue efforts for the further development of Sino-Burmese friendship, for the promotion of Asian-African solidarity, and the defense of Asian and world peace. Now may I request you all to join me in a toast

to the prosperity of the Union of Burma and well-being of its people,

to the ever-lasting friendship between China and Burma,

to Asian-African solidarity,

to Asian and world peace,

to the health of His Excellency Chairman Ne Win and Madame Ne Win,

to the health of our dear Burmese friends and friends of other countries!

ARRIVAL SPEECH AT PHNOM PENH AIRPORT

May 1, 1963

Her Majesty the Queen,
His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am very glad to have this opportunity to pay a visit to our friendly neighbour the Kingdom of Cambodia. We are deeply moved by the grand and enthusiastic welcome you have accorded us, especially by His Royal Highness Prince Sihanouk's warm and ardent speech. Please allow me, on behalf of the Chinese people and the Chinese Government, and in my own name, to extend my cordial regards and deep respect to Her Majesty the Queen, His Royal Highness the Prince, the Government of the Kingdom of Cambodia, and the Cambodian people.

The Kingdom of Cambodia is a peace-loving country with a high sense of national dignity. The Cambodian people is an industrious and courageous people. Ever since independence, Cambodia has been engaged in a struggle to uphold its national sovereignty and territorial integrity and to develop its national economy. The policy of peace and neutrality pursued by Cambodia has made important contributions towards promoting Afro-Asian solidarity, stabilising the situation in Indo-China, and safeguarding peace in Southeast Asia, and has won the enthusiastic praise and support of the Chinese and other Asian and African peoples. Inspired by the Bandung Spirit, the Asian and African peoples' struggle against imperialism and new and old colonialism and for the winning and preservation of national independence is growing vigorously. Domination by imperialism and colonialism in Asia, Africa, and Latin America is collapsing rapidly. Whatever resistance imperialism and

Liu Shao-ch'i, as Chairman of the People's Republic of China, delivered this speech upon his arrival in Cambodia on May 1, 1963. The text is taken from *Hsinhua News Agency Release* No. 050117 (May 2, 1963), p. 81.

new and old colonialism may put up, the Asian, African and Latin American peoples, persevering in struggle and in unity, are sure to win victory.

Dear friends, our two countries have consistently supported each other in the struggle against imperialism and new and old colonialism. Our two countries are good neighbours, good friends. It has been my long-cherished personal wish to visit your country and convey the Chinese people's fraternal friendship to the Cambodian people. Thanks to the kind invitation of His Royal Highness Prince Sihanouk, this long-cherished wish of mine is fulfilled. We are happy to meet you again in your beautiful land soon after Your Royal Highness Prince Sihanouk's successful visit to China. I hope that this visit of mine and my colleagues will be conducive to the further growth of the kinship between the Chinese and Cambodian peoples and will contribute anew to the friendship and cooperation between the two countries.

May the Kingdom of Cambodia become daily more prosperous!

May the friendship between the Chinese and Cambodian peoples be ever green!

Long live world peace!

SPEECH AT A STATE BANQUET IN PHNOM PENH

May 3, 1963

His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

Ever since we stepped on your beautiful land, we have found ourselves surrounded by a most warm atmosphere of Sino-Cambodian friendship. We have been deeply moved by your gracious hospitality and extremely grand welcome. Now, His Royal Highness Prince Sihanouk is cordially giving this magnificent banquet in our honour. We feel most happy to have this opportunity to meet so many distinguished friends. Please allow me on behalf of the Chinese people and the Chinese Government, to express to you all my hearty thanks, and at the same time, through you, to the Cambodian people my cordial regards and sincere respect.

In the eyes of the Chinese people, Cambodia is a peace-loving country which treasures its independence. The Cambodian people is an industrious and courageous people. Ever since Cambodia attained independence, you have struggled valiantly against imperialism and its followers in order to uphold your sovereignty and territorial integrity, and have done much in the way of building up your country. We are glad to find that your economic construction has made remarkable progress and your culture, education and public health have tremendously developed. The Kingdom of Cambodia unswervingly pursues a policy of peace and neutrality, and has made important contributions to upholding the peace of Indo-China and Southeast Asia. The international influence of Cambodia is expanding steadily

Liu Shao-ch'i, as Chairman of the People's Republic of China, delivered this speech on May 3, 1963, in Phnom Penh at a state banquet given in his honour by Prince Sihanouk, Cambodian Head of State. The text is taken from *Hsinhua News Agency Release*, No. 050366 (May 4, 1963), pp. 23-24.

and its international prestige is enhancing daily. All countries, big or small, so long as they stand for justice, can play an ever growing role in international affairs. The Kingdom of Cambodia is a very good example. As your amicable neighbour and intimate friend, we heartily congratulate you on the successes of the Kingdom of Cambodia.

Sino-Cambodian relations have always been excellent. Friendly intercourse between our two peoples dates back to the remote past in history. We are especially happy over the fact that today our friendly relations are closer than at any other time in the past. The Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Non-aggression signed between the two countries in 1960, brought our relations to a new stage. In the past few years, the mutual support between the two countries in international affairs has been continually strengthened and our economic and cultural cooperation has become daily closer. Friendly intercourse between the two countries has been frequent. Here I must note in particular that the Chinese people feel most happy to have been able to play host to His Royal Highness Prince Sihanouk four times in seven years. As an outstanding statesman of Cambodia and friend of the Chinese people, every visit paid by His Royal Highness contributed to the development of Sino-Cambodian friendly relations. The continuous growth of Sino-Cambodian friendship is inseparable from Prince Sihanouk's efforts.

Without mutual respect and the spirit of treating each other as equals, it is impossible to build up genuine friendship either between nations or between individuals. Both China and Cambodia have realised this deeply. For long years, China has been subjected to unequal treatment of various kinds, and so has Cambodia. Therefore no explanation is needed in order to understand why our two countries have conceived such a bitter hatred for big-nation chauvinism. In Sino-Cambodian relations, we have strictly abided by the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the Bandung Spirit and truly lived up to the principle of respecting each other and not imposing one's will on the other, treating each other on an equal footing and not setting oneself above the other, and benefitting and helping each other and not benefitting oneself at the expense of the other. The Sino-Cambodian relations of friendship and cooperation can be rightly considered as a fine example of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems.

Our two countries have always supported each other. His Royal Highness Prince Sihanouk and the Royal Cambodian Government have consistently supported our people in their struggle for

liberating Taiwan and opposing "two Chinas," and have stood for the restoration of China's lawful rights in the United Nations. To bring about direct negotiations between China and India for the peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question, His Royal Highness Prince Sihanouk personally took part in the Colombo Conference of Six Asian and African Countries and maintained throughout the impartial stand of being friendly to both China and India. For this, we express our sincere gratitude. Now the Sino-Indian border situation has relaxed thanks to China's initiative and efforts. Although direct negotiations between China and India still cannot start for the time being, the determination of the Chinese Government to strive for a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question is unshakable. We are convinced that, with the friendly Asian and African countries maintaining justice, the scheme of imperialism and its followers to aggravate the Sino-Indian border dispute and disrupt Afro-Asian solidarity will never succeed. The Chinese and Indian peoples are friendly to each other and the Sino-Indian boundary question will eventually be settled peacefully.

The Chinese Government and people have been consistent in their support for the Kingdom of Cambodia in its just struggle against the intervention, subversion and aggression by imperialism and its followers and for safeguarding its sovereignty and independence. Here I would like to reiterate that in the days to come the Chinese Government will continue to support your just struggle, and the Chinese people will remain forever dependable friends of the Cambodian people.

Your Royal Highness Prince Sihanouk, this is my first visit to your beautiful country. As an old Chinese saying goes: "Better to see once than hear a hundred times." I am convinced that this visit of mine and my colleague will surely be conducive to the further growth of our mutual understanding and our relations of friendship and cooperation.

Finally, allow me to propose a toast
to the prosperity of the Kingdom of Cambodia,
to the traditional, profound friendship between China and Cambodia,
to Asian and world peace,
to the health of Her Majesty the Queen,
to the health of the Cambodian Head of State, His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk, and
to the health of all ladies and gentlemen present.

SPEECH AT A MASS RALLY IN PHNOM PENH

May 5, 1963

His Royal Highness Respected Prince Norodom Sihanouk,
Dear Cambodian Friends,

Allow me, first of all, on behalf of the Chinese people and in my own name, to extend to the people of all walks of life in the city of Phnom Penh and to all Cambodian people my cordial greetings and deep respects.

Not long ago I had the honour of playing host in Peking to His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk. Now I again enjoy the honour of paying a visit to your ancient but newly rising country, bringing with me the Chinese people's sincere friendly feelings for the Cambodian people. Our visit has obtained successful results. A solemn ceremony has just taken place, at which both parties signed a Joint Sino-Cambodian Statement. This Statement gives full expression to the determination of our two countries to go on strengthening their friendship and cooperation and to the common understanding of our two parties concerning major international problems of the present day. Like His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk, I, too, feel deeply gratified with it. Here I would like to thank with all my heart the Government and people of the Kingdom of Cambodia for their warm, grand welcome, and thank with all my heart His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk for the thoughtful arrangements he has made for our visit and his gracious hospitality.

Although we arrived in your country only a few days ago, its beauty and rich resources, the industry and courage of its people, and, most of all, your sincere and friendly feelings for the Chinese

Liu Shao-ch'i, as Chairman of the People's Republic of China, delivered this speech on May 5, 1963, in Phnom Penh, Cambodia, at a mass rally in honour of him and his wife. The text is taken from *Hsinhua News Agency Release*, No. 050570 (May 6, 1963), pp. 24-27.

people, have impressed us deeply. As soon as we arrived at your capital, this garden city of Phnom Penh, our eyes were greeted by scenes of vigorous reconstruction. Especially after His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk personally took us to the permanent exhibition of Sangkum's (The People's Socialist Community) achievements and personally explained them to us, we came to know better that in the past seven years the Kingdom of Cambodia, under the leadership of His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk, had scored many major successes in building up the country. Throughout the last few days, His Royal Highness, disregarding fatigue, personally took us to visit the Kompong Cham textile mill, a symbol of Sino-Cambodian friendship and cooperation, the ruins of Angkor, a hallmark of the age-old Cambodian history and culture, and the newly built tourist centre, Kirirom. All these visits have given us a better understanding of the Kingdom of Cambodia. We are convinced that the people of Cambodia, under the leadership of His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk and relying on their own efforts, will certainly be able to make their country even more beautiful and prosperous.

The Cambodian people treasure independence and national dignity. The Kingdom of Cambodia, under the leadership of His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk, has resisted foreign intervention and aggression heroically in defence of its independence, neutrality, and territorial integrity. Particularly since 1956, imperialism and its followers have repeatedly carried out every kind of intervention and subversion in Cambodia. They even imposed economic embargo on you and made armed provocative attacks on your border in an attempt to force the Cambodian Royal Government to surrender its national sovereignty and to give up its policy of peace and neutrality. Their aggression and intervention have been powerfully rebuffed and their threats and pressure met stiff resistance. We feel heartfelt admiration for this undaunted spirit of the Cambodian people in the face of violence.

The Kingdom of Cambodia is a country pursuing firmly a genuine and not a sham policy of peace and neutrality. This policy of the Cambodian Royal Government not only accords with the interests of the Cambodian people but also has an important bearing on stabilising the situation in Indo-China and on safeguarding peace in Asia. The Chinese Government and people fully respect and energetically support Cambodia's policy of peace and neutrality and resolutely oppose the aggression against and intervention in the Kingdom of Cambodia by imperialism and its followers. In 1962 the Cambodian

Royal Government formulated a "Declaration on the Neutrality of Cambodia" and the "Protocol to the Declaration on the Neutrality of Cambodia" asking the countries concerned to sign them to guarantee the neutrality and territorial integrity of the Kingdom. The Chinese Government has supported this measure positively and is ready to sign the two documents. We hope that countries so far not responding to this will take a similar positive attitude.

We are pleased to see that the Kingdom of Cambodia is performing an ever more important role in international affairs. It played its part in bringing about the agreements of the Geneva Conference in 1954. It again contributed its share to the formulation of the Ten Principles of the Bandung Conference, to the promotion of Afro-Asian solidarity and to the common struggle against colonialism at the 1955 Asian-African Conference. The 1961-1962 Enlarged Geneva Conference for the Peaceful Settlement of the Laotian Question was held upon a proposal of His Royal Highness Prince Sihanouk. These facts show that any nation, big or small, can play a part of its own independently in international affairs. Any great-nation chauvinistic attitude of discriminating against or belittling the small nations is wrong.

Despite its sundry twists and turns, the course of human history heads in general towards progress. For a long time, the people of Asian and African nations were victims of enslavement and plunder by imperialism and were denied a voice in international affairs. Now, a fundamental change has taken place. The struggle of the Asian and African peoples for national liberation is developing vigorously. Many countries have rid themselves of colonial rule and won varying degrees of independence. The Asian and African peoples have awakened and stood up and have become powerful factors in determining the course of world history. As His Royal Highness Prince Sihanouk so aptly put it, today imperialism and colonialism are in a state of confusion and their rule in Asia, Africa and Latin America is collapsing rapidly.

However, imperialism and new and old colonialism will not take their defeats lying down. They are continuing in diverse ways to encroach upon the sovereignty and independence of Asian and African nations. This is borne out by the experience of our two countries over the past ten years and more. It is further borne out by recent happenings in Laos. The people of the Asian and African nations must, therefore, close their ranks, cooperate with each other and advance shoulder to shoulder in the struggle against imperialism

and new and old colonialism and for the realisation of their common aspirations.

A traditional and profound friendship exists between the Chinese and Cambodian people. The two countries have lived amicably together from time immemorial. Since the two countries attained independence one after the other and established diplomatic relations, their friendship and cooperation have developed on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence and the Ten Principles of the Bandung Conference. The Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Non-aggression concluded by our two countries in 1960 expresses the common aspirations of our peoples for the advance of their friendship and cooperation. We have strengthened our economic and cultural cooperation and increased our friendly contacts over the recent years in a spirit of mutual respect, equality, and reciprocal benefit. Our two countries have always sympathised with and supported each other in opposition to imperialism, in safeguarding their national sovereignty, and maintaining peace in Indo-China and the world.

The gratifying state to which Sino-Cambodian relations have reached today is inseparable from the mutual efforts of the two Governments and peoples. To this His Royal Highness Prince Sihanouk has made outstanding contributions and Her Majesty the Queen too has paid solicitous attention to the development of friendly relations between the two countries. This ceaseless growth in friendly Sino-Cambodian relations not only conforms to the common interests of the two peoples, but also helps to preserve peace in Indo-China and Asia. The Chinese people will unceasingly work for the strengthening of this traditional, profound friendship. However violent the imperialists and their followers may be, our Cambodian friends may rest assured that in your just struggle against foreign intervention and in defence of your sovereignty and independence, the Chinese people will forever remain your dependable friends.

Long live Sino-Cambodian friendship!

Long live Asian-African solidarity!

Long live world peace!

SPEECH AT A FAREWELL BANQUET IN PHNOM PENH

May 5, 1963

His Respected Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

We are most happy today to be able to get together once again with our distinguished friends. Thanks to your warm welcome and gracious hospitality, our several days' stay here has been most pleasant and interesting. Our visit is drawing to a close. On the eve of departure, I, in my own name and on behalf of my colleagues, would like to take this opportunity to express our sincere gratitude to Her Majesty the Queen, His Royal Highness Prince Sihanouk and the Cambodian Government and people.

Thanks to the most thoughtful arrangements made for us by His Royal Highness Prince Sihanouk, our visit has attained successful results. We went round your capital, Phnom Penh, saw the world famous Angkor monuments and visited other cities and a mountain resort known for their beautiful scenery, and met representative figures of all circles in Cambodia. We have conveyed the affectionate regards of the Chinese people to the Cambodian and at the same time have personally experienced the profound friendship of the Cambodian people for the Chinese. Since our arrival in your country, smiling Cambodians, braving the scorching sun, have greeted us with cheers and applause everywhere we went and a most warm atmosphere of Sino-Cambodian friendship has prevailed both in cities and in the countryside. We deeply feel that we are staying in the home of a friendly kinsman. We shall be most happy to convey this sincere and profound friendship of yours to the Chinese people.

Liu Shao-ch'i, as Chairman of the People's Republic of China, delivered this speech on May 5, 1963, in Phnom Penh, Cambodia, at a farewell banquet. The text is taken from *Hsinhua News Agency Release*, No. 050520 (May 6, 1963), pp. 8-9.

This visit has made us better acquainted with the Kingdom of Cambodia, our friendly neighbour. Your achievements in national construction, your desire to become strong and prosperous through your own vigorous efforts, your ancient and fine culture, your high sense of national dignity, particularly your determination to defend state sovereignty and pursue a peaceful and neutral policy have filled us with admiration. We wish the Cambodian people continuous, new and still greater success in their cause of defending national independence and developing the national economy.

During the visit, I and Vice-Premier Chen Yi held cordial and friendly talks with His Royal Highness Prince Sihanouk and other leaders of the Cambodian Government. We fully exchanged views on the further strengthening of the relations of friendly cooperation between our two countries and on international questions of common interest to the two parties and reached identity of views and are going to sign a joint statement. This will show to the world anew that the fundamental interests of the Chinese and Cambodian peoples are harmonious and that a bright future lies ahead for the relations of friendly cooperation between the two countries. As in the past, our two countries will cooperate closely and support each other in our struggle against imperialist aggression and foreign intervention and for the safeguarding of state sovereignty and territorial integrity and in the cause of strengthening Afro-Asian solidarity and of defending world peace. The people of our two countries not only will live in amity and harmony today but also will remain friendly for generations to come.

Finally, I would like all of you to join me in drinking a toast
to the prosperity and well-being of the Kingdom of Cambodia
and the happiness of its people,
to the traditional and profound friendship between the Chinese
and Cambodian peoples,
to peace in Asia and the world,
to the health of Her Majesty the Queen,
to the health of His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk,
Head of State of Cambodia and
to the health of all ladies and gentlemen present!

FAREWELL SPEECH AT PHNOM PENH AIRPORT

May 6, 1963

His Royal Highness, Respected Prince Norodom Sihanouk
Dear Friends,

This friendly and successful visit of mine and my colleagues in your beautiful country has come to an end and we are now about to leave for home. At this moment of parting, please allow me to express once again my sincere thanks to you for your kind hospitality and cordial welcome.

My colleagues and I have spent six pleasant and unforgettable days in your country. In the course of our visit we have been deeply impressed by the Cambodian people's whole hearted feelings of friendship for the Chinese people. His Royal Highness Prince Sihanouk's company day and night and his heart-to-heart chats with us have, in particular, further enhanced our mutual understanding and trust. All this vividly testifies to the exceedingly close friendship between China and Cambodia. I am convinced that, by our mutual efforts, the traditional friendship and relations of friendly cooperation between the two countries will be ceaselessly consolidated and developed.

Dear friends, although we are parting, the charming impressions we have received of your country will remain forever in our memory. We heartily wish to the Kingdom of Cambodia daily growing prosperity, and to its people well-being. May the friendship between the two peoples be ever green.

Goodbye!

Liu Shao-ch'i, as Chairman of the People's Republic of China, delivered this speech as he was leaving Cambodia on the morning of May 6, 1963. The text is taken from *Hsinhua News Agency Release*, No. 050616 (May 7, 1963), p. 10.

ARRIVAL SPEECH AT HANOI AIRPORT

May 10, 1963

Dear Comrade President Ho Chi Minh,
Dear Comrades and Friends,

We are very happy, after having visited the three friendly countries of Indonesia, Burma and Cambodia, to be able to pay a goodwill visit to our close, fraternal neighbour — the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. I thank you whole-heartedly for the warm and grand welcome accorded us. In the name of the People's Republic of China and on behalf of the Communist Party of China, I extend most cordial greetings and highest respects to the leading comrades of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Vietnam Workers' Party, headed by President Ho Chi Minh, and to the brotherly Vietnamese people.

Dear comrades, it has been my long-cherished hope to visit your great country and meet the heroic Vietnamese people. Now this hope has come true. Meeting you is like meeting our own folk and it fills us with immense joy.

China and Vietnam are neighbours who are dependent on each other like lips and teeth. The people of our two countries are brothers who share weal and woe. In both the long-term struggle against imperialism and the great cause of building socialism, we always support each other and work in close cooperation. The friendship of our two countries is built on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and is unbreakable. To strengthen and consolidate increasingly our friendship and solidarity is the common desire of the people of our two countries and is the guarantee for the triumph of our common cause. I hope that this visit of mine, of Comrade Chen Yi and other comrades will contribute to this.

Liu Shao-ch'i, as Chairman of the People's Republic of China and Vice-Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party, delivered this speech upon his arrival in North Vietnam on May 10, 1963. The text is taken from *Hsinhua News Agency Release*, No. 051008 (May 11, 1963), p. 8.

Long live the great fraternal friendship between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples!

Long live the Democratic Republic of Vietnam!

Long live the glorious Vietnam Workers' Party!

Long live President Ho Chi Minh!

Long live the solidarity of the countries of the socialist camp!

Long live the great solidarity of the people of the world!

Long live world peace!

SPEECH AT A STATE BANQUET IN HANOI

May 10, 1963

Dear Comrade President Ho Chi Minh,
Dear Comrades and Friends,

We are very glad to meet again our old friends and dear comrades of Vietnam at this cordial and friendly banquet. We are deeply moved by the very warm and grand welcome accorded us by the people of Hanoi today. Please permit me, in my own name and on behalf of Comrade Ch'en Yi and other comrades on this visit, to express our heartfelt gratitude to you for the grand welcome and the warm reception.

The people of Vietnam are industrious and courageous and have a glorious revolutionary tradition. Under the leadership of the Vietnam Workers' Party and President Ho Chi Minh, they waged a protracted and heroic armed struggle against the colonial rule and aggression of imperialism and have won a spectacular historic victory. Today, with the same heroism and high patriotic fervour, the emancipated people in North Vietnam are engaged in the cause of building socialism, a cause of unparalleled splendour in the history of Vietnam, relying on their own hard-working hands. In this cause their achievements have been numerous and remarkable. A fundamental change has taken place in the countenance of the northern part of Vietnam in the short period of nine years. The poverty and backwardness caused by a long period of imperialist enslavement is being removed step by step; new industrial, agricultural, scientific, and cultural enterprises are growing vigorously and the people's material and cultural living standards are rising steadily. As the close brothers

Lin Shao-ch'i, as Chairman of the People's Republic of China, delivered this speech at a state banquet in Hanoi given in his honour jointly by President Ho Chi Minh, the Vietnam Workers' Party the National Assembly, the Government and the Fatherland Front on the evening of May 10, 1963. The text is taken from *Hsinhua News Agency Release*, No. 051053 (May 11, 1963), pp. 38-40.

of the people of Vietnam, we rejoice in and are elated over their great achievements.

In their sacred cause of the peaceful unification of their fatherland, the people of Vietnam have waged a tit-for-tat struggle against U.S. imperialism and its running dogs, displaying the fearless spirit of a revolutionary people to dare to struggle and to seize victory in the face of a powerful enemy. The perfidious U.S. imperialists and the Ngo Dinh Diem regime have grossly wrecked the 1954 Geneva Agreements and obstructed the peaceful unification of Vietnam. They have also launched a barbarous, undeclared war on the people in the southern part of the country in an attempt to turn that region into a U.S. colony and military base. The heroic people in the south, rallying closely around the banner of the South Vietnam National Liberation Front, have unfolded a resolute armed struggle in self-defence against the U.S. aggressors and their running dogs. In their immensely hard-fought battles, they have inflicted heavy blows on the enemy, steadily increased their numbers, and have won one important victory after another, thereby setting a brilliant example to all oppressed people and nations of the world.

The people in the southern part of Vietnam do not stand alone in the struggle. All countries and people who cherish justice and peace stand on their side, as on the side of the people of the whole of Vietnam. The Chinese always resolutely support the anti-U.S. patriotic and just fight of the people in the southern part of this country and the sacred struggle of the whole Vietnamese people for the peaceful unification of their fatherland. We believe that U.S. imperialism can never achieve its criminal designs, whether by continuing to resort to armed intervention or by political deception. The Vietnamese people will certainly after a long arduous struggle be able to fulfil their national aspirations and win final victory in the peaceful unification of their fatherland. The great Vietnamese people are unconquerable. The Chinese people are proud of having such firm and strong comrades-in-arms and brothers as the Vietnamese people.

The Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam has consistently pursued a peaceful foreign policy. The Democratic Republic of Vietnam is valiantly guarding the southeastern front of the socialist camp and is shouldering an important burden in opposing imperialist aggression and in defence of peace in Indo-China and Asia and has made outstanding contributions in this cause. It has consistently worked for the development of relations of friendship and cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries. It has made unswerving and tireless efforts to safeguard the 1954 Geneva Agreements

on Indo-China and the 1962 Geneva Agreements on Laos. It always resolutely supports the Asian and African peoples' revolutionary struggles striving for and safeguarding national independence. It has persistently adhered to the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the Ten Principles of the Bandung Conference and has established friendly relations with many countries in Asia and Africa. The Chinese people heartily rejoice at seeing the daily rising international prestige of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

China and Vietnam are fraternal neighbours. A profound militant friendship exists between our two peoples. They always encourage and support each other, both in the struggle against their common enemy and in the cause of building socialism. Abiding by Marxism-Leninism and the principles of proletarian internationalism, our two countries have continuously consolidated and strengthened the friendship and unity between them and have enhanced their relations of mutual assistance and cooperation in all fields. I am convinced that with the development of our common cause, this long-tested friendship and unity between our two countries will surely be consolidated and developed continuously.

Now I should like to propose a toast:

to the prosperity and well-being of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam;

to the great friendship and militant unity between the peoples of China and Vietnam;

to the unity of the socialist camp;

to the victory of the national liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America;

to the great unity among the people of the world and to world peace;

to the health of President Ho Chi Minh and other leading comrades of Vietnam; and

to the health of all the comrades and friends present!

SPEECH AT A MASS RALLY IN HANOI

May 12, 1963

Dear Comrade President Ho Chi Minh,
Dear Comrade Tran Duy Hung, Chairman of the Administrative
Committee of Hanoi,
Dear Comrades and Friends,

Today, we greatly rejoice to meet the fraternal Vietnamese people in this historic Ba Dinh Square in Hanoi, the glorious capital of Vietnam. Here, in the name of the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people, I wish to extend to the glorious Workers' Party of Vietnam, to the heroic people of Hanoi and the entire Vietnamese people, to Comrade Ho Chi Minh, President of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the most cordial greetings and highest respects.

It is no exaggeration to say that ever since we set foot on the soil of our fraternal neighbour — the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, we have been living amidst sincere and warm friendship. This reminds me of the common experiences shared by the comrades of our two parties and the people of our two countries. During the dark years when Vietnam and China were under the oppression of imperialism and colonialism, many Vietnamese comrades took a direct part in the revolutionary struggles of the Chinese people, while waging in the meantime heroic struggles of their own country. The comrades of both Chinese and Vietnamese Communist Parties and the people of both countries who fought shoulder to shoulder shared not only difficulties and hardships but also happiness and victories in the struggles. During our present visit, we feel particularly at home and happy to get together with our old and new Vietnamese comrades-in-arms in a joyous atmosphere. Our friendship has a long-standing history.

Liu Shao-ch'i, as Chairman of the People's Republic of China, delivered this speech at a mass rally held in Ba Dinh Square in Hanoi on the morning of May 12, 1963. The text is taken from *Hsinhua News Agency Release*, No. 051161 (May 13, 1963), pp. 17-24.

It is a militant friendship forged amidst revolutionary storms, a great class friendship of proletarian-internationalism, a friendship which is indestructible.

The Democratic Republic of Vietnam has grown in strength in the revolutionary struggles against imperialism and its lackeys. Under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist Party of Vietnam headed by President Ho Chi Minh and through protracted and arduous struggles, the Vietnamese people have won the victory of the August Revolution and ushered in a new era in the history of Vietnam. After another nine years of heroic war of resistance, the Vietnamese people finally defeated the attacks of French colonialists who were supported by U.S. imperialism, won complete victory of the revolution in northern Vietnam and victoriously defended the young republic led by the working class. Now standing firmly like a rock on the southeastern front of the socialist camp, the Vietnam Democratic Republic is conducting an unyielding struggle against U.S. imperialism, making great contributions towards the defence of peace in Southeast Asia, Asia as a whole and the entire world. The growth and strengthening of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the struggle and victory of the Vietnamese people have greatly inspired the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations and people of the world, and set for them an illustrious example.

The resolution of the Third Congress of the Vietnam Workers' Party correctly pointed out that there are two strategic tasks in the present stage of the Vietnamese revolution, which are closely inter-related and spur each other forward, that is, to carry out the socialist revolution in the northern part, and at the same time to develop the national people's democratic revolution in the southern part and achieve national reunification. Since the restoration of peace in 1954, the people in northern Vietnam have, under the correct leadership of the Vietnam Workers' Party and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, attained a series of brilliant achievements in rehabilitating the national economy and in carrying out socialist transformation and socialist construction. In a short period of three years, the Vietnamese people speedily healed the wounds caused by protracted wars in northern Vietnam and completed the land reform. From 1958 onwards, the Vietnamese people in the northern part triumphantly fulfilled the Three-Year Plan of developing and transforming the national economy and flourishing culture, and carried out socialist transformation in agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce. Since 1961 the people of Vietnam have been carrying out the grand first Five-Year Plan, and

the targets set for the first two years have been successfully fulfilled. With their own diligent hands the people of Vietnam are building the northern part into a solid base for the country's peaceful reunification. At present, the people of Vietnam, guided by the illuminating light of the resolutions of the Third Congress of the Vietnam Workers' Party, are enthusiastically unfolding a patriotic labour emulation campaign to build socialism with speed, vigour and steadiness and to struggle for the successful fulfilment of the country's first Five-Year Plan. Recently, the Central Committee of the Vietnam Workers' Party has made it the first and foremost task in this year's national plan to concentrate all efforts on raising agricultural production and achieving a better solution of some of the pressing problems connected with people's livelihood, mainly the problems of food grain, non-staple foodstuffs, clothing and other most essential consumer goods. We are convinced that under the correct leadership of the Vietnam Workers' Party, with the excellent working style of the great number of hard-working and simple-living Vietnamese cadres who maintain a close link with the people, and with the revolutionary spirit of the Vietnamese people who rely on their own efforts and strive to build up their country through their own industrious labour and the practice of economy, socialist construction in northern Vietnam will certainly achieve still greater victories.

The great success of socialist construction in northern Vietnam has greatly encouraged the people of the southern part in their patriotic just struggle. While courageously engaging in socialist construction, the people in northern Vietnam have never for a minute forgotten that their motherland is still kept in artificial division. As President Ho Chi Minh has rightly said, the Vietnamese people "cannot sleep and dine at ease for a single day so long as U.S. imperialism is not driven out of the southern part and so long as the southern part is not liberated from the cruel rule of the U.S.-Ngo Dinh Diem clique." The perfidious U.S. imperialists and their lackey the Ngo Dinh Diem Government not only violate the 1954 Geneva Agreements by obstructing Vietnam's peaceful reunification, but are unscrupulously waging an undeclared war against the Vietnamese people in the southern part in an attempt to turn the southern part into a U.S. colony and a strategic war base for invading northern Vietnam and other socialist countries. The Kennedy administration has introduced more than 15,000 U.S. military personnel and all kinds of new weapons into southern Vietnam to make various criminal experiments of their "special warfare," committing towering crimes against the people there. However, the people in southern Vietnam with their glorious

revolutionary tradition have not been scared by the attacks of the atrocious U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. For their own survival and liberation, for the independence and re-unification of the motherland, they have united as one and taken up arms in a brave armed struggle of self-defence against the U.S. aggressor and its lackeys. They have repeatedly smashed the enemy's attacks and won one victory after another. The successful revolutionary struggle by the people in southern Vietnam has dealt a severe blow to the U.S. aggressor's arrogance and effectively safeguarded the socialist construction of the people in the northern part as well as peace in Southeast Asia and the world.

The patriotic struggle against U.S. aggression waged by the people in southern Vietnam is completely just. It sets a noble example for all other peoples in the world striving for liberation, and is winning the sympathy and support of all revolutionary people of the world. The Chinese people, the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Government resolutely support the people in southern Vietnam and the entire Vietnamese people in their just and patriotic struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression and for the peaceful reunification of the motherland. We are firmly convinced that, under the leadership of the South Vietnam National Liberation Front and with the support of their countrymen in the north and the people of the world, the people in southern Vietnam will finally succeed in driving out the U.S. aggressor and accomplish the sacred task of Vietnam's reunification after a protracted and arduous struggle.

The great achievements in Vietnam's socialist transformation and socialist construction, the incessant successes of the Vietnamese people in their sacred struggle for reunification, the efforts and contributions made by Vietnam in carrying out the 1962 Geneva Agreements and safeguarding peace in Indo-China, the increasing prestige of Vietnam in international affairs — all these are evidence that the Vietnamese people is a heroic people, that the general line of the Vietnam Workers' Party and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam guiding their domestic and foreign policies is correct. The strength of the masses of the people is invincible. Under the guidance of a correct revolutionary policy, this great strength will surely overcome any obstacles on the road of progress and do earth-shaking feats.

Comrades, friends! The present world situation is excellent. This situation is favourable to the peoples of the world, and not favourable to imperialism and the reactionaries in various countries. It is favourable to the revolutionary struggle and the struggle for

maintaining world peace of the peoples of all countries, and not favourable to the aggressive activities and war plots of imperialism. The strength of the countries in the socialist camp has grown greatly. The national democratic movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America continues to achieve new successes. The working people in the capitalist world have made new progress in fighting for improved livelihood and democratic rights. The peoples of the world are unfolding an extensive mass movement against the imperialist policies of aggression and war and in defence of world peace. At the same time imperialism is confronted with a daily-worsening crisis. The contradictions inherent in imperialism are growing increasingly acute. The imperialist camp is disintegrating with redoubled force. U.S. imperialism is more tightly besieged by the revolutionary people of the world. Imperialism and its lackeys in various countries are declining like the setting sun. Socialism and the national revolutionary movement and people's revolutionary movement it supports are rising like the sun from the eastern horizon. This is the main trend in the present world situation.

These favourable changes in the world situation are the result of the long and repeated trials of strength and struggles on a world scale between the socialist camp and the people of the world on the one hand and imperialism headed by the U.S. and its lackeys on the other. It is these trials of strength and struggles that have radically changed the international balance of class forces. Supremacy belongs to the socialist camp and the revolutionary people of the world. The combined forces of the socialist camp, the international working class movement, the national liberation movement and the peace movement have greatly surpassed those of imperialism and its lackeys.

The existence and development of the socialist camp have considerably diminished the scope of the rule and activity of imperialism, accelerated the revolutionization of the oppressed nations and people, and so have been exercising a decisive influence on the general course of development of world history. The achievement of the socialist countries in their construction, the development of their national economy and their progress in science and technology play a great exemplary role. However, we cannot fail to see that two thirds of the world population are still under imperialist and capitalist rule. Affirming the decisive influence and exemplary role of the socialist camp absolutely does not mean that it replaces or cancels the revolutionary struggle of oppressed nations and peoples, nor does it mean that it replaces or cancels class struggle in the world arena. The victory of the people of each country can be won only by relying

mainly on their own resolute struggle. We are in the midst of an era of serious and sharp class struggle, as it is well said by Comrade Le Duan, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Vietnam Workers' Party, in his speech of a high Marxist-Leninist level on the occasion of the 80th anniversary of the death of Marx.

The aggressive nature of imperialism will never change. U.S. imperialism, in the face of a growing unfavourable world situation, is using more adventurist and cunning means to realise its counter-revolutionary global strategy. The Kennedy administration of the U.S. talks about peace and disarmament, but actually is frantically expanding armament for war, making preparations for both nuclear and conventional warfare, and is already fighting "special warfare." Backed by military strength, it pursues aggressive activities everywhere. U.S. imperialism is carrying out neo-colonialism in Asia, Africa and Latin America by means of armed suppression, political fraud and economic infiltration. Besides engaging in military aggression and war threats against socialist countries, it is intensifying activities of subversion and infiltration, and pursuing a policy of "peaceful evolution," attempting to restore capitalism in these countries. It has never ceased to threaten the Cuban people with war. It continues armed intervention in southern Vietnam. No sooner were the Geneva Agreements on the Laotian question signed than U.S. imperialism colluded with Laotian reactionaries to undermine the unity of the Laotian patriotic forces in an attempt to subvert the Provisional Laotian Government of National Union and rekindle civil war, thus seriously threatening the independence, peace and neutrality of Laos. Innumerable facts have shown that U.S. imperialism is the gendarme suppressing the people's just struggle in various countries, the chief bastion of modern colonialism, the main force of aggression and war, the enemy of world peace and the common foe of all peoples.

In these circumstances, the socialist countries and the international proletariat must form the closest possible alliance with the oppressed nations and peoples, unite with all forces that can be united, organize and expand the most extensive possible united front against imperialism headed by the United States in order to wage determined and unrelenting struggles against the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war. So long as we uphold unity and persevere in struggle, we shall be able to defeat the aggressive activities and war schemes of U.S. imperialism and prevent a new world war, and the people of the world will certainly be able to win final victory in their

lofty cause of safeguarding world peace and striving for the progress of mankind.

In order to win a lasting world peace and victory for the socialist cause, the defence and strengthening of the unity of the socialist camp is of paramount importance. The primary task for every socialist country and ruling fraternal party is to develop mutual help and cooperation among the socialist countries in line with the principle of proletarian internationalism. The 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement specifically stipulate that the socialist countries must respect each other's independence and sovereignty, treat each other with equality, refrain from interfering in each other's internal affairs and cooperate on the basis of mutual benefit and help each other. If these principles are strictly observed instead of being violated, the unity of the socialist camp can certainly be strengthened.

The socialist countries have always adhered to the policy of peaceful co-existence with countries of different social systems, including the imperialist countries. Obstacles to the realization of peaceful co-existence never come from the side of the socialist countries, but from that of the imperialists and the reactionaries of various countries. In order to realize peaceful co-existence, what is required is, first of all, to carry out resolute struggle against the imperialist policies of aggression and war, and not to liquidate this struggle, and it is even more impermissible to liquidate the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations and people.

While building socialism, socialist countries must resolutely support the revolutionary struggles of all oppressed nations and people. This is their compelling international duty. Where there is oppression by imperialism and reactionaries, the people will certainly rise to make revolution. The revolutions of the oppressed nations and people constitute a direct ally for the forces of socialism. The relation between the oppressed nations and people and the socialist forces is one of flesh and blood, of mutual support and help. The imperialists and the reactionaries of various countries are invariably trying by all means to cut off this relation of flesh and blood, so that they may stamp out the people's revolutions and, furthermore, to destroy the socialist countries. The great Lenin pointed out time and again: "It is the external policy of the proletariat to ally with the revolutionaries in the advanced countries and with the people in the oppressed countries against all the imperialists."

We hold that the three aspects mentioned in the above paragraphs constitute the main contents of the foreign policy of socialist countries. These three aspects are inter-related and indivisible, and none of them

can be missing. That is to say, the foreign policy of socialist countries must not be reduced into the single aspect of peaceful co-existence. Peaceful co-existence refers to relations between socialist countries and capitalist countries. It must not be reinterpreted at will, or stretched to apply to relations between the oppressed and oppressor nations, or between oppressed and oppressor classes. Peaceful co-existence must not be used to abolish the socialist countries' duty of supporting the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations and people. The foreign policy of socialist countries, all the more, must not be used to supersede the revolutionary line of the proletariat of various countries and their parties.

Comrades and friends! The Chinese people have scored a series of great victories in their socialist revolution and socialist construction over the past several years, and also met with difficulties brought by the serious natural disasters and other causes. Now, I would tell you all that, under the wise leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese people have in the main overcome these difficulties. Things for us are getting better and better with each passing day on all fronts of our national economy. The Chinese people are continuing to hold aloft the three red banners—the general line, the big leap forward and the people's commune—and strive to further develop the socialist revolution and socialist construction in China, and establish an even firmer foundation for the modernization of agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology.

In the light of our own experience, class struggle is inevitable throughout the historical period of transition from capitalism to communism after the working class seized state power. International imperialism invariably plots to destroy or subvert a socialist country. The reactionary ruling classes which have been overthrown invariably refuse to be reconciled to their doom and are bent on staging a comeback in collusion with international imperialism. At the same time, there still exist in society bourgeois influence, the force of habit of old society and the spontaneous tendency toward capitalism among part of the small producers. Some corrupt officials, thieves and speculating and profiteering elements will emerge in party and state institutions, economic departments and other organisations. Therefore, in the socialist countries, the problem of which to win, socialism or capitalism, can be finally solved only through a protracted struggle which is complicated, tortuous and sometimes very sharp. The imperative task of the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist party is: while engaging in successful socialist construction, to carry the socialist

revolution through to the end on the economic, political, ideological and cultural fronts, and to guard against and avert the danger of the restoration of capitalism.

We know that there will be difficulties of varying kinds in the way of our progress. However, we are sure that we can overcome all these difficulties, so long as we strictly adhere to the revolutionary line of Marxism-Leninism and rely closely on the masses of the people. All miracles in past history have been accomplished by the people. Since the Chinese people were able to overthrow the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism by protracted and hard struggle, they will definitely be able also to build their motherland into a prosperous and mighty socialist country by relying on their own industrious hands.

China and Vietnam are intimate fraternal neighbours. Our two countries are closely related like lips and teeth, which share the same destinies. Our two countries have always supported each other, with our joys and sorrows interconnected, and have always closely cooperated with and assisted each other. The relations of friendship, mutual assistance and cooperation between our two countries are based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism; they fully conform to the principles guiding relations among fraternal socialist countries, and can withstand the test of all storms. To win victory for our common ideals, common cause and common struggle, the Chinese people will always unite and cooperate closely with the brotherly Vietnamese people, and advance with them shoulder to shoulder.

Long live the great friendship and militant unity between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples!

Long live the heroic Vietnamese people!

Long live the Democratic Republic of Vietnam!

Long live the glorious Workers' Party of Vietnam!

Long live President Ho Chi Minh!

Long live the national-democratic revolutionary movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America!

Long live the unity of the socialist camp!

Long live invincible Marxism-Leninism!

SPEECH AT THE NGUYEN AI QUOC PARTY SCHOOL

May 15, 1963

Dear Comrade Ho Chi Minh,
Dear Comrade Troung Chinh,
Dear Comrades,

I am very glad to have this opportunity today to visit your Party School which is directly under the Central Committee of the Vietnam Workers' Party and is named after Comrade Ho Chi Minh, beloved leader of the Vietnamese people, and to meet all comrades of its faculty and staff and all student comrades. Here I would like to extend to you warm comradely regards and communist greetings in the name of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, in my own name, and in the name of all comrades on this visit.

Comrade Director has just referred to China's assistance to Vietnam. To help you in so far as our circumstances permit is an international obligation which we should undertake. Your acknowledgement that we have fulfilled this obligation of ours is an encouragement and satisfaction to us. But it should be pointed out that it is first of all you who have helped us. The socialist revolution and socialist construction which you carry out in the North, the consolidation of your state, and the valiant struggle of your compatriots in the South are all tremendous support for us and for the entire socialist camp. In the cause of proletarian revolution, assistance has always been mutual. Now, there are certain people who always stress their assistance to others and disown others' assistance to them. This is flying in the face of facts. This is not a Marxist-Leninist attitude.

Liu Shao-ch'i, as Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, delivered this speech at a meeting held in his honour at the Nguyen Ai Quoc Party School in North Vietnam on May 15, 1963. The text is taken from *Hsinhua News Agency Release*, No. 051571 (May 16, 1963), pp. 35-37.

Comrade Director also touched on the question of the path of the October Revolution, a very important question of principle. The October Revolution has universal historical significance. The Chinese revolution is a continuation of the October Revolution. The Vietnamese revolution is also a continuation of the October Revolution. The 1957 Moscow Declaration sums up the universal truths of the October Revolution in nine common rules. Any proletarian revolution in the world must follow the path of the October Revolution, must follow the path already traversed by the Russians. Some people now claim that it is not necessary to perform what the Russians have performed. This is utterly wrong.

Comrades here are studying Marxism-Leninism. Normally this study is a regular task for communists, but at present a campaign to learn Marxism-Leninism is of particular importance for the raising of our Marxist-Leninist level.

The international communist movement is now found in a crucial period of utmost importance. An acute struggle between the Marxist-Leninists and the modern revisionists is going on on a world-wide scale over a series of important problems of principle. The polemics are centred on whether the people of the world should carry out revolutions or not and whether proletarian parties should lead the world's people in revolutions or not. The course of this struggle has a bearing on whether the entire cause of the proletariat and the working people throughout the world will succeed or fail, and on the destiny of the whole of mankind. On questions of such an important struggle of principle, we cannot act as lookers-on or follow a middle course.

The modern revisionists, donning a cloak of Marxism-Leninism, are actually wantonly adulterating Marxism-Leninism, emasculating Marxism-Leninism of its revolutionary soul, repudiating the historic necessity for proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship in the period of transition from capitalism to communism, negating the leading role of the proletarian party, substituting hypocritical bourgeois "supra-class" viewpoints for Marxist-Leninist viewpoints of class analysis, and substituting bourgeois pragmatism for dialectical materialism. They are trying their utmost to benumb the revolutionary will of the working class and tamper with the essential contents of socialism and communism as strictly defined by Marxism-Leninism, in an attempt to restore or preserve capitalism in reality. Under such circumstances, the militant task of all Marxist-Leninists is not to evade the challenge of modern revisionism, but to unite to smash its attack completely in defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism,

hold aloft the red banner of revolution, and show the proletariat and the working people the correct direction for struggle and the road to victory.

In order to smash the attacks of modern revisionism, we should first of all seek instructions from Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, conscientiously study their works, and grasp this incisive weapon, Marxism-Leninism. We should also make a serious study of lessons provided by teachers by negative example, including writings of modern revisionists, those of Bernstein, Kautsky, Plekhanov, and other old-line revisionists, as well as imperialist evaluations of modern revisionism. We should also, of course, read the writings of modern revolutionary Marxist-Leninists. In this way we should be able to make a comparative study and see on each question now under controversy, what Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin had to say; what the old-line revisionists had to say; what the modern revisionists have to say; what the imperialists have to say; and what the modern revolutionary Marxist-Leninists have to say. In this way we should be able to understand truly how the objective situation develops and how modern revisionists distort and tamper with Marxism-Leninism. The revisionists would then be unmasked and their features clearly exposed to public gaze. This is, I think, a method of study which links theory with practice; this is the Leninist method of study. By so doing, we could surely raise greatly our theoretical level of Marxism-Leninism and increase a hundredfold our strength and confidence in combating modern revisionism.

All of us have read some of the Marxist-Leninist works. Some comrades might think that it is not necessary to read again what they read before. This is not true. When we read Marxist-Leninist works in the past, we often failed to understand them deeply and forgot them after reading, because we did not read with a view to solving any particular question. Now the case is different and we acquire a deep understanding since we read them over again with the object of answering the challenge of the revisionists. For the many propositions advanced by the modern revisionists are not "creative developments" of Marxism-Leninism as alleged, but a repetition and development under new conditions of the revisionist viewpoints of Bernstein, Kautsky, and other old-line revisionists. Most of their arguments were repudiated long ago by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

While opposing revisionism, the main danger confronting the present-day international communist movement, we must also oppose dogmatism, oppose all forms of "Left" opportunism. Dogmatists do not formulate their line and policies by linking the universal truths

of Marxism-Leninism with specific revolutionary practice at home and abroad. They copy from books literally and from the experience of other countries indiscriminately, and parrot others on important international issues. The history of the development of Marxism-Leninism is one of struggle against and overcoming all kinds of opportunism. It is our firm belief that, although the present struggle against revisionism will be a protracted and complicated one involving twists and turns, the all-conquering Marxism-Leninism will surely overcome revisionism and develop in the course of the struggle.

Let us hold still higher the revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism and strive to advance for the victory of the struggle for world peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism!

Workers and oppressed nations all over the world unite, oppose our common enemy!

Long live the all-conquering Marxism-Leninism!

SPEECH AT A FAREWELL BANQUET IN HANOI

May 15, 1963

Dear Comrade President Ho Chi Minh,
Dear Comrades, Friends,

Our goodwill visit to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, our fraternal neighbour, is drawing to an end. In the past six days, we have been accorded a grand and cordial reception by President Ho Chi Minh and the Party and Government of Vietnam and have been given a warm and friendly welcome by the Vietnamese people everywhere. In particular, President Ho Chi Minh has kept us company throughout these days, thus making our visit gratifying and ensuring its success. Please allow me, in my own name and on behalf of Comrade Chen Yi and other comrades on the visit, to express here my heartfelt thanks to President Ho Chi Minh, to other leading comrades of the Vietnam Party and Government and to the fraternal Vietnamese people.

During this visit, we have seen first hand the Vietnamese people's enormous achievements on all fronts of socialist construction and scenes of thriving, vigorous construction in North Vietnam. We are, in particular, most deeply impressed with the revolutionary spirit, manifested by both your leaders and the rank and file of the people, who work hard and live plainly, and rely on their own efforts to build up your country through industrious labour and the practice of economy.

In our extensive contacts with all sections of the people of Vietnam, we have deeply realised the Vietnamese people's firm, strong aspirations for the peaceful reunification of their country. Though Vietnam is divided for the time being, the hearts of all Vietnamese people are bound as one. Vietnam is an integral whole, and so is the Vietnamese

Liu Shao-ch'i, as Chairman of the People's Republic of China, delivered this speech at a farewell banquet in Hanoi on May 15, 1963. The text is taken from *Hsinhua News Agency Release*, No. 051548 (May 16, 1963), pp. 19-21.

nation. The patriotic anti-U.S. struggle waged by the people in South Vietnam has the sympathy and support of the people in North Vietnam and all revolutionary people of the world. The struggle is a fierce and complicated one. But we are convinced that after long arduous efforts, the Vietnamese people's sacred cause for the peaceful reunification of their fatherland will surely triumph in the end.

In the course of our visit, we held cordial, friendly talks with President Ho Chi Minh and other leaders of the Vietnam Party and the state. We had an extensive exchange of views on the present international situation, particularly on the situation in Laos and in Indo-China as a whole, on questions of strengthening the solidarity of the socialist camp and of strengthening the solidarity of the international communist movement, and on questions of building socialism in our two countries. The results of our talks will find full expression in the Joint Statement signed by the two parties. Through the visit and the talks, we have further increased our mutual understanding and trust and strengthened the friendship and solidarity of our two countries, two parties and two peoples which is based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Undoubtedly, all this will play an important role in facilitating the victory of the common struggle of our two countries for building socialism and opposing imperialism.

Now, allow me to propose a toast
to the victory of the cause of building socialism in North Vietnam;
to the victory of the Vietnamese people's cause of peaceful reunification of their fatherland;
to the great friendship and militant solidarity of the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples;
to the solidarity of the socialist camp;
to the victory of the national-democratic revolution in Asia, Africa and Latin America;
to Asian and world peace;
to the health of President Ho Chi Minh;
to the health of all comrades and friends present; and
to the health of the diplomatic envoys and their wives.

FAREWELL SPEECH AT HANOI AIRPORT

May 16, 1963

Dear Comrade President Ho Chi Minh,
Dear Comrades and Friends,

We are now going to leave you after a seven-day friendly visit to your country. This visit has been very pleasant and also very significant. We have been accorded an extremely warm welcome and generous hospitality by President Ho Chi Minh, other party and state leaders of Vietnam and the fraternal Vietnamese people. This has fully expressed the fraternal relations between our two countries like blood brothers and the lofty internationalist friendship between the Vietnamese people and the Chinese people.

Through this visit we have seen with our own eyes the vigorous progress and great achievements of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in building socialism. We have felt at first hand the firm determination of the Vietnamese people in fighting against U.S. imperialist aggression and for peaceful reunification of their fatherland. Your struggle and successes have shown that the Vietnamese are a people of revolutionary mettle and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam a heroic country. I deeply believe that no force in the world can prevent your great struggle from achieving final victory.

Finally, on behalf of the Chinese people, I once again wish the Vietnamese people fresh and still greater successes in their magnificent cause of building socialism in North Vietnam and in their just struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression and for the peaceful reunification of their fatherland.

Liu Shao-ch'i, as Chairman of the People's Republic of China and Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, delivered this farewell speech at the Hanoi airport on May 16, 1963. The text is taken from *Hsinhua News Agency Release*, No. 051612 (May 17, 1963), p. 12.

MESSAGE OF THANKS TO PRESIDENT HO CHI MINH

May 16, 1963

Comrade Ho Chi Minh, President of the Democratic Republic of
Vietnam

Dear Comrade President,

When we are about to fly across the territory of your country and enter into the airspace of China, please allow me to express once again with highly pleasant feelings, our heartfelt gratitude to you, to the Central Committee of the Vietnam Workers' Party, the Vietnamese Government and the fraternal Vietnamese people. The warm welcome and cordial hospitality you accorded to us during our visit have vividly expressed the fraternal relations between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples like blood brothers. I am convinced that through this visit and our talks, the friendship and unity between the two parties, the two countries and the two peoples of China and Vietnam will certainly be increasingly strengthened on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

May the Vietnamese people score new successes in the building of socialism and in the struggle for the peaceful reunification of the fatherland.

Long live the militant friendship and great unity between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples!

Liu Shao-ch'i

Chairman of the People's Republic of China
On way home from Hanoi

Liu Shao-ch'i, as Chairman of the People's Republic of China, sent this message of thanks to President Ho Chi Minh as his plane was crossing the border of Vietnam into China on May 16, 1963. The text is taken from *Hsinhua News Agency Release*, No. 051622 (May 17, 1963), p. 16.

SPEECH AT A STATE BANQUET HONOURING PRESIDENT CHOI YONG KUN

June 6, 1963

Dear President Choi Yong Kun,
Dear Distinguished Guests from Korea,
Dear Comrades and Friends,

Today we are here warmly greeting Comrade Choi Yong Kun, President of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly of Korea and other Korean comrades who came with the President. We are especially joyful on this occasion. Comrade President Choi Yong Kun's visit is a mark of ever growing friendship between the peoples of our two countries. Let me express, in the name of the Chinese Government, the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people, our closest and highest respects to the Korean people's emissary of friendship and the Chinese people's close friend, Comrade Choi Yong Kun, and other Korean comrades and, through you, to the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the Korean Workers' Party and the fraternal Korean people.

The heroic Korean people are a staunch and dauntless people with revolutionary aspirations. Under the leadership of the Korean Workers' Party headed by Comrade Kim Il Sung, the Korean people, holding aloft the anti-imperialist and revolutionary banner, passed through the severe tests of the protracted struggle against Japanese imperialist enslavement and the three-year war of resistance against

Liu Shao-ch'i, as Chairman of the People's Republic of China and Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, delivered this speech in Peking on the evening of June 6, 1963, at a state banquet in honour of Choi Yong Kun, President of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers' Party. The text is translated from *Jen-min Jih-pao* (人民日報, People's Daily), June 7, 1963, p. 3. A partial translation appears in *Hsinhua News Agency Release*, No. 060650 (June 7, 1963), pp. 29-31.

U.S. imperialist aggression and for the liberation of the fatherland, and scored great victories of historic significance. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea grew up and increased in strength through the revolutionary struggles against imperialism and has become a heroic nation of world-wide fame. The Korean people have made valuable contributions towards the safeguarding of the security of the socialist camp, won outstanding merit in the defence of Asian and world peace and set a brilliant example for the oppressed nations and people of the world in their liberation struggles. The Chinese people are most honoured and proud to have such revolutionary comrades-in-arms as the Korean people who dare to struggle and dare to win victory.

The industrious and courageous Korean people are not only dauntless fighters against imperialist aggression and oppression: they are also experts in building socialism. Guided by the general line laid down by the Korean Workers' Party for socialist construction—the winged horse movement, and inspired by the *Chongsan-ri* spirit, the *Chongsan-ri* working method and the *Dae An* working system initiated by Comrade Kim Il Sung—they have united as one in selfless labour for the realization of the grand Seven-year Plan and have made brilliant achievements on all fronts of socialist construction. For these, we wish to express our hearty congratulations and unreservedly believe that on the basis of consolidating the victory from occupying six plateau areas, the brotherly Korean people will undoubtedly make more brilliant new achievements. The rapid development of the Korean national economy is inseparable from their persistence in relying mainly on the policy of self-reliance. The tremendous and the outstanding achievements made by the Korean people in building up an independent national economy by relying mainly on their own strength are of important practical meaning to various socialist countries and are at the same time a major contribution to the enhancement of the strength of the entire socialist camp. The Korean people's great ambition and strong will for the growth of their country through their own efforts has greatly rallied the Chinese people and has become an example for us to learn from.

The Korean Workers' Party headed by Comrade Kim Il Sung has, both in the protracted revolutionary struggle against imperialism and in the great cause of building socialism, creatively applied the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete practice of Korea, clearly defined in good time the orientation of struggle for the Korean people, laid down correct lines and policies and thus led the Korean people to advance from one victory to another. To safeguard the purity of

Marxism-Leninism, the Korean Workers' Party has waged an irreconcilable struggle against modern revisionism. The Korean Workers' Party has resolutely defended the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Moscow Declaration and the 1960 Moscow Statement and firmly upheld the unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The Korean Workers' Party has proved to be a long-tested shock brigade of the international communist movement, and deserves the name of a glorious, principled, Marxist-Leninist revolutionary party.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea has always pursued a foreign policy of peace, and has been engaged in an unremitting struggle against the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war, for the defence of Asian and world peace and for the promotion of the cause of liberation of the oppressed nations and people of the whole world. We are glad to note that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is playing an increasingly important role in international affairs, and her international prestige is rising higher and higher every day.

Peace and unity are strongly desired by the Korean people of the whole nation. The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has put up a rational proposal for the realization of the peaceful unification of Korea and has made untiring efforts to attain this end. However, the U.S. imperialists are still occupying South Korea and stubbornly obstructing peace and the unification of Korea and unremittingly carrying out military provocations and threats of war. The Chinese people and Government sternly condemn U.S. imperialism for its acts of aggression, intervention and provocation against Korea, resolutely support the Korean people in their struggle for the peaceful reunification of their fatherland and the reasonable proposals of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The national aspiration of the Korean people for the reunification of their fatherland is irresistible and will definitely be realized!

Dear Comrade President Choi Yong Kun and Korean comrades, China and Korea are neighbours closely related like the lips and the teeth. The people of our two countries are loyal and devoted comrades-in-arms and brothers sharing each other's weal and woe. The militant friendship and great unity between our two peoples are sealed in blood in the common struggle against imperialism and are based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Such friendship and

unity can stand up to the severe test of any storm or tempest. They are indestructible.

Here we must particularly mention that during China's revolutionary civil war and War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression, Korean revolutionaries headed by Comrade Kim Il Sung took part in and gave support to the liberation cause of the Chinese people. Among those Korean revolutionaries there was the familiar and respected Comrade Choi Yong Kun. Many of the Korean people's excellent sons and daughters sacrificed their precious lives in the revolutionary struggles of the Chinese people. Following the victory of the Chinese people's revolution, the Korean people have consistently given energetic support to the Chinese people in their socialist construction and their struggle against imperialist aggression and for the defense of their sovereignty and territorial integrity. The Government of the Korean Democratic People's Republic has always adhered to a just and principled stand of drawing a clear distinction between right and wrong on the Sino-Indian boundary question. This is internationalist support for the Chinese people. For this, we express our heartfelt appreciation.

We are glad to note that since the signing of the Chinese-Korean Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance, the friendship and cooperation between our two countries have been further consolidated and strengthened. Our two countries have truly carried out the principles of both firm solidarity and independence, and both mutual support and mutual benefit on an equal footing. The all-round development of our relations of friendship, mutual assistance and cooperation is not only in conformity with the fundamental interests of the two peoples and the common interests of the socialist camp, but also conducive to the noble cause of world peace and human progress.

In conclusion, let me express, once again, our cordial welcome to our dear Comrade Choi Yong Kun and other Korean comrades and congratulate them in anticipation of their successful visit.

Now, I propose a toast

to the close and great fraternal friendship between the peoples of China and Korea,

to the great solidarity of the peoples of the socialist camp,

to the unity of the people of the world,

to world peace,

to the health of Comrade Kim Il Sung, the beloved and respected

leader of the Korean people and close friend of the Chinese people,
to the health of Comrade Choi Yong Kun and the Korean
comrades of his entourage,
to the health of foreign ambassadors and their wives, and
to the health of comrades and friends.

SPEECH AT A BANQUET GIVEN BY PRESIDENT CHOI YONG KUN

June 15, 1963

Dear Comrade President Choi Yong Kun,
Dear Comrade Li Hyo Soon,
Dear Distinguished Korean Guests,
Comrades and Friends,

In the past few days, Comrade President Choi Yong Kun and other distinguished Korean guests have visited our capital, Peking, Tientsin and other places, seen factories, people's communes, cultural institutes and ancient ruins and held cordial talks with our workers, peasants and working personnel. During the visit, leading party and government leaders of our two countries held friendly and fraternal talks and decided to issue a joint communique of historic significance. We can now definitely say that you have achieved satisfactory results on your visit. Your visit will surely exert a far-reaching influence on the further promotion of the great friendship and militant unity of our two parties, our two countries and our two peoples. At this banquet brimming with friendly sentiments I respectfully extend our warm greetings to Comrade Choi Yong Kun for his successful visit. Again, in the name of the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese people and the People's Republic of China, I pay our highest respects to you and, through you, to the great Korean Workers' Party, the glorious Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the heroic Korean people.

The present visit of President Choi Yong Kun is a great event in the political life of our people. They jubilantly received the Korean

Liu Shao-ch'i, as Chairman of the People's Republic of China, delivered this speech on the evening of June 15, 1963, in Peking at a banquet given by President Choi Yong Kun of North Korea. The text is translated from *Jen-min Jih-pao* (人民日報, People's Daily), June 16, 1963, p. 3. A partial translation appears in *Hsinhua News Agency Release*, No. 061524 (June 16, 1963), pp. 37-38.

people's emissary of peace like their own brother. During your visit, you must have felt how warmly the Chinese people love the Korean people, the Korean Party and their leader, and how they treasure the militant friendship between the Chinese and Korean peoples, which was cemented with blood.

During the course of your visit, you have made extensive contacts with our people of all circles and conveyed the Korean people's profound friendship for the Chinese people and introduced the Korean people's great achievements and precious experience in building socialism. The Chinese people, too, have come to realize even more deeply the strong will of the Korean people in opposing U.S. imperialist aggression and striving for the peaceful unification of their fatherland, and the clear-cut stand of the Korean people in opposing modern revisionism and defending Marxism-Leninism.

Comrade Choi Yong Kun highly praised the achievements won by the Chinese people in their socialist construction under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung by holding aloft the Three Red Banners, and gave vigorous support to the Chinese people in their struggle to oppose U.S. imperialism, defend world peace and promote human progress. This is a great inspiration to us.

Here, I want to mention in particular that during the visit of President Choi Yong Kun, leading members of the two parties and two countries held very cordial, friendly and comradely talks. We have had a full exchange of views on the further consolidation and development of the relations of friendship, unity, mutual assistance and mutual cooperation between our two parties and countries, and on major questions of the present international situation and the international communist movement. The result of the talks shows that our stands and points of view on all questions are completely identical. Both our parties and countries are determined to carry to the very end the cause of socialist revolution and socialist construction, the cause of opposing imperialism and supporting all the oppressed nations and people striving for liberation, and the cause of opposing modern revisionism and defending Marxism-Leninism.

Comrades and friends! Like the Korean people, the Chinese people are a peace-loving people. Our socialist countries will unwaveringly strive for the relaxation of world tension and for the safeguarding of world peace.

History has proved and will continue to prove that the aggressive nature of imperialism will never change. U.S. imperialism is the main force of aggression and war in the world. What calls for partic-

ular attention at the present time is the fact that the Kennedy administration is now carrying out with much fanfare its so-called "strategy of peace" in order to cover up its armament expansion and war preparation and its activities of aggression and expansion and to benumb the people of the socialist countries and the revolutionary people of the world. Therefore, now more than ever, it is urgently required that the peoples maintain sharp vigilance but never entertain any unrealistic illusions about imperialism, and that they further expose U.S. imperialism but do not prettify it. Precisely as Comrade Choi Yong Kun has pointed out, we must continuously heighten the revolutionary vigilance of the masses so that they will rise in valiant struggles against imperialism; we must oppose the opportunist line of talking volubly about peace while giving up the anti-imperialist and revolutionary struggles. Together with Korean people, the people of other socialist countries and all the peace-loving people of the world, the Chinese people are ready to oppose the policies of aggression and war on the part of the imperialist bloc headed by the United States, so as to prevent a new world war and defend world peace.

Dear Comrade President Choi Yong Kun and dear distinguished Korean guests, as you are about to leave Peking and carry your friendly visit to other places, I respectfully express once again our appreciation to you on behalf of our people.

Now, I propose a toast

to the great fraternal friendship between the peoples of China and Korea,

to the great solidarity among the peoples of the socialist camp,

to the great unity of the people of the world,

to invincible Marxism-Leninism,

to world peace,

to the health of Comrade Kim Il Sung, the beloved leader of the Korean people and the close friend of the Chinese people,

to the health of Comrade President Choi Yong Kun and other distinguished guests from Korea,

to the health of Ambassador Han Ik Soo and his wife, and

to the health of foreign ambassadors and their wives!

SPEECH AT PYONGYANG RAILWAY STATION

September 15, 1963

Dear Comrade Premier Kim Il Sung,
Dear Comrade President Choi Yong Kun,
Dear Comrades and Friends,

It has been my long-cherished wish to visit your beautiful country and meet the fraternal Korean people. Now this wish of mine has finally come true and my heart is filled with joy. Please allow me, to express in my own name and on behalf of Comrades Lin Feng, Yeh Chien-ying and other visiting Chinese comrades, our heartfelt thanks to Comrade President Choi Yong Kun for his cordial invitation and for your enthusiastic welcome.

A few days ago the Korean people celebrated their glorious festival, the 15th anniversary of the founding of the Korean Democratic People's Republic. The founding of the Korean Democratic People's Republic was the outcome of the protracted revolutionary struggles waged by the Korean people. Over the past 15 years, the industrious and courageous Korean people, under the wise leadership of the Korean Workers' Party and the Government of the Republic headed by Comrade Kim Il Sung, have carried out an arduous struggle, overcome a multitude of obstacles and difficulties and achieved great successes in construction work unparalleled in history. In the name of the Chinese people and the Communist Party of China, I should like here to extend my most affectionate regards and highest respects to the heroic Korean people and the glorious Korean Workers' Party.

Liu Shao-ch'i, as Chairman of the People's Republic of China and Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, delivered this speech on September 15, 1963, upon his arrival at the railway station in Pyongyang, North Korea. The text is taken from *Survey of China Mainland Press*, No. 3063 (September 19, 1963), pp. 26-27.

The moment we enter your country we are attracted by the vivid picture of the Korean people galloping full speed ahead on *Chullima* (winged steed). We are following with joy and elation each success you achieve in socialist construction. We wish you new and still greater successes that will follow one after another.

The Korean people, while undertaking socialist construction in the northern part of the Republic, are struggling against the forcible occupation of South Korea by U.S. imperialism, and for the peaceful reunification of their fatherland. The Chinese people and Government resolutely support the just struggle of the South Korean people against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys and the just struggle of all the Korean people for the peaceful reunification of their fatherland. We are deeply convinced that no force on earth can prevent the Korean people from realizing their sacred national aspirations.

China and Korea and the Chinese and Korean Parties and peoples have always encouraged and supported each other and fought shoulder to shoulder in their struggles to oppose imperialism and defend peace in Asia and the world, to oppose modern revisionism and safeguard the purity of Marxism-Leninism and to carry out socialist revolution and socialist construction. This lofty friendship and militant unity of ours is a glorious manifestation of the great vitality of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

To consolidate and develop steadily the friendship and unity between our two countries, two parties and two peoples is of tremendous importance to the interests of peace in Asia and the world and of the cause of world proletarian revolution. An important contribution to this has been made by Comrade President Choi Yong Kun in his recent visit to China. I believe that our present visit to Korea will also contribute to this.

Long live Sino-Korean friendship!

Long live the Democratic People's Republic of Korea!

Long live the Korean Workers' Party!

Long live Comrade Kim Il Sung!

SPEECH AT A MASS RALLY IN PYONGYANG

September 18, 1963

Dear Comrade Premier Kim Il Sung,
Dear Comrade President Choi Yong Kun,
Dear Comrade Kang Heui Wun, Chairman of the People's Committee
of Pyongyang City,
Dear Comrades and Friends,

Ever since we stepped on the soil of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, we have been accorded enthusiastic welcome everywhere by the Korean people and have been enveloped in an atmosphere of great friendship born of proletarian internationalism. (Thunderous applause and cheers) Now we are meeting at this grand rally with the fraternal Korean people. This fills our hearts with immense affection and joy. In the name of the 650 million Chinese people, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the Government of the People's Republic of China, I extend the warmest greetings and highest respects to the heroic residents of Pyongyang and all the Korean people, to the glorious Korean Workers' Party, to the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and to Comrade Kim Il Sung, the beloved leader of the Korean people and the bosom friend of the Chinese people. (Thunderous applause and cheers)

Although only four days have elapsed since we set foot on the soil of heroic Korea, we have seen for ourselves the great achievements in socialist construction made by the Korean people who are confronted by U.S. imperialism, the heroism of the Korean people who are galloping full speed ahead on *Chullima* (winged-steed), and the

Liu Shao-ch'i, as Chairman of the People's Republic of China and Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, delivered this speech at a mass rally in Pyongyang, North Korea, on September 18, 1963. The text is taken from *Hsinhua News Agency Release*, No. 091837 (September 19, 1963), pp. 16-28.

revolutionary spirit of the Korean people who are defending and building their fatherland with weapon in one hand and sickle and hammer in the other. All these have immeasurably inspired us.

It is no exaggeration to say that North Korea is indeed an imposing and impregnable bulwark forming the eastern outpost of the socialist camp. (Warm applause)

The Korean people are a great people with lofty aspirations and ideals, industrious, courageous and hard-working; the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is a great country which has grown up in the flames of revolutionary struggles against imperialism, tested in war and tempered in construction; the Korean Workers' Party is a great party which has always held high the banner of Marxism-Leninism and adhered to the principles of proletarian internationalism. (Thunderous applause and cheers) Such a people, such a party and such a country are indomitable and invincible. (Warm applause)

The revolutionary struggles of the Korean people under the leadership of the Korean communists led by Comrade Kim Il Sung have an important place in the history of revolutions of the oppressed nations in the east.

Without a strong rear and the support of regular armed forces, the anti-Japanese guerrillas led by Comrade Kim Il Sung fought heroically against ferocious Japanese imperialism for fifteen years and finally gained victory with the support of the Soviet Red Army.

The establishment of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the first state in the history of Korea in which the people have become masters, has opened up a new era in the history of Korea.

Soon after the founding of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, U.S. imperialism flagrantly unleashed a war of aggression against Korea.

At that time, in the face of the most powerful and vicious enemy in the world, the Korean people had to make a momentous choice between resistance and non-resistance. They fought heroically in resistance and achieved victory. (Prolonged applause and cheers)

This magnificent victory of the Korean people has set a brilliant example for the oppressed nations throughout the world in daring to struggle and daring to win victory.

U.S. imperialism suffered its first disastrous defeat on the battlefields of Korea since the founding of the United States of America. Despite its possession of atomic bombs, U.S. imperialism had failed to intimidate the heroic Korean people and save itself from defeat at their hands.

The great victory of the Korean people in their war of national

liberation demonstrates that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers and that the atomic bomb, too, is a paper tiger. What is truly powerful is the people, not imperialism and reaction. The decisive factor in war is man, not one or two weapons of a new type.

The great victory of the Korean people in their war of national liberation proves that at a time when U.S. imperialism possesses nuclear weapons, the peoples of various countries can wage armed struggles against aggression and attain victory so long as they are confident of their own strength, join their hands, and are not afraid of the nuclear blackmail of U.S. imperialism. (Thunderous applause) Ours is an era of emancipation and liberation of the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations, an era in which imperialism and colonialism are plunging toward their doom and certainly not an era in which nuclear weapons can decide everything.

At present, the heroic Korean people, are standing erect on the eastern outpost of the socialist camp, are carrying on a tit-for-tat struggle against U.S. imperialism.

The Korean people, relying on the indomitable people's army, the well-trained worker-peasant red guards and the nation-wide defence system, are safeguarding the security of their republic, and at the same time defending the socialist camp and peace in Asia and the world. (Warm applause)

Holding aloft the banner of the proletarian internationalism, the Korean people have made most notable contributions to supporting the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations, and to combating imperialism and old and new colonialism. (Warm applause)

To realise the aspirations of the whole Korean nation and strive for the peaceful reunification of Korea, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has made tremendous efforts and advanced a number of reasonable proposals in the past ten years, which have won the enthusiastic approval of the people throughout Korea and extensive support from the people the world over.

U.S. imperialism, however, continues its occupation of South Korea and obstinately obstructs the peaceful reunification of Korea. In contravention of the Korean armistice agreement, U.S. imperialism is continually introducing various kinds of new-type weapons including atomic weapons into South Korea and unceasingly committing armed provocations along the military demarcation line. It has also instigated the Pak Jung Heui clique to hold the so-called "Rok-Japan Talks" with the Japanese Government in an attempt to re-introduce Japanese imperialist forces into South Korea. South Korea has

been turned into a source of tension in the Far East as a result of the aggressive acts of U.S. imperialism.

South Korea under the occupation of U.S. imperialism is a hell on earth. The South Korean people living under intolerable conditions have time and again courageously waged a just struggle to rid the country of U.S. imperialism. The U.S. puppet Syngman Rhee has been overthrown by the South Korean people. Another U.S. puppet Pak Jung Heui will be overthrown too by the South Korean people sooner or later. The scheme of U.S. imperialism to perpetuate the division of Korea is doubtless doomed to failure. The day will surely come when the U.S. aggressors will have to get out from the sacred soil of Korea. (Warm applause)

At this impressive rally, I once again solemnly declare in the name of the Chinese people that at whatever time and under whatever circumstances, the Chinese people will stand on the side of the Korean people. (Thunderous applause and cheers) The Chinese people resolutely and unhesitatingly support the Korean people in their just struggle for the peaceful reunification of their fatherland and the South Korean people in their just struggle to rid the country of U.S. imperialism. (Thunderous applause and cheers)

We are convinced that the 3,000 *li* expanse of Korean territory will definitely be reunified and the 30 million Korean people reunited no matter how many obstacles they may encounter on their onward march. (Warm applause)

Comrades and friends!

The Korean people are not only staunch revolutionary fighters against imperialism, but also able builders of socialism. (Warm applause)

During the war, brutal U.S. imperialism had reduced the whole of the northern part of Korea into a vast expanse of ruins. The Korean people, however, under the brilliant leadership of the Korean Workers' Party and Comrade Kim Il Sung and relying mainly on their own efforts, wiped off from their land all traces of war ravage and built, in less than ten years, on the very ruins a socialist country which is gaining increasing prosperity.

In the fifteen years since the founding of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Korean industrial production has grown 15.5 times.

Korean agriculture has been turned from an individual economy into a large-scale, collective socialist economy, with production increasing from year to year. The northern part of Korea, where grain

supplies were always short in pre-liberation years, is now self-sufficient in grain.

The whole world sees that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has emerged in East Asia as an industrial-agricultural socialist country (warm applause) with the solid foundation of an independent national economy. (Warm applause) In this prosperous socialist country, the problems of people's clothing, food and housing have, in the main, been already solved. This is a phenomenal success. The Chinese people heartily congratulate the fraternal Korean people on their great success. (Thunderous applause and cheers)

The Korean people are now striving for the fulfilment of the Seven-Year Plan. The Seventh Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers' Party held not long ago called on all the party members and the entire population to spur their flying horse into full speed to bring about new, gigantic upsurges in socialist construction. And now the Korean people are working valiantly in response to the call of the Korean Workers' Party. We are convinced that the magnificent Seven-Year Plan will be steadily realised, and that in not too long a period, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea will become a socialist country with a modern industry and a modern agriculture. (Warm applause)

The brilliant successes achieved by the Korean people in building socialism are the victory of the general line adopted by the Korean Workers' Party for socialist construction — the *Chullima* movement, the victory of the *Chungsan-ri* spirit and the *Chungsan-ri* working method evolved and advocated by Comrade Kim Il Sung, the victory of the systems of improved industrial management and agricultural guidance worked out by the Korean Workers' Party, and the victory of the revolutionary mass line consistently followed by the Korean Workers' Party. (Thunderous applause and cheers)

In the protracted revolutionary struggle against imperialism, and in the course of socialist revolution and socialist construction, the Korean Workers' Party has always educated the cadres and people in the revolutionary spirit of relying on themselves. This spirit is completely in tune with Marxism-Leninism. The masses of the people are the makers of history, and the history of every country is created by its own people. The revolution and construction of each and every country need the sympathy and support of other peoples of the world, but in the revolution and construction of each country the people should rely mainly upon their own strength. Who else can accomplish the tasks of revolution and construction of a nation if it does not itself rise up to accomplish them?

The revolutionary spirit of self-reliance is one which consists both of patriotism and proletarian internationalism. Comrade Kim Il Sung has put it aptly: "It is the duty of those born in Korea to carry out the revolution and build socialism and communism in Korea. The Korean revolution is an internationalist obligation assigned to the Koreans. Therefore, it is the first duty of the Koreans to achieve success in their own revolution in order to fulfill their internationalist obligation faithfully." (Warm applause) The victory of revolution in any country not only brings emancipation to its own people, but also supports and encourages the oppressed peoples and nations throughout the world. Success in building socialism in every socialist country increases the might of the entire socialist camp and reinforces the strength which stands behind the oppressed people and nations in their struggle.

Under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese people have, throughout their protracted revolution, followed the policy of mainly relying on their own efforts while depending on foreign aid only as a supplement. (Thunderous applause and cheers) It has been proved in practice that this line is correct both in revolutionary struggle and in the cause of construction.

Now, certain persons are actually opposed to this line of self-reliance in construction followed by some fraternal countries. They say that since there exists the socialist camp formed by a number of socialist countries, one should make use of these highly favourable circumstances to carry out international division of labour in national construction and practise cooperation in production in accordance with the principles of proletarian internationalism, and should not lay stress on the principle of self-reliance. They also say that anyone who emphasises the principle of self-reliance is guilty of "nationalism" and "going it alone."

This is distortion with ulterior motives. Every one understands that self-reliance definitely does not mean a close-door policy and rejection of external aid. But every country in its revolution and construction must rely mainly on its own efforts and seek external assistance only as a supplement. Only when every socialist country firmly follows the line of relying mainly on its own efforts in national construction, on the labour and wisdom of its own people, fully utilizing its own resources and rapidly developing its own economy, is it possible to talk about supplying each other's needs and helping and cooperating closely with each other in accordance with the principles of complete equality, respect for each other's independence and sover-

eignty and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, and in accordance with the principles of proletarian internationalism. On the one hand, a socialist country has no reason not to produce what it needs if there exist the conditions to do so. On the other hand, it is only natural for the socialist countries to assist and cooperate with each other in certain fields of production according to each other's needs and capabilities and on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. In any case, international division of labour and cooperation in production must not be used as a pretext for opposing the principle of self-reliance. When a socialist country follows the line of relying mainly on its own efforts and builds socialism successfully, it will only bring good to all socialist countries. Why then should one go out of one's way to oppose it?

The essence of the controversy does not lie here. Those who are opposing us are not actually adhering to proletarian internationalism or sincerely wanting to increase the might of the entire socialist camp through international division of labour and cooperation in production which cater to each other's needs and benefit each other. They are merely using this so-called international division of labour as an attractive cloak to cover their own practice of profiting themselves at the expense of others, a practice characteristic of relations among the capitalist countries, so as to obstruct the efforts of the economically underdeveloped socialist countries to develop an independent national economy and to make these countries economically dependent on them and politically come under their control. In their opinion, the other fraternal countries have only the duty to make sacrifices to serve their interests, and no right to develop an independent national economy. This practice of theirs disregards the principle of respect for each other's independence and sovereignty which one must follow in international relations in general, let alone observing proletarian internationalism. Their position is one of great-power chauvinism as well as national egoism.

In the periods of revolution and construction, the Korean Workers' Party has consistently adhered to the policy of giving precedence to politics; it has worked unremittingly for the education of its members and the masses in class consciousness, in revolutionary traditions and in communism with the aim of turning all the working people into conscious socialist builders and revolutionaries.

The Korean Workers' Party holds that, as the Korean people are undertaking socialist construction in the midst of bitter class struggle, ideological education must be continuously strengthened to keep pace with the progress in socialist construction and with

the rising standard of living of the people. It points out that when remnants of outmoded ideologies still survive in the minds of the working people and when the influence of bourgeois ideology exists inside and outside of the country, any weakening of ideological education will give rise to love of comfort and feeling of weariness among the masses, benumbing their class consciousness and hampering socialist construction. This shows that the Korean Workers' Party is a highly principled party with revolutionary foresight. (Warm applause)

From our experience, class struggle will go on for a very long time after the proletariat gains power. This is because the overthrown exploiters will always strive to stage a comeback; new bourgeois elements of capitalism are constantly and spontaneously generated in the petty bourgeois atmosphere; political degenerates and new bourgeois elements may emerge in the ranks of the working class as a result of corrupting bourgeois influence, while the existence of imperialism constitutes an external factor for continued class struggle in the socialist countries. Therefore, after attaining power, the proletariat must uphold and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and carry the socialist revolution to the end on the economic, political and ideological fronts. (Warm applause)

Obviously, any denial of the existence of class difference and class struggle in a socialist country, any weakening or renunciation of the dictatorship of the proletariat will inevitably lead to the abandoning of the socialist revolution half way and to a serious historical retrogression. This is extremely wrong and dangerous.

The tremendous victories and brilliant successes won by the Korean people in revolutionary struggle and construction effort are the result of the creative application by the Central Committee of the Korean Workers' Party headed by Comrade Kim Il Sung of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete practice in the revolution and construction of Korea. They are the result of the correct lines and policies worked out by the Korean Workers' Party for each phase of the Korean revolution and construction. (Thunderous applause and cheers)

The Korean Workers' Party has not only led the Korean people in overcoming one difficulty after another, from one victory to another bigger one, but has also enriched and developed Marxism-Leninism through these arduous and complex struggles. (Warm applause)

It has devoted its unrelenting efforts to defending the purity of Marxism-Leninism, combating modern revisionism, safeguarding the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement

on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, and opposing splittism. (Warm applause)

It is the happy lot of the Korean people to have such staunch leadership in the Korean Workers' Party and such a brilliant leader as Comrade Kim Il Sung. (Thunderous applause and cheers)

It is a glory to the international communist movement to have among its ranks such a heroic detachment as the Korean Workers' Party headed by Comrade Kim Il Sung. (Thunderous applause and cheers)

The Chinese Communist Party is proud to have such a staunch comrade-in-arms as the Korean Workers' Party headed by Comrade Kim Il Sung. (Thunderous applause and cheers)

The Korean communists and people, in their protracted revolution and national construction, have accumulated rich experiences which are the precious wealth not only for the Korean people but also the common treasure for all communists and revolutionary people. (Warm applause) The Chinese communists and people will continue to learn from your advanced experience.

Comrades and friends!

The world situation today is an excellent situation for revolution. This situation is most favourable to the revolutionary people of all countries and unfavourable to imperialism and reaction.

The strength of the socialist countries is growing with each passing day. Despite the fact that some difficulties for certain reasons have arisen in the unity among the socialist countries, the consciousness of the people of these countries is heightening and their unity cannot be undermined. In the face of imperialism, their common enemy, they must unite and persevere in struggle. (Thunderous applause and cheers)

In the developed capitalist countries in Western Europe and North America, the working class and other toiling people have incessantly been waging mass struggles; they are in the process of a new awakening. Especially noteworthy is the large-scale, unprecedented freedom march in Washington in the heart of U.S. imperialism, in which 200,000 negroes and white people opposing racial discrimination took part. (Warm applause)

The revolutionary situation which is directly pounding imperialism headed by the United States keeps on expanding in many countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

U.S. imperialism has failed to prevent the people's armed forces of South Vietnam from piling up victory after victory despite the fact that it has employed huge military strength, various kinds of new

weapons and all sorts of barbarous fascist methods. (Warm applause)

The provocations in Laos by U.S. imperialism and its lackeys in violation of the Geneva Agreements can never hamper the successful struggle of the Laotian people, but will only end in despicable failure. (Warm applause)

In Japan under the armed occupation by U.S. imperialism, the anti-U.S., patriotic and just struggle of the Japanese people against the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty, demanding the dismantling of the U.S. military bases and against the entry of U.S. nuclear submarines is storming through the country. (Warm applause)

In the vast areas of Africa, the struggle against imperialism and colonialism, both old and new, is rising.

At the very doorstep of U.S. imperialism, the Cuban people have repeatedly smashed its schemes of aggression and thus defended the independence and sovereignty of their country and the revolution. (Warm applause) In other Latin American countries, popular struggles and revolutionary armed struggles are being waged against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.

Numerous facts have shown that wherever U.S. imperialism has stretched its tentacles, there are anti-U.S. struggles and convulsions. U.S. imperialism is finding the going tougher and tougher with each passing day.

However, no reactionary class would, of its own accord, quit the stage of history. In its death-bed struggles, U.S. imperialism goes all out in the use of its counter-revolutionary two-faced tactics to save itself from defeat. While engaged in a frantic arms drive in preparation for both nuclear war and conventional war, it is cunningly peddling the "strategy of peace" backed by armed force in an attempt to disintegrate the socialist camp and undermine the national liberation movement and the revolutionary struggle of the people of all countries.

What warrants our serious attention here is the fact that the modern revisionists, fully meeting the needs of U.S. imperialism, have launched within the international communist movement a campaign against Marxism-Leninism and against the Chinese Communist Party and other fraternal parties which uphold Marxism-Leninism.

Lenin said: "All oppressing classes need two social functions to safeguard their rule: the function of the hangman and the function of the priest." The modern revisionists are performing the function of the priest in helping U.S. imperialism deceive and drug the people of the world.

The development of world events has now produced such a situation that in order to combat imperialism, it is often necessary to combat at the same time modern revisionism which serves imperialism. The problem is thus sharply presented before the communists and revolutionary people of the whole world.

Like the old-line revisionists, the modern revisionists betray Marxism-Leninism, oppose revolution and capitulate to imperialism. If there is any marked distinction between them, it is that the modern revisionists base their reactionary theories and reactionary policies on their blind faith in nuclear weapons and on the practice of nuclear blackmail. (Warm applause)

The modern revisionists hold that atom bombs do not follow the class principle, that nuclear war would destroy the whole of mankind, that the imperialists seem to have the freedom to drop atomic bombs arbitrarily anywhere and that in present-day circumstances sparks of war caused by the national liberation movement or the revolutionary struggle of the peoples may develop into a nuclear world war in which the people of the whole world would perish.

The modern revisionists hold that if a nuclear war should break out, the question of socialism would be eliminated altogether in the case of many peoples, because they would have disappeared bodily from our planet. Therefore the modern revisionists smear the national-liberation movement and the revolutionary struggle of the people of all countries as a "movement for piling up corpses" and as "promising the peoples freedom after death."

The modern revisionists, dismissing the great significance of the revolutionary struggle of the people of all countries, blindly worship the omnipotence of nuclear weapons. They recklessly brandish their nuclear weapons to blackmail other countries. With the sure knowledge of meeting no opponent, they speculate in that situation and then ascribe the achievements of the revolutionary struggle of the peoples to the credit of their policy of nuclear blackmail. But once confronted by an opponent they capitulate, at the expense of the interests of the revolutionary people, to the nuclear blackmail of the opponent, sliding from adventurism to capitulationism. When they engage in speculations, they boast about their nuclear weapons in superlative terms; when they capitulate, they allege that nuclear war is imminent and that their capitulation is "in obedience to the imperative call of the time" and has "saved world peace." If anyone criticises them he will be accused of "longing to launch a thermo-nuclear world war." We maintain that nuclear weapons in the hands of a socialist country would always be weapons for defensive purposes. It is impermissible

for any socialist country to be the first to use nuclear weapons under any circumstances. The most reliable force of the socialist countries and all other peace-loving countries in opposing imperialist aggression lies in their own defence capacity and the strength of the people, not the nuclear weapons of other countries. In threatening that they would use rocket-nuclear weapons to prevent imperialist aggression against this or that country, the modern revisionists are indulging in boastful talk which is entirely wrong politically. (Prolonged applause and cheers) If they should go to the length of initiating the use of nuclear weapons to provoke a nuclear world war, they would surely be most severely condemned by the people of the world. (Thunderous applause and cheers)

While capitulating to the imperialist policy of nuclear blackmail, the modern revisionists continue to practise nuclear blackmail toward the people of the socialist countries and the revolutionary people of the whole world. As monopoly of nuclear weapons is necessary for making nuclear blackmail, so the modern revisionists ally themselves with the imperialist nuclear powers in an attempt to achieve a joint monopoly with them of nuclear weapons, for the very purpose of practising nuclear blackmail in collaboration with imperialism.

The modern revisionists try to scare the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations of the world with nuclear horror, demanding that they endure forever the domination and oppression by imperialism and reaction and that they must behave themselves or else they will go to hell in nuclear war.

The modern revisionists propagate the idea that complete and total disarmament can be realised even when imperialism still exists and that if the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations of the whole world obey their command and behave themselves properly, they would, before long, enter a heaven "without weapons, without armed forces, without wars."

In the eyes of the modern revisionists, the main contradiction of our time is the contradiction between mankind and nuclear weapons, the contradiction between life and death. All class and national contradictions must now be subordinated to this contradiction. To survive is everything. The philosophy of survival has replaced the revolutionary theories of Marxism-Leninism.

In their opinion, as a result of the emergence of nuclear weapons, the nature of our age has changed, and so have the nature of war, the law of class struggle, and the nature of imperialism. The possibility and necessity for social revolution and national revolution have ceased to exist. Marxism-Leninism has become outmoded dogma.

Proceeding from these viewpoints, they attempt to do away with class struggle, national revolution, proletarian revolution, and proletarian dictatorship, by means of what they call a line of peaceful co-existence, peaceful competition, and peaceful transition.

The *Manifesto of the Communist Party* says: "The communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions." (Thunderous applause and cheers) The basis of all the theories of the modern revisionists contravenes this fundamental thesis of Marxism.

We Marxist-Leninists firmly oppose the reactionary theories of the modern revisionists, which cater for the needs of the imperialists' policy of nuclear blackmail, forbid and oppose revolution, and substitute class collaboration for class struggle. (Thunderous applause and cheers)

We believe that nuclear weapons possess unprecedented destructive power. However, the imperialists have not dared and do not dare use nuclear weapons wherever they please. This is because it would be most unpopular to use them; it is difficult for the imperialists to use such weapons to deal with wars of national liberation or civil wars; if the imperialists use nuclear weapons to start a world war, they will court their own ruin. (Thunderous applause and cheers)

We believe that nuclear arms can be prohibited and nuclear war prevented. If the imperialists actually provoke a world nuclear war, it will not be the whole of mankind but the heinous imperialist system, which subjects mankind to such a mighty calamity, which will be destroyed. (Thunderous applause and cheers)

We believe that the emergence of nuclear arms has not changed and cannot possibly change the revolutionary theses of Marxism-Leninism. (Thunderous applause and cheers) Even with the emergence of nuclear weapons, class struggle still remains the moving force which carries history forward, and war remains the continuation of politics by other means. The imperialists resort as before to counter-revolutionary wars to carry out their policy of oppressing and enslaving the people of all countries, while the nations and people subjected to aggression and oppression resort, when the conditions are ripe, as before, to revolutionary wars to oppose imperialist aggression and oppression and to win their independence and liberation. (Warm applause)

The history of the eighteen years since the end of World War II proves that the victories steadily won by the peoples in their wars against aggression and revolutionary wars have not led to a world war.

Instead, they have greatly reduced the imperialists' capabilities of unleashing a world war and have played a vital part in safeguarding world peace.

The modern revisionists try to gloss over the essence of their differences with the Marxist-Leninists by means of lies and slander. They cannot succeed. (Thunderous applause and cheers)

The essence of the differences between Marxist-Leninists and the modern revisionists lies in whether or not, since the emergence of nuclear weapons, to recognise the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism, the universal significance of the October Revolution, the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement, the fact that the two-thirds of the world's population still living under the imperialist and capitalist system need to make revolution, and the fact that the one-third of the world's population already on the socialist road, still need to carry the revolution to a finish.

What should we Marxist-Leninists do in the face of such serious differences?

Are we to abandon our correct position and submit to the baton of the modern revisionists? No, absolutely not. For if we do so, we should ourselves become revisionists and traitors to Marxism-Leninism. (Thunderous applause and cheers)

Can we be indifferent and keep silent? No, absolutely not. (Thunderous applause and cheers) For if we do so, it would mean our abandoning the responsibility incumbent upon communists and renouncing the historic mission of the international proletariat.

With the fraternal Korean Workers' Party and all other fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties, the Communist Party of China has always stood for perseverance in principle, the elimination of differences, and the strengthening of unity in joint opposition to the enemy. Even to this day we have entertained hopes that those who have gone astray would realize that the path they have taken is an extremely dangerous one and consequently would correct their mistakes and return to the path of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

But under no circumstances will we barter away principles. We must draw a line of demarcation between ourselves and the modern revisionists and wage a resolute struggle against them.

Marxism-Leninism has invariably developed in the struggle against opportunism of all types. The people of all countries will have to oppose imperialism and all reactionaries, and will have to embark upon revolution. Although imperialism, reacting in various countries, and modern revisionism have formed an anti-Marxist-Leninist and anti-revolutionary alliance, becoming arrogant and clamorous for a

time, Marxism-Leninism can never be defeated, the revolutions of the peoples can never be checked, and the doom of imperialism cannot be avoided. (Thunderous applause and cheers)

Comrades and friends!

China and Korea are allies as close to each other as lips are to teeth. The people of the two countries are sworn brothers who share their fate in weal and woe. The Communist Party of China and the Korean Workers' Party are comrades-in-arms who cherish the same ideals and follow the same path, fighting side by side. (Thunderous applause and cheers)

In their common struggle against imperialism and in their common cause of building socialism, the people of our two countries have always supported and encouraged each other.

The Chinese people will never forget that in the years of our bitter struggle for freedom and liberation, a countless number of Korean revolutionaries courageously joined our struggle, shed their blood and laid down their lives with Chinese revolutionaries, demonstrating the most lofty spirit of proletarian internationalism. (Thunderous applause and cheers)

The Chinese people will never forget that in the dark years of Japanese imperialist aggression against our two countries, the Korean communists headed by Comrade Kim Il Sung fought shoulder to shoulder with the Chinese communists and wrote a grand and militant epic. (Thunderous applause and cheers)

The Chinese people will never forget that in the grim years of the U.S. imperialists' aggression against Korea and their threat to China, the Korean people fought at the foremost front and made heavy sacrifices, thereby not only successfully defending the independence of Korea but also protecting the security of China. (Thunderous applause and cheers)

The Chinese people will never forget that in the last ten years the Korean people have been defending the eastern outpost of the socialist camp, thereby safeguarding the peaceful environment in which the Chinese people have been carrying on their socialist construction. (Thunderous applause and cheers)

The great friendship and militant unity between our two countries, two parties, and two peoples have been cemented by blood; they have long stood the test of revolutionary storms and are firmly based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. No force on earth can destroy them. (Thunderous applause and cheers)

The Chinese people will forever unite closely with the fraternal Korean people and struggle to the end against imperialism and modern

revisionism, to build socialism, to create a new world without imperialism, without capitalism, and without any system of exploitation, and for the victory of socialism and communism throughout the world.
(Prolonged applause and cheers)

Long live the great friendship and militant unity between the Chinese and Korean peoples cemented by blood!
(Thunderous applause and cheers)

Long live the heroic Korean people! (Thunderous applause and cheers)

Long live the Korean Democratic People's Republic! (Thunderous applause and cheers)

Long live the glorious Korean Workers' Party! (Thunderous applause and cheers)

Long live Comrade Kim Il Sung, the beloved leader of the Korean people and a close friend of the Chinese people!

Long live the unity of the people of the socialist camp! (Thunderous applause and cheers)

Workers of all countries, unite!

Workers of all countries and the oppressed people and nations, unite!

Long live all-conquering Marxism-Leninism! (Prolonged applause and cheers)

SPEECH AT A MASS RALLY IN HAMHEUNG

September 20, 1963

Dear Comrade President Choi Yong Kun,
Dear Comrade Chairman of the People's Committee of South Hamgyung Province,
Dear Comrade Chairman of the People's Committee of Hamheung City,
Dear Comrades and Friends,

We feel very much honored today to have the opportunity to visit this city of yours which has a glorious revolutionary tradition. Please allow me, first of all, to express my heartfelt gratitude for the welcome you extend on such a grand scale, and to convey through you to all the people of South Hamgyung province and Hamheung city the warmest regards and the most affectionate greetings of the Chinese people.

The Chinese people know your city full well. As early as in the thirties, the workers and peasants of South Hamgyung province were already waging heroic struggles against imperialism. During the fatherland liberation war, your people's guerrillas, fighting side by side with your heroic People's Army, smashed one enemy attack after another, dealing telling blows at the invading U.S. forces. You showed solicitous care for the Chinese People's Volunteers who fought shoulder to shoulder with the Korean People's Army and extended fraternal help to them. The Chinese people tremendously admire this dauntless revolutionary spirit and the noble proletarian internationalism of the Korean people.

Hamheung is a city which was most seriously ravaged in the war and also one speedily rehabilitated. In only a few years after the war,

Liu Shao-ch'i, as Chairman of the People's Republic of China, delivered this speech on September 20, 1963, at a mass rally in Hamheung, North Korea. The text is taken from *Survey of China Mainland Press*, No. 3067 (September 25, 1963), pp. 38-39.

you built on the very ruins of war created by U.S. imperialism the city of Hamheung into a modern industrial city, creating a miracle in construction work with the speed of your *Chullima* (winged steed). Though we have just arrived here, we are already vividly impressed by the imposing magnitude of your city and its brand new features. We warmly congratulate you on your brilliant achievements.

The achievements of socialist construction in Korea are eloquent proof that the leadership of the Korean Workers' Party headed by Comrade Kim Il Sung is Marxist-Leninist, that the line and policies defined by the Korean Workers' Party and Comrade Kim Il Sung for building socialism are correct, that the *Chullima* movement, the *Chungsan-ri* spirit, the *Chungsan-ri* working methods, the *Daian* working system, and the new agricultural guidance system are in keeping with the realities of Korea, and that the policy of building an independent national economy by relying on one's own efforts has enormous vitality. The industrious and valiant Korean people, united under the brilliant leadership of the Korean Workers' Party headed by Comrade Kim Il Sung, will surely be able to fulfill with success the Seven-Year Plan and build their country into a socialist country with a modern industry and a modern agriculture.

The tremendous successes in the building of socialism in North Korea have greatly inspired the people in South Korea in their just struggle against U.S. imperialism and for national salvation. The South Korean people, living in a virtual inferno, are rising up to fight. Syngman Rhee has been overthrown; and now the day is not far off when Pak Jung Heui will be overthrown. All the machinations of U.S. imperialism and its jackals will eventually fail. The Chinese people firmly support the South Korean people's just struggle against U.S. imperialism and for national salvation and the just struggle of the entire Korean people for the peaceful reunification of their country. We are convinced that the U.S. aggressors will inevitably be run out of Korea and the magnificent land of Korea and its thirty million patriotic people will surely reunite.

Comrades and friends, we have come to Korea only for a few days, but our impression is indelible. We see a Korea altogether new. Both its cities and countryside are new and socialist. The people we see are revolutionary people who hold arms in one hand and hammer and sickle in the other. While working hard at your construction, you stand guard vigilantly at this eastern outpost of the socialist camp. It is indeed most gratifying for us to meet you.

The Chinese and Korean people are brothers who go through thick and thin together and good comrades-in-arms who share the same

ideal. They have always supported each other and fought shoulder to shoulder in the protracted revolutionary struggle against imperialism. The blood of Korean revolutionary martyrs finds its symbol in our national flag and that of the Chinese revolutionary martyrs finds its symbol in yours. No force on earth can break the great friendship of our two peoples, which is sealed in blood. The Chinese people will stand by the fraternal Korean people, all the peoples of the socialist camp and the revolutionary people throughout the world in any storm and stress in the future, raising aloft the banner for world peace to oppose the policies of aggression and war of imperialism, and the banner of Marxism-Leninism to combat modern revisionism. Our great revolutionary cause will certainly triumph in the end.

Long live Sino-Korean friendship!

Long live the Korean people!

Long live the Democratic People's Republic of Korea!

Long live the Korean Workers' Party!

Long live Comrade Kim Il Sung!

Long live invincible Marxism-Leninism!

SPEECH AT A FAREWELL BANQUET IN PYONGYANG

September 26, 1963

Dear Comrade Premier Kim Il Sung,
Dear Comrade President Choi Yong Kun,
Dear Comrades and Friends,

Our goodwill visit is drawing to an end. In the past twelve days, during the visit, we have been accorded a hospitable reception by the Central Committee of the Korean Workers' Party and the Government of your Republic and a most enthusiastic and cordial welcome by the Korean people. At this farewell banquet, allow me, in my own name and in the name of all other Chinese comrades on this visit, extend our heartfelt gratitude to Comrade Premier Kim Il Sung, Comrade President Choi Yong Kun, other leading comrades of the Korean Party and Government and the fraternal Korean people.

In these days, we have visited Pyongyang, the democratic capital of Korea, and Hamheung, an industrial centre on the eastern coast, inspected factories, farms, water conservancy projects, and cultural institutions, appreciated superb art performances, and met industrious and intelligent workers, peasants, functionaries, and working intellectuals. We have seen with our own eyes a brand new and revolutionary Korea.

The Korean people, under the leadership of the Korean Workers' Party headed by Comrade Kim Il Sung, have laid the foundation of an independent national economy by developing the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance. They have set up their own systems of heavy and light industry, and are steadily enhancing the material and technical

Liu Shao-ch'i, as Chairman of the People's Republic of China, delivered this speech at a farewell banquet hosted by him in Pyongyang on the evening of September 26, 1963. The text is taken from *Hsinhua News Agency Release*, No. 092660 (September 27, 1963), pp. 48-50.

strength of agriculture to create conditions more favourable to the realisation of socialist industrialisation and the modernisation of agriculture. The culture and art of the Korean people have a rich socialist content and fine national form and are of high quality both politically and artistically. In the ten short years since the Korean armistice, the Korean people have worked hard to rehabilitate their country and have built a new industry, new agriculture, and new culture on the war ruins created by the U.S. aggressors. We rejoice from the bottom of our hearts to see your brilliant achievements.

The heroic Korean people are a people tested in war and tempered in construction, a people armed with revolutionary ideology, a politically conscious people with lofty aspirations and enthusiasm and excellent discipline. To such a people, no difficulties are insurmountable and no peak cannot be scaled. Your young people have an ardent love for the motherland and labour. They work hard, are plain-living and full of vigour. We can see in them the great future of the Korean nation and the brilliant prospects of socialism and communism in Korea.

The Korean people have achieved all these successes under the correct leadership of the Korean Workers' Party headed by Comrade Kim Il Sung. The Korean Workers' Party has ably integrated the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Korean revolution, and has ably linked the leadership with the broad masses. It staunchly safeguards peace in Asia and the world, combats the imperialist policies of aggression and war, defends the purity of Marxism-Leninism, and opposes modern revisionism. The Korean Workers' Party is a genuine revolutionary party. The Korean people, under the guidance of such a party, will surely fulfil their magnificent Seven-Year Plan and build their country into a powerful socialist country with modern industry and modern agriculture; they will surely succeed in ridding themselves of the U.S. aggressors and realising the peaceful reunification of their country; they will make ever bigger contributions to the great struggle of the people the world over for world peace, national liberation, people's democracy, and socialism.

During this visit, the fraternal Korean people have given us a most sincere and enthusiastic welcome. We were met with cheers and smiling faces everywhere, in cities and countrysides, where we paid visits and where we merely passed through. This scene will live forever in the memory of every one of us. This hearty welcome is full of class feeling and feelings of internationalism. This is the brilliant result of the education in proletarian internationalism that the Korean Workers' Party has carried deep into the masses. It

is a vivid manifestation of the great friendship and unity between the Chinese and Korean people.

During the visit, we held cordial and friendly talks with Comrade Premier Kim Il Sung, Comrade President Choi Yong Kun, and other leading Korean comrades, and had a thorough exchange of views on the strengthening of the relations of unity, friendship, and mutual assistance and cooperation between the two countries, on current international events, and on important questions of the international communist movement. The views of our two sides on all the questions covered are completely identical. This unity and solidarity of our two parties, our two countries, and our two peoples based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism is of immense importance both to the defence of world peace and to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat of the world. Our great cause is certain to win final victory with the unity of the Chinese and Korean peoples, with the unity of the peoples of the socialist camp, and with the unity of the Marxist-Leninists and all the revolutionary people of the world.

Please join me in a toast:

to ever more successes of the Korean people in their cause of revolution and construction,

to the monolithic revolutionary friendship and unity of the two parties, countries, and peoples of China and Korea,

to the triumph of Marxism-Leninism,

to the health of Comrade Premier Kim Il Sung,

to the health of Comrade President Choi Yong Kun,

to the health of other leading comrades of the Party and Government of Korea,

to the health of the diplomatic envoys and mesdames, and

to the health of all the comrades and friends present!

SPEECH AT A STATE BANQUET HONOURING PRESIDENT IBRAHIM ABBoud

May 16, 1964

His Excellency the Honourable President Ibrahim Abboud,
Honourable Guests from the Sudan,
Friends and Comrades,

Today, we are giving a banquet to welcome His Excellency Ibrahim Abboud, President of the Republic of the Sudan. Please allow me to extend on behalf of the people and the Government of China and in my own name and that of Premier Chou En-lai a cordial welcome to His Excellency President Abboud and the other Sudanese guests and to pay our high respects to the Sudanese and Arab people and the people of the African countries.

The Republic of the Sudan has a long history and an ancient civilization and was the first Afro-Arab country to secure independence after the Bandung Conference. Under the leadership of President Abboud, it has made effective efforts to safeguard its independence and sovereignty, liquidate the colonial influence and develop the national economy. The Sudanese Government pursues a policy of peace, neutrality and non-alignment, devotes itself to strengthening the solidarity of the Arab and African countries and is playing a positive role in international affairs. The Chinese people wish the Sudanese people new, greater and continuing achievements in all fields.

The Chinese people are happy to note that profound changes of historic significance have taken place on the African continent where

Liu Shao-ch'i, as Chairman of the People's Republic of China, delivered this speech at a state banquet given in honour of Ibrahim Abboud, President of the Republic of Sudan, in Peking on May 16, 1964. The text is translated from *Jen-min Jih-pao* (人民日報, People's Daily), May 17, 1964, p. 3. A partial translation appears in *Hsinhua News Agency Release*, No. 051670 (May 17, 1964), pp. 20-21.

the Sudan is situated. The revolutionary struggles that the African people are waging to overthrow the old system of colonialism and build a new independent and free Africa are being carried on triumphantly. The awakening of the 300 million African people and the emergence of an advanced and militant Africa are great events in our time.

The trend of revolution in Africa is bound to develop further. The oppressed and enslaved peoples will rise to oppose oppression and enslavement. The countries that have suffered from aggression and interference will stand up to denounce aggression and interference. However the imperialists and old and new colonialists may step up their sinister suppression, subversion, and deception in a thousand and one ways, there is no force on earth that can bend the African people's firm will to push ahead with their national-democratic revolution.

The Chinese Government and people never fail to support the African peoples in their struggles against imperialism and old and new colonialism and for winning and safeguarding national independence. We always hold that the sovereignty of the African states should be respected by all other countries and that encroachment and interference from any quarters should be opposed. We support the Arab people of Palestine in regaining their proper rights and the people of Aden and South Yemen in their just struggle for independence and freedom.

We support the just stand taken by President Nasser who recently demanded the withdrawal of all imperialist military bases from Arab territories. The Chinese people will for ever remain faithful friends of the Arab and African peoples. The imperialists and their apologists have always been ridiculing the poverty and backwardness of us Asian-African countries and trying to bring Asian-African countries under their prolonged control by means of "economic aid." But the practice of China, the Sudan and many other new emerging Asian-African countries proves that, by relying on the people's strength, making full use of domestic resources and giving full play to the spirit of regeneration through self-reliance, the Asian and African countries can very well build themselves into prosperous and strong states step by step.

Of course, the policy of self-reliance does not preclude foreign aid. Mutual assistance and cooperation between friendly countries are needed at all times. We consistently hold that the sovereignty of recipient countries must be scrupulously respected, no conditions must be attached and no privileges must be sought, and that inter-

ference in the internal affairs of others by any country under the name of "aid" must be opposed. We always hold that recipient countries should be helped to develop their national economy and gradually take the road of independent development and that the attempt of any country to make the recipient countries dependent on it by means of its economic power must be opposed. We always consider aid to be a mutual affair and never as a kind of unilateral alms. The Chinese Government will, as always, strengthen its mutual assistance and cooperation with friendly Asian-African countries on the principle of equality and mutual benefit so as to promote common upsurge in the national construction of us new emerging Asian-African countries.

Friends, comrades! All of us Asian-African countries face the common task of opposing imperialism and old and new colonialism, winning and safeguarding national independence and defending world peace. This is the political basis of Asian-African unity, which has a great vitality and is not to be undermined by any slander or provocation. We are convinced that the African Summit Conference and the Arab Summit Conference to be held later this year and the Second Asian-African Conference to be held next year will certainly make new and important contributions to the Asian-African cause of unity against imperialism. The Chinese people and the people of the Sudan, the Arab countries and the other Asian-African countries will make concerted efforts to strengthen Asian-African unity and defend world peace.

Your Excellency the Honourable President Abboud and honourable Sudanese guests! There is a profound friendship between the Chinese and Sudanese peoples. Our two peoples have always given each other sympathy and support in their protracted struggles against imperialism and colonialism. In recent years, the friendly relations between our two countries have been quite satisfactory. We are grateful to the Sudanese Government for its consistent stand for the restoration of China's legitimate rights in the United Nations. The visit of Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi to the Republic of the Sudan and, soon after, the present friendly visit by His Excellency President Abboud to our country mark an important development in the friendly relations between our two countries. Let me take this opportunity to heartily wish that President Abboud's visit will be satisfactory and successful.

I now propose a toast

to the prosperity and strength of the Republic of the Sudan,
to the friendship and cooperation between China and the Sudan,

to Afro-Asian solidarity and world peace.
to the health of Your Excellency President Abboud and the
honourable Sudanese guests,
to the health of foreign ambassadors and friends.

SPEECH AT A STATE BANQUET HONOURING PRESIDENT ABDULLAH AL SALLAL

June 2, 1964

His Excellency the Honourable President Abdullah Al Sallal,
Honourable Yemeni Guests,
Comrades and Friends,

Today, we are very happy to be able to receive the emissary of peace from the Arab world, His Excellency President Sallal of the Arab Republic of Yemen. On behalf of the Chinese Government and the Chinese people and in the name of Premier Chou En-lai and myself, I extend a cordial welcome to His Excellency President Sallal and all the honourable guests of the Arab Republic of Yemen Delegation led by President Sallal and pay high respects to the Yemeni people and the people of Arab countries.

Like all other Arab peoples, the Yemeni people are staunch and brave and ardently love freedom. Their unremitting struggle to oppose imperialist aggression and oppression and to win and safeguard national independence hold an important place in the history of the Arab peoples. The Chinese people have always cherished fraternal sentiments for the valiant struggle of the Yemeni people and given them sympathy and support.

In September, 1962, under the leadership of President Sallal, the Yemeni people overthrew the feudal and despotic system and built the first republic in the history of Yemen. They have opened a new vista to the development and prosperity of Yemen. The Yemeni Government pursues a policy of peace, neutrality and non-alignment,

Liu Shao-ch'i, as Chairman of the People's Republic of China, delivered this speech at a state banquet given in honour of Abdullah Al Sallal, President of the Arab Republic of Yemen, in Peking on the evening of June 2, 1964. The text is translated from *Jen-min Jih-pao* (人民日报, People's Daily), June 3, 1964, p. 3. A partial translation appears in *Hsinhua News Agency Release*, No. 060213 (June 3, 1964), pp. 8-9.

devotes itself to the solidarity among the Arab and the Asian-African countries, opposes imperialism and old and new colonialism and plays a positive role in international affairs. We sincerely wish the Yemeni people new and greater achievements in all fields.

The great victory of the Arab national independence movement is an important international event since World War II and also a tremendous development in the struggle of the oppressed nations the world over for independence and liberation. The newly emerging Arab nations want to safeguard their national independence and sovereign rights, develop national economy and culture and wipe out the remnant influence of colonialism. This, of course, is what imperialists and old and new colonialists do not wish to see. They have adopted various ways of committing acts of aggression, intervention and sabotage trying hard to undermine the solidarity of the Arab countries in an attempt to continue their control of this region of strategic importance and to plunder the rich resources of the Arab world. Therefore it is understandable that the Arab peoples desire to strengthen their solidarity and mutual support in order to wage a common struggle against imperialism and old and new colonialism. In January of this year, at the Arab Summit Conference, President Sallal particularly emphasized the promotion of solidarity among the Arab countries effectively reflecting the common desires of the Arab peoples. The Chinese Government consistently supports the desire of the Arab peoples to achieve solidarity and unity in the manner of their own choice. The plot of the imperialists and old and new colonialists to undermine Arab solidarity and enslave Arab peoples is doomed to failure.

The Chinese Government consistently supports the Arab peoples in their struggle to win and safeguard national independence and opposes aggression and interference against Arab countries from any quarters. We strongly condemn the U.S. scheme of instigating Israel to provoke the Arab countries. We support the legitimate demand of the Palestinian people to recover their proper rights and return to their homeland. We support the people of Aden, South Yemen and Oman in their just struggles against colonialism. We support the just stand of the Arab countries in demanding the dismantling of all the foreign military bases. The Arab people's struggles are entirely just. The Chinese people firmly stand by the Arab peoples, and so do all other peace-loving and just-minded people throughout the world. The Arab peoples will certainly overcome all obstacles and forge ahead victoriously in their cause of unity against imperialism.

Comrades and friends!

The friendly relations between China and Yemen have a deep foundation. Our two countries have both suffered from imperialist aggression and oppression, and today we are both facing the great tasks of safeguarding independence and building our motherlands. Our two peoples need to strengthen their friendly cooperation and mutual support to combat imperialism and defend world peace. As Yemen's faithful friend, China will be glad to contribute whatever it can to the Yemen people's just cause, as it has always done in the past. We wish to express our sincere gratitude for the consistent support of the Arab Republic of Yemen and the Yemeni people for the restoration of China's legitimate rights in the United Nations.

We believe that His Excellency President Sallal's visit will unquestionably deepen the mutual understanding between our two countries and promote the growth of our relations of friendship and cooperation. Please allow me to cordially wish new victories for the people of Yemen and the people of the Arab countries in their struggles to realize their own ideals.

Now, I propose a toast
to the flourishing prosperity for the Arab Republic of Yemen,
to the friendship among the peoples of China, Yemen and the various Arab countries,
to Afro-Asian solidarity and world peace,
to the health of His Excellency President Abboud,
to the health of the honourable guests, the members of the visiting Arab Republic of Yemen Delegation,
to the health of foreign amabassdors and their wives, and
to the health of all friends and comrades present tonight.

SPEECH AT A STATE BANQUET HONOURING PRINCE SIHANOUK

September 27, 1964

His Royal Highness Respected Prince Norodom Sihanouk and
Madame Sihanouk,
Respected Distinguished Guests from Cambodia,
Friends and Comrades,

His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk, the Head of State of Cambodia, and Madame Sihanouk have arrived on the eve of the 15th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China on a state visit at our invitation. They will also participate in our National Day celebrations. Arriving with the party are the precious Princess Roeungsi and other distinguished guests of Cambodia. Your presence is an honourable event to us. On behalf of the Chinese Government and people please allow me to extend a most cordial welcome to His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk and Madame Sihanouk and all the distinguished Cambodian guests.

His Royal Highness Prince Sihanouk is a familiar and respected friend of the Chinese people. His Royal Highness has visited our country on several occasions, and each of his visits has added new pages to the history of friendship between China and Cambodia. Now, His Royal Highness, despite his heavy official duties at home has made a trip for the special purpose of joining in the celebration of the National Day of China. For this, we wish to express our hearty appreciation.

Liu Shao-ch'i, as Chairman of the People's Republic of China, delivered this speech on September 27, 1964, at a state banquet in the Great Hall of the People, Peking, which he and his wife gave in honour of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Cambodian Head of State, his wife and party. The text is translated from *Jen-min Shou-t'se 1965* (1965年 人民手册, People's Handbook, 1965), p. 305. Partial translations appear in *Hsinhua News Agency Release*, No. 092734 (September 28, 1964), pp. 18-19 and *Hsinhua News Agency Release*, No. 092756 (September 28, 1964), pp. 27-28.

The Cambodian people are an industrious, courageous and ambitious people. Under the leadership of Prince Sihanouk, the Kingdom of Cambodia has made untiring efforts in developing national economy and national culture and attained brilliant achievements. It has resolutely adhered to the principle of sovereignty, equality and mutual benefit and carried out mutual help and cooperation with friendly countries. Prince Sihanouk has categorically rejected the U.S. "aid" with strings attached. The Cambodian people are determined to build up their country by their own efforts. We firmly believe that they will win still greater achievements along the path of independent development.

U.S imperialism has long regarded Cambodia an obstacle to its control and enslavement of Indo-China and has carried out incessant acts of aggression, intervention and subversion against Cambodia. Under the leadership of Prince Sihanouk, the Government of the Kingdom of Cambodia and the people have waged resolute struggles against U.S imperialism and its lackeys to safeguard their sovereign rights and territorial integrity. Just as His Royal Highness Prince Sihanouk has said, Cambodia is willing to fight to the last man rather than abandon one inch of her territory. This indomitable spirit displayed by the the Cambodian people in the teeth of intimidation is a powerful inspiration to all countries and people that oppose aggression and uphold independence.

The Kingdom of Cambodia has consistently pursued a policy of peace and neutrality, worked for the strengthening of Asian-African solidarity and supported other Asian-African peoples in their struggles against old and new colonialism. His Royal Highness Prince Sihanouk holds independent views on many major current international issues and speaks out boldly for just causes. For this reason, the Kingdom of Cambodia is enjoying an ever higher international prestige and exerting an ever greater influence on international affairs.

Friends and comrades! The dangerous situation created by U.S. imperialism recently in Indo-China has caused deep concern and anxiety on the part of all peace-loving countries and people. In order to avert its defeat in southern Vietnam, the United States has cooked up one pretext after another for launching military provocations and armed attacks against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The people of the Indo-China states and the whole world must maintain sharp vigilance against the U.S. imperialist plot of extending the war of aggression, which is an act of playing with fire. China is a close neighbour of the Indo-China states and a signatory to the two Geneva Agreements. The Chinese Government and people

will absolutely not sit idly by while U.S. imperialism wantonly tears up the Geneva Agreements, endangers peace in Southeast Asia and spreads the flames of aggressive war up to our side. We hold that the Indo-China question can be settled only in accordance with the Geneva Agreements and through a conference of the countries concerned with the Geneva Agreements; no other way is of any avail. Together with the peoples of Indo-China, we shall struggle to the end to uphold the Geneva Agreements and safeguard peace in Asia and the world.

China and Cambodia have consistently shown mutual sympathy and given mutual support to each other in their common cause of opposing imperialist aggression, strengthening Asian solidarity and safeguarding world peace. The Kingdom of Cambodia has never ceased to support China in her effort to liberate her own territory, Taiwan, to condemn the plot of creating "two Chinas" and to resolutely advocate the restoration of China's legitimate rights at the United Nations. At a time when imperialism and its followers shouted anti-China cries, Prince Sihanouk stood out to uphold righteousness. For such significant support of the Chinese people, we wish to express our sincere appreciation.

Now, I wish to take this opportunity to reiterate that we firmly support the Cambodian people in their just struggle to safeguard independence, neutrality and territorial integrity. The Chinese people will always remain the most reliable friends of the Cambodian people. Should the Kingdom of Cambodia become the object of armed aggression engineered by U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, the Chinese people will firmly stand on the side of the Cambodian people and give them all-out support.

Friends and comrades! China and Cambodia have always been good neighbours. Our friendly relations built on the foundation of the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence and the Ten Principles of the Bandung Conference have set an excellent example for the friendly co-existence of countries with differing social systems. We are sure that the present visit of His Royal Highness will make a new contribution towards further consolidating and developing the friendship between the kinsmanlike Chinese and Cambodian peoples.

Now, I propose a toast

to the flourishing prosperity of the Kingdom of Cambodia and
and the happiness of the Cambodian people,
to the unbreakable friendship between the Chinese and Cambodian
people,
to Afro-Asian solidarity and world peace,

to the health of His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk
and his wife,
to the health of the distinguished guests from Cambodia,
to the health of foreign ambassadors and their wives, and
to the health of friends and comrades present.

SPEECH AT A STATE BANQUET HONOURING PRESIDENT MASSAMBA-DEBAT

September 28, 1964

His Excellency the Esteemed President Alphonse Massamba-Debat,
Esteemed Distinguished Guests from the Congo (Brazzaville),
Comrades and Friends,

His Excellency Alphonse Massamba-Debat, President of the Congo (Brazzaville) and the distinguished guests from the Congo (B) have arrived for a state visit on the eve of the 15th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China. They are here to celebrate the festive occasion with the people of China. They have brought to us the profound friendship of the people of the Congo (B) and the militant friendship of the people of Africa, thus adding to the festive mood of our National Day. They have made us feel exceedingly fortunate and exulted. Please allow me to extend on behalf of the People's Republic of China and the Chinese people and in my own name a very cordial welcome and hearty appreciation. Through you, I wish to convey our respects to the people of the Congo (B) and to the people of the African countries, who are presently engaged in fighting.

Your country is one of the sources of ancient African civilization. The Kingdom of the Congo was a highly civilized country as early as the 15th century. The people of the Congo (B) have had a glorious tradition of opposing imperialism and colonialism. After almost a century of struggle they finally won an initial victory in 1960 and then

Liu Shao-ch'i, as Chairman of the People's Republic of China, delivered this speech at a state banquet in Peking on September 28, 1964, given in honour of Alphonse Massamba-Debat, President of the Republic of the Congo (B). The text is translated from *Jen-min Shou-t'se 1965* (1965 人民手册, People's Handbook, 1965), p. 367. Partial translations appear in *Hsinhua News Agency Release*, No. 092853 (September 29, 1964), pp. 16-17 and *Hsinhua News Agency Release*, No. 092865 (September 29, 1964), pp. 36-38.

a great victory of their August Revolution of 1963. Thereafter, the Republic of the Congo (B) stepped onto the road of independent development. This was a major event of historic significance in the political life of the Congolese people and an important mark of the further advance of the revolutionary struggle of the African people.

In just over a year, the Republic of the Congo (B) under the leadership of President Massamba-Debat has made tremendous efforts, faced serious tests and achieved brilliant successes. We admire the courage with which you wage resolute struggles against the threats, intervention and subversion of U.S. imperialism and its lackeys in order to safeguard national independence and consolidate your revolutionary state power, and we are glad to see that you have time and again smashed their counter-revolutionary schemes. You have taken many positive measures to develop your national economy, revive your national culture and eliminate the colonialist forces; you have pursued a policy of peace, neutrality and non-alignment, persisted in opposing imperialism and old and new colonialism and resolutely supported the national liberation movements of your African brothers. These acts are fully compatible with the revolutionary interests of the people of the Congo (B) and the people of Africa and with the common interests of Afro-Asian solidarity and world peace. The Chinese people want to pay you high tribute for all these steps and wish you new successes in your endeavours.

Facts are most persuasive. Any country, whatever its size, can defeat its enemy, surmount difficulties and play its due role in international affairs so long as it has an indomitable will, strengthens its own unity and pursues a correct policy. Now, everyone can see that the Republic of the Congo (B) has been further consolidated and is enjoying much higher prestige. We are confident that, despite the pressures and obstructions of U.S. imperialism and its followers, the heroic Congolese people, by relying on their own efforts and with the support of the other peoples of Africa and the world, will surely be able to overcome all difficulties and advance from victory to victory.

Your Excellency the President and esteemed distinguished guests from the Congo (B)! You have come from the revolutionary and advanced continent of Africa. The awakened people of Africa would never wish to live in the old ways again. They have stirred up a sweeping national liberation movement and stepped onto the road of armed struggle. Your fraternal people of the Congo (L) are also waging a patriotic and armed struggle on a grand scale for independence and freedom. Many independent African nations regard aid to their struggling African brothers as a sacred obligation. This fully reflects

the unity of the African people and their revolutionary spirit of carrying out a common struggle against the enemy.

The peoples of the Congo (L) and the rest of Africa are facing a new serious situation. U.S. imperialism tries its utmost to turn the Congo (L) into another testing ground for "special warfare" in order to suppress the patriotic forces there and so threaten the security of neighbouring African countries. It also plots to drag some African countries into its dirty game so as to realize its scheme of making Africans kill each other. Facts have repeatedly proved that U.S. imperialism is the most dangerous common enemy of the people of the Congo (L) and the other African countries. The question of the Congo (L) can only be solved by the Congolese (L) people themselves, while it is absolutely impermissible that U.S. imperialism should turn it into a second South Viet Nam. The patriotic anti-U.S. struggle of the Congolese (L) people is entirely just. The peoples of Africa, Asia, Latin America and all the world stand on their side. Final victory will surely belong to the Congolese (L) people who hold aloft the banner of Patrice Lumumba and fight resolutely.

The Chinese Government has always taken an active attitude in developing its relations of friendship and cooperation with African countries according to the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the Ten Principles of the Bandung Conference. We regard support for the African people's fight to win and preserve national independence, against imperialism and old and new colonialism as our unshirkable, glorious internationalist duty. U.S. imperialism and its followers have slandered China as interfering in the affairs of the Congo (L) and Africa, their attempt being to cover up their own criminal activities and to sow discord between China and the friendly African countries. Their attempt is futile. We will oppose imperialist aggression so long as it exists; we will support anti-aggression struggles wherever they occur. Slanders and attacks cannot shake this open and above-board stand of the Chinese Government and people. On the contrary, they will only help the African peoples see still more clearly who their real friends and who their real enemies are.

Your Excellency the Esteemed President and esteemed distinguished guests from the Congo (B)! Our two peoples have gone through the common historical experience of being subjected to imperialist and colonialist aggression and oppression and now face the similar fighting tasks of opposing imperialism, safeguarding national independence and building our own countries. Our two peoples have always given each other sympathy and support. You boldly recognized the People's Republic of China soon after your August Rev-

olution, and you resolutely oppose the plot of "two Chinas." Now you have come, at our invitation, to take part in the celebrations of the 15th anniversary of our National Day. Together with your African brothers, you persevere in the struggle against imperialism and old and new colonialism. All this is a great support and encouragement to the Chinese people engaged in socialist revolution and construction. The Chinese people are grateful to you and respect and welcome you.

We note with joy that during the six months since the establishment of diplomatic relations, the relations of friendship and cooperation between our two countries have developed satisfactorily in all quarters, and our friendly intercourse is becoming increasingly close. We deeply believe that the present visit of Your Excellency and the other distinguished guests from the Congo (B) will mark an important mile-stone in the further development of our relations of friendship and cooperation. I wish you success in your visit.

Now, I propose a toast

to the flourishing prosperity of the Republic of the Congo (B)
and the happiness of the Congolese (B) people,

to the unbreakable, militant friendship between China and the
Congo (B),

to Afro-Asian solidarity and world peace,

to the health of His Excellency President Massamba-Debat and
all the distinguished guests from the Congo (B),

to the health of foreign ambassadors and their wives, and

to the health of all friends and comrades present.

SPEECH AT A STATE BANQUET HONOURING PRESIDENT MODIBO KEITA

September 29, 1964

His Excellency the Esteemed President Modibo Keita and
Madame Keita,
Esteemed Distinguished Guests from Mali,
Friends and Comrades,

We feel exceedingly pleased and glorified to be able to entertain His Excellency President Modibo Keita and the distinguished guests from Mali at a banquet this evening. Several days ago, we celebrated with our Malian friends a glorious festive day, the fourth anniversary of the independence of the Republic of Mali. Now, His Excellency President Keita has made a long journey of 10,000 *li* to visit us and brought to us the profound friendship of the Malian people. They will celebrate with us the 15th anniversary of our National Day. This is great support and encouragement to us. On behalf of the Chinese Government and people, I express our hearty appreciation and extend our warm welcome to His Excellency President Keita and the distinguished guests from Mali. Through you I wish to convey our close regards and high respects to the Malian people.

Mali is a country with a long history. The Malian people are a valiant, stubborn and freedom-loving people. In face of colonialist aggression and oppression, the Malian people have never bowed their heads in submission. After seven years of heroic struggle, they won national independence in the end in 1960. They wrote a

Liu Shao-ch'i, as Chairman of the People's Republic of China, delivered this speech on the evening of September 29, 1964, at a banquet in the Great Hall of the People, Peking, given by him and his wife to welcome Modibo Keita, President of the Republic of Mali, his wife and party. The text is translated from *Jen-min Jih-pao* (人民日報, People's Daily), September 30, 1964, p. 3. A partial translation appears in *Hsinhua News Agency Release*, No. 029968 (September 30, 1964), pp. 39-41.

glorious page in the history of the African people's anti-imperialist struggle.

Since independence, the Malian people have maintained their glorious anti-imperialist tradition and carried on an untiring struggle to defend the sovereignty and territorial integrity of their country and develop a national economy and culture. In the past four years, the Republic of Mali under the leadership of President Keita has continually scored successes whether in the fight against political subversion and economic blockade by imperialism or the struggle to force the imperialists to dismantle their military bases, eliminate the colonialist forces and build the country. At present, the people of Mali are making efforts to fulfil the First Five-year Plan and realize non-colonization in social economy. The Chinese people heartily wish them more and greater successes along the road of independent development.

The Republic of Mali is playing a positive role in international affairs. Mali has consistently pursued a policy of peace, neutrality and non-alignment, opposed imperialism and old and new colonialism and supported other Afro-Asian peoples in their struggle for national independence. The Mali Government and people have made contributions to the cause of strengthening Afro-Asian solidarity and safeguarding world peace.

Friends and comrades! In the fifteen years since the founding of the People's Republic of China, the Chinese people under the brilliant leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung have achieved great successes in socialist revolution and socialist construction. We regard our successes and achievements as an inseparable part of the common cause of the people of the whole world and believe that our successes and achievements are inseparable from the support given us by the revolutionary people of the world. For this reason, while they are filled with confidence in celebrating the great festival day of the motherland, the Chinese people are, of course, incomparably exulted by the favourable situation in Africa. At present, flags of independence and freedom are fluttering all over the land of 30,000,000 square kilometres. The 300 million African people are undergoing world-shaking changes. Like the rising sun, the new Africa is shining in radiance.

Naturally, imperialism and old and new colonialism will never be content with defeat and will never voluntarily withdraw from Africa. They are continuing to suppress the African national liberation movement and trying to control, interfere with, subvert and invade the newly emerging African countries by various ways and means.

They are particularly eager to grasp the economic life-line of the new countries to retain their exploiter's and plunderer's position. However, in so doing they play the role of an instructor in reverse education. The peoples of the new emerging African countries are increasingly aware of the need for not only consolidating political independence but also securing economic independence, for persevering in self-reliance and establishing relations of mutual assistance and cooperation with friendly countries on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, and for eliminating the colonialist forces and carrying the national and democratic revolution forward. It is our belief that the African people are fully capable of ending the poverty and backwardness of long colonial rule and create a happy new life by relying on their own intellect and labour. Africa must become an independent, prosperous and strong new Africa free from political oppression and free from economic exploitation.

The peoples of the Afro-Asian countries have long suffered from imperialist and colonialist aggression and oppression. Today, we are facing the common fighting task of opposing imperialism and old and new colonialism and striving for and safeguarding national independence. To uphold the Bandung Spirit and strengthen our unity and cooperation accords with our vital interests. At the present time, in particular, U.S. imperialism and its followers are carrying out all sorts of intrigues in an attempt to make Asian and African countries depart from the road of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the Ten Principles of the Bandung Conference so as to split and sabotage the cause of Asian-African unity against imperialism. It is therefore more necessary than ever for us Asian and African countries to uphold and further develop the Bandung Spirit and to consolidate and develop further our friendly cooperation in order to defend and promote the common interests of our peoples. The Chinese Government and people will never cease to exert concerted efforts with Mali and other African and Asian countries.

His Excellency the Esteemed President Keita and esteemed distinguished guests from Mali! China and Mali are far apart geographically, but the friendship between the peoples of our two countries is very deep indeed. We have always shared our joys and sorrows and common interests in our long struggle against imperialism and colonialism. The Mali Government and people have consistently supported us in our just struggle for guarding our sovereignty and territorial integrity and advocated the restoration of our legitimate rights at the United Nations. The Chinese Government and people have supported Mali in her firm stand of safeguarding national inde-

pendence and in her efforts to develop her independent national economy. Our two countries have truly practiced equality, mutual respect, mutual benefit and mutual assistance, and sincere cooperation in their relations with each other. These relations of friendship and cooperation can stand any tests.

We are glad to note that in recent years the friendship between our two countries has made new and important developments. The increasing friendly contacts, especially in the mutual visits of our state leaders, has continually consolidated and strengthened the relations of friendship and cooperation between China and Mali. Now, following the visit of Premier Chou En-lai to Mali at the beginning of this year, His Excellency President Keita has arrived in our country to begin a friendly visit. President Keita's visit will certainly make new contributions to this end. We sincerely wish President Keita full success in his visit.

Now, I propose a toast
to the prosperity and strength of the Republic of Mali and
the happiness of her people,
to the eternal friendship between the peoples of China and Mali,
to Afro-Asian solidarity and world peace,
to the health of His Excellency President Keita and Madame Keita,
to the health of the distinguished guests from Mali,
to the health of foreign ambassadors and their wives, and
to the health of all friends and comrades present.

SPEECH AT THE RECEPTION IN CELEBRATION OF THE 15TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

September 30, 1964

Esteemed Distinguished Guests,
Fellow Countrymen, Friends and Comrades,

With great joy we are gathered here with more than 2,600 distinguished guests from foreign countries and with the representatives of overseas Chinese and Chinese inhabitants of Hongkong and Macao to warmly celebrate the 15th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China. Present at this reception are delegations of the socialist countries, delegations of fraternal Parties, government, parliamentary and military delegations of friendly countries, popular delegations as well as many foreign statesmen, public figures and eminent personages. We are especially honoured by the presence this evening of His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk, the esteemed Head of State of Cambodia; His Excellency Modibo Keita, the esteemed President of the Republic of Mali; His Excellency Alphonse Massamba-Debat, the esteemed President of the Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville); Comrade Choi Yong Kun, the esteemed President of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea; Comrade I.G. Maurer, the esteemed Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Rumania; Comrade Pham Van Dong, the esteemed Premier of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam; and His Royal Highness Prince Moulay Abdallah, the esteemed representative of His Majesty Hassan II, the King of Morocco. The presence of our distinguished foreign guests is a great support for the Chinese people.

Liu Shao-ch'i, as Chairman of the People's Republic of China, made this speech in Peking on the evening of September 30, 1964. The text is taken from *Peking Review*, VII, No. 40 (October 2, 1964), pp. 7-8.

On behalf of the Chinese people, the Communist Party of China and the Chinese Government, I express warm welcome and sincere thanks to our foreign friends and comrades.

Making giant strides of historic significance and surmounting all kinds of difficulties along their path of advance, the Chinese people have in the past 15 years achieved great successes in the socialist revolution and socialist construction. The social productive forces of our country have grown unprecedentedly and the mental outlook of our people has undergone a fundamental change. The material base of socialism in our country has never been so strong, the unity of our multi-national people has never been so solid, and the revolutionary spirit of our people has never been so high. This is a victory for Marxism-Leninism, a victory for the correct leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung and a victory for the general line for socialist revolution and socialist construction as laid down by the Chinese Communist Party. Our people will rally even more closely around the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung and uphold the correct line of the Party so as to carry the socialist revolution through to the end and build China into a prosperous and powerful socialist country.

During the past 15 years, the Chinese people have made consistent and untiring efforts in defending world peace, opposing imperialism and colonialism, supporting the revolutionary struggles of all oppressed nations and peoples and upholding the revolutionary unity of the peoples of the socialist camp and the people of the whole world. Whatever slanders and threats the imperialists may hurl at us, this fundamental position of the Chinese people in international affairs is consistent and will never change. The Chinese people will for ever stand on the side of the peoples of the socialist camp, on the side of all oppressed nations and peoples and on the side of all peace-loving countries and people; they will for ever uphold the revolutionary principles and international justice and continue to do their part in advancing the common cause of the people of the world.

The Chinese people firmly support the south Vietnamese people in their fight against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, support the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam in its resistance against U.S. aggression and support the entire Vietnamese people in their struggle for the reunification of their motherland!

The Chinese people firmly support the Laotian people in their struggle against U.S. imperialist intervention and aggression!

The Chinese people firmly support the Government and people of the Kingdom of Cambodia in their struggle against foreign aggres-

sion and subversion and in defence of state sovereignty and territorial integrity!

The Chinese people firmly support the south Korean people in their patriotic anti-U.S. struggle and the entire Korean people in their struggle for the reunification of their motherland!

The Chinese people firmly support the Indonesian people in their struggle against Malaysia, the product of neo-colonialism, and the North Kalimantan people in their struggle for national liberation!

The Chinese people firmly support the Japanese people in their struggle against U.S. imperialism and its agents and resolutely oppose the conversion of Japan by U.S. imperialism into a base for launching a nuclear war!

The Chinese people firmly support the Asian peoples in their struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression and control, in defence of national independence and for democratic rights!

The Chinese people firmly support the people of the Arab countries in their struggle in defence of national independence and against imperialist aggression and support the people of Palestine in their demand for the restoration of their proper rights and for return to their homeland!

The Chinese people firmly support the people of the Congo (Leopoldville) in their struggle for national liberation, resolutely oppose the U.S. imperialists' armed intervention in the Congo (L) and their subversive activities against the Congo (B) and Burundi and oppose the U.S. scheme of making Africans fight Africans!

The Chinese people firmly support the people of Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea in their struggle for national independence!

The Chinese people firmly support the people of South Africa and Zimbabwe in their struggle against racial discrimination and for equal rights and national liberation!

The Chinese people firmly support the African peoples in their struggle for national liberation and in defence of national independence!

The Chinese people firmly support the Cuban people in their struggle to oppose U.S. imperialist aggression and to safeguard and carry forward the Cuban revolution!

The Chinese people firmly support the Latin American peoples in their national and democratic revolutionary struggle!

The Chinese people firmly support the people of the German Democratic Republic in their struggle for the conclusion of a German peace treaty and in defence of their state sovereignty!

The Chinese people firmly support the American Negroes in their

struggle against racial discrimination and persecution and for freedom and equal rights!

The Chinese people firmly support the working class and broad masses in Western Europe, North America and Oceania in their struggle against monopoly capital and for democratic rights, the improvement of their living conditions and social progress!

Friends and comrades! The present international situation is excellent, and U.S. imperialism is increasingly encircled by the people of the whole world. Together with all the people of the world the Chinese people will make persistent efforts and march forward from victory to victory. The people of the countries in the socialist camp should unite, the people of the countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America should unite, all peace-loving countries should unite, all countries that are subject to U.S. aggression, control, interference and bullying should unite, in order to form the broadest united front to fight together against the U.S. imperialist policies of war and aggression and for greater victories for world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and socialism.

I propose a toast

to the great solidarity of the people of the countries in the socialist camp,

to the great solidarity of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America,

to the great solidarity of the people throughout the world,

to the great development of the cause of liberation of the peoples of the world,

to world peace,

to the health of our distinguished foreign guests, and

to the health of all our fellow countrymen, friends and comrades present here!

SPEECH AT A STATE BANQUET HONOURING KING ZAHIR SHAH

October 30, 1964

Your Majesties Esteemed King Mohammad Zahir Shah and the Queen,
Distinguished Guests from Afghanistan,
Friends and Comrades,

The Kingdom of Afghanistan is our close neighbour, and King Mohammad Zahir Shah is our esteemed friend. Today Their Majesties the King and the Queen have come to our country for a friendly visit, bringing us the profound friendship of the Afghan people. At this banquet permeated with Sino-Afghan friendship, allow me, on behalf of the Chinese Government and people and in my own name, to express sincere thanks and warm welcome to Their Majesties the King and the Queen and all the other distinguished guests from Afghanistan accompanying them on the visit.

The Kingdom of Afghanistan is a country with a long history and an ancient civilization. The Afghan people have a glorious tradition of resistance to imperialist aggression. They have written down a brilliant page in the history of the Asian people's struggle against imperialism through their heroic struggles which lasted more than a hundred years, during which they repeatedly repulsed the attacks of powerful enemies. The Chinese people greatly admire the heroic spirit and glorious deeds of the Afghan people in firmly upholding their national independence.

Under the leadership of His Majesty King Zahir Shah, the Kingdom of Afghanistan has scored marked achievements in the fields of safeguarding and consolidating its national independence and

Liu Shao-ch'i, as Chairman of the People's Republic of China, delivered this speech at a state banquet in Peking honouring King Mohammad Zahir Shah of Afghanistan on the evening of October 30, 1964. The text is taken from *Hsinhua News Agency Release*, No. 103053 (October 31, 1964), pp. 37-39.

developing its national economy and culture. The Chinese people wish the Afghan people new and greater achievements on the road of independent development.

The Kingdom of Afghanistan has consistently pursued a policy of peace, neutrality and non-alignment, stood for peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems, persisted in maintaining friendship with the socialist countries and actively upheld the Bandung Spirit. At the Bandung Conference and the preparatory meeting for the Second Asian-African Conference and at the two Conferences of Non-Aligned Countries, the Kingdom of Afghanistan played an important role in opposing imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and strengthening Asian-African solidarity. The independent foreign policy pursued by the Afghan Government is not only in the interests of the Afghan people but also conducive to the lofty cause of Asian-African solidarity and world peace.

China's first successful explosion of an atom bomb some days ago has become a major event attracting world-wide attention. All oppressed nations and people and all peace-loving countries and people are rejoicing over this. They regard China's possession of nuclear weapons as their own possession of nuclear weapons and a great enhancement of the strength of the common struggle against imperialism and for the defence of world peace. This is a great support and encouragement to the Chinese people. We will never fail to live up to their trust and expectations.

The Chinese people have always held that it is the peoples of the world and absolutely not nuclear weapons that determine the destiny of the world. The Chinese Government has never taken its possession or non-possession of nuclear weapons as a basis for the formulation of its foreign policy. In order to prevent a nuclear war and safeguard world peace, the Chinese Government has once again proposed that a summit conference of all the countries of the world be convened to discuss the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons and held that, as the first step, the nuclear powers and those countries which may soon come into possession of nuclear weapons should, first of all, undertake not to use nuclear weapons. Whether to accept this proposal or not and whether to undertake this obligation or not constitute a serious test before the U.S. Government. Together with the peoples of the world, we will unswervingly carry the struggle through to the end, to oppose the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war, to smash the nuclear blackmail and nuclear threat of U.S. imperialism, and to realize the noble aim of the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear

weapons. We believe that so long as the people of the world unite and persevere in the struggle, nuclear weapons can be eliminated, a nuclear war can be prevented and world peace can be safeguarded.

Since ancient time, China and Afghanistan have been close neighbours living in harmony with each other. There exists a long traditional friendship between our two peoples, and the famous "silk road" was opened up by our ancestors in the days of yore. We have now not only carried on this friendly tradition of our ancestors, but have further developed it on a new basis. We note with satisfaction that since the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Afghanistan, friendly relations between our two countries have steadily developed. Our two countries have always strictly abided by the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the Ten Principles of the Bandung Conference, and we have truly shown respect for each other, treated each other with equality and worked in friendly cooperation. The Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Non-Aggression and the Boundary Treaty concluded between our two countries are brilliant milestones of Sino-Afghan friendship. In international affairs, our two countries have always shown sympathy for and given support to each other. The Chinese Government and people fully respect and actively support the policy of peace and neutrality pursued by the Kingdom of Afghanistan. The Government and people of Afghanistan have always stood for the restoration of China's legitimate rights in the United Nations and opposed the imperialist scheme to create "two Chinas." We would like to express our sincere thanks for this.

The friendly relations between our two countries have set a good example of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems. This is inseparable from the joint efforts made by our two sides. The exchange of visits by leaders of our two countries has played an active role in this respect. I am convinced that the present visit by His Majesty King Mohammad Zahir Shah will further strengthen the mutual understanding and trust and the relations of friendship and cooperation between our two countries.

Now I propose a toast

to the prosperity of the Kingdom of Afghanistan and the well-being of its people,

to the everlasting friendship between the peoples of China and Afghanistan,

to Asian-African solidarity and world peace,

to the health of His Majesty King Mohammad Zahir Shah and Her Majesty the Queen,

to the health of all the other distinguished Afghan guests,
to the health of all the diplomatic envoys and their wives present
at this banquet, and
to the health of all our friends and comrades present here!

SPEECH AT A FAREWELL BANQUET GIVEN BY KING ZAHIR SHAH

November 12, 1964

Their Esteemed Majesties King Mohammad Zahir Shah and the Queen,
Esteemed Distinguished Guests from Afghanistan,
Friends and Comrades,

We feel very honoured and pleased to have this opportunity to participate in the farewell banquet given by Their Majesties King Mohammad Zahir Shah and the Queen and to gather together once again with the distinguished guests from Afghanistan. The visit of Their Majesties the King and Queen to our country has made a great contribution to the promotion of the friendship between the people of our two countries and has written a new page in the history of friendly relations between China and Afghanistan. Now, our distinguished guests are going to leave our country. Please allow me to express on behalf of the Chinese Government and people and in my own name and in the name of my wife warm congratulations to Their Majesties the King and the Queen for the successful visit that they have made to our country.

Their Majesties the King and the Queen have visited Wuhan, Canton, Nanking, Shanghai and Hangchow, seen certain industrial and agricultural construction projects and conveyed to our people the profound friendship of the Afghan people. We are very grateful for His Majesty's words of praise and encouragement. In the past fifteen years we have truly achieved some successes. However, what

Liu Shao-ch'i, as Chairman of the People's Republic of China, delivered this speech on the evening of November 12, 1964, at a farewell banquet given by King Mohammad Zahir Shah and Queen Homaira of Afghanistan in the Great Hall of the People, Peking. The text is translated from *Jen-min Jih-pao* (人民日報, People's Daily), November 13, 1964, p. 3. A partial translation appears in *Hsinhua News Agency Release*, No. 111232 (November 13, 1964), pp. 19-20.

has been left from old China is a poor and backward country. It will take several decades or even longer to thoroughly change these conditions. Moreover, there are defects and mistakes in our work. We sincerely welcome straightforward criticisms and candid opinions that Your Majesty and friends might give, so that we can conduct our work more satisfactorily.

Esteemed distinguished guests from Afghanistan! China and Afghanistan have undergone similar sufferings in history, and today our two peoples are struggling to defend our national independence and develop our national economy and culture. In the course of building our countries we are bound to come up against this or that difficulty. However, the experiences of many newly emerging Afro-Asian countries show that difficulties can be surmounted, favourable conditions can be created, and the backward can be transformed into progressive. So long as we firmly rely on the strength of our own people, make the best use of our own natural resources and strengthen our mutual help and cooperation with friendly countries on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, we Asian and African countries will certainly be able to advance victoriously along the path of independent development. We have every reason to believe that we Asian and African countries will certainly be able to do what the economically advanced countries can do, and do it even better. We are very glad that the cordial and friendly talks held between our two sides have been fruitful. They will have a far-reaching effect on the friendship and cooperation between China and Afghanistan. We have enhanced our mutual understanding and strengthened our mutual trust. We share common views on many important international problems. It can be expected that, through the visit of Their Majesties the King and the Queen, the relations of friendship and cooperation between China and Afghanistan will certainly be further strengthened and developed on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the Ten Principles of the Bandung Conference. This is not only in the interests of our two peoples but also a positive contribution to Asian-African solidarity and world peace.

Your Majesties the King and the Queen, we wish to express once again our heartfelt thanks to you for coming to visit us. The seeds of the Sino-Afghan friendship, sown by your visit will definitely blossom into splendid flowers in the coming months and years and grow abundant fruits. On the eve of your departure we are reluctant to part with you. We wish you a pleasant journey and ask you to take the cordial friendship of the Chinese people to the Afghan people.

I now propose a toast

to the prosperity and strength of the Kingdom of Afghanistan
and the happiness of your people,

to the eternal friendship between the people of China and
Afghanistan,

to Afro-Asian solidarity and world peace,

to the health of Their Majesties King Mohammad Zahir Shah
and the Queen,

to the health of the distinguished guests from Afghanistan,

to the health of the ambassadors and their wives present, and

to the health of all friends and comrades.

SPEECH AT A STATE BANQUET HONOURING PRESIDENT JULIUS K. NYERERE

February 17, 1965

His Excellency the Esteemed President Julius K. Nyerere and
Madame Nyerere,
Esteemed Distinguished Guests from Tanzania,
Friends and Comrades,

We are very glad that His Excellency President Nyerere of the United Republic of Tanzania, an outstanding statesman of Africa and a good friend to the Chinese people, has come to our country to visit us. Everybody is aware that long before the independence of Tanganyika, President Nyerere had already made efforts to increase the friendship between China and Tanganyika. The rapid and satisfactory development of the friendly relations between China and Tanzania is inseparable from President Nyerere's efforts. Now, His Excellency the President has brought us the precious friendship of the people of Tanzania and the people of Africa. On behalf of the Chinese people, in my own name and in the name of Premier Chou En-lai, I express hearty appreciation and a warm welcome to His Excellency President Nyerere as well as to Madame Nyerere and the distinguished members of his entourage.

Tanzania was one of the first countries in East Africa to secure independence. Her independence has been a very forceful inspiration and support to the people of various African countries in their struggles for national independence. Imperialists have conducted unremitting

Liu Shao-ch'i, as Chairman of the People's Republic of China, delivered this speech at a state banquet in Peking on the evening of February 17, 1965, given in honour of President Julius K. Nyerere of Tanzania. The text is translated from *Jen-min Jih-pao* (人民日報, People's Daily), February 18, 1965, p. 2. Partial translations appear in *Hsinhua News Agency Release*, No. 021750 (February 18, 1965), p. 31 and *Hsinhua News Agency Release*, No. 021753 (February 18, 1965), pp. 31-32.

interference with and subversion against Tanzania, but the Tanzanian people have heroically and stubbornly smashed their schemes, one after another. Recently, the Tanzanian Government exposed the U.S. imperialists' subversive activities and recalled her ambassador from Washington. This is a heroic action which our Government and people resolutely support. Under the leadership of President Nyerere, Tanzania has achieved notable successes in her efforts to safeguard national independence and develop a national economy and culture. During the past year, Tanzania has built her own national army; this is an event of great significance. The Tanzanian people understand that without their own armed forces, independence would be left unguarded. We sincerely wish the fraternal Tanzanian people more and greater successes along their road of independent development.

Tanzania has pursued a policy of peace and neutrality and non-alignment, resolutely opposed the imperialist policy of aggression and made efforts to strengthen the unity of the African people and the solidarity of the African and Asian people against imperialism. Tanzania has energetically supported the struggles of the people of the Congo (L) and of east, central and south Africa. In international affairs, Tanzania has adopted a just stand which has won respect and praise from the people of the world and enhanced her international prestige.

His Esteemed Excellency the President and distinguished guests from Tanzania! Your arrival at this time has made us feel particularly pleased. You have come from anti-imperialist, revolutionary and militant Africa to anti-imperialist, revolutionary and militant Asia. Beside you, the heroic Congolese (L) are fighting; next to us, the valiant Vietnamese are battling. The Congolese (L) and the Vietnamese peoples are standing at the forefront of the African and Asian people's battle against U.S. imperialism and facing a common enemy. Tanzania is a close neighbour to the Congo; as China is to Vietnam. Supporting our neighbours in their resistance against imperialist aggression is the sacred and glorious task of our two countries.

Of late, U.S. imperialism and its followers have stepped up their attacks on the patriotic armed forces on the Congo (L), while resorting to even more frenzied threats, interference and subversion against the newly-independent countries neighbouring the Congo (L). The Congo (L) is the heart of Africa. Attack on the Congo (L) by U.S. imperialism means attack on the entire African people. It has now become the principal task of the people of the Congo (L) and all

Africa to defend the independence and freedom of the Congo (L) and defeat the U.S. aggressors. We the Chinese people firmly support the people of the Congo (L) in their patriotic armed struggle against U.S. imperialism. We are ready, together with Tanzania and other African countries, to fulfil our internationalist duty in support of the national liberation struggle of the people of the Congo (L). We will never change this firm stand of ours.

In Southeast Asia, U.S. imperialism is attempting step by step to spread the war of aggression from South Vietnam to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. A war crisis is seriously threatening the peoples of Indo-China and Southeast Asia. The Chinese Government and people strongly condemn U.S. imperialism for the piratical acts by which it is expanding the war in South Vietnam and firmly support the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Vietnamese people in their righteous struggle to counter U.S. imperialist aggression. The Chinese Government has solemnly declared again and again that aggression by U.S. imperialism against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam means aggression against the People's Republic of China and that the Chinese people definitely will not stand idly by without lending a helping hand. Since U.S. imperialism has continued to expand its war of aggression in Vietnam and has taken the lead in breaking up the line of demarcation between southern Vietnam and northern Vietnam, it has to bear the responsibility for all the consequences arising therefrom. Of course, it is up to the United States itself to decide how far it will go along the path of expanding the war in Indo-China. However, in all circumstances, it can be said for certain that the farther it goes along this path, the more disastrous will be its defeat.

The U.S. imperialists fancy that with the help of a few atom bombs in their hands, plus a number of warships and aircraft, they can stretch out their tentacles of aggression here and there to make provocations against the peoples all over the world. This is quite absurd. It is the mobilized people, not the weapon, not the atom bomb, that are truly powerful. The wider the area where the United States commits aggression, the greater the number of peoples who will be aroused to form an ever more powerful international united front against U.S. imperialism. The days of U.S. imperialism are numbered. The people of the world will certainly defeat U.S. imperialism, so long as they strengthen their unity and persevere in struggle.

His Esteemed Excellency the President! The friendship between China and Tanzania has a long history. The friendly intercourse

between the people of our two countries dates back a thousand years. Since the Tanzanian people achieved independence, the friendly relations between our two countries have made important developments. I am glad to note that our two countries have faithfully abided by the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence and the Ten Principles of the Bandung Conference. In our cause of safeguarding national independence and sovereignty, developing a national economy and building our countries, we have consistently given mutual assistance; in strengthening Afro-Asian unity and in waging struggle against imperialism and old and new colonialism and for the safeguarding of world peace, we have always cooperated closely. I firmly believe that the visit of His Excellency President Nyerere to our country will not only push the friendship between the people of our two countries to a new stage but also contribute greatly to the solidarity of the African and Asian peoples and advance the cause of opposing imperialism.

Now, I propose a toast
to the prosperity and strength of the United Republic of Tanzania
and the happiness of the Tanzanian people,
to the friendship between the Chinese and Tanzanian people,
to Afro-Asian solidarity and world peace,
to the health of His Excellency President Julius K Nyerere
and Madame Nyerere,
to the health of the distinguished guests from Tanzania,
to the health of foreign ambassadors and their wives, and
to the health of friends and comrades present.

SPEECH AT A STATE BANQUET HONOURING PRESIDENT AYUB KHAN

March 2, 1965

His Esteemed Excellency President Mohammad Ayub Khan,
Esteemed Distinguished Guests from Pakistan,
Friends and Comrades,

We are very glad that His Excellency President Mohammad Ayub Khan of the friendly Islamic Republic of Pakistan has arrived in our country to visit us. His Excellency the President is an outstanding statesman of Pakistan and an esteemed friend of the Chinese people. His visit is a happy event in the friendly relations between China and Pakistan. On behalf of the Chinese Government and people, in my own name and in the name of Premier Chou En-lai, I extend a cordial welcome to His Excellency the President and the distinguished guests from Pakistan.

Today happens to be the second anniversary of the signing of the boundary agreement between China and Pakistan. The satisfactory solution of the Sino-Pakistan boundary question is not only in the interest of consolidating the relations of friendship and neighbourliness but is also a contributing factor to Afro-Asian solidarity and world peace. It makes the people especially happy that His Excellency the President arrives in Peking on such a meaningful day.

China and Pakistan are close neighbours. For almost 2,000 years the people of our two countries have lived in harmony. After China and Pakistan obtained independence and then liberation, and especially in the recent several years, the friendly cooperation between

Liu Shao-ch'i, as Chairman of the People's Republic of China, delivered this speech at a state banquet in Peking on March 2, 1965, given in honour of President Ayub Khan of Pakistan. The text is translated from *Jen-min Jih-pao* (人民日報, People's Daily), March 3, 1965, p. 3. A partial translation appears in *Hsinhua News Agency Release*, No. 030246 (March 3, 1965), pp. 30-31.

our two countries has steadily developed in all fields as a result of concerted efforts exerted by our Governments and people.

We have increased the economic cooperation, cultural inter-flow and friendly intercourse between our two countries. The inauguration of direct air service between China and Pakistan has shortened the distance between us and strengthened our relations with other Asian and African countries.

Our two countries have given sympathy and support to each other in safeguarding independence and sovereignty. The Pakistan Government and people unequivocally oppose the "two Chinas" scheme and support China's policy of peace. The Chinese Government and people, in turn, firmly support Pakistan in her just struggle to uphold national dignity and oppose foreign pressure.

Our two countries have carried out unusually effective cooperation in international affairs. We have both observed the Ten Principles of the Bandung Conference. We both participated in the preparatory meeting for the Second African-Asian Conference and contributed to its success; and now we are actively making efforts for the successful convening of the Second African-Asian Conference. Both China and Pakistan are big countries. The strengthening of friendly cooperation between us is of great significance to the promotion of Asian-African solidarity and to the defence of world peace.

Friends and comrades! That the friendly relations between China and Pakistan have steadily grown has never been a matter of fortuity. The people of our two countries long suffered under colonialist aggression and oppression; they are now both struggling to oppose colonialism and great-nation chauvinism, to safeguard and consolidate their respective independence and sovereignty, to develop their national economy and culture, and to end the poverty and backwardness left from history. Such common sufferings and common tasks have tied our people closely together. The friendship between China and Pakistan grows out of the sincere desire of our two peoples and is in the fundamental interests of the two peoples and Asian-African solidarity. As far as China is concerned, friendship with Pakistan is a long-term policy; it is by no means a matter of expediency. As far as Pakistan is concerned, His Excellency the President is firmly convinced of the value of Sino-Pakistan friendship and has adopted a series of decisive and wise measures to promote the development of friendly relations between the two countries. For this we wish to pay tribute.

We wish to point out, too, that in our mutual relations, both our countries have based themselves on correct principles and approaches.

We truly respect each other, treat each other with equality and understand and trust each other; neither considers itself superior to the other, seeks benefit at the expense of the other, adopts a truculent attitude towards the other or imposes its views on the other. This is precisely why no force on earth can break the friendship between the two countries, a friendship which can stand the test of time.

As a friend of Pakistan, we are happy to note that under the leadership of President Ayub Khan, Pakistan has in recent years achieved notable successes in her efforts to oppose foreign interference, implement her policy of independence and develop a national economy and culture. We sincerely believe that the industrious and courageous Pakistan people can unquestionably achieve additional and greater successes in the cause of safeguarding national independence and building up their country.

Your Excellency the President, the Chinese people were profoundly moved by the warm welcome and cordial reception extended by your Government and people to Premier Chou En-lai during his visit to your country last year. To further strengthen the friendship between our two countries, Your Excellency the President has now come to visit our country. You have given us an opportunity to exchange views on the relations between our two countries and on international problems of common interest. I am sure that your visit will make new contributions to the common cause of strengthening China-Pakistan friendship, promoting Asian-African solidarity and safeguarding world peace.

Now, I propose a toast

to the prosperity and strength of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and the happiness of her people,

to the friendship between the people of the two countries, and to Asian-African solidarity and world peace.

SPEECH AT A STATE BANQUET HONOURING PRINCE AND MADAME SIHANOUK

September 28, 1965

The visit of His Royal Highness Prince Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, and of Madame Sihanouk to our country and their participation in our celebration of the 16th anniversary of the founding of our state add to the Chinese people's festive joy. His Royal Highness, the outstanding leader of the Kingdom of Cambodia, is a staunch fighter against U.S. imperialism and an architect who laid the foundation-stone for the edifice of China-Cambodia friendly relations. This is his sixth friendly visit to China. Accompanying him are the noble princes and princesses, His Excellency Penn Nouth and other distinguished guests from Cambodia. On behalf of the Chinese Government and people, I would like to extend my warmest welcome to His Royal Highness, to Madame Sihanouk and to the other distinguished guests from Cambodia.

The Cambodian people are a people with high aspirations and national pride, a people who do not fear unjust force and who dare to fight. They have resolutely defended their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and forcefully repulsed aggression, interference and subversion by U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. They have upheld justice in international relations and displayed great courage and determination in their resolute struggle against the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war. The valiant struggle against imperialism being carried on by the Kingdom of Cambodia under the leadership of Prince Sihanouk is of great international significance.

Prince Sihanouk has pointedly stated that U.S. aid is poisonous opium and a means by which the United States interferes in other

Liu Shao-ch'i, as Chairman of the People's Republic of China, delivered this speech at a state banquet honouring Prince and Madame Sihanouk in Peking on the evening of September 28, 1965. The text is taken from *Peking Review*, VIII, No. 40 (October 1, 1965), pp. 15-16.

countries' affairs and controls them. Cambodia has rejected U.S. aid and is firmly following the road of independent development. Contrary to the hopes of U.S. imperialists and some other reactionaries, Cambodia has not, by so doing, become unable to live, but is getting on even better. Her economic construction has not shrunk, but is growing more rapidly. *She has thus set a good example for all new emerging independent countries.* Prolonged colonial rule reduced us Asian-African countries to poverty and backwardness. But *so long as we keep our economic lifelines in our own hands and work hard in a spirit of self-reliance, we can surely shake off imperialist control and build up our countries step by step.* Once imperialist exploitation and plunder of us Asian-African countries is brought to an end, it will be the imperialists and not we who will be unable to survive.

Prince Sihanouk has profoundly exposed the nature of U.S. imperialism by pointing out that it is "the unique and incontestable heir of Nazism." Cambodia has not only resolutely severed diplomatic relations with the United States and waged a tit-for-tat struggle against it, but is "determined to participate to the end in the struggle of the peoples of the world against U.S. imperialism." At present, *the Viet Nam question is the focus of the international struggle against U.S. imperialism. On this question, Cambodia has always given unequivocal support to the Vietnamese people.* On his way to China for the present visit, Prince Sihanouk said in an interview in Rangoon that "it is the United States which commits aggression in south Viet Nam. The United States must withdraw its troops from south Viet Nam and respect the 1954 Geneva agreements on Viet Nam." Referring to what the United States calls unconditional discussions, he said, "When bandits break into your house and rob you, you should certainly drive them out and how can you negotiate with them?" The Chinese Government and people highly admire and fully endorse this just stand of His Royal Highness. By their great struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, the Vietnamese people are supporting the revolutionary struggle of all other peoples and defending peace in Asia and the world. Therefore, the stand taken by His Royal Highness in firmly supporting the Vietnamese people is also the only stand which can be taken by all countries and peoples who uphold justice and love peace.

On the international scene, there are now some people who neither dare to oppose U.S. imperialism themselves, nor allow others to do so. *The modern revisionists are this sort of people.* They are scared to death by U.S. imperialism. They do not hesitate to sacrifice the interests of the peoples of the world in order to seek a compromise

with U.S. imperialism. While professing support for the Vietnamese people, they are actually giving covert support to the peace talks scheme of the United States and are trying to induce the Vietnamese people to capitulate. Being so obsequious to the U.S. imperialists, they yet have the cheek to style themselves anti-imperialists and want to squeeze their way into our Asian-African anti-imperialist ranks. *The peoples of the world understand from their experience in defeating the German, Italian and Japanese fascists that such a policy of appeasement as adopted by the modern revisionists, far from checking U.S. imperialist aggression and defending world peace, will only inflate the aggressive arrogance of U.S. imperialism and increase the danger of war.*

Prince Sihanouk has always held that all nations, big or small, should be equal in international affairs, and he opposes big-power domination. In these years, big-power domination has found its fullest expression in the United Nations. The United Nations is not only a U.S.-controlled tool for extending the rule of colonialism, both old and new, but has increasingly become a stock exchange where a few big powers redivide their spheres of influence. Cambodia has repeatedly exposed and condemned the United Nations and demanded its thorough reorganization. Recently, Cambodia withdrew from the U.N. special committee of decolonization. This is another just and courageous action following Indonesia's withdrawal from the United Nations. It is a resounding slap in the face of the apologists for neo-colonialism as well as a protest of non-co-operation against the U.S. control of the United Nations. The modern revisionists have energetically advocated the elimination of colonialism through the instrumentality of the United Nations. They try to make people believe that the imperialists will "bestow" independence and freedom on the oppressed nations. But the innumerable facts have demonstrated that the oppressed nations can only win independence and liberation through their own struggles and that they must not pin their hopes on the United Nations. As everybody knows, the United Nations has completely betrayed its own charter and it is in a mess. Recently, on the Kashmir issue it disregarded the explicit stipulation in the charter about national self-determination and discarded its past resolutions providing for a "plebiscite." This is another entry in the shameful record of the United Nations. Under the manipulation of the United States, the United Nations has stopped at no evil. *It must correct its mistakes and undergo thorough reorganization.* Otherwise, it cannot escape the fate of complete disintegration.

In the struggle against the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war, the peoples of China and Cambodia have been close comrades-in-arms and have always rendered each other sympathy and support. In order to safeguard their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, the Cambodian people have waged an uncompromising struggle against U.S. imperialism and have frustrated its schemes of aggression and war in Indo-China and Southeast Asia. This is a powerful and great support to the Chinese people who are engaged in socialist construction. The Cambodian people regard the Chinese people as their best friends. We will never be unworthy of the friendship and trust of the Cambodian people. *I would like to take this opportunity to reiterate that, should U.S. imperialism dare to spread the flames of its war of aggression to the peace-loving Kingdom of Cambodia, we will give our fraternal Cambodian people all-out support and assistance. Both the friends and the enemies of the Chinese people know that our words always count.*

LETTER TO PRESIDENT HO CHI MINH

January 30, 1966

Peking, January 30, 1966

Comrade Ho Chi Minh,
President of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Hanoi.

Respected and Dear Comrade President,

I have received your letter of January 24 in which you strongly condemn the barbarous war of aggression waged by U.S. imperialism in Vietnam, thoroughly expose the peace plot of the Johnson Administration, reiterate the four-point stand of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam for a settlement of the Vietnam question and express the Vietnamese people's determination to fight resolutely to the finish and never to submit to the U.S. imperialists' threats. The Chinese Government and people firmly support the just stand of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam set forth in your letter.

U.S. imperialist aggression is the root cause of the present grave situation in Vietnam. It is clear to all that, according to the 1954 Geneva agreements, the Vietnam question should have already been settled. But the United States has thoroughly trampled underfoot the Geneva agreements under which it has assumed obligations. It has fostered its puppet regimes in southern Vietnam, obstructed the peaceful reunification of Vietnam, slaughtered or imprisoned hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese patriots and launched an inhuman "special war" against the south Vietnamese people. As it failed to win the "special war," it has sent over huge forces for direct aggression in southern Vietnam and employed its air force units to bomb the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Obviously,

The text is taken from *Peking Review*, IX, No. 6 (February 4, 1966), pp. 5-6.

the aim of the United States is to turn southern Vietnam into its colony and military base and perpetuate the partition of Vietnam.

Recently, while escalating and intensifying its aggression against southern Vietnam, U.S. imperialism has suddenly assumed a posture of loving peace, "temporarily" stopped its bombing of northern Vietnam, put forward its 14 points for the "peaceful settlement" of the Vietnam question and sent a large number of officials to advertise everywhere the U.S. "sincere desire for peace." However, empty talk about peace can in no way conceal the facts of aggression. The Johnson Administration has on many occasions proclaimed that the United States will never abandon its policy of aggression against Vietnam, and that it "will stay" in southern Vietnam. It is clear that so long as the United States does not give up its aim of seizing southern Vietnam for itself, it will only be playing tricks to hoodwink people and using different means to achieve this aim, no matter how many points it may put forward and what stuff it may put into its "basket of peace."

If the Vietnam question is to be settled, the United States must truly abide by the Geneva agreements. The four-point stand for a settlement of the Vietnam question set forth by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam is a concentrated expression of the essence of the Geneva agreements. If the U.S. Government really has any sincere desire for a peaceful settlement of the Vietnam question, it should act in accordance with this four-point stand, stop its aggression against the whole of Vietnam, withdraw all its own forces and those of its vassal countries from southern Vietnam, recognize the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation as the only genuine representative of the south Vietnamese people and let the Vietnamese people settle their own problems by themselves. But so far there has been no indication that the United States is ready to do so. On the contrary, it is continuing to send aggressive reinforcements to southern Vietnam, pursuing there the still more barbarous "scorched earth" policy of "burn all, destroy all, kill all," and extending the flames of its war of aggression against Vietnam to Laos and Cambodia step by step. This shows that the United States does not really want a peaceful settlement of the Vietnam question but is using these "peace offensives" to cover up its designs of intensified expansion of its war of aggression.

Respected and Dear Comrade President! The great struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. aggression and for national salvation is perfectly just. Your heroic deeds have inspired all revolutionary peoples, and your struggle has won the extensive sympathy

and support of the peace-loving countries and people of the whole world. It is certainly not the Vietnamese people fighting for independence and freedom, but the U.S. imperialists persisting in policies of aggression and war, who are really isolated. The facts will prove that the farther U.S. imperialism goes along its path of war expansion, the nearer it will approach the day of its thorough defeat. China and Vietnam are neighbours closely related like the lips and the teeth; our two peoples are brothers sharing weal and woe. The Chinese people always unswervingly stand together with the Vietnamese people and wholeheartedly support and assist them in their just struggle. To whatever extent U.S. imperialism may expand its war and whatever may be the price we have to pay, we 650 million Chinese people will stand by the fraternal Vietnamese people in a joint struggle to thoroughly defeat the U.S. aggressors.

Please accept the assurances of my highest consideration.

(Signed) Liu Shao-ch'i

Chairman of the People's Republic of China

SPEECH AT A STATE BANQUET HONOURING PRESIDENT KWAME NKRUMAH

February 24, 1966

His Excellency Respected President Kwame Nkrumah,
Respected Distinguished Ghanaian Guests,
Friends and Comrades:

His Excellency President Nkrumah has come to visit us on his way to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. On behalf of the Chinese Government and people, I extend a cordial welcome to His Excellency the President and to the distinguished Ghanaian guests in his entourage.

This is President Nkrumah's second visit to China in five years. Premier Chou En-lai also visited Ghana two years ago. The exchange visits between the leaders of China and Ghana is indicative of the steady development of the relations of friendship and cooperation between the two countries. We are very glad to have another opportunity of exchanging our views with His Excellency the President on questions of common interest. This will help increase our mutual understanding and enhance the friendship between our two countries.

The Chinese people are glad to note that the fraternal Ghanaian people are making steady progress along the road of independent development. The Republic of Ghana has adhered to a foreign policy of peace and neutrality, supported the peoples of various African countries in their struggle for independence and freedom and made active contributions to the strengthening of Afro-Asian solidari-

Liu Shao-ch'i, as Chairman of the People's Republic of China, delivered this speech on February 24, 1966, at a state banquet in the Great Hall of the People, Peking, which he and Premier Chou En-lai gave in honour of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, President of Ghana. The text is translated from *Jen-min Jih-pao* (人民日報, People's Daily), February 25, 1966, p. 2. Partial translations appear in *Hsinhua News Agency Release*, No. 022423 (February 25, 1966), pp. 9-10 and *Hsinhua News Agency Release*, No. 022427 (February 25, 1966), pp. 11-12.

ty and safeguarding of world peace. We sincerely wish the Republic of Ghana still greater successes in all fields.

Although most of the African countries have won independence, the revolutionary struggle of the African peoples against imperialism has by no means been completed. They must further intensify such struggle. The imperialists, headed by the United States, are more active than ever in pressing ahead with their policies of neo-colonialism in an attempt to subvert independent African countries and suppress the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle of the African peoples. In his new book, *Neo-Colonialism: the Last Stage of Imperialism*, President Nkrumah expounded at length on neo-colonialism and explicitly pointed out that the United States is the "principal neo-colonialist" and "the general headquarters of neo-colonialism." However hard the imperialists may whip up reactionary adverse currents, the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggles of the African peoples can never be suppressed but are bound to win final victory. The Chinese people have unswervingly stood on the side of the African peoples and resolutely support their just struggles.

President Nkrumah will soon go to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam on a friendly visit. We believe that through this visit His Excellency the President will further understand the true nature of the Vietnam question and the firm stand taken by the Vietnamese people against United States aggression.

In order to seize South Vietnam and divide Vietnam, U.S. imperialism has torn the Geneva Agreements to shreds and launched an unprecedentedly brutal war of aggression in South Vietnam. Faced with the threat to their national existence, the Vietnamese people have no choice but to rise in resistance. The great Vietnamese people is a people of high political consciousness with a glorious tradition of anti-imperialist struggles. They will certainly triumph in their just struggle. However many reinforcements the United States may send over and whatever new weapons it may use, they can in no way save it from its foredoomed defeat.

In order to salvage itself from its failures, U.S. imperialism, while expanding the war, is now making various "peace" gestures, and prating about its "sincere desire for peace." But the whole world can see that, while clamouring for a "peaceful settlement," U.S. imperialism is in fact expanding the war. The recent Honolulu Conference has further revealed the intention of the United States to maintain the darkest and the most reactionary rule of its puppets, which has been imposed upon the South Vietnamese people, and to carry on its sanguinary and murderous war of aggression against the

Vietnamese people. The U.S. imperialism has in no way given up its aggressive aim. How can there be any talk about its sincere desire for peace?

Obviously, in these circumstances, any initiative for peace talks, whatever the subjective wish, is objectively bound to help the United States achieve its aim of prolonging its occupation of South Vietnam and perpetuating the division of Vietnam. In his speech at the opening session of the Fourth Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Conference in May, 1965, President Nkrumah said that the Vietnam question "can only be resolved by the Vietnamese people themselves" and that "for any appeal for negotiations to merit consideration, it must be preceded by the withdrawal of foreign military presence." These words are wholly correct. They represent a forceful reply to the various "peace talks" manoeuvres now being engineered by the United States.

The Vietnamese people long ago pointed out the only solution to the Vietnam question, namely, that the United States must accept the four points of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the five-part statement of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, it must stop its aggression against the whole of Vietnam, withdraw all its forces as well as those of its vassals from southern Vietnam, it must recognize the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation as the sole genuine representative of the South Vietnamese people and let the Vietnamese people settle their own problems. If, instead of doing all this, the United States persists in its reckless course, the Vietnamese people are determined, as they have long since declared, to fight on till the thorough defeat of the U.S. aggressors. In his recent letters to the heads of various countries, President Ho Chi Minh said in clear-cut terms: "the Vietnamese people will never submit to the U.S. imperialist threats. . . . So long as the U.S. army of aggression still remains on our soil, our people will resolutely fight against it."

All of us Afro-Asian countries were long subjected to imperialist and colonialist oppression and aggression. We are deeply affected by the lot of the Vietnamese people as if it were our own. The heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people is a powerful support to the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggles of the people of Asia, Africa and the whole world. All Afro-Asian countries have the duty to support and help the Vietnamese people, and must not take a middle position between the aggressor and the victim of aggression. Together with the other Afro-Asian peoples, the Chinese people are determined to carry the struggle through to the end in supporting and aiding

the Vietnamese people's fight against U.S. aggression and for national salvation and stopping the U.S. imperialist aggression.

Now, I propose a toast
to the friendship between the Chinese and Ghanaian peoples,
to Afro-Asian solidarity and world peace,
to the health of His Excellency President Kwame Nkrumah
and other distinguished Ghanaian guests,
to the health of foreign ambassadors and their wives, and
to the health of friends and comrades present.

SPEECH AT A STATE BANQUET IN PAKISTAN

March 26, 1966

Your Excellency Respected President Mohammad Ayub Khan,
Dear Friends,

This is my first visit to your country. Upon our arrival in Rawalpindi, we were accorded a rousing welcome by you and by thousands upon thousands of people. And this evening His Excellency the President is holding this grand banquet for us. We are overwhelmed by your magnificent reception and enthusiastic welcome. I would like to take this opportunity to express hearty thanks to His Excellency the President and to convey the cordial greetings and high respects of the Chinese people to the fraternal Pakistan people.

We are very glad to see that in recent years the friendly relations between our two countries have made great progress. We have smoothly settled the boundary question left over by history and steadily strengthened our friendly co-operation in all fields. We have given each other sympathy and support in the struggle against imperialism and expansionism and in defence of national independence and world peace. Last year, when Pakistan was subject to India's armed attacks, its Government, people and army put up a heroic resistance and dealt a heavy blow at the aggressors. The Chinese Government and people firmly supported Pakistan in its righteous fight against aggression. Recently when the imperialists and their collaborators were vilifying China without scruple and attempting to form a ring of encirclement against China, the Pakistan Government sternly refuted the nonsense about China's threat to the subcontinent thus expressing the firm will of the Pakistan people to maintain friendship with the Chinese people. Facts show that despite the different

Liu Shao-ch'i, as Chairman of the People's Republic of China, delivered this speech on the evening of March 26, 1966, at a state banquet given in his honour by President Ayub Khan. The text is taken from *Peking Review*, IX, No. 14 (April 1, 1966), pp. 5-6.

political and social systems of our two countries, it is entirely possible for us to develop our friendly relations on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. These relations are in the fundamental interests of our two peoples. We firmly oppose aggressors. We support all peoples who fight against aggression. We are determined to support and assist their struggle to the best of our capability. The Pakistan people can rest assured that, when Pakistan resolutely fights against foreign aggression in defence of its national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, the 650 million Chinese people will stand unswervingly on their side and give them resolute support and assistance.

We have always held that the Kashmir dispute should be settled in accordance with the wishes of the Kashmir people. Any attempt to deprive the Kashmir people of their right of self-determination or to bury the Kashmir question will neither be countenanced by the Kashmir people nor by the Pakistan people. President Ayub Khan has of late repeatedly stated that the Pakistan Government will not change its position on the Kashmir question and will continue to support the Kashmir people in their struggle for freedom. The Chinese Government and people firmly support the righteous stand of the Pakistan Government and the just struggle of the Kashmir people for their right of self-determination.

The present international situation presents a very complicated picture. Imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism are engaged in sabotage and trouble-making everywhere. They have incessantly carried on subversive activities and engineered reactionary coups d'état in Afro-Asian countries. They thought that by following this reckless course they could frustrate the Afro-Asian peoples in their united revolutionary struggles against imperialism. However, what they have been doing are acts of desperation, which show their weakness. A most eloquent case in point is the U.S. aggression against Vietnam. In this war of aggression and resistance to aggression, the truly powerful are the Vietnamese people who adhere to their just stand, and not the U.S. aggressors who only look strong. It is a foregone conclusion that U.S. imperialism is bound to fail and Vietnam is bound to win. The struggle against imperialism and colonialism constitutes the main stream in contemporary world politics. No matter how complicated the situation may be, the main stream and its direction are clear. The wheel of history will only move forward and cannot be turned back. The frantic counter-attacks by imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism will inevitably meet with speedier, more disastrous defeats in the face of the awakened and united Afro-Asian peoples.

We are convinced that the Afro-Asian peoples will surely win final victory in their struggles in defence of national independence against aggression.

Your Excellency Respected President! As a friendly neighbour, we are glad to see that Pakistan, under your leadership, has pursued an independent policy and enabled constant progress in the friendly relations between our two countries. Last spring, we had the pleasure of receiving Your Excellency when you paid a visit to China. I hope that our present visit, like your visit to China, will contribute to the further strengthening of the friendly relations between our two countries.

I propose a toast
to the prosperity of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and the well-being of its people,
to the friendship between the Chinese and Pakistan peoples,
to Afro-Asian solidarity and world peace,
to the health of His Excellency President Mohammad Ayub Khan and Madame Ayub, and
to the health of all our friends present here!

SPEECH AT A STATE BANQUET IN AFGHANISTAN

April 4, 1966

Your Majesties King Mohammed Zahir Shah and the Queen,
Dear Friends,

I am very glad to have the opportunity of visiting our friendly neighbour Afghanistan. Upon our arrival we have been accorded a magnificent and cordial welcome. This is not only an honour to us individually, but an expression of the profound friendship of the Afghan people for the Chinese people. On behalf of the Chinese Government and people, I extend sincere thanks and respects to Their Majesties the King and the Queen and the Afghan Government and people.

Although this is the first time I visit your country, I have not come to a strange land. The Chinese people are well acquainted with your country and people. Yours is a country with a long history, which has always maintained independence. Yours is an industrious and courageous people with a glorious tradition of fighting imperialism. Friendly intercourse between the peoples of China and Afghanistan dates as far back as 2,000 years. And the past decade and more has witnessed new development of this friendship.

Both our countries were subjected to imperialist aggression, and are firmly opposed to the exploitation and oppression of nation by nation and to inequality between nations. Therefore, since the establishment of diplomatic relations between our two countries, our relationship has always been friendly, equal and based on mutual benefit. There is no conflict of interests between our two countries. We have done nothing to harm you, nor have you done anything

Liu Shao-ch'i, as Chairman of the People's Republic of China, delivered this speech on the evening of April 4, 1966, at a state banquet given in his honour by King Mohammed Zahir Shah. The text is taken from *Peking Review*, IX, No. 15 (April 8, 1966), pp. 3-4.

to harm us. This mutual respect and the development of friendly relations between our two countries are in the interests of both our peoples.

China has always stood for the development of relations with other countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. In particular, we stress equality of all nations, big or small, and are resolutely opposed to big-power chauvinism. We are opposed to big power discriminating against, despising, bullying or oppressing small countries. World problems can only be decided by all nations jointly, and monopoly by a few big powers is absolutely impermissible. China will not permit other nations to take a big-power chauvinist attitude towards her, nor does she allow herself to take the same attitude towards others. Chairman Mao Tse-tung has said, "In international dealings, the Chinese people must eradicate big-power chauvinism resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely." We have been endeavouring to do so for the past decade and more. In our opinion, genuine friendly relations can be established only between countries which really treat each other as equals, and only such friendly relations can stand all tests.

The Chinese people have always been concerned for and supported the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggles of other Afro-Asian peoples. We hold that the threat to the independence of any country means a threat to all the Afro-Asian countries; victory in the people's struggle of any country constitutes a support to all the Afro-Asian peoples. At present, the Vietnamese people are faced with the frenzied armed aggression by the United States and are resisting heroically. Imperialist subversion and sabotage have brought temporary setbacks to the cause of independence and progress of some Afro-Asian countries. The people of the countries concerned are fighting dauntlessly to defend their national independence won through protracted struggles. The Afro-Asian people's struggle to win and safeguard independence cannot possibly be all plain-sailing. But they will be tempered through repeated and tortuous struggles, and become still more determined and united. There is no doubt that the Afro-Asian people's cause of solidarity against imperialism will eventually triumph.

The visit to China made by Their Majesties the King and the Queen over a year ago has strengthened the friendly relations and co-operation between our two countries and promoted the friendship between our two peoples. I hope that our present visit will make a similar contribution.

I propose a toast
to the prosperity of Afghanistan and the well-being of its people,
to the friendship between the Chinese and Afghan peoples,
to Afro-Asian solidarity and world peace,
to the health of Their Majesties King Mohammed Zahir Shah and
the Queen, and
to the health of all our friends present here!

SPEECH AT A STATE BANQUET IN BURMA

April 17, 1966

Your Excellency Chairman Ne Win and Madame Ne Win,
Esteemed Friends,

Three years ago I had the honour of visiting your country. We are very glad that at the invitation of Chairman Ne Win we now have another opportunity of visiting our Burmese *paukphaws* when they are celebrating their New Year. On behalf of the Chinese Government and people and in my own name, I would like to express hearty thanks and New Year greetings to Chairman Ne Win, the Burmese Government and people.

China and Burma have always been friendly to each other. In the past decade and more, Sino-Burmese friendship has been developing no matter what changes have taken place in Asia and the world. Both our countries have faithfully observed the Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Non-Aggression. The boundary between our two countries is not only a boundary of peace, but has become a bond of friendship between the two countries. Our friendly interchanges have been very frequent, and our co-operation very extensive in various fields.

It is by no means accidental that our two countries can live together in amity and work in friendly co-operation with each other in this way. The most important reason is that both sides have earnestly implemented the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence jointly initiated by the Governments of the two countries. We have truly shown mutual respect and treated each other as equals. We have always treasured the friendship between our two peoples, and have settled the problems between our two countries in an amicable

Liu Shao-ch'i, as Chairman of the People's Republic of China, delivered this speech on the evening of April 17, 1966, at a state banquet given in his honour by Chairman Ne Win. The text is taken from *Peking Review*, IX, No. 17 (April 22, 1966), pp. 6-7.

way. Our friendly relations are based on principles, and broad prospects lie ahead for their development.

We are glad to see that in recent years you have waged unrelenting struggles against imperialist subversion and interference and for the defence of national independence and sovereignty and that you have made a good deal of effort for developing your national economy and culture. We heartily rejoice in every success you achieve.

It is the common tasks of both our countries and the other Afro-Asian countries to safeguard national independence and carry out national construction. Without genuine economic independence, political independence is incomplete and not consolidated. If anti-imperialist struggles are not carried through to the end, there will be no guarantee for the national independence of Afro-Asian countries, and the fruits of their economic construction cannot be preserved either. The facts over many years in the past, particularly the imperialists' recent subversive and disruptive activities in Asia and Africa, have made us understand all the more clearly that this is the truth. The Afro-Asian countries' road of independent development is by no means smooth. We Afro-Asian countries must heighten our vigilance, unite still more closely and persevere in struggle. It is absolutely impossible for the colonialists to restore their past colonial rule in Asia and Africa no matter what means they may adopt. There is no doubt that the Afro-Asian peoples will win final victory.

Both our countries are close neighbours of Vietnam. It is only natural that we are much concerned about the development of the situation in Vietnam and hope for an early restoration of peace there.

Fighting against imperialist aggression, the Vietnamese people have been engaged in wars for more than 20 years. It goes without saying that they desire peace. However, as President Ho Chi Minh has said, "Real peace can by no means be dissociated from genuine independence." The 4-point stand of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the 5-part statement of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation are the basis for guaranteeing the independence of Vietnam and realizing peace and reunification in Vietnam. Among others, the two most essential points are: the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. military forces in Vietnam and the recognition of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation as the sole legal representative of the people in southern Vietnam. But the United States has rejected them and continued to expand its war of aggression against Vietnam. In these circumstances, the Vietnamese people have no alternative but to fight resolutely through to the very end. The struggle of the Vietnamese people is just and

is bound to triumph in the end. The Chinese people firmly support the heroic people of Vietnam.

Esteemed friends! There has been a frequent exchange of visits between the leaders of our two countries. Each of these visits has promoted our mutual understanding and strengthened the friendly relations between our two countries. I hope that, like the visit to China made by His Excellency Chairman Ne Win last year, our present visit will make contributions in this regard.

Now, I propose a toast
to the prosperity of the Union of Burma and the well-being of
its people,
to the friendship between the Chinese and Burmese peoples,
to Afro-Asian solidarity and world peace,
to the health of His Excellency Chairman Ne Win and Madame
Ne Win, and
to the health of all our friends present here!

SPEECH AT A STATE BANQUET HONOURING THE ALBANIAN PARTY AND GOVERNMENT DELEGATION

April 28, 1966

Dear Comrade Mehmet Shehu,
Dear Comrade Hysni Kapo,
Dear Comrades of the Albanian Party and Government Delegation,
Comrades and Friends,

On the eve of May 1st, International Labour Day, we feel very happy and elated to be able to hold this banquet in honour of the Albanian Party and Government Delegation headed by Comrade Mehmet Shehu. Comrades Shehu and Kapo are close comrades-in-arms of Comrade Hoxha and are well known to the Chinese people. Travelling thousands of miles for a special visit to China, they have brought us the revolutionary friendship of proletarian internationalism from the Albanian Communists and people. This constitutes a tremendous encouragement and support to us. Please allow me, on behalf of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Government and people, to express heartfelt gratitude and a warm welcome to you and send, through you, our cordial greetings and high tribute to the Albanian Party of Labour, the Government of the People's Republic of Albania and the Albanian people.

Despite encirclement by imperialism and modern revisionism, the heroic Albanian people have, through persistent struggle and diligent labour, smashed all enemy schemes, surmounted one dif-

Liu Shao-ch'i as a comrade and Chairman of the People's Republic of China, made this speech at a state banquet in the Great Hall of the People on the evening of April 28, 1966, to welcome the Albanian Party and Government Delegation headed by Mehmet Shehu, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of People's Republic of Albania. The text is taken from *Peking Review*, IX, No. 19 (May 6, 1966), pp. 8-10.

ficulty after another and won tremendous successes in their socialist revolution and socialist construction. Albania has already turned from a poor and backward country into a socialist country with modern industry and collective agriculture. The Albanian Party of Labour and the Albanian Government recently adopted a series of important measures on the political, economic, military and other fronts and launched a nationwide mass campaign for revolutionization.

All this has fully testified to the Albanian people's revolutionary spirit of hard work and self-reliance in building socialism and their strong will to carry through the socialist revolution resolutely to the end. The campaign for revolutionization in Albania is one more graphic example of the creative integration by the Albanian Party of Labour of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of Albania. We are convinced that it will carry Albania's socialist revolution and socialist construction to a new high.

Holding high the banner of opposing U.S. imperialism, the Albanian Party of Labour and the Albanian Government and people firmly oppose the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war and firmly support the struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, the national-democratic movements of the people in Asia, Africa and Latin America and the revolutionary struggles of the people of the whole world. The international prestige of the People's Republic of Albania is rising ever higher and its influence far exceeds its boundaries. Socialist Albania has become an important and staunch force defending world peace and promoting human progress.

Holding high the glorious banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the Albanian Party of Labour and the Albanian Government and people consistently stand in the forefront of the struggle against modern revisionism headed by the new leadership of the C.P.S.U. The Albanian comrades fear neither isolation nor risks, but firmly draw a clear line of demarcation between themselves and the modern revisionists politically, ideologically and organizationally. Neither the tough nor the soft tactics of the modern revisionists can in the least shake their firm stand in defence of Marxism-Leninism against modern revisionism. However painstakingly the modern revisionists disguise themselves, giving the appearance of favouring "revolution," "anti-imperialism" and "unity," the Albanian comrades have always sharply exposed their ugly features and reactionary essence. By its firm struggle against modern revisionism, the Albanian Party of Labour has made great contributions in defend-

ing the purity of Marxism-Leninism and safeguarding and strengthening the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement, and has thus greatly inspired Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people all over the world.

Albania's great successes and achievements in all fields are due to correct leadership by the Albanian Party of Labour headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, the wise leader of the Albanian people. The facts of the last 20 years and more have demonstrated that the Albanian people are a great people who uphold principle and fear neither brute force nor difficulties. The People's Republic of Albania is a revolutionary country which steadfastly follows the road of socialism. The Albanian Party of Labour is a correct Party which holds high the banner of Marxism-Leninism. We feel honoured and proud to have such a people, such a country and such a Party as our close comrades-in-arms.

Comrades and friends! The revolutionary people of the world with the Marxist-Leninist forces as their nucleus are waging a repeated, intense battle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. The focus of this great battle is the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. The heroic Vietnamese people have given full play to the enormous power of people's war and won brilliant victories. By their struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, the Vietnamese people have brought about a most favourable revolutionary situation in Vietnam, beaten U.S. imperialism black and blue and once again exposed its nature as a "paper tiger," outwardly strong but inwardly weak, thus giving a great impetus to the revolutionary struggle of the people of the world against U.S. imperialism.

In order to save itself from complete defeat in Vietnam, U.S. imperialism is actively resorting to the counter-revolutionary dual tactics, using the blackmail of war expansion to promote its "peace talks" plot and the smokescreen of "peace talks" to cover up its crimes of war expansion. U.S. imperialism is steadily escalating the war and is even trying to spread it to the whole of Indo-China and to China. But this will only bring more disastrous defeats to U.S. imperialism and hasten its doom. Together with the Albanian people and other revolutionary peoples of the world, the Chinese people will, in all circumstances, give all-out support and assistance to the fraternal Vietnamese people in resolutely fighting on until U.S. imperialism is completely driven out of Vietnam and thorough victory is won.

On the Vietnam question, the stand taken by the Soviet modern revisionists is diametrically opposed to the principled stand of the Marxist-Leninists. Putting up the signboard of "aid Vietnam against U.S. aggression," the Soviet modern revisionists are actually peddling the "peace talks" fraud of U.S. imperialism in co-ordination with its counter-revolutionary dual tactics and attempting to stamp out the revolutionary flames of the Vietnamese people and sacrifice their fundamental interests. They are also pushing ahead with their appeasement policy in Europe in an attempt to freeze the status quo of U.S. imperialist control there and helping U.S. imperialism shift the centre of gravity of its global strategy to the East, so that it can concentrate its strength against the peoples of Vietnam of Indo-China as a whole and of China.

In the circumstances in which U.S. imperialism is committing rabid aggression against Vietnam, Marxist-Leninists and all revolutionary people of the world are duty bound to render firm support and assistance to the Vietnamese people in carrying on their struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation till final victory and must not take any "united action" with the modern revisionists on the Vietnam question and help them deceive the people and sell out the Vietnamese people's revolutionary cause.

The Soviet modern revisionists have gone farther and farther along the path of capitulation to imperialism. They have already degenerated into renegades from Marxism-Leninism and accomplices of U.S. imperialism. In order to realize their dream of "world domination through U.S.-Soviet collaboration," they are working hard in collusion with U.S. imperialism to undermine the revolutionary struggles of all peoples and sabotage the unity of the revolutionary ranks. While opposing U.S. imperialism, therefore, Marxist-Leninists and all revolutionary people must oppose Soviet modern revisionism. Only by resolutely opposing Soviet modern revisionism can the struggle against U.S. imperialism be victorious.

Over 90 per cent of the world's population are against imperialism and for revolution. This is the historical tide of our epoch, which neither the imperialists and reactionaries nor the modern revisionists in league with them can ever arrest. Whoever stands against the people is bound to be overthrown by them. Whoever goes against the historical tide is bound to be submerged by it. Imperialism headed by the United States is now beset with difficulties and modern revisionism headed by the new leadership of the C.P.S.U. is having an increasingly hard time. The people's revolution in various countries is growing in depth, and a new and still greater and heavier anti-

U.S. revolutionary storm will soon arise throughout the world. We are convinced that socialism will triumph, that imperialism will perish and that Marxism-Leninism will defeat modern revisionism. No force can possibly change this general law of historical development.

The Chinese and Albanian Parties, our two countries and two peoples have always supported, helped and learnt from each other in the cause of socialist revolution and socialist construction and in the struggle against imperialism, reaction and modern revisionism and have forged a great friendship and a militant unity. This friendship and this unity are based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and are long-tested and unbreakable.

In our common cause and common struggle, the Chinese people have always received sincere and strong support from the Albanian people. On behalf of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Government and people, I express heartfelt gratitude to the Albanian Party of Labour, the Government of the People's Republic of Albania and the Albanian people.

In recent years, the fraternal all-round co-operation between our two Parties, two countries and two peoples has witnessed rapid development. We are convinced that our two peoples will for ever be united and fight together, whatever changes may take place in the world and whatever storms may arise on the way ahead. Let us hold still higher the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and the banner of opposing U.S. imperialism and Soviet modern revisionism, unite still more closely with the people of all socialist countries and the whole world and exert our efforts and advance shoulder to shoulder for new, great victories in the cause of world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and socialism.

Now, I propose a toast

to the great friendship and militant unity between the Chinese and Albanian Parties, our two countries and two peoples,

to new and greater victories for the Albanian people in their socialist revolution and socialist construction,

to the glorious Albanian Party of Labour,

to ever-victorious Marxism-Leninism,

to the great unity of the peoples of the socialist camp and the whole world,

to world peace,

to the health of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the beloved leader of the Albanian people and close friend of the Chinese people,

to the health of Comrades Mehmet Shehu and Hysni Kapo, outstanding leaders of the Albanian Party and state, and the other

comrades of the Albanian Party and Government Delegation,
to the health of the diplomatic envoys and their wives, and
to the health of all our comrades and friends present here!

STATEMENT IN SUPPORT OF PRESIDENT HO CHI MINH'S APPEAL

July 22, 1966

In the name of the 700 million Chinese people, I solemnly declare to the whole world that the Chinese people and Government most resolutely and most warmly support the Appeal to the People of the Whole Country issued on July 17 by Ho Chi Minh of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

In this sublime and heroic document, President Ho Chi Minh once again proclaimed the determination of the Vietnamese people to resolutely carry on a protracted war of resistance. To fight on, to fight through to the end, to fight until the U.S. aggressors are totally and completely driven out of Vietnam and final victory is won — this is the powerful answer of the Vietnamese people to the U.S. imperialist act of escalating its war of aggression to a new and still graver stage.

President Ho Chi Minh has exposed the U.S. "peace talks" swindle, declaring that the United States must stop its war of aggression against Vietnam and withdraw all the U.S. and satellite troops from Vietnam, whereupon peace will return at once. This is a telling blow at the U.S. imperialist scheme of "forcing peace talks through bombing." It is likewise a telling blow at those monsters who are collaborating with U.S. imperialism to engineer a "peace talks" swindle.

President Ho Chi Minh's Appeal is a call to fight, a call of unity and a call of victory. Whether from the south or the north, both man and woman, young and old, the 31 million people of the whole

Liu Shao-ch'i, as Chairman of the People's Republic of China, issued this statement at a mass rally held by "people of all walks of life" in Peking on the morning of July 22, 1966, "in support of the Vietnamese People's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation." The text is taken from *Peking Review*, IX, No. 31 (July 29, 1966), pp. 9-10.

of Vietnam are mobilizing themselves on a broad scale and will definitely deal U.S. imperialism still heavier blows. All actions which the Vietnamese people have taken and will take in the fight are within their sacred rights. All the anti-imperialist, revolutionary countries and peoples of the world stand on the side of the Vietnamese people. All the actions they are taking to support and aid the Vietnamese people are entirely just.

China is a socialist country armed with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought. Proletarian internationalism is the supreme principle guiding our country's foreign policy. We consistently condemn national chauvinism and national egoism which betray the interests of the revolutionary people of the world. It is the international obligation of the people of our country to support all the oppressed nations and peoples of the world in their just struggles against imperialism and its lackeys. All the more so is it the unshirkable and bounden duty of the Chinese people to support the fraternal Vietnamese people against U.S. imperialist aggression.

We must warn the U.S. aggressors in all seriousness: Do not miscalculate and do not misjudge your opponents. In order to support the Vietnamese people in winning thorough victory in the war of resistance against U.S. aggression, the Chinese people are ready to undertake the greatest national sacrifices.

Since you have torn the 1954 Geneva agreements to shreds, the Chinese Government and people have naturally ceased to be bound by the Geneva agreements in supporting the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation.

Since you have completely broken the line of demarcation between southern and northern Vietnam by your war of aggression, the Chinese Government and people have naturally still more so ceased to be restricted and bound in any way in rendering support and aid to the Vietnamese people.

If you think you can unscrupulously "escalate" the war of aggression without meeting due punishment, then you will find it too late to repent.

The Chinese Government reaffirms that U.S. imperialist aggression against Vietnam is aggression against China. The 700 million Chinese people provide powerful backing for the Vietnamese people. The vast expanse of China's territory is the reliable rear area of the Vietnamese people. The Chinese people have made up their minds and have made every preparation to take such actions at any time and in any place as the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples deem necessary for dealing joint blows at the U.S. aggressor.

China and Vietnam are fraternal socialist countries as closely related as lips and teeth. The militant friendship and solid unity between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples are the surest guarantee for defeating the U.S. aggressor.

The Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation is just, and a just cause is bound to triumph. The U.S. war of aggression is unjust, and an unjust war is doomed to failure.

Long live the victory of the Vietnamese people's war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation!

TALK AT A DEBATE AT THE PEKING COLLEGE OF CONSTRUCTION ENGINEERING

August 2, 1966

Comrades, fellow students,

I have no knowledge of the situation here; therefore, I have no right to speak. However, I have come to discover your situation. Today's meeting has not been fully prepared for, and some comrades said that it would be a surprise attack to hold the meeting so quickly. If I say something wrong, the mistake is mine. I only informed Comrade Li Hsueh-feng at 12 o'clock last night of my decision to come here this evening. Even then it was not certain until 5:00 p.m. today. The main purpose of this meeting is to listen to your opinions. Today, I see that comrades have at least two categories of different opinions. There are two and possibly three categories of different opinions. Is there still another category? It is good to have different opinions. It seems that the work team has committed mistakes in your school, but it cannot be held entirely responsible for them. Our Party Central Committee and the new Peking Municipal Party Committee also have their responsibilities. The work teams were appointed with the approval of the Party Central Committee; the Municipal Party Committee followed suit in approving. It seems, however, that it would have been better not to appoint the work teams, and that it was not right to do so. What right and wrong things has the work team done in your school? You must know very well. We do not. The Party Central Committee and the new Municipal Party Committee have made their mistakes. Whoever made the mistake must take the responsibility.

I propose that today's meeting conclude at this moment. The

Please refer to the Preface for comments on this talk. The text is taken from *Union Research Service*, LI Nos. 8 & 9 (April 26 & 30, 1968), pp. 99-100

rally is too large; people can't hear clearly. Tomorrow evening when I have time, I'll return and talk to those of you who have different opinions. If there are two categories of different opinions, I'll talk with both sides. If there are three, I'll talk with all three sides. Please make your preparations to see who will participate. We don't want too many people. Too many people can't talk clearly. Which comrades will fully explain your opinions? At what time should this meeting be held? Wouldn't it be best not to call this meeting a debate but rather a discussion? We must discuss the different opinions. If they are wrong, correct them. By upholding the correct ones and changing the wrong ones, you'll be united. If I can help you work towards unity, I will be very glad. Fellow students, you hope we will listen to your different opinions. Whether it be tomorrow or the day after tomorrow, I will be willing to do so three or four times. I'm grateful for your trust in me, but please give me some freedom. Today we have seen each other; if it's not enough, let's see each other next time. Don't surround us. Have you lost your freedom of movement? If you have, it is wrong. I ask those of you who have different opinions to prepare during the day, and I'll return in the evening. But, I wish to reserve the right to come in the evening of the following day if I can't come tomorrow evening.

The great proletarian cultural revolution will be carried out successfully by relying on you revolutionary students, revolutionary teachers and revolutionary staff and workers to unite with all those who can be united with. In the great cultural revolution at a school, the students are the masters. The work team has been disbanded and suspended from its duties. While the work team is not staying at the school, I've heard some of its members are still active. Are they? If so, it is wrong. When you recall them, they must come back. Should they stay or go away? You may ask as many of them to stay as you like. They will do whatever you tell them to do. Let them listen to your criticism. They should not be allowed to talk and express their opinion. None of them can have this right. The work team hasn't done much good work in your school. Now, let them serve you, sweep the floors, serve your meals and wash your rice-bowls, put up big-character posters for you. Let those who can paint characters well write posters for you; don't let those who can't paint write. Do you want the work team to stay in your dormitory? It is glorious to serve you fellow students. Don't feel ashamed to participate in physical labor. It is the bourgeois viewpoint. Previously, the work team did not do enough good work for you, so let them serve you now by doing some good work. Are the comrades

of the work team here? Do you wish to do so? You must participate in physical labor, do whatever you can, and try to gradually learn anything you can't do.

Today's meeting now concludes. Tomorrow, I'll talk to the representatives of fellow students, some ten or twenty from each side on separate occasions. I wish to listen to your opinions. I'll talk to two sides, three sides and four sides if it is necessary. I'll talk to the work team. Today's meeting is now over.

TALK TO THE GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION CORPS

August 3, 1966

I wish to ask you a question: Should a Party general branch or a Party branch maintain contacts with the masses, and with those outside the Party and Youth League?

When you Party members hold a meeting, they may be allowed to participate, and the Party General Branch Committee should hold no secret meetings either. The League General Branch and League Branch and League committee should also allow non-League members to participate in their meetings. In this way, they will have no worries. The great cultural revolution concerns everybody and should be discussed by everyone together.

Your "Revolution Corps" has more Party members, and theirs (August 1 Corps) more League members. Don't create antagonism between Party and League members.

You may consider the re-election of the Party Branch Committee. If you disagree with the re-election, remove them! Officials may be dismissed. At the time of election, some may express their approval and others their disapproval. If different opinions persist, you may find a temporary convener. If you let those whom non-Party members consider not good be committee members, all Party members will lose their prestige. If a committee cannot be elected, a temporary convener may be appointed. Today you convene the meeting, tomorrow he will convene the meeting. In this way, the masses will not have any objection. We must dismiss anybody whom they dislike. They will not have any more objection. First, the Party members and the non-Party members should be united, the League members and the non-League members should be united.

Please refer to the Preface for comments on this talk. The text is taken from *Union Research Service*, LI, Nos. 8 & 9 (April 26 & 30, 1968), pp. 100-105

When the masses are dissatisfied with one or two committee members, all Party members will lose their prestige. The treatment of Party members should be left to the last moment! The question of who may be permitted to join the Party should be finally decided after the movement.

Is it right? Is it good?

Be ready to be dismissed from your office by them. They said that you defended the emperor. What emperor are you defending? How can you be called defending the emperor by defending a Party general branch secretary or a Party branch committee member?

If you don't trust any member of the College Party Committee, just dismiss him, dismiss all of them. Are those dismissed good people? Never mind, elect new ones. Select those whom you trust; select one when you trust one. If you don't dismiss them, the masses will have objection. The Party finds itself in a passive situation. If you do according to what I said, it will be fine.

From now on, only the Municipal Party Committee may give permission to Party members to hold secret meetings. Without its permission, you must not hold such a meeting. (Audience interrupted: "The masses come along, what can we do?") When they come along, it's not good to have too many of them. The number may be doubled: twenty Party members plus twenty of them. They may come by turns, in any case we have no secrets. In this way, we will never find ourselves in a passive situation. They will not have any grievance.

When I came to your college, you knew only that a responsible comrade would come, but did not know who. You didn't know that I would come. You knew only after I came, because you could recognize me. It's no use to argue any more on this problem. Don't have any misunderstanding. There is no problem, and no scheme.

You want to combine the two corps. You had better make the proposal first! We'll agree. You said that Fan Hsing-hui was not a Leftist, but could not be sure that she was a Rightist. Then, you had better unite with each other. She is also an object of your unity

(Li Hsueh-feng said: "She could put up big-character posters against anybody, even against the new Municipal Party Committee. She couldn't talk black into white, and vice versa!")

They put up big-character posters against you, so you may retort or you may refrain from retorting as you claim to have done. Let her be content with her utterance. When she has said enough, she will say no more. Fan Hsing-hui is the object for your unity. You may try to prevent her from putting up posters, but you simply

can't succeed in it. Just because she puts up posters, doesn't mean I have to do the same. You can let her do it. You Party members should be somewhat above her.

You (turning to Li Hsueh-feng) may talk about the problem of the work team.

(Audience interrupted: Wait till people of both sides have come here; the people of their side are not here yet.)

You were not satisfied with what Chiang Wei said. Chiang Wei said things not fully in conformity to facts. You demanded to dismiss him from office. This is a big demand, let's consider his mistake just as big.

Only later, can we determine whether she, Fan Hsing-hui, is a Leftist. The comrades of the Municipal Party Committee described her as a Leftist; they may be wrong. The Leftists may undergo changes during and after the movement. Those who are Leftists in the beginning may be not Leftists at mid-stage. Those who are Leftists at mid-stage may not be Leftists in the last stage. In one movement, some people are Leftists; in another movement, they may not be Leftists. The true proletarian Leftists can steel themselves in big winds and big waves. Some people are not up to the standards of Leftists; what can they do? They have to make efforts to study Chairman Mao's works. On one point, they are not Leftists; but, on another point, they may be Leftist. The comrades of the Municipal Party Committee said this, and you did not agree. It would be senseless to argue it further. You don't like him (Chiang Wei); he just won't come out. You replace him with another right away. (Wu Hsing-feng said: "He has refused to come.")

Anybody can say something wrong; he must correct himself. I have come without making preparations. I haven't brought a draft of a speech, so I may make one or two mistakes. You may criticize me.

You said Fan Hsing-hui was neither a Leftist nor a Rightist. We can unite with her. You can do this even if she is a Rightist! Some big Rightists of 1957 are now treated as contradictions among the people! When Rightists are treated as contradictions among the people, proletarian dictatorship is not enforced. The Rightists of 1957 have corrected themselves; therefore, their label has been removed. Don't be afraid of them becoming Rightists again, because we can put the label on them again. It'll be very easy to do.

You have heard me say that the minority should be protected. (Audience interrupted: "We've heard.") We should primarily protect the good people. It is possible we may protect the bad people for a

short period of one to three months, or even up to a year. When we have collected sufficient data on them, we will draw our conclusions. We may arrest some of them, but still leave the majority free. A common Rightist will not be taken into custody, but a counter-revolutionary will be arrested after his case has been affirmed. You must exercise supervision over him and reform him. A common Rightist is not to be taken into custody. He will be allowed to carry on his living and work. He will continue to talk. Let him talk. Nobody will listen to him. It's unimportant even if some people listen to him. What are you afraid of?

Therefore, it will be easy to arrest and put label on him, but difficult to reform him. According to the basic principle of the Party, the Party members should unite with all those who can be united with, excepting anti-Party, anti-socialist elements. Somebody may commit mistakes but not be an anti-Party, anti-socialist element. He should be allowed to reform himself. Can you refuse him? Sometimes he can't reform himself properly; sometimes he will make very little improvement. We have to wait and see. Marx said: "The proletariat must emancipate the whole of mankind before it can finally emancipate itself." When the whole of mankind has not been emancipated, we can't emancipate ourselves. Who is the whole of mankind? It is the workers, peasants, students and intellectuals! Are the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists considered as men? (Audience interrupted: "As men but not as people.") They are mankind! Not animals. When the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, capitalists and bad elements are arrested, they should also be reformed! When you have successfully reformed them, then you can emancipate yourselves. If you shoot them, there are still their children! Their children will avenge their death. And if their children fail then their grandchildren will do it. Were not a batch of them shot in the past? But their children are still living, and carrying on fairly well! Even the so-called bourgeois authorities are better off than we are. They should be reformed. Changing bad people into good people remains a long-term task, a task at home as well as abroad. It is the historical task of the proletariat to reform all bad people and to turn all negative factors into positive factors. It is easy to shoot one person, but there are the children who won't be pleased! In your school, there are those who came from bad families such as landlords and capitalists. You can't discriminate against children of some bad cadres of the Party. You have to raise your vigilance against their reactionary statements, but must not discriminate against them. They will dislike it. Today

I can only deal with this one problem. I have to leave the task to you in the future. Success or failure depends on you. I'll see whether you can achieve unity. If you fail to unite with her, she will appeal to the Ministry of Building Materials Industry, the Municipal Party Committee and the Central Committee.

You are allowed to repudiate the bourgeois authorities, plus a fair number of teachers. It is up to you to carry out struggle-criticism-transformation. You may possibly commit some mistakes. How can young people not commit mistakes? Young people shouldn't be afraid to make mistakes! It'll be all right if you can correct your mistakes. Someone may ask what experience we have. The correction of mistakes is our experience. You can find your ways. If you want assistance from the Party Central Committee and the Municipal Party Committee, you can get it. If we can't help you, you will have to do it yourselves. You'll find your ways.

Of course, whether we wage struggles against the bourgeois persons in authority, or criticize and repudiate reactionary academic authorities or educate and transform them, we must prepare. However, this doesn't mean that we have to make full preparations before we can start. We can make our preparation while we wage the struggle. When we are fully prepared, we can wage further struggles. When one struggle cannot serve our purpose, we wage another. Gradually we will achieve our purpose. We may not achieve anything in the beginning, but gradually we will be successful. It is the same with repudiation. It may not be successful in the beginning, but gradually it will work. How about education and transformation? They have read so many books. You have to distribute the books among the masses. All of you should read the books and then repudiate them. In education and transformation, similarly we must simultaneously transform and study. Never fight a battle without preparation. But, in no case should you make full preparations before setting out. You must learn struggle in struggle.

All this you know well. I have mentioned these points; have I said anything wrong? If I have, you may criticize me. Don't think that you cannot criticize things which I have said. It is permissible to say the wrong things, especially you young students. Not only you young students but also we may possibly do so. Some statements have been changed back and forth for scores of years, yet they still present problems. It is good enough that they are basically correct, that the main orientation is correct.

TALK TO THE AUGUST 1 COMBAT CORPS

August 3, 1966

A debate depends on facts. Somebody knows a great deal of material but has exposed nothing and refused to wage any struggle. What these people have said is not dependable. They have arrested many people, but they must grasp the roots. Somebody thrusts his head out, just a little bit; if he is hit on the head, he immediately draws back. You have to wait till he exposes himself completely, then it'll be good. Some people have exposed themselves very much, that's good. Teng T'o and Wu Han could not turn back. Therefore, it was possible to topple them! You cannot topple anyone who has not stood out completely. Some people have just come out a little, and turn back at once.

What mistakes has the work team committed? What is the nature of these mistakes? I'll express my opinion.

(1) There are many people in your college with bad family backgrounds. A correct policy must be adopted towards these people to win them over. It is a very important policy to unite with all those who may be united with.

(2) What policy should be adopted towards those who have made mistakes? They can correct their mistakes. They should be given an outlet, an outlet to become a new person.

Marx said: "The proletariat must emancipate the whole of mankind. Only when the whole of mankind has been emancipated can the proletariat emancipate itself." The whole of mankind means the proletarian working people, including also the children of the exploiting-classes, including also those who have not been executed by the firing squad. They should be fed, should do farming and reform themselves through labor so that they will be made to change their thinking. They should be remoulded. They should be chang-

Please refer to the Preface for comments on this talk. The text is taken from *Union Research Service*, LI, Nos. 8 & 9 (April 26 & 30, 1968), pp. 105-106

ed by means of the process of remoulding through labor. Those who have not been executed should be considered as mankind. If you want to execute him, he will rebel against you. Therefore, you just remould them. If he refuses remoulding, he will never be emancipated. This includes the imperialists, landlords, bad elements and Rightists. Some of the landlord class have been executed, at present there are their family members. The father of his son has been killed, the son remembers the death of his father, and wants to avenge it. He cannot be emancipated. The emancipation of the whole mankind includes those criminals who have not been executed. The proletariat should suppress the criminals. Without exercising dictatorship, the proletariat cannot emancipate itself. If all the criminals were executed, there would be too much hatred.

Among those with a bad family background, some opposed the Party and socialism, others may possibly not be in opposition. Those who were in opposition constitute a small handful. You should unite with them, it matters not that they have spied on you. They scold you, you shouldn't reply. They spread rumors, you should know the truth. Unite with the majority. Unite with all those who may be united with. Some people have joined neither the "August 1 Corps" nor the "Revolution Corps." We want to listen to their opinions.

Yesterday, it was impossible not to hold the general meeting. If the general meeting had not been held, I would have been surrounded. If I can't finish my talking today, I will come back tomorrow to explain the facts and the truth.

I have the following points to make:

(1) You have Party members, Youth League members, Party and League branches, general branch secretaries and general branch committees. Organize their re-election and reorganization. If you are not pleased with the present branch committees and branch secretaries, they may be re-elected. If they can not be established for the time being, you might set up provisional ones. You can dismiss them from office. If no branch committees can be re-elected, then you might set up provisional ones.

(2) If you want to reorganize the College Party Committee, you have to call a general meeting of all Party members of the College. Re-elect a new committee if you can. Otherwise, there is no hurry. You may elect a Provisional College Party Committee and a Provisional College League Committee from the members of the existing ones. There is no hurry. If you fail the first time, wait for a while before you try again. Re-elect the College Party Committee if you can, and settle the matter.

In the future, branches should not hold secret meetings and non-Party members should also be included. Party members hold no secret meetings and absorb non-Party members to participate. The reserve Party members may become branch secretaries. The participation in Party conferences by non-Party members is to be decided upon by the College Cultural Revolution Committee, on the basis of 50 to 50. For instance, two Party members may take two non-Party members to the meeting.

What do you want? You want to have a majority. Don't try to turn the Party and League members into a black gang in opposition to the Party. The majority of them is good.

The calling of a secret meeting (meaning secret meetings of Party members—note) must be authorized by the Municipal Party Committee.

TALK TO THE WORK TEAM OF THE PEKING COLLEGE OF CONSTRUCTION ENGINEERING

August 4, 1966

Time: August 4, 1966, 8:00 p.m.

Place: *Chungnan Hai*

Participants: Liu Shao-ch'i, Ku Mu (Chairman of State Construction Commission), Keng I-fan (Deputy Director of Political Department, State Construction Commission), Wu Hsing-feng and eight cadres of and above the rank of group leaders to various departments of the College, of the work team at the Peking College of Construction Engineering. Two members of the Cultural Revolution Leading Group of the College.

Comrade Ch'i Pen-yu also participated.

At 8:00 p.m., Liu Shao-ch'i came and took out a list of persons to participate in the meeting.

Liu: (To Hu Hsing) How can you come here, you commit another mistake? Are they welcoming you? You are a soldier. Can you lead a college?

Liu: You (meaning the work team) have participated in labor, haven't you? Did they welcome you to do labor? Did anybody ridicule you?

Audience: We have participated in labor. They did welcome us . . .

Liu: Those who look down upon manual labor have no proletarian viewpoints, but rather bourgeois viewpoints.

Lu: According to the brief reports, at that time counter-revolution was not mentioned, only two cliques (at that time two combat groups of the College opposed the work team, namely the 52 Combat Group and the 62 Combat Group), but their nature was counter-revolutionary. Therefore, the Peking Municipal Public Security Bureau sent its men

Please refer to the Preface for comments on this talk. The text is taken from *Union Research Service*, LI, Nos. 8 & 9 (April 26 & 30 1968), pp. 107-116

there. At that time, there were 14 units of such nature, and the Public Security Bureau sent its men to all of them.

Liu: Is Lu Chao-hai still active?

Yen: Yes, he is still active.

Wu: I gave him permission to carry on activities.

Yang K'e: Yen Hsia said that they asked the Municipal Party Committee on the 2nd for instructions, and the Municipal Party Committee told them to stop further activities.

Wu: To stop activities is a matter of today.

Yen: I have a big-character poster as proof.

Liu: It was very good to put up the big-character poster. (Meaning the big-character poster put up against Lu and Han—one who was present at the meeting.)

Wu: I told both of them about the observer, but all the others said that they knew nothing about it.

Liu: I'm afraid, you (to Lu) have joined the work team. It is not proper for you to be here. The work team cannot be withdrawn for the time being, it's stuck up. When the work team withdraws, you should go to another place. At present, you still look like one of the work team. Now you have to stand aside.

Ch'i Pen-yu: Some people reported that you were also active. (Meaning the work team).

Yen: How about making an investigation?

Ch'i: We may make an investigation!

Liu: It's not necessary to investigate. You have committed mistakes. What is the nature of your mistakes? The main thing is your thinking. To what extent you have understood things? I have asked them (meaning the representatives of the "August 1 Corps"); Chia Chien and Chu Kuei-fang said that your problems were ones of orientation and standpoint. Do you *consider it enough only to talk about problems at orientation and standpoint? At present some people of the Central Committee are considering whether there is the problem of line.* In the past you did not treat Fan Hsing-hui and Chia Chien well. You caught the wandering fish. "You can't get away, and I can't help you."

Ku: Who told you (the work team—one who was present at the meeting) to go there? How could I know nothing about the work team which you sent there?

T'ang: Kuo Ying-ch'iu told us to send it.

Yen: The June 15 incident was the main mistake. In that afternoon, we poured cold water in our speech. We did not understand the situation and were also attacked by the Party members. At

that time, we judged that a few people were trying to make trouble and raise objection; we couldn't control ourselves. I believed that somebody gave the work team difficult problems to handle. If we could not solve them, we would be isolated immediately from the Party members. We introduced four disciplinary measures (no applause, no slogan, no shouting, no . . .); and we talked too much and too strictly in the afternoon.

Liu: You should negate yourselves, not affirm yourselves. Did you speak at the general meeting?

Yen: I did, I said that I poured cold water in my speech on that afternoon.

Wu Hsing-feng: I talked about the judgement of the work team in the brief reports on the June 15 incident.

Yen: In my personal opinion, in the whole system of the movement, the orientation was not in conformity in two periods, with the Party Committee from June 7 to 9.

Liu: Stress was towards the outsiders.

Yen: We did not understand the situation of the College, did not fully realize the trend of class struggle, and failed to turn back thoroughly in our orientation within the three days from 7 to 9 of June. On June 9 we held a meeting to study the situation. We immediately made our correction. At the general meeting on June 10, we explained the intentions of our visit; the students expressed their welcome. Hu Hsing and K'ou Hung-yeh were members of the leading group.

Liu: Did Hu and K'ou express their welcome?

Yen: They did welcome. (Meaning the students)

Ch'i: You went there on June 6 and immediately put yourselves in opposition to the masses. You talked about drawing fire to burn yourselves, about the Municipal Party Committee and about bombarding the headquarters.

Liu: (To Yen) You aimed at the outsiders! You can't get away with such a self-examination. The present problem is that *you should talk fully about your own mistakes. When Fan Hsing-hui and others allow you to get out, you must leave at once.*

Yen: Our second mistake was catching the "wandering fish" of Municipal Party Committee members, and making arrangement to clear obstacles. (Wu: We called the obstacles in the beginning and called interference later on.)

Liu: Let the Peking Municipal Party Committee take the responsibility for clearing the obstacles. You caught the "wandering fish;" who told you to catch them?

Yen: According to the original instructions of the Municipal Party Committee, catching "wandering fish" was not only taciturnly accepted but also arranged for. They (meaning Municipal Party Committee) had similar cases of catching "wandering fish" with Tsing-hua University, Peking University, the Second Foreign Languages College, and the Foreign Languages College. . . (Ku: You think Chairman [Liu] doesn't know, and you have to make a report?!)

Liu: You must admit your mistakes, don't try to push them away. How many "wandering fish" did you catch?

Yen: Twelve people. Fan Hsing-hui, Wang K'e-jen, Pai Wen-ch'ü, Liu Ch'uan-i and Huang Kuei-hsiang. Arrangements were made on the 27th and 28th to arrest these people. We got six of them, plus six reactionary students, altogether 12 people.

Liu: Have you announced the arrests?

Yen: We have made no announcement. The students made their own.

Liu: You called the students reactionary without sufficient grounds! You can't make this conclusion. When the students put up big-character posters, you work team were sure that they were reactionary students! Did the students know that!?

Yen: They (meaning the students) except Fan Hsing-hui, knew nothing, made no arrangements to arrest reactionary students, and did not criticize her. We led the arrests.

Liu: You arrested these few people. The students would have arrested many more.

Ch'i: The students claimed that 24 people had been arrested, including big and small "wandering fishes."

Yen: (To Ch'i) How many arrested?

Liu: You said that you had arrested a few people. The masses would have arrested more. You have to make a self-examination, and cancel the label of "wandering fish." You are afraid of people who have talked.

Yen: Our third mistake was the reorganization of cultural revolution groups of three classes against the system of democratic centralization. I should take the responsibility. The Mechanical and Electrical Department issued the notice.

Liu: You made revolution against others, but cannot make revolution against yourselves! You can only negate the "June 15" incident, the catching of "wandering fish" and the reorganization of the three classes, and you must not affirm them, etc. You must take the words of Party members and Party organs! You should not

listen to these people! This is your problem. You still have to rely on the Party organization system. Can you hold a re-election. If you can't achieve any results from re-election, you can call up a provisional committee.

Yen: The main reason was that we were afraid of confusion, acted according to rigid rules and routine practices, and were further influenced by Peking University and Tsinghua University. In the final analysis, we were not strong on the mass viewpoint.

Liu: You had no mass viewpoint.

Yen: We had no experience of the Land reform and the four clean-ups. In the army, whatever our commander said counted. We also put on airs, and were not good enough in trying to be pupils of the masses.

Liu: When the masses refused to listen to you, you forced them to listen. Fan Hsing-hui didn't listen to you; you compelled her.

Wu: The Municipal Party Committee told you three times to stop catching the "wandering fish" and you refused to listen. I found Hu Hsing on June 28 and told him to stop. On June 30 you continued to catch. I called you several times later over the telephone, Keng I-fan also reminded you; you just refused to listen.

Yen: You gave me only one telephone call. We criticized only Chang Chun on July 2, also according to rigid rules. We criticized him again for two half-days respectively on July 6 and 7. We did this too late because we had not made full preparation.

Liu: You could make a few days' preparation; however, it was not necessary to make full preparation before we began to criticize.

Yen: The nature of our mistakes was the confusion of direction during two periods.

Liu: A general meeting will be held in the future. You have to make your self-examination. The Municipal Party Committee should take the responsibility on your behalf. The Central Committee will also take the responsibility on the behalf of the Municipal Party Committee. You needn't push the responsibility upwards. (Lu complained that the work team kept a close watch on them. Yen denied it.)

Liu: (To Yen) If you haven't, just forget about it. (To Lu) The "August 1 Corps" supported you, and other corps put up big-character posters against it. Chia Chien asked you to stay at the College; other students raised objection! Therefore, you (meaning Lu) stayed there to the disadvantage of unity. Chia Chien said that the work team prohibited them to study Chairman Mao's *Report of Investigation on the Peasant Movement in Hunan*. (K'ou: I

did it, I'll take the responsibility. This was a political mistake.)

Liu: It was not good for you to do so!

Liu: I can't blame you (meaning Lu) for your activities, the question is that a group of people supported you and another group of people did not support you. It is better for you to leave the place. With regard to the nature of the work team's mistakes, is the movement right or wrong? Are the mistakes just isolated cases, or in concrete work or of the orientation? Did the work team stand before the movement, stand beside it, or stand on the opposite side against the masses? The Party school stood in the beginning of the movement on the opposite side against the mass movement. Peking University published the fact in its big-character posters; they were afraid. As a result of their fear, they stood on the opposite side against the masses. They made all kinds of gestures, but they basically stood on the opposite side against the movement. When the College Party Committee collapsed, the work team held the power. You were supposed to support the movement: could you give some assistance to the masses? It would have been all right if you had followed them even without giving them any assistance! You didn't. You became the new rulers, stood in the position of persons in authority, and were afraid of making a failure of the movement, that is, were afraid of the movement going on not according to your ideas. Were you the masters or the masses? Did you approve them and give them assistance? The work team came into power, not only assuming an attitude of support but also putting on airs. At present, the students are cleverer than you, more resourceful, and also in the majority. You acted as high officials and old squires. You put on airs and tried to lead them. They had to act according to your ideas; otherwise, they became the "wandering fish"! Interfering! At the beginning, the Municipal Party Committee and the State Council laid the rules for distinguishing the internal from the external. Now, they seem to be useless. For instance, nobody should go into the streets to parade, and no big-character posters should appear in the streets so that you would not create a bad impression. At present, it seems better not to send the work team here. The Central Committee will take this responsibility. We have not withdrawn it quickly and only just made the decision. The work team sometimes obstructed the masses, and even suppressed the mass movement. The students were dealing with the persons in authority; they criticized them, educated them and transformed them. You couldn't do it, we couldn't do it, but the students could. There was no need to have the work teams. It seems that standing on the side of the masses, one

would think that the work teams could give very little assistance. Some have done well in certain isolated cases only. (Ch'i interrupted: Comrade Po-ta did fairly well with the *People's Daily* and the *Hsinhua News Agency*.) In general, they have opposed the mass movement. If the students were not allowed to start some disturbances, then, why should they have holidays and no classes? In general, the work teams tried to act according to our ways, instead of making disturbances with the masses and encouraging the masses to make disturbance. They were particularly afraid of counterrevolution, and afraid of counter-revolutionaries making disturbance. They were afraid of counter-revolutionaries mounting the stage. The Public Security Bureau also need not fear anything. It is also nice to watch the counter-revolutionaries mount the stage! Is there anything bad for the counter-revolutionaries in mounting the stage? Had they not mounted the stage in the former Municipal Party Committee and the former Central Military Council? There was advantage for the counter-revolutionaries to mount the stage. Even P'eng Chen had been on the stage for so many years! It only took us two years to liquidate him. Is it not good to let the counter-revolutionaries carry on for a few days? If the counter-revolutionaries make disturbance and mount the stage and, moreover, if the masses support them, it won't be long before the masses find out. We will not fear that the masses will be split for a few days. If the counter-revolutionaries thrust their heads out and you immediately strike them down just as you hit a snake when it only pops out its head, you can never catch anyone of them. When the snake comes out from its hole, you can strike it. Don't press them down once they thrust their heads. Recently, Chairman Mao said: "To rebel is justified." The present rulers are not justified to rebel; some people are justified to rebel against others. However, once he is on the stage, others are not justified to rebel against him. At present we have proletarian dictatorship. The Chinese Communist Party is Marxist. It is not justified to rebel against the Communist Party. If the Party becomes a revisionist Party, then we should rebel against it! At present, the position of schools and cultural and educational organs is in the hands of the bourgeoisie. There the Party has no power of leadership. A Party committee may be leading, but it adheres to the revisionist line. The basic problem is that it is permissible to oppose others but not me. If others rebel against me, we will stop them, being afraid of mass democracy. If I (meaning the work team) have made mistakes, you may expose them, cancel my Party membership, and dismiss me from office. If you like him and guide him properly, he may not rebel

against you. Therefore, it will be correct to draw fire to burn oneself and bombard the headquarters. If a good man rebels by mistake, he is still a good man. If you don't let others rebel, you must be toppled. The work team didn't let others rebel! Against rebelling and chasing, the Ministers, school heads and secretaries all have new problems. It's better for them to have no fear. The more they fear the worse; consequently, they will do more bad things. It would be better if you had done nothing; you could have learned something in the two months. The more enthusiastic you were in work, the greater were your mistakes. Moreover, you were afraid of one person mounting the stage as a counter-revolutionary, and two persons cause disturbances as counter-revolutionaries. They will become counter-revolutionaries even if they were not. You treated Fan Hsing-hui as an anti-Party, anti-socialist element, and criticized the reactionary students. You should let them carry out their activities till they seize leadership. Let them dominate for a period of time and put Communist Party members under rectification, they will betray themselves. You were afraid of mass democracy and mass movements to undermine our order. The order of the revolutionary mass movement will not take our subjective framework as the main factor. The masses got up to establish their order. Fan criticized you. I asked Chu Kuei-fang and Chia Chien who said that yours was problems of orientation and standpoint. Was it so? Yes! You stood on the bourgeois side, and were afraid of the destruction of the bourgeois order and the revisionist order. Was it not so with Lu P'ing and the former Peking Municipal Party Committee?! The work team had the same kind of order, no better than theirs, and not much different from theirs. You tried to obstruct, and even suppress, anyone who destroyed the "order." You had the feelings of standing on the bourgeois side. You were very much interested in those who supported your order. Some students and Party members said that your orientation was correct, and that your standpoint, thinking and feelings were the same as those of the Revolution Corps whose thinking, feelings and standpoint were the same as those of the former Party Committee and General Party Branch. We told the Party member students to unite with that faction (August 1 Corps) for a complete re-election. In case of failure in re-election, a provisional general Party branch should be set up. No more secret meetings should be held. All members of the General Party Branch Committee should get out. These people influenced you! Though they had over 1,000 people (meaning the Revolution Corps of that time), they collapsed under one attack. The masses and the Party members hold meetings

together; there will be no more secret meetings. Otherwise, the masses will struggle against them, and suspect them (Party members and cadres). After this problem is settled, it is possible to rebel, against oneself or against the new Municipal Party Committee. Revisionism is still dominating the Staff Office of the Party Central Committee. It is not possible for true counter-revolutionaries to use counter-revolutionary slogans and Rightist slogans. They used Leftist slogans, in more Leftist aspects. It is difficult to distinguish from their appearance. It is difficult to recognize them without allowing them to dominate for a period. Now, Fan appears as a Leftist. Kao and Kung suffered rectification. All Party members began to feel nervous for fear of rectification. I say, why not dismiss yourselves from office? The Municipal Party Committee said that Fan was a Leftist. You said that she was a Rightist. I asked the Revolution Corps who said that she was neither a Leftist nor a Rightist. At least she is a middle-of-the-roader. We should unite with her. It is correct to mobilize the Party members and League members. They should be mobilized to make revolution and destroy the existing old order. Otherwise, I'm afraid that in the future Party members will become Royalists. The majority of Party members are good. To be successful, it is likely that Party members and League members will be the leaders. The "Revolution Corps" was wrong. It is possible that in the future it will be the main force at the time of struggle-criticism-transformation. It is also possible that it will hold a red flag to oppose the red flag. It is difficult to say whether Fan Hsing-hui is really good or bad. If she is a Rightist, when she mounts the stage, she will be much worse.

Yen: To admit our mistake of orientation, how can I explain to the 1,000-odd people?

Ch'i: Most probably you cannot be relied on. If you start to do work, you will fall down at once.

Liu: Fan Hsing-hui stood before the movement. She wanted to make disturbances; you stopped her. You should not be afraid of disturbances. It should be discussed and decided by the masses whether the struggle will be waged by peaceful or violent means. On the 15th you (to Yen) made a speech in the morning to encourage them. In the afternoon you said bad things. This problem should be discussed among the masses. He who advocated violent struggle should be allowed to speak at the general meeting. He would betray himself! All petty-bourgeois thinking, style of work and type of behavior should be discarded. Don't rely on beating people. You must criticize. Peasants waged struggles against the landlords.

The young people thought it very good. They also wanted to put a dunce's cap on somebody; it's also good to hit his prestige! Your feelings were wrong! Some of your leading comrades were formerly landlords. They also have old ideas, old habits and an old style of conduct, and may possibly express themselves consciously or unconsciously. Many of our comrades cannot get through this pass. This great cultural revolution should touch the souls. In past history all rulers always suppressed the student movements, from Peiyang warlords to Chiang Kai-shek. We Communists have unconsciously also suppressed student movements. By doing so, we will certainly fail.

Ch'İ interrupted: You should be responsible for the persecution of students.

Liu: At mass discussion, your self-examination cannot get through. From an objective view, facts of persecution mean the suppression of the mass movement. Your feelings against Kung Chen-pao and Kuo Fang-jui were wrong. In your thinking there was a problem of standpoint, that is, the fear of mass democracy. If there were no mass democracy in Chairman Mao's speeches, our Party would become a fascist party; sooner or later the Tyrant and his concubine would both commit suicide. Before mass democracy, you were scared. In reality, you have no democratic centralization, only centralization but no democracy. You ordered the suspension of election and imposed fixed measures. In reality, it was fascist rule. For democratic centralism, in my opinion, when Chairman Mao makes the call, and the masses get up, it will be possible to realize democratic centralism. Those who are afraid of democracy must collapse. Without this mass movement, this democratic system cannot be a success. Your attitude towards Comrade Ch'İ Pen-yu is not good. The only thing is that he is younger and not as senior as you in career. You dare to argue with him. I am senior to you, you dare not argue with me. Is it not right for Ch'İ Pen-yu to criticize you?! You put on airs, you do not assume the attitude of a pupil. It is not right, you must fall down. You are also of the Liberation Army. You are not good in your style of conduct. What I am talking about is a basic problem. If you cannot understand, you will not be able to make a good self-examination. You have to work as a service personnel. Lu Hsun said: "With frowning eyebrows, I coldly face the pointing fingers of a thousand people; but, bowing my head I am willing to serve the young children as an ox." People like Fan Hsing-hui are the young children. You should serve them as an ox. If you can understand, then you may prepare your self-examination. Ch'İ

Pen-yu will give you assistance. You make a draft, and ask Ch'i Pen-yu to read it, and also let me read it. I am also prepared to say something. If your self-examination is not good, I cannot say anything. We have to hold another general meeting.

Ku Mu: I'm not going to make any more arguments. At this meeting, Yen Hsia's attitude is not good. Chairman [Liu] went to your place two times and spent so much time to handle your problems. You must listen to Chairman's instruction, and examine your problem of consciousness. On any of your problems, your mistaken arguments and explanation can never mitigate the nature of your mistakes. The Party Central Committee has taken over a great part of our responsibilities. Your attitude is very bad. When Shao-ch'i criticized you, you insisted on saying that so many people were struggled at Tsinghua and Peking Universities. These problems are difficult to solve. There is the problem of consciousness. An old revolutionary is faced with a new problem, as if there is an obstacle. The attitude of suppressing the mass movement is not a bad thing to yourself. We are in power, and won't allow others to seize our power. I suggest that you comrades should discuss it. The Party Central Committee has taken it into consideration, and made the decision on the nature and orientation. They are still considering whether it is enough. You are still thinking about various ways of suppressing the mass movement. You should correct your attitude. The nature of your mistakes is not concerning your subjective thinking but concerning orientation as the mistakes were formed objectively. Don't increase difficulties for Comrade Shao-ch'i and for the comrades of the Municipal Party Committee. In the solution of this problem, it is a serious problem to accept you still as qualified Party members. "I" don't want to consider it; it's useless to consider it. You think inadequately about the consequences.

SELF-CRITICISM

October 23, 1966

Comrades!

I persist in observing Chairman Mao's and Comrade Lin Piao's directives. Furthermore, I agree with Comrade Chen Po-ta's report. I have read the reports of various group meetings and feel that in the directive given to a number of local and central departments concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution, I committed deviations and mistakes of varying degrees. Many comrades have already submitted self-criticisms, for which I am most remorseful. Why? Because their acts during the first stage of the great proletarian cultural revolution were related with my mistakes. For over 50 days after June 1, 1966, while I was directing the great cultural revolution, I committed blunders causing a wrong line and direction. While other comrades, such as those of the Peking departments of the Central Committee and those in charge of the departments of the State Council responsible for the direction of the cultural revolution, the work teams sent by the new Peking Municipal Party Committee and concerned local comrades are also to blame in varying degrees, I should bear the greatest responsibility.

During a certain period prior to July 18 when Chairman Mao was absent from Peking, the Central Committee's daily work was pivoted around me. I made decisions affecting the conduct of the cultural revolution in all quarters of Peking and made reports to the Central Committee meetings. At this time, I sanctioned others' wrong decisions and made erroneous decisions myself like the dispatch of work teams at the request of various departments of the Central Committee and the Central Committee of the Communist Youth

Liu Shao-ch'i made this self-criticism before a Work Conference of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on October 23, 1966. The text is taken from *Union Research Service*, LI, No. 10 (May 3, 1968), pp. 118-124

League. At that time, they positively urged me to send work personnel to various quarters. Apart from those dispatched to schools upon the request of the new Peking Municipal Party Committee, work teams were sent to government organs. As soon as they reached their assigned posts, the work teams immediately adopted various methods to suppress the masses, such as prohibiting demonstrations and parades in streets and wall posters and restricting the masses' activities to their own units. Another example includes the approval of the mistaken method used by the work team of Peking University, whereby students' revolutionary actions were looked upon as counter-revolutionary activities. Worse still, this was carried out as a basic working method throughout the country.

Most schools in Peking launched so-called "struggles to oust cadres." In many schools, work teams went so far as to direct students to struggle against students, encircle and attack revolutionary students, suppress dissenting views, and accuse, without authorization, certain students belonging to counter-revolutionary, rightist or pseudo-"Left" factions. This caused panic among many students.

I had asked Wang Kuang-mei about a series of campaigns at Tsinghua University in which she participated. The mistake committed there was a typical example of following a mistaken line. Regarding the dissolution of the Peking Municipal Party Committee and the Communist Youth League, it would have been better if I had approved their self-criticisms and then permitted them to resume participating in the cultural revolution. That would have been the correct way of dealing with the matter. However, my approval of the view to resume their active participation was given too early. It was a mistake to transfer the authority to the preparatory committees of the cultural revolution organizations immediately after the withdrawal of work teams.

At that time, requests came from many quarters for work teams. The requests became more urgent after newspapers published the report that a work team had been sent to Peking University. At that time, if we had not considered the requests for work teams or had not sent work teams to schools and government organs, in what other way could we have acted? There would have been people who thought that we did not fully comprehend the great cultural revolution, when the masses had already risen.

The present situation shows that it is a great revolution with a rousing spirit and a new stage of the proletarian revolution. However, most comrades and I did not understand that such was the situation.

Furthermore, we did not have any experience in handling such a situation. Our only way was to learn from the mass movement, and we should not have dispatched work teams to act in the place of the masses or set up a great cultural revolution structure to give guidance to the masses. Even if the masses had demanded the dispatch of work teams, the only thing we could have done was to send a small number of liaison men and try to understand the actual situation. We should not have expressed our own views on the mass movement. The masses would not have been satisfied merely with the dispatch of liaison men. However, at that time, we should not have done anything more than to handle the situation by sending some liaison men. At the time, some comrades discovered that the work teams were in conflict with the masses, and, taking up this issue, proposed that the dispatch of work teams was unnecessary.

For instance, Comrade Chen Po-ta made such a proposal. He understood Chairman Mao's thinking. Had we also understood Chairman Mao's thought, we would have suspended these activities, and would not have pursued a mistaken line and direction.

At that time, the direction of work teams and certain work aroused doubts in some localities. Some Party leaders were also doubtful, believing that in carrying out revolution for the masses, the work teams would have to put up many restrictions causing discontent among the masses. Precisely at this critical moment when I was directing the Central Work Meetings, I committed the above-mentioned mistakes. Work teams carried on their activities for 50 days. My mistakes aggravated the teams' blunders. In some places, new teams had to be sent to replace those who failed in their missions. Most comrades of the work teams did not have sufficient understanding. Unwilling to learn from the masses, they insisted that the masses tread the path they had laid out for them. Such a method is counter to a mass movement. In fact they took the stand of reactionary bourgeoisie, throttling the lofty movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution. If I did not realize at that moment that such conditions were abnormal and detrimental to the interests of the Party and the society, then I must have committed right-inclined opportunism. Although it was no more than 50 days, the damage done was enormous. Up to now the results of such damage have not been reckoned. It accounts for the acuteness of opposition among the masses in certain places.

The blunders I committed were not matters of chance. In my past history I made mistakes against principle and Party line. They are as follows:

On February 1, 1946, after the Political Consultative Conference was closed, I issued a directive to the Central Committee, stating that the conference marked a new stage on the road to the realization of peace. It was a mistaken view with an illusion of peace. Of course, what I said concerning army training, rent reduction and production was correct. I also committed a policy mistake in directing the war in the northeast at the beginning of 1946. I did not give sufficient support for Comrade Lin Piao's direction of the war.

In the summer of 1947, I presided at meetings on land reform. At that time I failed to find a systematic and overall solution to the problem of the division of landlord's land. The "Left" tendency discovered then was not promptly rectified. For instance, too many people were killed, and middle peasants' interests were infringed upon.

In the spring of 1949, I talked about many things that had happened during the period of Tientsin cadres' urban work. I proposed that certain excessively violent ways against bourgeois industries and commerce should be checked, and also the elimination of urban feudal leaders. Nevertheless, in a number of speeches, I committed the mistake of "Left" inclined naivety.

In July, 1951, I wrongly criticized the Shansi Provincial Party Committee, pointing out that they should not have developed the mutual-aid teams into higher level agricultural cooperatives.

In 1955, Comrade Teng Tzu-hui proposed to reduce the size of the 200,000 cooperatives or dissolve them. The Central Committee meeting over which I presided failed to raise objection, thereby giving virtual approval to his plan. Consequently, at subsequent rural work meetings of the Central Committee, Teng reduced the size of or dissolved the 200,000 cooperatives.

In 1962 I committed the mistake of being right inclined. In 1964 I was superficially "Left" inclined, but actually right inclined. In the great proletarian cultural revolution, I committed a blunder with the Party line; this was related with my previous mistakes.

At a Central Work Conference, convened in January, 1962, I delivered a written report but not a speech. In 1958, although in my written statements and verbal reports I acknowledged the great achievements attained after the Three Red Banners were put into effect, there were still a number of mistakes. Our achievements were primary; mistakes and defects in our work, secondary. These defects and mistakes have been corrected for the most part or are being rectified.

A still greater event took place at the Central Work Conference over which I presided from February 21 to 26, 1962. When the financial policy was being discussed, a deficit was found. Again, I committed a mistake in my judgement of the difficulties. I thought such a deficit was normal during extraordinary times. The conference therefore approved Comrade Chen Yun's speech directed towards the State Council. We let the provincial first-grade Party member cadres discuss this question and express dissenting opinions. At the conference, someone proposed independent working style; others basically opposed the Three Red Banners and criticized the activists as being worthless persons and deliberately suppressed the key projects of the three-line construction; investments that should have been cancelled were not cancelled.

I had too much confidence in Comrade Chen Yun and thus listened to him alone. Ideologically, the two of us shared various common views. For this reason, I recommended Comrade Chen Yun to the Central Committee and Chairman Mao as the Head of the Financial Group of the Central Committee. As Chairman Mao was not in Peking then, I went to him and delivered a report. Afterwards I learned that Chairman Mao was not at all in agreement with my appraisal of the situation. At that time, Teng Hsiao-ping dwelled on the advantages of Anhwei's "responsibility farm," to which I made no objection.

Hence, at the Ninth Plenum, Teng advocated the contracting of farm production to each household and proposed the so-called "three reconciliations and one reduction."

This was counter to the General Line; it was formed on the basis of a wrong estimate of the domestic and international situations. I heard directly about the system of contracting farm production to each household, but I did not stop him from advocating it. It was my mistake. At the same time, I felt the urgency of the current situation, so I requested the Chairman to come back to the north. In the summer of 1962, I committed myself to the right-inclined line at the Peitaiho Conference. On the Chairman's return to Peking, he set out to draft the resolution on the intensification of collective economy and commerce and brought up the contradictions of class struggle at the Peitaiho Conference. At the Tenth Plenary Session of the Central Committee two resolutions were adopted, and a communique was issued. All these began to correct my mistakes and changed the situation fundamentally and completely.

In 1964, I committed the same mistakes that I did in 1962, that is "Left" in appearance but right in substance." On April 1,

1964, Chairman Mao personally formulated the "First Ten Articles." In September, 1964, some leading comrades of the Central Committee drew up the "Second Ten Articles" and published them on November 14. At that time, I had no knowledge of how the "Second Ten Articles" came to be drawn up. I learned only recently. It was Peng Chen who wrote a report to Chairman Mao six months after the "First Ten Articles" were formulated. The "Second Ten Articles" were drawn up on the basis of the spirit of that report. It was after September, 1964, that I found the "Second Ten Articles" to be harmful because they hampered the efforts to arouse the masses.

In 1964, I called on various provinces to send delegates to Peking for talks. I emphasized that cadres at various levels should take steps to stabilize the rural areas. What I said was quite correct, but because I had emphasized the words too strongly, certain problems became absolutely settled and unchangeable. This amounted to a mistake on my part. In addition, I said that the "Four Clearances" Campaign was not intensive and thorough enough, and it had failed. Owing to an over-estimate of the effect of class struggle, I committed a blunder in my statement of the reasons for the improvement of industrial and agricultural production. In addition, I said that to make it effective the "Four Clearances" Campaign should only be launched in a mass movement. When I said so, I thought that the investigative meetings that Chairman Mao wanted to hold would be insufficient. In reality this negated Chairman Mao's thought. It was a very grave mistake on my part, casting very bad influences.

At that time I had too much confidence in Wang Kuang-mei's experience summary. I wanted to popularize the Peking experience in other parts of the country. This gave many comrades a bad impression. As a matter of fact, Wang Kuang-mei's experience had already proved wrong. At the Central Committee meeting in 1964 I had not realized my own mistakes. I was confused with the contradictions between the "Four Clearances" and "Four Non-Clearances" and the contradictions within and without the Party. I had only read the Twenty-Three Articles once, but I could not explain the substance of them.

That was not Marxism-Leninism. I forgot then all about the set of theories that our Party resorted to in class struggle over the past few decades. This accounted for my mistake of being "Left" in appearance but right in substance." My mistakes were later corrected when Chairman Mao personally presided over a meeting at which the Twenty-Three Articles were adopted. The Twenty-Three articles were laid down to rectify Party authorities who followed the

bourgeois steps and to campaign against a very few bad people. The most outstanding historical mistakes that I committed were those of right inclination in 1962 and 1964. This time I again committed very serious mistakes of right-opportunism, which were pointed out to me and corrected by our Party's and the people's great Chairman Mao on his return to Peking.

On July 24, after deciding to withdraw the work teams, a work-team meeting was held. On August 1, the 11th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee was convened, at which the Sixteen Articles were adopted. During the latter part of the Plenum the question of our mistakes was brought up for discussion which was followed by the election of members of the Standing Committee of the Central Committee. At the Plenum Comrade Lin Piao was unanimously recommended as Chairman Mao's first assistant and successor. Comrade Lin Piao is better than I in every respect; so are other comrades in the Party. I am determined to abide by a Party member's discipline and do nothing before anybody that amounts to "agreement by mouth but disagreement at heart."

The reasons that accounted for my mistakes are as follows:

1. I did not understand that the great cultural revolution marked a new stage of more intensive and extensive development in the socialist revolution, nor did I understand how the cultural revolution could be carried out. To fulfil all the tasks laid down in the Sixteen Articles, we must, however we tackle them, follow the mass line, go more extensively and intensively into the masses and mobilize them to conduct self-education, carry out self-liberation, and promote more urgently the proletarian rebel spirit. However, I distrusted the masses and could not make up my mind whether we should mobilize the masses to conduct self-education and self-liberation. On the contrary, I believed completely in the functions of work teams, wanting to monopolize the mass movement. I was gripped by the fear of confusion, great democracy, rebellion by the masses against us, and uprisings of counter-revolutionaries.

2. I misjudged the situation regarding the proletarian cultural revolution and wrongly regarded the normal inevitable defects in a mass movement as anti-Party, anti-socialist, and anti-proletarian dictatorship adverse currents. Hence I made a wrong judgement, because I took the bourgeois reactionary stand and became a bourgeois dictator.

3. Ideologically, I could not completely change my bourgeois world outlook, thus retaining many idealistic and metaphysical viewpoints. Hence I vacillated in my stand when I looked at problems

and when I deliberated on how to deal with them. Sometimes I took the bourgeois stand. At the office I assumed bureaucratic mannerisms and dealt with my colleagues as a boss with his subordinates.

4. The most fundamental problem was that I did not learn to grasp Chairman Mao's thought. While waging a struggle, I could not correctly apply Chairman Mao's thought. I could not go deep into the midst of the masses to learn from them, nor did I make reports to Chairman Mao. In fact, I often countered Chairman Mao's thought and could not listen to my comrades' correct views. On the contrary, I could easily accept incorrect ideas.

These I understand to be my own mistakes. Naturally, I have not mentioned enough of my mistakes. I am determined to learn Chairman Mao's thought and to learn from Comrade Lin Piao and I have made up my mind to do things in the interest of the Party and the people.

CONFESSION

Summer 1967

Comrades of the Revolutionary Rebels of Chungnanhai,

On the Xth of X month 1967 you issued an urgent order that Liu Shao-ch'i should present a written self-examination before the Xth of X month specifically replying to the eight questions posed in Ch'i Pen-yu's essay. My answer is as follows:

1. In March 1936 I went to Tientsin as a representative of the Party Central Committee (at that time the Party's Northern Bureau was there). The Head of the Organisation Department of the Northern Bureau at that time, Comrade K'e Ch'ing-shih raised a question with me: he said that there were a number of comrades in Peking prison and that most of them had already served their sentences but that without going through certain formalities they could not be released: he asked me whether or not I could go through the formalities, and at that time I questioned him in return: "What is your opinion?" K'e replied that one could have the comrades in prison go through the formalities, so I immediately *wrote a letter* about this (the words "wrote a letter" were put in by counter-revolutionary revisionist, Wang Kuang-mei, and below whenever my words are in italics they were written by Wang Kuang-mei herself) reporting it to the Party Central Committee of Shen Pei and asking the Central Committee for a decision. But it wasn't long before I received the Central Committee's answer, namely that the affair should be handled by Comrade K'e Ch'ing-shih. *At that time the everyday work of the Party Central Committee was handled by Chang Wen-t'ien*

Liu Shao-ch'i made this confession in response to eight questions asked by Ch'i Pen-yu in *People's Daily* of April 1, 1967. (The eight questions are reproduced on page 368 of this volume.) While the exact date of the confession is not known at the moment, it first appeared on wall posters in early August 1967. The text is taken from *Union Research Service*, LI, No. 10 (May 3, 1968), pp. 235-238.

(whose first names are also *Lo Fu*). According to *Chang Wen-t'ien's* version he did not at that time report to Chairman Mao and did not discuss the matter at a meeting but made the reply of his own accord. At that time I knew that Comrade Yin Chien was in prison but I did not know the others nor did I know how many there were. Neither did I know how this was afterwards handled. After Comrade Yin Chien came out of prison it was the spring of 1937 and I met him once in the house of K'e Ch'ing-shih. Not long afterwards Comrade Yin Chien died from an illness. I did not bother to find out what specific formalities they went through and it was only recently when I read a rebel newspaper that I knew they had published an "anti-communist notice." With regard to this matter I accept a certain responsibility.

2. After the victory in the Anti-Japanese War, in January 1946 our Party made a ceasefire agreement with the K.M.T. Afterwards the old Political Consultative Conference was assembled and it proposed a "programme for peaceful national construction." In the ceasefire order of our Party of the 20 January was a reference to the "new phase of peace and democracy." On the first of February, in accordance with the opinions of the Central Committee's discussion, I wrote a directive about the "new phase of peace and democracy." This directive contains errors.

3. After liberation I made every effort to advocate the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce. I did not oppose this. In 1951 I approved an article sent from Shansi about agricultural co-operatives: this approval was wrong. At a meeting of the Central Committee I listened to a report on the question of co-operatives by Teng Tzu-hui and I did not refute his mistaken opinions. Thereupon he promoted them widely and cut back 200,000 co-operatives. Afterwards Chairman Mao criticised the errors of Teng Tzu-hui and published a very important essay on agricultural co-operatives thus bringing about a high tide of agricultural co-operatives.

4. At the 8th Party Congress in 1956, I presented to the Congress a political report on behalf of the Party Central Committee. It spoke about the class struggle within the country. For example, it said "the struggle between limiting and opposing limitation has been the main form of the internal class struggle in recent years and reflects our country's main class contradictions — the struggle to carry out the three antis and five antis. This is because there are quite a large number of bourgeois elements who are carrying out illegal activities harmful to the country's and the people's livelihood. One cannot but determinedly take steps to put an end to this." But in another

part of this report it says "the contradiction between our country's bourgeoisie and the proletariat has already been resolved," and this proposition is wrong. The resolution of the 8th Party Congress on the work report also says "now this socialist transformation has already won a decisive victory. This shows that the contradictions between our country's socialist proletariat and the bourgeoisie have already basically been resolved." "The history of the system of class exploitation which has gone on for several thousand years has already basically come to an end and the socialist system has basically been set up in our country The basic internal contradiction in our country . . . is the contradiction between a progressive socialist system and the production forces of a backward society." Chairman Mao at the time expressed his opposition to these sentences in the resolution but there was no time to revise them and it was passed in this form and has still not been refuted today. Apart from this, in the political report and the resolution of the 8th Party Congress there was no mention of Mao Tse-tung's thought as the guiding ideology for the whole Party and as the guiding principle for the whole Party and the whole country, and this was wrong. *A step backward had been taken from the position of the 7th Party Congress.*

5. During the three years of difficulty I did not attack the Three Red Flags. At one Central Committee meeting when I heard Teng Tsu-hui say that the Anhwei field of responsibility had many good points, I did not refute him and *he went everywhere talking nonsense*. The Three Reconciliations and One Reduction was put forward by an individual comrade in a rough draft and was not brought up at a Central Committee meeting. At the time I still did not know that this point of view had appeared. Afterwards, it was removed from that comrade's safe.

6. In 1962 when *How to be a Good Communist* was reprinted, this was endorsed and revised for me by someone else. I saw that it was published in *Red Flag* and *People's Daily*. I ought to take the main responsibility.

7. In the summer of 1964 I made speeches in several cities, in some of which were tendencies which were "Left" in form but "right" in fact. In my self-examination of the 23rd of October last year I gave a detailed explanation. There is no need to do so again. The "peach garden" experience was at the time comparatively good. It was not an example of "Left" in form and "right" in substance.

8. In the proletarian cultural revolution, as to why I have advocated and promoted the bourgeois reactionary line, I myself

am also not clear about this. Nor have I read any essay which can fully explain why I have made errors of line. After the 11th Plenum of the 8th Party Congress criticised my errors, there were also others who committed errors of a similar nature, but they also do not know why. I am going to endeavour to study Chairman Mao's works and carefully peruse other books which Chairman Mao directs me to read as well as the relevant essays in newspapers, in order to be able to get this question fully clear from the ideological viewpoint, and moreover sincerely to hold a self-examination among the revolutionary masses. Only then shall I be able to reply as to why I committed errors of line in this Proletarian Cultural Revolution and how to correct this error.

With greetings, proletarian cultural revolution greetings, long live the invincible great thought of Mao Tse-tung! Long live the great leader, great teacher, great commander, great helmsman Mao Tse-tung.

Ch'i Pen-yu's eight questions as translated from *People's Daily* of April 1, 1967.

1. Why, on the eve of the outbreak of the Anti-Japanese War, did you personally propagate the philosophy of saving one's own skin, of capitulationism and of betrayal; why did you direct other people to become turncoats and to surrender to the Kuomintang; why did you betray the Communist Party and openly publish an "anti-communist notice" and swear to oppose the Communist Party?
2. Why, after the victory in the Anti-Japanese War, did you put forward the capitalist line of the "new phase of peace and democracy?"
3. Why, after liberation, did you make every effort to oppose the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce? Why did you oppose agricultural co-operatives and cut them back?
4. Why, after the completion of the three great socialist transformations, did you do your best to propagate the theory of the extinction of the class struggle, actively promote a class co-operation and do away with class struggle?
5. Why, in the period of the three years of hardship, did you join in the chorus with freaks and monsters within the country and poisonously attack the Three Red Flags, and promote the revisionist line of the Three Freedoms and One Contract and the Three Reconciliations and One Reduction?
6. Why, in 1962, did you once again publish that great poisonous weed *How to be a Good Communist*, which is a book opposed to revolution, to class struggle, to seizing political power, to the dictatorship of the proletariat, to Marxism-Leninism, to Mao Tse-tung's thought and which propagates the bourgeois world view and a reactionary bourgeois idealist philosophy?
7. Why, in the socialist education movement, did you promote and advocate the line which in form was "Left" but in reality "right" opportunism, and why did you sabotage the socialist education movement?
8. Why, during the proletarian cultural revolution have you colluded with another very big person in authority within the Party going the capitalist road and advocated and promoted the bourgeois reactionary line?

SELF-EXAMINATION

July 9, 1967

To Fighters of the New August 1 Combat Regiment of Peking Building Construction Industry Institute,

To All Revolutionary Teachers, Students and Staff Members of Peking Building Construction Industry Institute,

On the evening of July 4, Comrade Wang Tung-hsing, director of the General Office of the CCP Central Committee, informed me that the Party Central Committee wanted me to write an examination for the fighters of the New August 1 Combat Regiment of the Building Construction Industry Institute. My examination is as follows:

I

Toward the end of July 1966, our great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman Chairman Mao called on all responsible comrades of the Central Committee and responsible comrades who came to Peking from various areas to take a personal part in the great proletarian cultural revolution going on in various schools in Peking. The object was to acquire perceptual knowledge.

In response to this call by Chairman Mao, on August 1 last year I went to Comrade Li Hsueh-feng's office and discussed with the comrades of the new Peking Municipal Party Committee the question of which school I should go to. After the discussion, it was unanimously decided that I should go to the Building Construction Industry Institute. Comrade Li Hsueh-feng also decided to go along. Since

Liu Shao-ch'i, identified as China's Khrushchov, made this reported self-examination at the Peking Building Construction Industry Institute on July 9, 1967. The text is taken from *Survey of China Mainland Press*, No. 4037 (October 9, 1967), pp. 1-7.

the Building Material Industry Ministry was led by the State Building Construction Commission, so Comrade Ku Mu also went to your Institute to participate in the great cultural revolution. At the time, I asked the Cultural Revolution Group of the Central Committee to send some people to participate, and it sent Comrade Ch'i Pen-yu. At the time, the several of us did not have the idea of creating experiences and popularizing them in the whole country.

On the evening of August 2, I came to your Institute to attend your rally. The above-mentioned comrades also came along. In addition, we had Liu Lan-t'ao and several other comrades who came to Peking from other areas. They decided to participate only then and there. I had no knowledge in advance.

I attended your August 2 rally mainly for the purpose of hearing some different opinions among you. And finally I spoke a few words.

On the evening of August 3, Comrades Li Hsueh-feng, Ku Mu, and Ch'i Pen-yu and I again came to your Institute. We talked first with the representatives of the "August 1 Regiment" and then with the representatives of the "Revolutionary Regiment." Our main purpose was also to hear their opinions. Finally, I talked to the representatives of the "August 1 Regiment" and the "Revolutionary Regiment" separately about several opinions of mine.

On the evening of August 4, while in Chungnanhai I had a talk with the responsible comrades of the work team. In the main I asked them a few questions and finally I said something.

On August 5, Chairman Mao's big-character poster bombarding the headquarters came out. It was then that I knew I had made grave mistakes in this great proletarian cultural revolution. At that time I already felt that I could no longer interfere with the affairs of the Building Construction Industry Institute. On the afternoon that day, I told Comrade Li Hsueh-feng over the phone that I would not go to the Building Construction Industry Institute again and would not interfere with its affairs. I had no knowledge about Comrade Li Hsueh-feng's speech on August 5 or of a later speech by Wu Hsing-feng at the Building Construction Industry Institute. After August 5, several students of the Institute wrote to me, and I also received several brief bulletins. But I did not reply. Some of these I sent to Comrade Li Hsueh-feng, and some I handled myself.

The above is a brief account of my participation in the great proletarian cultural revolution at the Peking Building Construction Industry Institute.

II

On June 1 last year (1966), after the publication in the whole country, which was approved by Chairman Mao himself, of the first Marxist-Leninist big-character poster by Comrade Nieh Yuan-tzu and six other comrades of Peking University, the great proletarian cultural revolution movement in Peking and in other parts of the nation was unfolded with great fanfare. However, in the 50 days and more after June 1, last year, I made a mistake in line and in orientation while guiding the great proletarian cultural revolution. I should bear the main responsibility for this mistake, although other comrades—such as other leading comrades of the Central Committee who were in Peking, the leading comrades of certain ministries and commissions of the State Council, the leading comrades of the new Peking Municipal Party Committee, the leading comrades of certain work teams, and certain leading comrades of other localities—also had a certain responsibility. I began to understand this mistake I myself had made only after Chairman Mao's big-character poster bombarding the headquarters came out on August 5. Before that, I did not know that I had committed such a grave error.

For some time prior to July 18 last year, the daily work of the Party Central Committee was in my charge in the absence of Chairman Mao. The conditions of the great cultural revolution in various respects in Peking were regularly reported at meetings of the Central Committee over which I presided. These meetings made some wrong decisions, approved or agreed to some wrong suggestions.

For instance:

—Sending out a large number of work teams to various universities, middle schools and some State organs in Peking.

—Devising some measures for restricting the revolutionary actions of the masses, such as drawing a line of distinction between people inside and outside an organization, forbidding the masses to demonstrate in the streets, prohibiting pasting big-character posters in the streets.

—Distributing Brief Bulletin No. 9 on the cultural revolution in Peking University to Party committees in various localities, describing the revolutionary actions of the revolutionary teachers and students as counter-revolutionary incidents.

—Distributing reports and discussion summaries which some bureaus of the Central Committee submitted to the Central Committee concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution, and so on.

In many schools in Peking, the so-called struggle for "eliminating interference" was conducted. In the Building Construction Industry Institute, the so-called struggle for "eliminating interference" became a struggle for "catching swimming fish." But I had no knowledge of it beforehand, nor did I hear anything about "catching swimming fish" at meetings of the Central Committee. Such a struggle gave rise to the phenomenon where in many schools, under the leadership of the work teams, students struggled against each other, freedom of the person was restricted and other illegal acts were committed, revolutionaries were encircled and attacked, dissent was suppressed, and even some students were branded as "counter-revolutionaries," "rightists," "sham Leftists," "swimming fish," etc. As a result, in this period the general orientation of the struggle was shifted, and many schools were engulfed by an atmosphere of white terror. Such an atmosphere of terror was reactionary; it was an atmosphere of white terror.

When the work teams first went to various schools, they were generally welcomed by the masses. Very soon, however, differences of opinion arose among the masses. Some criticized and doubted the leadership of the work teams or the opinions of certain of their members. Others criticized and doubted the opinions of certain leaders of the Party. When the majority of the work teams did a lot of things that should have been done by the mass movement and placed many restrictions on it, this naturally gave rise to discontent and doubts among the masses. Even if some speeches were too drastic, they were revolutionary speeches which demonstrated the speakers' courage to think, to speak, to struggle, and to rebel. Of course, there were a small number of rightist speeches. This, to be sure, was a normal thing. Adequate time should be allowed for all kinds of opinions to be fully expressed, fully debated and made clear.

But precisely at this critical moment, one after another, those erroneous decisions mentioned above were made at meetings of the Central Committee held to hear reports-meetings at which I presided. In the 50 days and more after the work teams were sent out, I gave consistent support to the work teams. This, then, added to the possibility of the work teams making mistakes, and added to the gravity of the mistakes which were made. The majority of the responsible members of the work teams neither understood the great proletarian cultural revolution nor properly learned from the masses. At the very outset they asked the broad masses who had been aroused to act according to the plans and steps which we and the work teams conceived on the basis of our subjective wishes. This ran counter

to the law governing the development of the revolutionary mass movement, and many serious incidents occurred. In fact, we took the reactionary bourgeois stand, practiced bourgeois dictatorship, suppressed the great cultural revolution which was then vigorously developing, confused the right and the wrong, the white and the black, thereby inflating the arrogance of the bourgeoisie and demoralizing the proletariat.

Even at this moment I still did not wake up, not knowing that the creation of such a situation was extremely abnormal, extremely unfavorable to the great proletarian cultural revolution, and extremely unfavorable to the cause of the Party and the socialist cause. This was a mistake having to do with the Right opportunist line. In a short span of 50 days and more, the damage and influence caused by the mistake of this kind were tremendous. Up to now, the consequences have not been entirely eliminated; in some places they have even been aggravated, bringing about serious feeling of opposition between the masses.

This mistake of mine runs counter to Mao Tse-tung's thought and to the theories, lines, principles and policies concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution as set forth in the circular of May 16, 1966.

III

It was Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee which asked me to take charge of the daily routine of the Party Central Committee in case Chairman Mao was not in Peking. Owing to the fact that prior to August 5, last year I still did not understand my mistake in line and orientation made in the great proletarian cultural revolution, so in several speeches at the Building Construction Industry Institute I did not take the initiative to admit my responsibility, and I did not formally stand out and straightforwardly tell all the teachers and students of the Institute that I should bear the main responsibility for the various mistakes made in the initial period of the great cultural revolution in the Institute in order to lessen the responsibility of the other leading comrades of the Central Committee who were then in Peking, of the new Peking Municipal Party Committee, of the Building Material Industry Ministry and of the work teams.

At that time I just said in a generalized way that the work team had made mistakes in your Institute. The responsibility for the

mistakes could not be borne entirely by the work team; the Party Central Committee and the new Peking Municipal Party Committee were also responsible . . . You were clear about the mistakes made by the work team in your Institute, and you might discuss them. You might also discuss the mistakes of the Party Central Committee and the new Peking Municipal Party Committee. One should be responsible for one's mistakes. Here, I did not say that I should bear the main responsibility, nor did I say that at that time the daily work of the Party Central Committee was in my charge in the absence of Chairman Mao. As a result, as to who should bear the main responsibility for the mistakes made at that time, it was far from clear. At that time, what I said was incorrect.

I attended your all-Institute debate on August 2, and heard two kinds of different opinion. Besides, the students handed me a slip, proposing a third different opinion. Although these different opinions included some questions of principle and of orientation, yet I believed that basically they were still different opinions within the ranks of the people and should be discussed and debated in a normal way, so that the right could be distinguished from the wrong, what was correct could be upheld, what was wrong could be corrected, and it might be possible to unite one and all. This was because the great proletarian cultural revolution had to rely on the revolutionary students, revolutionary teachers, and revolutionary staff members to unite with all people who could be united with before it could be successful. The great cultural revolution in a school should be undertaken mainly by the students. I believed that unity which was achieved on the basis of a desire for unity and after adequate discussions and debates—in the course of which the right was distinguished from the wrong, the truth was upheld and the mistakes were corrected—was precisely what we needed at that time. We could not say that such unity was “combining two into one.” Here, of course, I should make an examination. At the time, I did not elaborate sufficiently or correctly enough on this question.

After hearing the opinions of various quarters on August 2 and 3 last year and again hearing the speeches by leading comrades of the work team on August 4, there gradually formed in my mind the following impression: The orientation of struggle adhered to by the “August 1 Combat Regiment” was a correct one; they were firmly opposed to the erroneous leadership of the original Party Committee of the Institute and the work team, and their proletarian revolutionary rebel spirit was good. On the other hand, the “Revolutionary Regiment,” though they too said that the leadership

of the Institute Party Committee and the work team had shortcomings and made mistakes, basically protected both, because members of the "Revolutionary Regiment" were the hoodwinked. They pointed the spearhead of their struggle not at the Party Committee or the work team, but mainly at the "August 1 Regiment." For this reason, the general orientation of their struggle was fundamentally wrong. My view on this was basically identical with the views of the new Peking Municipal Party Committee. Yet I did not in time tell this view of mine to the teachers, students and staff members of the Institute. Only in my talk with comrades of the work team on August 4 did I mention this briefly — and then not in a very general manner.

Besides this, during my contacts with various quarters I also found that the Party and League organizations at the Building Construction Industry Institute were still controlled by the same set of men. They had not held any re-election, nor did they cease to carry out activities. For this reason, the activities of the Party and League organizations were often aimed at maintaining the old order and at opposing the revolutionary rebel spirit and the revolutionary rebel actions. Hence, I once suggested re-election of the Party and League organizations. If it proved impossible to hold an election for the time being, temporary convenors might be elected. On the whole, Party and League members should not hold secret meetings. When meetings were held, people outside the Party and the League — in a number doubling their own — should be invited to attend. The aim of this suggestion of mine was to prevent the great cultural revolution at the time from being controlled by the original Party and League organizations, which tried only to obstruct the development of the movement. Was my suggestion adopted? If the answer was affirmative, did it cause the majority of the cadres in the Institute to be attacked? I do not know. If the majority of the cadres were attacked because of the adoption of my suggestion, then I should take the main responsibility.

In my several speeches I also touched on the following problems:

1. Some people rose to make trouble and to rebel against our Party Committee and work team. We should not be afraid; we should support them in rising to make trouble and to rebel, even if a small number of bad people also participated. This was because the overwhelming majority of them were good people and supported the Chinese Communist Party, socialism and Chairman Mao. Bad people were only a minority. If we were afraid that some people rose to make trouble and prevented them from rebelling against us,

then we would surely make mistakes in orientation. However, in explaining this question, I talked too much, and I said this: "Don't be afraid that bad people go on to the stage, for this may do us some good. You can kill a snake only when it comes out of the cave." These words were wrong and should be refuted.

2. In several speeches I emphasized the need to unite with the majority and unite with all people who could be united with. I did not explain that all people with whom unity is possible should be united and a great revolutionary alliance and revolutionary "three-way combination" should be realized with the proletarian revolutionaries as the core and under the premise of the sameness of general orientation. Without taking the proletarian revolutionaries as the core and without the premise of the sameness of general orientation, it would be impossible to realize a great revolutionary alliance and revolutionary "three-way combination." Even if they were realized, they could not be consolidated.

3. In my several speeches I quoted from Marx: "The proletariat can liberate itself only by liberating the whole mankind." As to the question of what people should be included in the liberation of the whole mankind, I first of all pointed that they included the workers, peasants and other working people, students, and intellectuals. They constituted the bulk of humanity. However, they also included landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad people, rightists and capitalists who had not been sentenced to death, and also included the wives and children of those who had been sentenced to death. All of them need to be reformed. And to reform these people, a great deal of work had to be done. As a result, when dealing with the transformation of the remnants of these exploiting classes, I talked too much and paid too much attention to them. This aroused the feeling on the part of people that I had stood matter on its end. This was wrong.

As for the mistakes which I had made at the Peking Building Construction Industry Institute and their bad influence, I ask the comrades to freely expose and criticize them.

As regards my erroneous guiding ideas and their evil influence in the early period of the great proletarian cultural revolution, I ask the comrades to freely expose and criticize them.

As regards my other speeches and actions, I also ask the comrades to freely expose and thoroughly criticize those which do not conform to the great thought of Mao Tse-tung.

Finally, I extend my apology to the revolutionary teachers, students and staff members who have been suppressed and harmed

by the erroneous line which I represent! Those revolutionary teachers, students and staff members and the broad masses of members of the work teams who were hoodwinked by the erroneous line and who made mistakes under varying degrees in the initial period of the great proletarian cultural revolution bear little responsibility. The main responsibility rests with me. They too are the victims of the erroneous line, and I also want to extend my apology to them!

I hope that while exposing and criticizing me, our comrades will form a great revolutionary alliance and revolutionary "three-way combination" with the proletarian revolutionaries as the core, and build Peking Building Construction Industry Institute into a red great school for Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Carry through the great proletarian cultural revolution to the end!

Long live the proletarian revolutionary rebel spirit!

Long live the great, glorious and correct Chinese Communist Party!

Long live the great and invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung!

Long live the great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!

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(C) : Complete text

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