

University of Melbourne

SINDIP



PEKING REVIEW

17

April 26, 1960

Special Lenin Anniversary Issue

LONG LIVE LENINISM!

An article by the Editorial Department of *Hongqi* on the 90th anniversary of Lenin's birth (p. 6).

Forward Along the Path of The Great Lenin

An article by *Renmin Ribao's* Editorial Department (p. 23).

Unite Under Lenin's Revolutionary Banner!

Lu Ting-yi's report at the commemoration meeting held by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party (p. 33).

Sino-Burmese Joint Communique Premier Chou En-lai in India

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報

RADIO PEKING

ENGLISH LANGUAGE TRANSMISSIONS

(New Schedule Starting April 15, 1960)

| Transmission to | Peking Time | Local Time | ke/s | metres |
|----------------------------|-------------|---|---|--|
| Britain and Western Europe | 03.00-04.30 | 13.00-20.00 | 15000, 9487, 11650 | 19.92, 31.73, 25.75 |
| | 04.30-05.30 | 20.30-21.30 (London) 20.00-21.00 (Stockholm, Paris) 21.30-22.30 | | |
| North America East Coast: | 09.00-10.00 | 20.00-21.00 | 17720, 11945, 15430 17720, 11945, 15430 | 14.92, 25.12, 19.45 15.93, 25.12, 19.45 |
| | 10.00-11.00 | 21.00-22.00 (Eastern S.T.) | | |
| West Coast: | 11.00-12.00 | 19.00-20.00 | 11975, 15060, 17745 11975, 15060, 17745 | 25.05, 19.92, 16.91 23.05, 19.92, 16.91 |
| | 12.00-13.00 | 20.00-21.00 (Pacific S.T.) | | |
| Australia and New Zealand | 16.30-17.30 | 18.30-19.30 | 15060, 17835 15060, 17835 | 19.92, 14.82 19.92, 14.82 |
| | 17.30-18.30 | 19.30-20.30 (Aust. S.T.) 20.30-21.30 (N.Z. S.T.) | | |
| Southeast Asia | 19.00-20.00 | 18.30-19.30 | 11885, 15417 11820, 15895, 11190 | 25.24, 19.46 25.28, 19.87, 23.2 |
| | 20.00-21.00 | 19.30-20.30 (Djakarta, Singapore) 19.00-20.00 (Manila) 20.00-21.00 | | |
| India, Pakistan and Ceylon | 22.00-23.00 | 14.30-20.30 | 11965, 15140, 17810 12610, 15060, 17675, 11190 | 25.07, 19.82, 14.84 24.00, 19.92, 16.97, 24.3 |
| | 00.00-01.00 | 21.30-22.30 (Delhi, Colombo) 19.00-20.00 (West Pakistan) 20.00-21.00 (East Pakistan) 22.00-23.00 (Addis Ababa) | | |
| Africa | 23.00-24.00 | 18.00-19.00 (Entebbe) 18.00-19.00 (Nairobi) 18.00-19.00 (Berbers) | 9775, 15605, 11740 | 30.69, 19.87, 25.55 |
| Africa | 01.00-02.00 | 19.00-20.00 (Capetown) 19.00-20.00 (Salisbury) 20.00-21.00 (Nairobi) 20.00-21.00 (Dar es Salaam) | 15605, 1190, 11740, 9775 | 19.87, 25.2, 25.55, 30.69 |
| Africa | 02.00-03.00 | 17.15-18.15 (Monrovia) 18.00-19.00 (Accra) 18.00-19.00 (Freetown) 19.00-20.00 (Lagos) 20.00-21.00 (Cairo) | 15605, 11740, 9775 | 19.87, 25.35, 30.49 |
| Africa | 05.30-06.30 | 22.30-23.30 (Lagos) 21.30-22.30 (Accra) 21.30-22.30 (Freetown) 20.45-21.45 (Monrovia) | 9500, 11990, 15520, 11740 | 21.54, 25.04, 19.33, 25.55 |

RADIO PEKING'S PORTUGUESE TRANSMISSIONS TO SOUTH AMERICA

| Peking Time | Time on E. Coast of S. America | ke/s | metres |
|-------------|--------------------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| 07.00-07.30 | 20.00-20.30 | 9487, 11650, 15060 | 31.73, 25.75, 19.92 |
| 08.00-08.30 | 21.00-21.30 | 9487, 11650, 15060 | 31.73, 25.75, 19.92 |
| 09.30-10.00 | 22.30-23.00 | 9487, 11650, 15060 | 31.73, 25.75, 19.92 |

RADIO PEKING'S GERMAN TRANSMISSIONS TO EUROPE

| Peking Time | Central European Time | ke/s | metres |
|-------------|-----------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| 02.00-03.30 | 19.00-19.30 | 9487, 11650, 15060 | 31.73, 25.75, 19.92 |
| 04.00-04.30 | 21.00-21.30 | 9487, 11650, 15060 | 31.73, 25.75, 19.92 |

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PEKING REVIEW

北京周报

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

April 26, 1960 Vol. III No. 17

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Round the Week

A Great Lenin Anniversary

Together with the working people the world over, the Chinese nation commemorated the 90th anniversary of the birth of V.I. Lenin, the great revolutionary teacher of the proletariat. Meetings were held in all the major cities of the country, in government offices, popular organizations, industrial enterprises, army units, schools and urban and rural people's communes. Celebrations in the capital climaxed in a grand meeting at the Great Hall of the People on April 22, Lenin's birthday. This meeting, sponsored by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, was televised and hundreds of thousands of city residents followed it on television sets.

The magnificent Great Hall of the People was decorated that afternoon with dignified simplicity. A huge portrait of Lenin hung at the back of the rostrum. It was flanked on each side by five great red banners on which were superimposed in figures of gold the dates "1870-1960." More than 10,000 leading personages of all walks of life in the capital were gathered there in honour of the great revolutionary teacher. Among them were Chu Teh and Lin Piao, Vice-Chairmen of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party; Teng Hsiao-ping, General Secretary of the Party's Central Committee; Soong Ching Ling, Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of China, and other leaders of the Party and state. The Soviet Ambassador to China S.V. Chervonenko and diplomatic envoys of the other socialist countries were also present.

Peng Chen, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, presided at the meeting. After he declared the meeting open, the band played the *Internationale*. Then Lu Ting-yi, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Party's Central Committee, delivered the report "Unite Under Lenin's Revolutionary Banner!" (Its text appears elsewhere in this issue.) His speech in tribute to the great

Lenin drew thunderous applause again and again from the packed hall.

Nationwide Activities

Exhibitions on Lenin's life and revolutionary activities are held in all cities. At Peking's Museum of the Chinese Revolution at Tien An Men Square, a special exhibition jointly arranged by the Museum of the Chinese Revolution and the Peking Library opened last Friday, April 22. On exhibit are photographs showing Lenin's life, written excerpts from Lenin's works, photostat copies of his manuscripts, and Chinese editions of Lenin's works published in the various periods of the Chinese revolution. These exhibits tell of Lenin's life-long devotion to the revolutionary cause of the world proletariat, and forcefully show the immeasurable contribution of Lenin's teachings to the Chinese revolution and the revolution of the world proletariat as a whole. The Peking Sino-Soviet Friendship Association is holding exhibitions in the various parks and districts of the city. These have drawn big crowds every day. Similar exhibitions are being held in Shanghai, Tientsin, Wuhan, Chungking, Shenyang, Harbin, Nanking and other cities. In Canton, South China, the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association branch has been exhibiting more than 100 photographs and reproductions of oil paintings on Lenin, classified under various headings giving a clear picture of Lenin's life and activities and the influence of his works on the world revolutionary struggle.

In commemorating this great day, all the cities put on special theatrical performances and film shows. The Peking People's Art Theatre, the Experimental Modern Drama Theatre of the Central Institute of Drama and other theatres in the capital staged famous Soviet plays, including *The Man with the Gun* and *Lenin* and the *Younger Generation*. Films on Lenin, such as *The Ulyanov Family* and *Stories of Lenin*, have also been shown.

Commemorative Editions

All leading periodicals and newspapers in the country have carried

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special articles in honour of the occasion. *Hongqi*, fortnightly of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, carried in its last issue the article entitled "Long Live Leninism!" written by its editorial department (full text appears elsewhere in this issue). "Lenin on the Chinese Revolution" was another article which appeared in the same number. On April 22, *Renmin Ribao* came out with a special article written by its editorial department. Its title was splashed across its front page in a banner headline: "Forward Along the Path of the Great Lenin!"

A four-volume edition of *Selected Works of Lenin*, compiled by the Editing and Translating Bureau for the Works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, came off the press on April 22. This edition has selected Lenin's important works in the various periods of his revolutionary struggles, dealing with many fundamental questions of Marxism. The People's Publishing House in Peking edited and published six pamphlets of excerpts from Lenin's works classified under the following titles: *Imperialism Is the Prelude to the Proletarian Socialist Revolution*, *Proletarian Revolution and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat*, *The National Liberation Movement*, *War and Peace*, *Oppose Revisionism* and *The New Type of Revolutionary Proletarian Political Party*.

There is also good news for philatelists. A set of three postage stamps in honour of the occasion was issued on April 22 by the Chinese Ministry of Posts and Tele-communications. The designs of all three have been taken from portraits by the noted Soviet painter Vasiliev.

Ingenious Chungking

Chungking is in the news again. Only recently it hit the front pages as one of the nation's pioneers in organizing urban collective life. Now this rising industrial centre on the upper Yangtse in Szechuan Province is attracting attention for its achievements as a pioneer in the mass movement for technical innovations and technical revolution.

At the start of the year, nearly 70 per cent of the work in the city's industrial enterprises was done by hand. By the end of March workers, technicians and leading cadres had cooperated to develop mechanical and

automatic devices reducing manual processes to less than 40 per cent of the work. The rank and file have shown great ingenuity in the movement. Three weeks of hard thinking and experiment by the Chungking Tea Factory workers put the processing of tea on an automatic basis. Such innovations giving a sharp upswing to Chungking's production also earned it the honour of being chosen as the venue of a two-week "on-the-spot conference" to study its methods and swap experience in general.

China's Technical Revolution

The Chungking conference was jointly sponsored by the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, the First Ministry of Machine-building and the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Youth League. More than 1,500 delegates attended. Including outstanding innovators and inventors of the country, they represented various trades and professions in 27 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions. In two weeks of meetings, they reported on the new methods they have evolved, discussed key production problems that needed solutions and summed up the experience gained in the technical revolution over the past few months.

The overall picture they put together is more than encouraging. The mass movement for technical innovations and technical revolution has spread in a few months to every part of the country, embracing both the large, modern plants and the small factories where manual operations still predominate. Centring on mechanization and semi-mechanization, automation and semi-automation, it has helped to bring about constant improvements in production techniques, raised productivity and sustained a continued leap forward in every branch of the economy. In the nation's machine-building industry, more than 180,000 different manual operations have been replaced by mechanical and semi-mechanical devices. This alone gives a measure of the sweep this mass movement has already attained.

As its scope has grown, the movement has developed rapidly from improvement in individual machines and particular working methods to encompass and bring about systematic improvements in whole processes of production. It is having so great an

impact on the growth of the national economy that at the present stage it stands out as the most significant feature in China's socialist construction.

The Chungking conference yielded a wealth of invaluable material. Even before the conference ended, there was a flurry of long-distance calls, telegrams and airmailed letters from delegates anxious to get back news to their areas as soon as possible about the improved methods and techniques they had just learnt.

The First Ministry of Machine-building has compiled the rich material of the conference into ten volumes comprising 1,400,000 words with nearly 2,000 illustrations. Systematization and popularization of this experience will have an enormous effect in carrying the movement forward and raising the nation's technological level.

First Harvest Tidings

First to break the news of this year's harvest is Fukien in South China. It reports: "Bigger than ever!" Despite a prolonged dry spell of five months it got a big increase in per mu yields of winter wheat and barley over large areas. Quite a number of places raised yields from 70 to 100 per cent. Putien County got a more than 100 per cent increase. In the hill county of Yunhsiao, the Dongxia Commune's wheat crop averaged over 500 jin a mu. These results have toppled the old belief that wheat grown in a warm climate gives low yields.

Wheat ripens quickly in Fukien's warm seaboard climate. This year's crop was planted and harvested much earlier than usual so that early rice has now been transplanted to the same fields in time to be harvested this summer. With another quick ripening autumn crop this means the same field grows three crops a year instead of two.

This rich spring crop of wheat and barley has given a big boost to the morale of the Fukien communes. They are now going all out for a rich summer harvest.

Story of a City People's Commune

People's communes are being set up all over Peking and other cities. This is a natural outcome of the leap forward in the nation's economy, the overall growth in production and com-

munity welfare undertakings. These rapid developments have required a new form of social organization suited to the new situation that has emerged. And this is the urban people's commune—a new thing in socialist China. Like all new things they raise many problems which their organizers have to solve. Hence the considerable space being devoted in the press today to passing on the experience of various communes that have already got through their teething troubles.

Renmin Ribao recently carried a story on the birth and growth of the Red Flag People's Commune in Kuancheng District in Chengchow, provincial capital of Honan. It throws light on the way an urban commune grows.

Kuancheng District was a former slum in the northeastern part of Chengchow. Now it has more than 40 factories, 50 community dining-rooms, various other community welfare centres and is being physically and socially utterly transformed.

It started in May 1958. Workers and peasants throughout the country were plunging into the big leap forward in production. Kuancheng housewives also bestirred themselves and eagerly discussed how they could do their bit to speed the building of socialism. Kai Hsiu-jung, secretary of a local Communist Party branch and chairman of the local community committee, suggested that they might start a neighbourhood production team. Women in a dozen households took up the idea and formed their first small team.

Without any very specialized skill and not much in the way of capital they began with making such simple things as cloth shoe-soles, paper bags and other odds and ends for a department store which supplied them the raw materials they needed. Before long they discovered the merits of working collectively. Their skill improved quickly, and their workshop was soon a going concern. They elected a "liaison officer," to be in charge of dealings with buyers and finding raw materials. Their conscientious work soon earned them a reputation, and neighbouring shops and factories began to place more and more orders with them. In a few weeks, they had to expand the team as other housewives joined. Subsequently several sub-teams doing different kinds of work were formed.

This growth brought up new problems to be tackled: the question of looking after the babies and toddlers, preparing meals, household mending, etc. Members wished they had a community dining-room and a nursery, like the big factories. The idea was quickly taken up. Without much ado, they set up a dining-room and organized a nursery. Some contributed kitchen knives, others offered pots and pans and still others cooking utensils. One of the women known for her good cooking volunteered to take charge of the kitchen. Another offered to take over the nursery and make it the "real thing" they wanted.

Not long afterwards, the 21 households making up the team pulled down the walls separating their courtyards so that they could organize their work and everyday life better and more conveniently. Their quarters got the name of the "big socialist compound." By and by, more production teams and dining-rooms were set up. Kai Hsiu-jung's team, as the pioneer, naturally became the nucleus of this newly-formed community industrial enterprise. It handled orders for the new teams as they were formed, and expanded its nursery to accommodate the children of new members. Within a short time, together with new teams which it formed itself and other groups which joined them, it developed into quite a big organization with workshops turning out cloth shoes, clothing, saltpetre, refractory materials and other goods. Now they were not merely doing processing work for shops as they had at the beginning but were branching out on their own.

During the general expansion of industry and agriculture as the big leap forward shot ahead, their products found a ready market. This boom also stimulated the growth of similar neighbourhood factories and workshops in other parts of the district. Each found their further development cramped because of their limited resources. So they began to discuss the possibility of forming a still bigger community. It was just at this time that news came that Chairman Mao



Teaching New Hands

Sketch by Huang Chou

Tse-tung, on an inspection tour in the neighbouring province of Shantung, said on August 9, 1958 that it was a good idea to set up people's communes. Six days later, on August 15, the Red Flag People's Commune was established by 4,683 households in Kuancheng District. It merged all the neighbourhood factories of the same trades in the district and set up new ones. To keep pace with these developments, a network of nurseries and schools, and a whole range of dining-rooms, canteens, and other local welfare services have since been set up. Last year, the commune's industrial output shot up to 6.55 million yuan in value. This year, the commune plans to turn out even more goods than the last.

Kuancheng District had changed beyond recognition. But the greatest change is in the outlook of its people. Many former housewives now run factories and other undertakings. The commune now has six production branches; all of them are headed by women who were ordinary housewives barely 18 months ago. Their lot was household chores, shopping, cooking, cleaning, minding the children and other odd jobs from morn to bed-time in cramped quarters which were repeated day after day. Now, in their factories and offices, welfare centres and club rooms, they have entered on "the big life" of socialism.

LONG LIVE LENINISM!

In Commemoration of the Ninetieth Anniversary of the Birth of Lenin

by THE EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT OF "HONGQI"

I

APRIL 22 of this year is the ninetieth anniversary of the birth of Lenin.

1871, the year after Lenin's birth, saw the heroic uprising of the Paris Commune. The Paris Commune was a great, epoch-making revolution, the first dress rehearsal of universal significance in the proletariat's attempt to overthrow the capitalist system. When the Commune was on the verge of defeat as a result of the counter-revolutionary attack from Versailles, Marx said:

If the Commune should be destroyed, the struggle would only be postponed. The principles of the Commune are perpetual and indestructible; they will present themselves again and again until the working class is liberated. ("Speech on the Paris Commune," *Collected Works of Marx and Engels*, 1st Russ. ed., Vol. XIII, part 2, p. 655.)

What is the most important principle of the Commune? According to Marx, it is that the working class cannot simply take hold of the existing state machine, and use it for its own purposes. In other words, the proletariat should use revolutionary means to seize state power, smash the military and bureaucratic machine of the bourgeoisie and establish the proletarian dictatorship to replace the bourgeois dictatorship. Anyone familiar with the history of proletarian struggle knows that it is precisely this fundamental question which forms the dividing line between Marxists on the one hand and opportunists and revisionists on the other, and that after the death of Marx and Engels it was none other than Lenin who waged a thoroughly uncompromising struggle against the opportunists and revisionists in order to safeguard the principles of the Commune.

The cause in which the Paris Commune did not succeed finally triumphed 46 years later in the Great October Revolution under Lenin's direct leadership. The experience of the Russian Soviets was a continuation and development of the experience of the Paris Commune. The principles of the Commune continually expounded by Marx and Engels and enriched by Lenin in the light of the new experience of the Russian revolution, became a living reality for the first time on one-sixth of the earth. Marx was perfectly correct in saying that the principles of the Commune are perpetual and indestructible.

In their attempt to strangle the new-born Soviet State, the imperialist jackals carried out armed intervention against it, in league with the Russian counter-revolutionary forces of that time. But the heroic Russian working class and the people of the various nationalities of the Soviet Union drove off the foreign bandits, wiped out the counter-revolutionary rebellion within the country

and thus consolidated the world's first great Socialist Republic.

Under the banner of Lenin, under the banner of the October Revolution, a new world revolution began, with the proletarian revolution playing the leading role. A new era dawned in human history.

Through the October Revolution, the voice of Lenin quickly resounded throughout the world. The Chinese people's anti-imperialist, anti-feudal May 4 Movement in 1919, as Comrade Mao Tse-tung put it, "came into being at the call of the world revolution of that time, of the Russian Revolution and of Lenin." (*"On New Democracy," Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1954, Vol. III, p. 146.)

LENIN'S call is powerful because it is correct. Under the historical conditions of the imperialist era, Lenin revealed a series of irrefutable truths concerning the proletarian revolution and the proletarian dictatorship.

Lenin pointed out that the oligarchs of finance capital in a small number of capitalist powers, that is, imperialists, not only exploit the masses of people in their own countries, but oppress and plunder the whole world, turning most countries into their colonies and dependencies. Imperialist war is a continuation of imperialist policy. World wars are started by the imperialists because of their insatiable greed in struggling for world markets, sources of raw materials and fields for investment, and to redivide the world. So long as capitalist imperialism exists in the world, the sources and possibility of war will remain. The proletariat should guide the masses of people to an understanding of the sources of war and to struggle for peace and against imperialism.

Lenin asserted that imperialism is monopolistic, parasitic or decaying, moribund capitalism, that it is the final stage in the development of capitalism and therefore is the eve of the proletarian revolution. The emancipation of the proletariat can only be arrived at by the road of revolution, and certainly not by the road of reformism. The liberation movement of the proletariat in the capitalist countries should ally itself with the national liberation movements in the colonies and dependent countries; this alliance can smash the alliance of the imperialists with the feudal and comprador reactionary forces in the colonies and dependent countries, and will therefore inevitably put a final end to the imperialist system throughout the world.

In the light of the law of the uneven economic and political development of capitalism, Lenin came to the conclusion that, because capitalism developed extremely

unevenly in different countries, socialism would achieve victory first in one or several countries but could not achieve victory simultaneously in all countries. Therefore, in spite of the victory of socialism in one or several countries, other capitalist countries will still exist, and this will give rise not only to friction but also to imperialist subversive activities against the socialist states. Hence the struggle will be protracted. The struggle between socialism and capitalism will embrace a whole historical epoch. The socialist countries should maintain constant vigilance against the danger of imperialist attack and do their best to guard against this danger.

THE fundamental question of all revolutions is the question of state power. Lenin showed in a comprehensive and penetrating way that the fundamental question of the proletarian revolution is the proletarian dictatorship. The proletarian dictatorship, established by smashing the state machine of the bourgeois dictatorship by revolutionary means, is an alliance of a special type between the proletariat and the peasantry and all other working people; it is a continuation of the class struggle in another form under new conditions; it involves a persistent struggle, both sanguinary and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, educational and administrative, against the resistance of the exploiting classes, against foreign aggression and against the forces and traditions of the old society. Without the proletarian dictatorship, without its full mobilization of the working people on these fronts to wage these unavoidable struggles stubbornly and persistently, there can be no socialism, nor can there be any victory for socialism.

Lenin considered it of prime importance for the proletariat to establish its own genuinely revolutionary political party which completely breaks with opportunism, that is, a Communist Party, if the proletarian revolution is to be carried through and the proletarian dictatorship established and consolidated. This political party is armed with the theory of Marxist dialectical materialism and historical materialism. Its programme is to organize the proletariat and all oppressed working people for class struggle, to set up proletarian rule and passing through socialism to reach the final goal of communism. This political party must identify itself with the masses and attach great importance to their creative initiative in the making of history; it must closely rely on the masses in revolution and must do the same in socialist and communist construction.

These truths were constantly set forth by Lenin before and after the October Revolution. The world reactionaries and philistines of the time thought these truths of Lenin terrifying. But we see these truths winning victory after victory in the practical life of the world.

In the forty years and more since the October Revolution, tremendous new changes have taken place in the world.

Through its great achievements in socialist and communist construction, the Soviet Union has transformed itself from an economically and technically very backward country in the days of imperial Russia into a first-rate world power with the most advanced technology.

By its economic and technological leaps the Soviet Union has left the European capitalist countries far behind and left the United States behind, too, in technology.

The great victory of the anti-fascist war in which the Soviet Union was the main force broke the chain of imperialism in Central and Eastern Europe. The great victory of the Chinese people's revolution broke the chain of imperialism on the Chinese mainland. A new group of socialist countries was born. The whole socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union has one-quarter of the earth's land space and over one-third of the world's population. The socialist camp has now become an independent world economic system, standing opposite the capitalist world economic system. The gross industrial output value of the socialist countries now accounts for nearly 40 per cent of the world total, and it will not be long before it surpasses the gross industrial output value of all the capitalist countries put together.

The imperialist colonial system has disintegrated and is disintegrating further. The struggle naturally has its twists and turns, but on the whole the storm of the national liberation movement is sweeping over Asia, Africa and Latin America on a daily increasing scale. Things are developing towards their opposites: There the imperialists are going step by step from strength to weakness, while the people are going step by step from weakness to strength.

The relative stability of capitalism, which existed for a time after the First World War, ended long ago. With the formation of the socialist world economic system after the Second World War, the capitalist world market has greatly shrunk. The contradiction between the productive forces and production relations in capitalist society has become more acute. The periodic economic crises of capitalism no longer come as before once every ten years or so, but occur almost every three or four years. Recently, some representatives of the U.S. bourgeoisie have admitted that the United States has suffered three "economic recessions" in ten years, and they now have premonitions of a new "economic recession" after just having pulled through the one in 1957-58. The shortening of the interval between capitalist economic crises is a new phenomenon. It is a further sign that the world capitalist system is drawing nearer and nearer to its inevitable doom.

THE unevenness in the development of the capitalist countries is worse than ever before. The domain of the imperialists has shrunk more and more, so that they collide with one another. U.S. imperialism is constantly grabbing markets and spheres of influence away from the British, French and other imperialists. The imperialist countries headed by the United States have been expanding armaments and making war preparations for more than ten years, while West German and Japanese militarism, defeated in the Second World War, have risen again with the help of their former enemy — U.S. imperialism. The imperialists of these two countries have come out to join in the scramble for the capitalist world market, are now once again talking long and loudly about their "traditional friendship" and are engaging in new activities for a so-called "Bonn-Tokyo axis with Washington as the starting point." West German imperialism is looking

brazenly around for military bases abroad. This aggravates the bitter conflicts within imperialism and at the same time heightens the threat to the socialist camp and all peace-loving countries. The present situation is very much like that after the First World War when the U.S. and British imperialists fostered the resurgence of German militarism, and the outcome will again be their "picking up a rock only to drop it on their own feet." The U.S. imperialists' creation of world tension after the Second World War is a sign not of their strength but of their weakness and precisely reflects the unprecedented instability of the capitalist system.

The U.S. imperialists, in order to realize their ambition for world domination, not only carry out all kinds of premeditated sabotage and subversion against the socialist countries, but also, under the pretext of opposing "the communist menace," in their self-appointed role of world gendarme for suppressing the revolution in various countries, deploy their military bases all around the world, seize the intermediate areas and carry out military provocations. Like a rat running across the street while everyone shouts "Throw something at it!" the U.S. imperialists run into bumps and bruises everywhere and, contrary to their intentions, everywhere arouse a new upsurge of the people's revolutionary struggle. Now, they themselves are becoming aware that, in contrast with the growing prosperity of the socialist world headed by the Soviet Union, "the influence of the United States as a world power is declining." In them, one "can only see the decline and fall of ancient Rome."

The changes taking place in the world in the past forty years and more indicate that imperialism rots with every passing day while for socialism things are daily getting better. It is a great, new epoch that we are facing, and its main characteristic is that the forces of socialism have surpassed those of imperialism, that the forces of the awakening people of the world have surpassed those of reaction.

THE present world situation has obviously undergone tremendous changes since Lenin's lifetime, but these changes have not proved the obsolescence of Leninism; on the contrary, they have more and more clearly confirmed the truths revealed by Lenin and all the theories he advanced during the struggle to defend revolutionary Marxism and develop Marxism.

In the historical conditions of the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution, Lenin carried Marxism forward to a new stage and showed all the oppressed classes and people the path along which they could really shake off capitalist-imperialist enslavement and poverty. These forty years have been forty years of victory for Leninism in the world, forty years in which Leninism has found its way deeper into the hearts of the world's people. Leninism has not only won and will continue to win great victories in countries where the socialist system has been established, but is also constantly achieving new victories in the struggles of all oppressed peoples.

The victory of Leninism is acclaimed by the people of the whole world, and at the same time cannot but incur the enmity of the imperialists and all reactionaries. The imperialists, to weaken the influence of Leninism and paralyse the revolutionary will of the masses, launch

the most barbarous and despicable attacks and slanders against Leninism, and, moreover, but up and utilize the vacillators and renegades within the workers' movement to distort and emasculate the teachings of Lenin. At the end of the nineteenth century when Marxism was putting various anti-Marxist trends to rout, spreading widely throughout the workers' movement and gaining a predominant position, the revisionists represented by Bernstein proposed to revise the teachings of Marx, in keeping with the needs of the bourgeoisie. Now, when Leninism is guiding the working class and all oppressed classes and nations of the world to great victories in the march against imperialism and all kinds of reactionaries, the modern revisionists represented by Tito propose to revise the teachings of Lenin (that is, modern Marxist teachings), in keeping with the needs of the imperialists. As pointed out in the Declaration of the meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries held in Moscow in November 1957, "The existence of bourgeois influence is an internal source of revisionism, while surrender to imperialist pressure is its external source." Old revisionism attempted to prove that Marxism was outmoded, while modern revisionism attempts to prove that Leninism is outmoded. The Moscow Declaration said:

Modern revisionism seeks to smear the great teaching of Marxism-Leninism, declares that it is "outmoded" and alleges that it has lost its significance for social progress. The revisionists try to kill the revolutionary spirit of Marxism, to undermine faith in socialism among the working class and the working people in general.

This passage of the Declaration has put it correctly; such is exactly the situation.

Are the teachings of Marxism-Leninism now "outmoded"? Does the whole, integrated teaching of Lenin on imperialism, on proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship, on war and peace, and on the building of socialism and communism still retain its vigorous vitality? If it is still valid and does retain vigorous vitality, does this refer only to a certain portion of it or to the whole? We usually say that Leninism is Marxism in the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution, Marxism in the epoch of the victory of socialism and communism. Does this view remain correct? Can it be said that Lenin's original conclusions and our usual conception of Leninism have lost their validity and correctness, and that therefore we should turn back and accept those revisionist and opportunist conclusions which Lenin long ago smashed to smithereens and which have gone disgracefully bankrupt in actual life? These questions now confront us and must be answered. Marxist-Leninists must thoroughly expose the absurdities of the imperialists and modern revisionists on these questions, eradicate their influence among the masses, awaken those they have temporarily hoodwinked and further arouse the revolutionary will of the masses.

II

THE U.S. imperialists, open representatives of the bourgeoisie in many countries, the modern revisionists represented by the Tito clique, and the right-wing social democrats, in order to mislead the people of the world, do all they can to paint an utterly distorted picture of the contemporary world situation in an attempt to confuse

their ravings on how "Marxism is outmoded," and "Leninism is outmoded too."

Tito's speech at the end of last year referred repeatedly to the so-called "new epoch" of the modern revisionists. He said, "Today the world has entered an epoch in which nations can relax and tranquilly devote themselves to their internal construction tasks." Then he added, "We have entered an epoch when new questions are on the agenda, not questions of war and peace but questions of co-operation, economic and otherwise, and when economic co-operation is concerned, there is also the question of economic competition." (From Tito's speech in Zagreb, December 12, 1959.) This renegade completely writes off the question of class contradictions and class struggle in the world, in an attempt to negate the consistent interpretation of Marxist-Leninists that our epoch is the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution, the epoch of the victory of socialism and communism.

But how do things really stand in the world?

Can the exploited and oppressed people in the imperialist countries "relax"? Can the peoples of all the colonies and semi-colonies still under imperialist oppression "relax"?

Has the armed intervention led by the U.S. imperialists in Asia, Africa and Latin America become "tranquil"? Is there "tranquillity" in our Taiwan Straits when the U.S. imperialists are still occupying our country's Taiwan? Is there "tranquillity" on the African continent when the people of Algeria and many other parts of Africa are subjected to armed repressions by the French, British and other imperialists? Is there any "tranquillity" in Latin America when the U.S. imperialists are trying to wreck the people's revolution in Cuba by means of bombing, assassination and subversion?

What kind of "construction" is meant in saying "(they) devote themselves to their internal construction tasks"? Everyone knows that there are different types of countries in the world today, and principally two types of countries with social systems fundamentally different in nature. One type belongs to the socialist world system, the other to the capitalist world system. Is Tito referring to the "internal construction tasks" of arms expansion which the imperialists are carrying out in order to oppress the peoples of their own countries and oppress the whole world? Or is it the "internal construction" carried out by socialism for the promotion of the people's happiness and in the pursuit of lasting world peace?

Is the question of war and peace no longer an issue? Is it that imperialism no longer exists, the system of exploitation no longer exists, and therefore the question of war no longer exists? Or is it that there can be no question of war even if imperialism and the system of exploitation are allowed to survive for ever? The fact is that since the Second World War there has been continuous and unbroken warfare. Do not the imperialist wars to suppress



Commemorating the 90th Anniversary of the Birth of Lenin

A poster by Chiang Chao-ko

national liberation movements and the imperialist wars of armed intervention against revolutions in various countries count as wars? Even though these wars have not developed into world wars, still do not these local wars count as wars? Even though these wars were not fought with nuclear weapons, still do not wars using so-called conventional weapons count as wars? Does not the U.S. imperialists' allocation of nearly 60 per cent of the 1960 budget outlay to arms expansion and war preparations count as a bellicose policy on the part of U.S. imperialism? Will the revival of West German and Japanese militarisms not confront mankind with the danger of a new big war?

What kind of "co-operation" is meant? Is it "co-operation" of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie to protect capitalism? Is it "co-operation" of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples with the imperialists to protect colonialism? Is it "co-operation" of socialist countries with capitalist countries to protect the imperialist system in its oppression of the peoples in these countries and suppression of national liberation wars?

In a word, the assertions of the modern revisionists about their so-called "epoch" are so many challenges to

Leninism on the foregoing issues. It is their aim to obliterate the contradiction between the masses of people and the monopoly capitalist class in the imperialist countries, the contradiction between the colonial and semi-colonial peoples and the imperialist aggressors, the contradiction between the socialist system and the imperialist system, and the contradiction between the peace-loving people of the world and the warlike imperialist bloc.

THERE have been different ways of describing the distinctions between different "epochs." Generally speaking, there is one way which is merely drivel, concocting and playing around with vague, ambiguous phrases to cover up the essence of the epoch. This is the old trick of the imperialists, the bourgeoisie and the revisionists in the workers' movement. Then there is another way, which is to make a concrete analysis of the concrete situation with regard to the overall class contradictions and class struggle, putting forward strictly scientific definitions, and thus bringing the essence of the epoch thoroughly to light. This is the work of every serious Marxist.

On the features that distinguish an epoch, Lenin said:

... We are speaking here of big historical epochs; in every epoch there are, and there will be, separate, partial movements sometimes forward, at other times backwards, there are, and there will be, various deviations from the average type and average tempo of the movements.

We cannot know how fast and how successfully certain historical movements of the given epoch will develop. But we can and do know which class occupies a central position in this or that epoch and determines its main content, the main direction of its development, the main characteristics of the historical situation in the given epoch, etc.

Only on this basis, i.e., by taking into consideration first and foremost the fundamental distinctive features of different "epochs" (and not of individual episodes in the history of different countries) can we correctly work out our tactics. . . . ("Under a False Flag," *Collected Works*, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. XXI, p. 125.)

An epoch, as referred to here by Lenin, presents the question of which class holds the central position in an epoch and determines its main content and main direction of development.

Faithful to Marx's dialectics, Lenin never for a single moment departed from the standpoint of analysing class relations. He held that: "Marxism judges 'interests' by the class antagonisms and the class struggles which manifest themselves in millions of facts of everyday life." ("Collapse of the Second International," *Selected Works*, International Publishers, New York, 1943, Vol. V, p. 189.) He stated:

The method of Marx consists, first of all, in taking into consideration the objective content of the historical process at the given concrete moment, in the given concrete situation, in understanding first of all which class it is whose movement constitutes the mainspring of possible progress in this concrete situation. . . . ("Under a False Flag," *Collected Works*, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. XXI, p. 123.)

Lenin always demanded that we examine the concrete process of historical development on the basis of class analysis, instead of talking vaguely about "society in general" or "progress in general." We Marxists must not base proletarian policy merely on certain passing events

or minute political changes, but on the overall class contradictions and class struggle of a whole historical epoch. This is a basic theoretical position of Marxists. It was by taking a firm stand on this position that Lenin, in the new period of class changes, in the new historical period, came to the conclusion that the hope of humanity lay entirely with the victory of the proletariat and that the proletariat must prepare itself to win victory in this great revolutionary battle and establish a proletarian dictatorship. After the October Revolution, at the Seventh Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) in 1918, Lenin stated:

We must begin with the general basis of the development of commodity production, the transition to capitalism and the transformation of capitalism into imperialism. Thereby we shall be theoretically taking up and consolidating a position from which nobody who has not betrayed socialism can dislodge us. From this follows an equally inevitable conclusion: the era of social revolution is beginning. ("Report on Revising the Programme and Name of the Party," *Selected Works*, International Publishers, New York, 1943, Vol. VIII, p. 317.)

This is Lenin's conclusion, a conclusion which up to the present still requires deep consideration by all Marxists.

The formulation of revolutionary Marxists that ours is the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution, the epoch of the victory of socialism and communism is irrefutable, because it grasps with complete correctness the basic features of our present great epoch. The formulation that Leninism is the continuation and development of revolutionary Marxism in this great epoch and that it is the theory and policy of proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship is also irrefutable, because it is precisely Leninism that exposed the contradictions in our great epoch — the contradictions between the working class and monopoly capital, the contradictions among the imperialist countries, the contradictions between the colonial and semi-colonial peoples and imperialism, and the contradictions between the socialist countries, where the proletariat has triumphed, and the imperialist countries. Leninism has, therefore, become our banner of victory. Contrary, however, to this series of revolutionary Marxist formulation, in the so-called "new epoch" of the Titos, there is actually no imperialism, no proletarian revolution and, needless to say, no theory and policy of the proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship. In short, with them, the fundamental focal points of the class contradictions and class struggles of our epoch are nowhere to be seen, the fundamental questions of Leninism are missing and there is no Leninism.

THE modern revisionists assert that in their so-called "new epoch," because of the progress of science and technology, the "old conceptions" of Marx and Lenin are no longer applicable. Tito made the following assertion: "We are not dogmatists, for Marx and Lenin did not predict the rocket on the moon, atomic bombs and the great technical progress." (From Tito's speech in Zagreb, December 12, 1959.) Not dogmatists, that's fine. Who want them to be dogmatists? But one can oppose dogmatism to defend Marxism-Leninism or one can actually oppose Marxism-Leninism in the name of opposing dogmatism. The Titos belong to the latter category. On the question of what effect scientific and technological

progress has on social development, there are people who hold incorrect views because they are not able to approach the question from the materialist viewpoint of history. This is understandable. But the modern revisionists, on the other hand, are deliberately creating confusion on this question in a vain attempt to make use of the progress in science and technology to throw Marxism-Leninism to the winds.

In the past few years, the achievements of the Soviet Union in science and technology have been foremost in the world. These Soviet achievements are products of the Great October Revolution. These outstanding achievements mark a new era in man's conquest of nature and at the same time play a very important role in defending world peace. But, in the new conditions brought about by the development of modern technology, has the ideological system of Marxism-Leninism been shaken, as Tito says, by the "rocket on the moon, atomic bombs and the great technical progress" which Marx and Lenin "did not predict"? Can it be said that the Marxist-Leninist world outlook, social-historical outlook, moral outlook and other basic concepts have therefore become what they call stale "dogmas" and that the law of class struggle henceforth no longer holds good?

MARX and Lenin did not live to the present day, and of course could not see certain specific details of technological progress in the present-day world. But what, after all, does the development of natural science and the advance of technology augur for the capitalist system? Marx and Lenin held that this could only augur a new social revolution, but could certainly not augur the fading away of social revolution.

We know that both Marx and Lenin rejoiced in the new discoveries and progress of natural science and technology in the conquest of nature. Engels said in his "Speech at the Graveside of Karl Marx":

Science was for Marx a historically dynamic, revolutionary force. However great the joy with which he welcomed a new discovery in some theoretical science whose practical application perhaps it was as yet quite impossible to envisage, he experienced quite another kind of joy when the discovery involved immediate revolutionary changes in industry, and in historical development in general. (*Selected Works of Marx & Engels*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1955, Vol. II, p. 168.)

Engels added: "For Marx was before all else a revolutionist." Well said! Marx always regarded all new discoveries in the conquest of nature from the viewpoint of a proletarian revolutionist, not from the viewpoint of one who holds that the proletarian revolution will fade away.

Wilhelm Liebknecht wrote in his *Reminiscences of Marx*:

Marx made fun of the victorious European reaction which imagined that it had stifled the revolution and did not suspect that natural science was preparing a new revolution. King Steam, who had revolutionized the world in the previous century, was coming to the end of his reign and another incomparably greater revolutionary would take his place, the electric spark.

... The consequences are unpredictable. The economic revolution must be followed by a political one, for the latter is only the expression of the former.

In the manner in which Marx discussed this progress of science and mechanics, his conception of the world, and especially what has been termed the materialist conception of history, was so clearly expressed that certain doubts which I had hitherto still maintained melted away like snow in the sunshine of spring. (Wilhelm Liebknecht and Paul Lafarge's *Reminiscences of Marx*, Lawrence & Wishart, p. 15.)

This is how Marx felt the breath of revolution in the progress of science and technology. Marx held that the new progress of science and technology would lead to a social revolution to overthrow the capitalist system. To Marx, the progress of natural science and technology further strengthens the whole position of the Marxist world outlook and the materialist conception of history, and certainly does not shake it. The progress of natural science and technology further strengthens the position of the proletarian revolution, and of the oppressed nations in their fight against imperialism, and certainly does not weaken it.

Like Marx, Lenin also viewed technological progress in connection with the question of revolution in the social system. Thus Lenin held that:

The age of steam is the age of the bourgeoisie, the age of electricity is the age of socialism. ("Report on Work of All-Russia Central Executive Committee and People's Council," *Collected Works*, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. XXX, p. 310.)

Please note the contrast between the revolutionary spirit of Marx and Lenin and the modern revisionists' shameful attitude of betraying the revolution!

IN class society, in the epoch of imperialism, Marxist-Leninists can only approach the question of the development and use of technology from the viewpoint of class analysis.

Inasmuch as the socialist system is progressive and represents the interests of the people, the socialist countries want to utilize such new techniques as atomic energy and rocketry to serve peaceful domestic construction and the conquest of nature. The more the socialist countries master such new techniques and the more rapidly they develop them, the better will they attain the aim of high-speed development of the social productive forces to meet the needs of the people, and the more will they strengthen the forces for checking imperialist war and increase the possibility of defending world peace. Therefore, for the welfare of their peoples and in the interest of peace for people the world over, the socialist countries should, wherever possible, master more and more of such new techniques serving the well-being of the people.

At the present time, the socialist Soviet Union clearly holds the upper hand in the development of new techniques. Everybody knows that the rocket that hit the moon was launched by the Soviet Union and not by the United States, the country where capitalism is most developed. This shows that only in the socialist countries can there be unlimited prospects for the large-scale development of new techniques.

On the contrary, inasmuch as the imperialist system is reactionary and against the people, the imperialist powers want to use such new techniques for military pur-

poses of aggression against foreign countries, to intimidate the people within their own countries, to make weapons for human slaughter. To the imperialist powers, the emergence of such new techniques only means pushing to a new stage the contradiction between the development of the social productive forces and the capitalist relations of production. What this will bring about is not by any means the perpetuation of capitalism but the further rousing of the revolution of the people in those countries and the destruction of the old, criminal, cannibalistic system of capitalism.

The U.S. imperialists and their partners use weapons like atom bombs to threaten war and blackmail the whole world. They declare that anyone who does not submit to the domination of U.S. imperialism will be destroyed. The Tito clique echoes this line; it takes up the U.S. imperialist refrain to spread terror of atomic warfare among the masses. U.S. imperialist blackmail and the chiming in of the Tito clique can only temporarily dupe those who do not understand the real situation, but cannot cow the people who have awakened. Even those who for the time being do not understand the real situation will gradually come to understand it with the help of the advanced elements.

MARXIST-LENINISTS have always maintained that in world history it is not technique but man, the masses of people, that determine the fate of mankind. There was a theory current for a time among some people in China before and during the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression, which was known as the "weapons-mean-everything theory"; from this theory they concluded that since Japan's weapons were new and its techniques advanced while China's weapons were old and its techniques backward, "China would inevitably be subjugated." Comrade Mao Tse-tung in his work *On the Protracted War* published at that time refuted such nonsense. He made the following analysis: The Japanese imperialists' war of aggression against China was bound to fail because it was reactionary, unjust, and being unjust lacked popular support; the Chinese people's war of resistance against Japan would certainly win because it was progressive, just, and being just enjoyed abundant support. Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out that the most abundant source of strength in war lay in the masses, and that a people's army organized by awakened and united masses of people would be invincible throughout the world. This is a Marxist-Leninist thesis. And what was the outcome? The outcome was that the Marxist-Leninist thesis triumphed and the "theory of national subjugation" ended in defeat. During the Korean war after the Second World War, the triumph of the Korean and Chinese peoples over U.S. aggressors far superior in weapons and equipment again bore out this Marxist-Leninist thesis.

An awakened people will always find new ways to counteract a reactionary superiority in arms and win victory for themselves. This was so in past history, it is so at present, and it will still be so in the future. Because the socialist Soviet Union has gained supremacy in military techniques, the U.S. imperialists have lost their monopoly of atomic and nuclear weapons; at the same time, as a

result of the awakening of the people the world over and the awakening of the people in the United States itself, there is now in the world the possibility of concluding an agreement for the banning of atomic and nuclear weapons. We are striving for the conclusion of such an agreement. Unlike the bellicose imperialists, the socialist countries and peace-loving people the world over actively and firmly stand for the banning and destruction of atomic and nuclear weapons. We are always struggling against imperialist war, for the banning of atomic and nuclear weapons and for the defence of world peace. The more broadly and profoundly this struggle is waged and the more fully and thoroughly exposed are the brutish faces of the bellicose U.S. and other imperialists, the more will we be able to isolate these imperialists before the people of the world, the greater will be the possibility of tying their hands and the better it will be for the cause of world peace. If, on the contrary, we lose our vigilance against the danger of the imperialists launching a war, do not work to arouse the people of all countries to rise up against imperialism but tie the hands of the people, then imperialism can prepare for war just as it pleases and the inevitable result will be an increase in the danger of the imperialists launching a war and, once war breaks out, the people may not be able quickly to adopt a correct attitude towards it because of complete lack of preparation or inadequate preparation, thus being unable to vigorously check the war. Of course, whether or not the imperialists will unleash a war is not determined by us; we are, after all, not chiefs-of-staff to the imperialists. As long as the people of all countries enhance their awareness and are fully prepared, with the socialist camp also mastering modern weapons, it is certain that if the U.S. or other imperialists refuse to reach an agreement on the banning of atomic and nuclear weapons and should dare to fly in the face of the will of all humanity by launching a war using atomic and nuclear weapons, the result will be the very speedy destruction of these monsters encircled by the peoples of the world, and the result will certainly not be the annihilation of mankind. We consistently oppose the launching of criminal wars by imperialism, because imperialist war would impose enormous sacrifices upon the peoples of various countries (including the peoples of the United States and other imperialist countries). But should the imperialists impose such sacrifices on the peoples of various countries, we believe that, just as the experience of the Russian revolution and the Chinese revolution shows, those sacrifices would be repaid. On the debris of a dead imperialism, the victorious people would create very swiftly a civilization thousands of times higher than the capitalist system and a truly beautiful future for themselves.

The conclusion can only be this: whichever way you look at it, none of the new techniques like atomic energy, rocketry and so on has changed, as alleged by the modern revisionists, the basic characteristics of the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution pointed out by Lenin. The capitalist-imperialist system absolutely will not crumble of itself. It will be overthrown by the proletarian revolution within the imperialist country concerned, and the national revolution in the colonies and semi-colonies. Contemporary technological progress cannot

save the capitalist-imperialist system from its doom but only rings a new death knell for it.

III

THE modern revisionists, proceeding from their absurd arguments on the current world situation and from their absurd argument that the Marxist-Leninist theory of class analysis and class struggle is obsolete, attempt to totally overthrow the fundamental theories of Marxism-Leninism on a series of questions like violence, war, peaceful coexistence, etc.

There are also some people who are not revisionists, but well-intentioned persons who sincerely want to be Marxists, but get confused in the face of certain new historical phenomena and thus have some incorrect ideas. For example, some of them say that the failure of the U.S. imperialists' policy of atomic blackmail marks the end of violence. While thoroughly refuting the absurdities of the modern revisionists, we should also help these well-intentioned people to correct their erroneous ideas.

What is violence? Lenin had a lot to say on this question in his book *The State and Revolution*. The emergence and existence of the state is in itself a kind of violence. Lenin introduced the following elucidation by Engels:

... it (this public power) consists not merely of armed men, but of material appendages, prisons and coercive institutions of all kinds. . . . (*Selected Works*, International Publishers, New York, Vol. VII, p. 10.)

Lenin tells us that we must draw a distinction between two types of states different in nature, the state of bourgeois dictatorship and the state of proletarian dictatorship, and between two types of violence different in nature, counter-revolutionary violence and revolutionary violence; as long as there is counter-revolutionary violence, there is bound to be revolutionary violence to oppose it. It would be impossible to wipe out counter-revolutionary violence without revolutionary violence. The state in which the exploiting classes are in power is counter-revolutionary violence, a special force for suppressing the exploited classes in the interest of the exploiting classes. Both before the imperialists had atomic bombs and rocket weapons, and since they have had these new weapons, the imperialist state has always been a special force for suppressing the proletariat at home and the people of its colonies and semi-colonies abroad, has always been such an institution of violence; even if it is compelled not to use these new weapons, the imperialist state will of course still remain an imperialist institution of violence until it is overthrown and replaced by the people's state, the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat of that country.

Never since the dawn of history have there been such large-scale, such utterly vicious forces of violence as those of present-day capitalist imperialists. For the past ten years and more, the U.S. imperialists have, without any scruples, adopted means of persecution a hundred times more savage than before, trampling upon the outstanding sons of the country's working class, trampling upon the Negro people, trampling upon all progressives, and moreover, recklessly declaring that they intend to put the whole

world under their rule of violence. They are continuously expanding their forces of violence, and at the same time the other imperialists also take part in the race to increase their forces of violence.

The bloated military build-up of the imperialist countries headed by the United States has appeared during the unprecedentedly grave general crisis of capitalism. The more frantically the imperialists carry the expansion of their military forces to a peak, the nearer they draw to their own doom. Now even some representatives of the U.S. imperialists have premonitions of the inevitable extinction of the capitalist system. But will the imperialists themselves put an end to their violence? Will those in power in the imperialist countries abandon of their own accord the violence they have set up just because imperialism is drawing near to its doom?

Can it be said that, compared with the past, the imperialists are no longer addicted to violence, or that there has been a lessening in the degree of their addiction?

Lenin answered such questions on several occasions long ago. He pointed out in his book *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*:

... for politically imperialism is in general a striving towards violence and reaction. (*Selected Works*, International Publishers, New York, Vol. V, p. 83.)

After the October Revolution, in his book *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky* he made a special point of recounting history, comparing the differences between pre-monopoly capitalism and monopoly capitalism, i.e., imperialism. He said:

Pre-monopoly capitalism, which reached its zenith in the seventies of the nineteenth century, was, by virtue of its fundamental economic traits (which were most typical in England and America) distinguished by its relative attachment to peace and freedom. Imperialism, i.e., monopoly capitalism, which finally matured only in the twentieth century, is, by virtue of its fundamental economic traits, distinguished by the least attachment to peace and freedom, and by the greatest and universal development of militarism everywhere. (*Selected Works*, International Publishers, Vol. VII, pp. 125-126.)

Of course, these words of Lenin were uttered in the early period of the October Revolution, when the proletarian state was newly born, and its economic forces still young and weak, while with the lapse of forty years and more, the face of the Soviet state itself, and of the whole world has undergone a tremendous change, as we have already described. Then, are the foregoing pronouncements of Lenin obsolete, because the nature of imperialism has changed owing to the might of the Soviet Union, the might of the forces of socialism and the might of the forces of peace? Or, is it that imperialism, although its nature has not changed, will no longer resort to violence? Do these ideas conform to the real situation?

The socialist world system has obviously gained the upper hand in its struggle with the capitalist world system. This great historic fact has weakened the position of imperialist violence in the world. But will this fact cause the imperialists never again to oppress the people of their own country, never again engage in outward expansion

and aggressive activities? Can it make the warlike circles of the imperialists "lay down the butcher knife" and "sell their knives and buy oxen"? Can it make the groups of munitions merchants in the imperialist countries change over to peaceful pursuits?

All these questions confront every serious Marxist-Leninist, and require deep consideration. It is obvious that whether these questions are viewed and handled correctly or incorrectly has a close bearing on the success or failure of the proletarian cause and the destiny of humanity.

WAR is the most acute form of expression of violence. One type is civil war, another is foreign war. Violence is not always expressed by war, its most acute form. In capitalist countries, bourgeois war is the continuation of the bourgeois policies of ordinary times, while bourgeois peace is the continuation of bourgeois wartime policy. The bourgeoisie are always switching back and forth between the two forms, war and peace, to carry on their rule over the people and their external struggle. In what they call peace time, the imperialists rely on armed force to deal with the oppressed classes and nations by such forms of violence as arrest, imprisonment, sentencing to hard labour, massacre and so forth, while at the same time, they also carry on preparations for using the most acute form of violence—war—to suppress the revolution of the people at home, to carry out plunder abroad, to overwhelm foreign competitors and to stamp out revolutions in other countries. Or, peace at home may exist side by side with war abroad.

In the initial period of the October Revolution, all the imperialist powers resorted to violence in the form of war against the Soviet Union, which was a continuation of their imperialist policies; in the Second World War, the German imperialists used violence in the form of large-scale war to attack the Soviet Union, which was a continuation of their imperialist policy. But on the other hand, the imperialists also establish diplomatic relations of peaceful coexistence with the Soviet Union in different periods, which is also, of course, a continuation of imperialist policy in another form under certain conditions.

True, some new questions have now arisen concerning peaceful coexistence. Confronted with the powerful Soviet Union and the powerful socialist camp, the imperialists must at any rate carefully consider whether they wouldn't hasten their own extinction, as Hitler did, or bring about the most serious consequences for the capitalist system itself, if they should attack the Soviet Union, attack the socialist countries.

"Peaceful Coexistence" — this is a new concept which arose only after socialist countries appeared in the world following the October Revolution. It is a new concept formed under circumstances Lenin had predicted before the October Revolution, when he said:

Socialism cannot achieve victory simultaneously in all countries. It will achieve victory first in one or several countries, while the others will remain bourgeois or pre-bourgeois for some time. ("The War Program of the Proletarian Revolution," *Selected Works, P.L.P.H., Moscow, 1952, Vol. I, part 2, p. 571.*)

This new concept is one advanced by Lenin after the great Soviet people overcame the armed imperialist intervention. As was pointed out above, at the outset the imperialists were not willing to coexist peacefully with the Soviet Union. The imperialists were compelled to "coexist" with the Soviet Union only after the war of intervention against the Soviet Union had failed, after there had been several years of actual trial of strength, after the Soviet state had planted its feet firmly on the ground, and after a certain balance of power had taken shape between the Soviet state and the imperialist countries. Lenin said in 1920:

We have won conditions for ourselves under which we can exist alongside the capitalist powers, which are now forced to enter into trade relations with us. ("Our Internal and External Situation and the Party's Tasks," *Collected Works, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. XXXI, p. 304.*)

It can be seen that the realization of peaceful coexistence for a certain period between the world's first socialist state and imperialism was won entirely through struggle. Before the Second World War, the 1920-1940 period prior to Germany's attack on the Soviet Union was a period of peaceful coexistence between imperialism and the Soviet Union. During all those twenty years, the Soviet Union kept faith with peaceful coexistence. However, in 1941, Hitler was no longer willing to coexist peacefully with the Soviet Union, the German imperialists perfidiously launched a savage attack on the Soviet Union. Owing to victory in the anti-fascist war, with the great Soviet Union as the main force, the world saw once again a situation of peaceful coexistence between the socialist and capitalist countries. Nevertheless, the imperialists have not given up their designs. The U.S. imperialists have set up networks of military bases and guided missile bases everywhere around the Soviet Union and the entire socialist camp. They are still occupying our territory Taiwan and continually carrying out military provocations against us in the Taiwan Straits. They carried out armed intervention in Korea, conducting a large-scale war against the Korean and Chinese peoples on Korean soil, which resulted in an armistice agreement only after their defeat — and up to now they are still interfering with the unification of the Korean people. They gave aid in weapons to the French imperialist occupation forces in their war against the Vietnamese people, and up to now they are still interfering with the unification of the Vietnamese people. They engineered the counter-revolutionary rebellion in Hungary, and up to now they are continually making all sorts of attempts at subversion in the East European and other socialist countries. The facts are still just as Lenin presented them to a U.S. correspondent in February 1920: on the question of peace, "there is no obstacle on our side. The obstacle is the imperialism of American (and all other) capitalists." (*Collected Works, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. XXX, p. 340.*)

THE foreign policy of socialist countries can only be a policy of peace. The socialist system determines that we do not need war, absolutely would not start a war, and absolutely must not, should not and could not encroach one inch on the territory of a neighbouring

country. Ever since its founding, the People's Republic of China has adhered to a foreign policy of peace. Our country together with two neighbouring countries, India and Burma, jointly initiated the well-known Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence; and at the Bandung Conference of 1955, our country together with various countries of Asia and Africa adopted the ten principles of peaceful coexistence. The Communist Party and Government of our country have in the past few years consistently supported the activities for peace carried out by the Central Committee of the Communist

Party and the Government of the Soviet Union headed by Comrade N.S. Khrushchov, considering that these activities on the part of the Communist Party and the Government of the Soviet Union have further demonstrated before the people of the world the firmness of the socialist countries' peaceful foreign policy as well as the need for the peoples to stop the imperialists from launching another world war and to strive for a lasting world peace.

The Declaration of the Moscow Conference of 1957 states:

The cause of peace is upheld by the powerful forces of our era: the invincible camp of socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union; the peace-loving countries of Asia and Africa taking an anti-imperialist stand and forming, together with the socialist countries, a broad peace zone; the international working class and above all its vanguard—the Communist Parties; the liberation movement of the peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies; the mass peace movement of the peoples; the peoples of the European countries who have proclaimed neutrality, the peoples of Latin America and the masses in the imperialist countries who themselves are firmly resisting plans for a new war. An alliance of these mighty forces could prevent war.

So long as there is a continuous development of these mighty forces, it is possible to maintain the situation of peaceful coexistence, or even to obtain some sort of official agreement on peaceful coexistence or to conclude an agreement on prohibition of atomic and nuclear weapons. That would be a fine thing in full accord with the aspirations of the peoples of the world. However, even under those circumstances, as long as the imperialist system still exists, the most acute form of violence, namely, war, has by no means ended in the world. The fact is not as described by the Yugoslav revisionists, who declare obsolete Lenin's definition that "war is the



Lenin Joins the "Subbotnik"

Woodcut by Wu Pi-fuan

continuation of politics," ("Active Co-existence and Socialism," *Narodna Armija*, November 28, 1958.) a definition which he repeatedly explained and upheld in combating opportunism.

WE believe in the absolute correctness of Lenin's thinking: War is an inevitable outcome of systems of exploitation and the source of modern wars is the imperialist system. Until the imperialist system and the exploiting classes come to an end, wars of one kind or another will always occur. They may be wars among the imperialists for redivision of the world, or wars of aggression and anti-aggression between the imperialists and the oppressed nations, or civil wars of revolution and counter-revolution between the exploited and exploiting classes in the imperialist countries, or, of course, wars in which the imperialists attack the socialist countries and the socialist countries are forced to defend themselves. All these kinds of wars represent the continuation of the policies of definite classes. Marxist-Leninists absolutely must not sink into the mire of bourgeois pacifism, and can only appraise all these kinds of wars and thus draw conclusions for proletarian policy by adopting the method of concrete class analysis. As Lenin put it: "Theoretically, it would be quite wrong to forget that every war is but the continuation of politics by other means." ("The War Program of the Proletarian Revolution," *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1952, Vol. I, part 2, p. 572.)

To attain their aim of plunder and oppression, the imperialists always have two tactics: the tactics of war and the tactics of "peace"; therefore, the proletariat and the people of all countries must also use two tactics to counter the imperialists: the tactics of thoroughly exposing the imperialists' peace fraud and striving energetically for a genuine world peace, and the tactics of preparing

for a just war to end the imperialist unjust war when and if the imperialists should unleash it.

In a word, in the interests of the people of the world, we must thoroughly shatter the falsehoods of the modern revisionists and uphold the Marxist-Leninist viewpoints on the questions of violence, war and peaceful coexistence.

The Yugoslav revisionists deny the inherent class character of violence and thereby obliterate the fundamental difference between revolutionary violence and counter-revolutionary violence; they deny the inherent class character of war and thereby obliterate the fundamental difference between just war and unjust war; they deny that imperialist war is a continuation of imperialist policy, deny the danger of the imperialists unleashing another big war, deny that it will be possible to do away with war only after doing away with the exploiting classes, and even shamelessly call the U.S. imperialist chieftain Eisenhower "the man who laid the cornerstone for eliminating the cold war and establishing lasting peace with peaceful competition between different political systems" ("Eisenhower Arrives in Rome," *Borba*, December 4, 1959); they deny that under the conditions of peaceful coexistence there are still complicated, acute struggles in the political, economic and ideological fields, and so on. All these arguments of the Yugoslav revisionists are aimed at poisoning the minds of the proletariat and the people of all countries, and are helpful to the imperialist policy of war.

IV

MODERN revisionists seek to confuse the peaceful foreign policy of the socialist countries with the domestic policies of the proletariat in the capitalist countries. They thus hold that peaceful coexistence of countries with differing social systems means that capitalism can peacefully grow into socialism, that the proletariat in countries ruled by the bourgeoisie can renounce class struggle and enter into "peaceful co-operation" with the bourgeoisie and the imperialists, and that the proletariat and all the exploited classes should forget about the fact that they are living in a class society, and so on. All these views are also diametrically opposed to Marxism-Leninism. They are put forward in an attempt to protect imperialist rule and hold the proletariat and all the rest of the working people perpetually in capitalist enslavement.

Peaceful coexistence of nations and people's revolutions in various countries are in themselves two different things, not one and the same thing; two different concepts, not one; two different kinds of question, and not one and the same kind of question.

Peaceful coexistence refers to relations between nations; revolution means the overthrow of the oppressors as a class by the oppressed people within each country, while in the case of the colonial and semi-colonial countries, it is first and foremost a question of overthrowing alien oppressors, namely, the imperialists. Before the October Revolution the question of peaceful coexistence between socialist and capitalist countries simply did not exist in the world, as there were as yet no socialist countries; but there did exist at that time the questions of the proletarian revolution and the national revolution, as the peoples in various countries, in accordance with their own specific

conditions, had long ago put revolutions of one kind or the other on the agenda of the day to determine the destinies of their countries.

We are Marxist-Leninists. We have always held that revolution is each nation's own affair. We have always maintained that the working class can only depend on itself for its emancipation, and that the emancipation of the people of any given country depends on their own awakening, and on the ripening of revolution in that country. Revolution can neither be exported nor imported. No one can prevent the people of a foreign country from carrying out a revolution, nor can one produce a revolution in a foreign country by using the method of "helping the rice shoots to grow by pulling them up."

Lenin put it well when he said in June 1918:

There are people who believe that the revolution can break out in a foreign country to order, by agreement. These people are either mad or they are provocateurs. We have experienced two revolutions during the past twelve years. We know that revolutions cannot be made to order, or by agreement; they break out when tens of millions of people come to the conclusion that it is impossible to live in the old way any longer. ("The Fourth Conference of Trade Unions and Factory Committees of Moscow," *Selected Works*, International Publishers, New York, Vol. VII, p. 414.)

In addition to the experience of the Russian revolution, is not the experience of the Chinese revolution also one of the best proofs of this? The Chinese people, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, have experienced several revolutions. The imperialists and all the reactionaries, like lunatics, have always asserted that our revolutions were made to order from abroad, or in accordance with foreign agreements. But people all over the world know that our revolutions were not imported from abroad, but were brought about because our people found it impossible to continue to live in the old China and because they wanted to create a new life of their own.

WHEN a socialist country, in the face of imperialist aggression, is compelled to launch counter-attacks in a defensive war, and goes beyond its own border to pursue and eliminate its enemies from abroad, as the Soviet Union did in the war against Hitler, is this justified? Certainly it is completely justified, absolutely necessary and entirely just. In accordance with the strict principles of Communists, such operations by the socialist countries must be strictly limited to the time when the imperialists launch a war of aggression against them. Socialist countries never permit themselves to send, never should and never will send their troops across their borders unless they are subjected to aggression from a foreign enemy. Since the armed forces of the socialist countries fight for justice, when these forces have to go beyond their borders to counter-attack a foreign enemy, it is only natural that they should exert an influence and have an effect wherever they go; but even then, the emergence of people's revolutions and the establishment of the socialist system in those places and countries where they go will still depend on the will of the masses of the people there.

The spread of revolutionary ideas knows no national boundaries. But these ideas will only yield revolutionary

fruit in the hands of the masses of people themselves, under specific circumstances in a given country. This is so not only in the epoch of proletarian revolution, but also in the epoch of bourgeois revolution. The bourgeoisie of various countries at the time of their revolution took Rousseau's *Social Contract* as their gospel, while the revolutionary proletariat in various countries take as their gospels Marx's *Communist Manifesto* and *Capital* and Lenin's *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* and *The State and Revolution*. Times vary, the classes vary, the ideologies vary and the character of the revolutions varies. But no one can hold back a revolution in any country if there is a desire for that revolution and when the revolutionary crisis there has matured. In the end the socialist system will replace the capitalist system. This is an objective law independent of human will. No matter how hard the reactionaries may try to prevent the advance of the wheel of history, revolution will take place sooner or later and will surely triumph. The same applies to the replacement of one society by another throughout human history. The slave system was replaced by the feudal system which, in its turn, gave way to the capitalist system. These, too, follow laws independent of human will. These replacements were carried out through revolution.

That notorious old revisionist Bernstein once said, "Remember ancient Rome, there was a ruling class that did no work, but lived well, and as a result, this class weakened. Such a class must gradually hand over its power." That the slave-owners as a class weakened was a historical fact that Bernstein could not conceal, any more than the present U.S. imperialists can conceal the fact of their own steady decline. Yet Bernstein, shameless, self-styled "historian" that he was, chose to cover up the following basic facts of ancient Roman history: the slave-owners never "handed over power" of their own accord; their rule was overthrown by protracted, repeated, continuous slave revolutions.

REVOLUTION means the use of revolutionary violence by the oppressed class, it means revolutionary war. This is true of the slave revolution; this is also true of the bourgeois revolution. Lenin has put it well:

History teaches us that no oppressed class ever achieved power, nor could achieve power, without going through a period of dictatorship, i.e., the conquest of political power and suppression by force of the most desperate, frenzied resistance always offered by the exploiters. . . . The bourgeoisie . . . came to power in the advanced countries through a series of insurrections, civil wars, the suppression by force of kings, feudalists, slave-owners and their attempts at restoration. ("Theses on Bourgeois Democracy and Proletarian Dictatorship Presented to the First Congress of the Communist International," *Lenin Against Revisionism*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1959, p. 488.)

Why do things happen this way?

In answering this question, again we have to quote Lenin.

In the first place, as Lenin said: "No ruling class in the world ever gave way without a struggle." ("Speech at

Workers' Conference of Presnia District," *Collected Works*, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. XXVIII, p. 338.)

Secondly, as Lenin explained: "The reactionary classes themselves are usually the first to resort to violence, to civil war; they are the first to 'place the bayonet on the agenda.'" ("Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution," *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, Vol. I, part 2, p. 142.)

In the light of this how shall we conceive of the proletarian socialist revolution?

In order to answer this question we must quote Lenin again.

Let us read the following passage by him.

Not a single great revolution in history has ever been carried out without a civil war and no serious Marxist will believe it possible to make the transition from capitalism to socialism without a civil war. ("Prediction," *Collected Works*, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. XXVII, p. 457.)

These words of Lenin here explain the question very clearly.

And here is another quotation from Lenin:

If socialism had been born peacefully—but the capitalist gentlemen did not wish to let it be born thus. . . . Even if there had been no war, the capitalist gentlemen would still have done all they could to prevent such a peaceful development. Great revolutions, even when they began peacefully, like the great French Revolution, have ended in desperate wars which have been started by the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie. ("First All-Russian Conference on Social Education," *Collected Works*, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. XXIX, p. 334.)

This is also very clearly put.

The Great October Revolution is the best material witness to the truth of these propositions of Lenin.

So is the Chinese revolution. No one will ever forget that it was only after twenty-two years of bitter civil war under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party that the Chinese people and the Chinese proletariat won nationwide victory and captured state power.

THE history of the proletarian revolution in the West after the First World War tells us: even when the capitalist gentlemen do not exercise direct, open control of state power, but rule through their lackeys—the treacherous social-democrats, these despicable renegades will surely be ready at any time, in accordance with the dictates of the bourgeoisie, to cover up the violence of the bourgeois White Guards and plunge the proletarian revolutionary fighters into a blood bath. This is just the way it was in Germany at that time. Vanquished, the big German bourgeoisie handed over state power to the social-democrats. The social-democratic government, on coming to power, immediately set about a bloody suppression of the German working class in January 1919. Let us recall how Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, whom Lenin called "the best representatives of the world proletarian International" and "the immortal leaders of the international socialist revolution," shed their blood as a result of the violence of the social-democrats of the day. Let us also recall, in Lenin's words, "the vileness and shamelessness of

these murders" (*A Letter to the Workers of Europe and America*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1954, p. 16.) perpetrated by these renegades—these so-called "socialists" for the purpose of preserving the capitalist system and the interests of the bourgeoisie! Let us, in the light of bloody facts both of the historical past and of the modern capitalist world, examine all this nonsense about the "peaceful growth of capitalism into socialism" put out by the old revisionists and their modern counterparts.

Does it follow, then, that we Marxist-Leninists will refuse to adopt the policy of peaceful transition even when there exists the possibility of such peaceful development? No, decidedly not!

AS we all know, Engels, one of the great founders of scientific communism, in the famous work *Principles of Communism* answered the question: "Can private property be eliminated by peaceful means?" He wrote:

One would wish that it could be thus, and Communists, of course, would be the last to object to this. Communists know well that all plots are not only futile, but even pernicious. They know very well that revolutions cannot be thought up and made as one wishes and that revolutions have always and everywhere been the necessary result of existing conditions, which have absolutely not depended on the will and leadership of separate parties and whole classes. But at the same time, they see that the development of the proletariat in nearly all civilized countries is being violently suppressed and that in this way the opponents of the Communists are working as hard as they can for the revolution. . . . (*"Principles of Communism," Collected Works of Marx and Engels*, 2nd Russ. ed., Vol. IV, p. 331.)

This was written over a hundred years ago, yet how fresh it is as we read it again!

We also know that for a time following the Russian February Revolution, in view of the specific conditions of the time, Lenin did adopt the policy of peaceful development of the revolution. He considered it "an extraordinarily rare opportunity in the history of revolutions" (*"The Tasks of the Revolution," Collected Works*, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. XXVI, p. 45.) and grasped tight hold of it. The bourgeois Provisional Government and the White Guards, however, destroyed this possibility of peaceful development of the revolution and so drenched the streets of Petrograd in the blood of the workers and soldiers marching in a peaceful mass demonstration in July. Lenin, therefore, pointed out:

The peaceful course of development has been rendered impossible. A non-peaceful and most painful course has begun. (*"On Slogans," Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, Vol. II, part 1, p. 89.)

We know too that as the Chinese War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression came to an end, there was a widespread and ardent desire for peace in the country. Our Party then conducted peace negotiations with the Kuomintang, seeking to institute social and political reforms by peaceful means, and in 1946 an agreement on achieving peace throughout the country was reached with the Kuomintang. The reactionary Kuomintang clique, however, defying the will of the whole people, tore up this agreement and, with the support of the U.S. imperialists, launched a civil war on a nationwide scale, leaving the people with no option but to counter it with a revolu-

tionary war. As we never relaxed our vigilance or gave up the people's armed forces even in our struggle for peaceful reform but were fully prepared, the people were not cowed by the war, but those who launched the war were made to eat their own bitter fruit.

It would be in the best interests of the people if the proletariat could attain power and carry out the transition to socialism by peaceful means. It would be wrong not to make use of such a possibility when it occurs. Whenever an opportunity for "peaceful development of the revolution" presents itself Communists must seize it, as Lenin did, so as to realize the aim of the socialist revolution. However, this sort of opportunity is always, in Lenin's words, "an extraordinarily rare opportunity in the history of revolutions." When in a given country a certain local political power is already surrounded by revolutionary forces or when in the world a certain capitalist country is already surrounded by socialism—in such cases, there might be a greater possibility of opportunities for the peaceful development of the revolution. But even then, the peaceful development of the revolution should never be regarded as the only possibility and it is therefore necessary to be prepared at the same time for the other possibility, i.e., non-peaceful development of the revolution. For instance, after the liberation of the Chinese mainland, although certain areas ruled by slave-owners and serf-owners were already surrounded by the absolutely predominant people's revolutionary forces, yet, as an old Chinese saying goes, "Cornered beasts will still fight," a handful of the most reactionary slave-owners and serf-owners still gave a last kick, rejecting peaceful reforms and launching armed rebellions. Only after these rebellions were quelled was it possible to carry out the reform of the social systems.

At a time when the imperialist countries and the imperialists are armed to the teeth as never before in order to protect their savage man-eating system, can it be said that the imperialists have become very "peaceable" towards the proletariat and the people at home and the oppressed nations abroad, as the modern revisionists claim, and that therefore, the "extraordinarily rare opportunity in the history of revolutions" that Lenin spoke about after the February Revolution, will become a normal state of affairs for the world proletariat and all the oppressed people, so that what Lenin referred to as a "rare opportunity" is easily available to the proletariat in the capitalist countries? We hold that these views are completely groundless.

MARXIST-LENINISTS should never forget this truth: the armed forces of all ruling classes are used in the first place to oppress their people at home. Only on the basis of oppression of the people at home can the imperialists oppress other countries, launch aggression and wage unjust wars. In order to oppress their own people they need to maintain and strengthen their reactionary armed forces. Lenin once wrote in the course of the Russian revolution of 1905:

A standing army is used not so much against the external enemy as against the internal enemy. (*"The Army and the Revolution," Collected Works*, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. X, p. 38.)

Is this conclusion valid for all countries where the exploiting classes dominate, for capitalist countries? Can it

be said that it was valid then but has become incorrect now? In our opinion, this truth remains irrefutable and the facts are confirming its correctness more and more. Strictly speaking, if the proletariat of any country fails to see this clearly it will not be able to find the way to liberation.

In *The State and Revolution* Lenin centred the problem of revolution on the smashing of the bourgeois state machine. Quoting the most important passages from Marx's *Civil War in France*, he wrote:

After the revolution of 1848-49, the state power became "the national war engine of capital against labour." (*Selected Works of Lenin, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, part 1, p. 240.*)

The main machine of the bourgeois state power to wage an anti-labour war is its standing army. Therefore, "... the first decree of the commune . . . was the suppression of the standing army, and the substitution for it of the armed people. . . ." (*ibid, Vol. II, part 1, p. 241.*)

So this question, in the last analysis, must be treated in the light of the principles of the Paris Commune which, as Marx puts it, are perpetual and indestructible.

IN the seventies of the nineteenth century Marx took Britain and the United States to be exceptions, holding that as far as these two countries were concerned there did exist the possibility of "peaceful" transition to socialism, because militarism and bureaucracy were at an early stage of development in these two countries. But in the era of imperialism, as Lenin put it, "this qualification made by Marx is no longer valid" for these two countries "have today completely sunk into the all-European filthy, bloody morass of bureaucratic-military institutions which subordinate everything to themselves and trample everything underfoot." (*"The State and Revolution," Selected Works, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, part 1, pp. 237-8.*) This was one of the focal points of the debate Lenin had with the opportunists of the day. The opportunists represented by Kautsky distorted this "no longer valid" conclusion of Marx, in an attempt to oppose the proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship, that is, to oppose the revolutionary armed forces and armed revolution which are indispensable to the liberation of the proletariat. The reply Lenin gave to Kautsky was as follows:

The revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat is violence against the bourgeoisie; and the necessity for such violence is particularly created, as Marx and Engels have repeatedly explained in detail, by the existence of militarism and bureaucracy. But it is precisely these institutions that were non-existent in England and America in the seventies of the nineteenth century, when Marx made his observations (they do exist in England and in America now). (*"Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky," Selected Works, International Publishers, New York, Vol. VII, p. 125.*)

It can thus be seen that the proletariat is compelled to resort to the means of armed revolution. Marxists have always wanted to follow the peaceful way in the transition to socialism. As long as the peaceful way is there to adopt, Marxist-Leninists will never give it up. But it is precisely this way that the bourgeoisie seeks to block

when it possesses a powerful, militaristic and bureaucratic machine of oppression.

The above quotation was written by Lenin in November 1918. How do things stand now? Is it that Lenin's words were historically valid, but are no longer so under present conditions, as the modern revisionists allege? Everybody can see that with hardly any exception the capitalist countries, particularly the few imperialist powers headed by the United States, are trying hard to strengthen their militaristic and bureaucratic machine of oppression, and especially their military machine.

The Declaration of the Moscow Meeting of the Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the Socialist Countries of November 1957, states:

Leninism teaches, and experience confirms, that the ruling classes never relinquish power voluntarily. In this case the bitterness and forms of the class struggle will depend not so much on the proletariat as on the resistance put up by the reactionary circles to the will of the overwhelming majority of the people, on these circles using force at one or another stage of the struggle for socialism.

This is a new summing up of the experience of the struggle of the international proletariat in the few decades since Lenin's death.

The question is not whether the proletariat is willing to carry out a peaceful transformation; it is rather whether the bourgeoisie will accept such a peaceful transformation. This is the only possible way in which followers of Lenin can approach this question.

So, contrary to the modern revisionists who seek to paralyse the revolutionary will of the people by empty talk about peaceful transition, Marxist-Leninists hold that the question of possible peaceful transition to socialism can be raised only in the light of the specific conditions in each country at a particular time. The proletariat must never allow itself to one-sidedly and groundlessly base its thinking, policy and its whole work on the calculation that the bourgeoisie is willing to accept peaceful transformation. It must, at the same time, prepare for alternatives: one for the peaceful development of the revolution and the other for the non-peaceful development of the revolution. Whether the transition will be carried out through armed uprising or by peaceful means is a question that is fundamentally separate from that of peaceful coexistence between the socialist and capitalist countries; it is an internal affair of each country, one to be determined only by the relation of classes in that country in a given period, a matter to be decided only by the Communists of that country themselves.

V

AFTER the October Revolution, in 1919, Lenin discussed the historical lessons to be drawn from the Second International. He said that the growth of the proletarian movement during the period of the Second International "was in breadth, at the cost of a temporary fall in the revolutionary level, a temporary increase in the strength of opportunism, which in the end led to the disgraceful collapse of this International." (*"Third International and Its Place in History," Selected Works, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, part 2, p. 199.*)

What is opportunism? According to Lenin, "Opportunism consists in sacrificing fundamental interests in order to gain temporary, partial benefits." ("Speech at Conference of Activists of the Moscow Party Organization," *Collected Works*, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. XXXI, p. 412.)

And what does the fall in the revolutionary level mean? It means that the opportunists seek to lead the masses to focus their attention on their day-to-day, temporary and partial interests only, and forget their long-term, fundamental and overall interests.

Marxist-Leninists hold that the question of parliamentary struggle should be considered in the light of long-term, fundamental and overall interests.

LENIN told us about the limitations of parliamentary struggle, but he also warned Communists against narrow-minded, sectarian errors. In his well-known work *Left-wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder* Lenin elucidated the experience of the Russian revolution, showing under what conditions a boycott of parliament is correct and under what other conditions it is incorrect. Lenin held that every proletarian party should make use of every possible opportunity to participate in necessary parliamentary struggles. It was fundamentally wrong and would only harm the cause of the revolutionary proletariat for a Communist Party member to engage only in empty talk about the revolution, while being unwilling to work perseveringly and painstakingly, and shunning necessary parliamentary struggles.

Lenin then criticized the mistakes of the Communists in some European countries in refusing to participate in parliament. He said:

The childishness of those who "repudiate" participation in parliament consists precisely in the fact that they think it possible to "solve" the difficult problem of combating bourgeois-democratic influences within the working-class movement by such "simple," "easy," supposedly revolutionary methods, when in reality they are only running away from their own shadow, only closing their eyes to difficulties and only trying to brush them aside with mere words. (*Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, part 2, p. 443.)

Why is it necessary to engage in parliamentary struggle? According to Lenin, it is for the purpose of combating bourgeois influences within the ranks of the working-class movement, or, as he pointed out elsewhere,

Precisely for the purpose of educating the backward strata of its own class, precisely for the purpose of awakening and enlightening the undeveloped, downtrodden, ignorant, rural masses. (*Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, part 2, p. 383.)

In other words, it is to enhance the political and ideological level of the masses, to co-ordinate parliamentary struggle with revolutionary struggle, and not to lower our political and ideological standards and divorce parliamentary struggle from the revolutionary struggle.

Identify with the masses but no lowering of revolutionary standards—this is a fundamental principle which Lenin taught us to firmly adhere to in our proletarian struggle.

We should take part in parliamentary struggles, but have no illusions about the bourgeois parliamentary

system. Why? Because so long as the militarist-bureaucrat state machine of the bourgeoisie remains intact, parliament is nothing but an adornment for the bourgeois dictatorship even if the working-class party commands a majority in parliament or becomes the biggest party in it. Moreover, so long as such a state machine remains intact, the bourgeoisie is fully able at any time, in accordance with the needs of its own interests, either to dissolve parliament when necessary, or to use various open and underhanded tricks to turn a working-class party which is the biggest party in parliament into a minority, or to reduce its seats in parliament, even when it has polled more votes in an election. It is, therefore, difficult to imagine that changes will take place in a bourgeois dictatorship itself as the result of votes in parliament and it is just as difficult to imagine that the proletariat can adopt measures in parliament for a peaceful transition to socialism just because it has won a certain number of votes in parliament. A series of experiences in the capitalist countries long ago proved this point fully and the experience in various European and Asian countries after the Second World War provide additional proof of it.

Lenin said: "The proletariat cannot be victorious unless it wins over to its side the majority of the population. But to limit or condition this to the gathering of a majority of votes at elections while the bourgeoisie remains dominant is the most utter stupidity or simply swindling the workers." ("Elections to the Constituent Assembly and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," *Collected Works*, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. XXX, p. 243.) Modern revisionists hold that these words of Lenin are out of date. But living realities bear witness to the fact that these words of Lenin are still the best medicine, though bitter tasting, for proletarian revolutionaries in any country.

LOWERING revolutionary standards means lowering the theoretical standards of Marxism-Leninism. It means lowering political struggles to the level of economic ones and restricting revolutionary struggles to within the limits of parliamentary struggles. It means bartering away principles for temporary benefits.

At the beginning of the 20th century Lenin in *What Is to Be Done?* drew attention to the question that "the spread of Marxism was accompanied by a certain lowering of theoretical standards." Lenin cited Marx's opinion contained in a letter on "The Gotha Programme" that we may enter into agreements to attain the practical aims of the movement, but we must never trade in principles and make "concessions" in theory. Afterwards, Lenin wrote the following words which by now are well known to almost all Communists:

Without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement. This cannot be insisted upon too strongly at a time when the fashionable preaching of opportunism is combined with absorption in the narrowest forms of practical activity." ("What Is to Be Done?" *Selected Works*, International Publishers, New York, Vol. II, p. 47.)

What an important revelation this is to revolutionary Marxists! It was precisely under the guidance of this

thought—that the Bolshevik Party headed by the great Lenin must firmly uphold revolutionary Marxist theory—that the entire revolutionary movement in Russia gained victory in October 1917.

THE Chinese Communist Party also gained experience in regard to the above-mentioned question on two occasions. The first was during the 1927 revolutionary period. At that time Chen Tu-hsiu's opportunism as shown over the policy towards the Communist Party's united front with the Kuomintang was a departure from the principles and stand which a Communist Party should uphold. He advocated that the Communist Party should in principle be reduced to the level of the Kuomintang. The result was defeat for the revolution. The second occasion was during the period of the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression. The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party firmly upheld the Marxist-Leninist stand, exposed the differences in principle between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang in their attitudes towards the conduct of the war against Japan, and held that the Communist Party must never make concessions in principle on such attitudes. But the right opportunists represented by Wang Ming repeated the mistakes made by Chen Tu-hsiu ten years earlier and wanted to reduce the Communist Party in principle to the level of the Kuomintang. Therefore, our entire Party carried out a great debate with the right opportunists throughout the Party. Comrade Mao Tse-tung said:

... If Communists forget this point of principle, they will not be able to guide the Anti-Japanese War correctly, they will be powerless to overcome the Kuomintang's one-sidedness, and they will lower themselves to a stand which is against their principles and reduce the Communist Party to the level of the Kuomintang. They will then commit a crime against the sacred cause of the national revolutionary war and the defence of the motherland. ("After the Fall of Shanghai and Taiyuan," *Selected Works*, Lawrence & Wishart, London, Vol. II, pp. 105-6.)

It was precisely because the Central Committee of our Party refused to make the slightest concessions on questions of principle, and because it adopted a policy of both unity and struggle in our Party's united front with the Kuomintang, that we were able to consolidate and expand the Party's positions in the political and economic fields, consolidate and expand the national revolutionary united front and, consequently, strengthen and expand the forces of the people in the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression. It also enabled us to smash the large-scale attacks launched by the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries after the conclusion of the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression and win nationwide victory in the great people's revolution.

Judging by the experience of the Chinese revolution, mistakes of right deviation are likely to occur in our Party when the proletariat enters into political cooperation with the bourgeoisie, whereas mistakes of "left" deviation are likely to occur in our Party when these two classes break away from each other politically. In the course of leading the Chinese revolution, our Party has waged struggles against "left" adventurism on many occasions. The "left" adventurists were unable to take a Marxist-Leninist viewpoint on the correct handling

of the complex class relations in China; they failed to understand how to adopt different correct policies towards different classes at different historical periods, but only followed the erroneous policy of struggle without unity. Had this mistake of "left" adventurism not been overcome, it would have been impossible for the Chinese revolution to advance to victory.

In line with Lenin's viewpoint the proletariat in any country, if it wants to gain victory in the revolution, must have a genuinely Marxist-Leninist party which is skilled at integrating the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with concrete revolutionary practice in its own country, correctly determining whom the revolution should be directed against at different periods, settling the question of organizing the main force and its allies and the question of whom it should rely on and unite with. The revolutionary proletarian party must rely closely on the masses of its own class and on the semi-proletariat in the rural areas, namely, the broad masses of poor peasants and establish the worker-peasant alliance led by the proletariat. Only then is it possible, on the basis of this alliance, to unite with all the social forces that can be united with and so establish the united front of the working people with all the non-working people that can be united with in accordance with specific conditions in the different countries at different periods. If it fails to do so, the proletariat will not be able to achieve its purpose of gaining victory in the revolution at different periods.

THE modern revisionists and certain representatives of the bourgeoisie try to make people believe that it is possible to achieve socialism without a revolutionary party of the proletariat and without the series of correct policies of the revolutionary party of the proletariat mentioned above. This is sheer nonsense and pure deception. The *Communist Manifesto* by Marx and Engels pointed out that there were different kinds of "socialism," there was petty-bourgeois "socialism," bourgeois "socialism," feudal "socialism," etc. Now, as a result of the victory of Marxism-Leninism and the decay of the capitalist system, more and more of the mass of the people in various countries are aspiring to socialism and a more motley variety of so-called "socialisms" have emerged from among the exploiting classes in certain countries. Just as Engels said, these so-called "socialists" also "wanted to eliminate social abuses through their various universal panaceas and all kinds of patchwork, without hurting capital and profit in the least," they "stood outside the labour movement and looked for support rather to the 'educated' classes." ("Preface to the German Edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*," *Selected Works of Marx and Engels*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1958, Vol. I, p. 31.) They only put up the signboard of "socialism" but actually practise capitalism. In these circumstances it is extremely important to adhere firmly to the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism and to wage an irreconcilable struggle against any tendency to lower the revolutionary standards, especially against revisionism and right opportunism.

In regard to the question of safeguarding world peace at the present time there are also certain people who declare that ideological disputes are no longer necessary, or that there is no longer any difference in principle between communists and social democrats. This is tantamount to

lowering the ideological and political standards of communists to those of the bourgeoisie and social democrats. Those who make such statements have been influenced by modern revisionism and have departed from the stand of Marxism-Leninism.

The struggle for peace and the struggle for socialism are two different kinds of struggle. It is a mistake not to make a proper distinction between these two kinds of struggle. The social composition of those taking part in the peace movement is, of course, more complex; it also includes bourgeois pacifists. We communists stand right in the forefront in defending world peace, right in the forefront in opposing imperialist wars, in advocating peaceful coexistence and opposing nuclear weapons. In this movement we shall work together with many complex social groups and enter into necessary agreements for the attainment of peace. But at the same time we must uphold the principles of the working-class party and not lower our political and ideological standards and reduce ourselves to the level of the bourgeois pacifists in our struggle for peace. It is here that the question of alliance and criticism arises.

"Peace" in the mouths of modern revisionists is intended to whitewash the war preparations of the imperialists, to play again the tune of "ultra imperialism" of the old opportunists, which was long since refuted by Lenin, and to distort our communist policy concerning peaceful coexistence of countries with two different systems into elimination of the people's revolution in various countries. It was that old revisionist Bernstein who made this shameful and notorious statement: The movement is everything, the final aim is nothing. The modern revisionists have a similar statement: The peace movement is everything, the aim is nothing. Therefore, the "peace" they talk about is in practice limited to the "peace" which may be acceptable to the imperialists under certain historical conditions. It attempts to lower the revolutionary standards of the peoples of various countries and destroy their revolutionary will.

We communists are struggling in defence of world peace, for the realization of the policy of peaceful coexistence. At the same time we support the revolutionary wars of the oppressed nations against imperialism. We support the revolutionary wars of the oppressed people for their own liberation and social progress because all these revolutionary wars are just wars. Naturally, we must continue to explain to the masses Lenin's thesis concerning the capitalist-imperialist system as the source of modern war; we must continue to explain to the masses the Marxist-Leninist thesis on the replacement of capitalist imperialism by socialism and communism as the final goal of our struggle. We must not hide our principles before the masses.

VI

WE are living in a great new epoch in which the collapse of the imperialist system is being further accelerated, the victory of the people throughout the world and their awakening are constantly advancing.

The peoples of the various countries are now in a much more fortunate situation than ever before. In the forty-odd years since the October Revolution, one-third of all mankind have freed themselves from oppression by capitalist imperialism and founded a number of socialist states where a life of lasting internal peace has really been established. They are exerting their influence on the future of all mankind and will greatly speed the day when universal, lasting peace will reign throughout the world.

MARCHING in the forefront of all the socialist countries and of the whole socialist camp is the great Soviet Union, the first socialist state created by the workers and peasants led by Lenin and their Communist Party. Lenin's ideals have been realized in the Soviet Union, socialism has long since been built and now, under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government headed by Comrade Khrushchov, a great period of the extensive building of communism is already beginning. The valiant and enormously talented Soviet workers, peasants and intellectuals have brought about a great, new labour upsurge in their struggle for the grand goal of building communism.

We, the Chinese Communists and the Chinese people, cheer every new achievement of the Soviet Union, the native land of Leninism.

The Chinese Communist Party, integrating the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, has led the people of the entire country in winning great victories in the people's revolution, marching along the broad common road of socialist revolution and socialist construction charted by Lenin, carrying the socialist revolution to full completion and it has already begun to win great victories on the various fronts of socialist construction. The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party creatively set down for the Chinese people, in accordance with Lenin's principles and in the light of conditions in China, the correct principles of the general line for building socialism, the big leap forward and the people's communes, which have inspired the initiative and revolutionary spirit of the masses throughout the country and are thus day after day bringing about new changes in the face of our country.

Under our common banner of Leninism, the socialist countries in Eastern Europe and the other socialist countries in Asia have also attained progress by leaps and bounds in socialist construction.

Leninism is an ever victorious banner. For the working people throughout the world, holding firm this great banner means taking hold of truth and opening up for themselves a road of continuous victory.

Lenin will always live in our hearts. And when modern revisionists endeavour to smear Leninism, the great banner of the international proletariat, our task is to defend Leninism.

All of us remember what Lenin wrote in his famous work *The State and Revolution* about what happened to the teachings of revolutionary thinkers and leaders in the past struggles of various oppressed classes for liberation. Lenin wrote that after the death of these revolu-

tionary thinkers and leaders distortions ensued, "emasculating the essence of the revolutionary teaching, blunting its revolutionary edge and vulgarizing it." Lenin continued,

At the present time, the bourgeoisie and the opportunists within the working-class movement concur in this "doctoring" of Marxism. They omit, obliterate and distort the revolutionary side of this teaching, its revolutionary soul. They push to the foreground and extol what is or seems acceptable to the bourgeoisie. ("The State and Revolution," *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, part 1, p. 202.)

Just so, at the present time we are again confronted by certain representatives of U.S. imperialism who once again assuming the pious mien of preachers, even declare that Marx was "a great thinker of the nineteenth century" and even acknowledge that what Marx predicted in the nineteenth century about the days of capitalism being numbered, "is well-grounded" and "correct"; but, these preachers continue, after the advent of the twentieth century, and especially in recent decades, Marxism has become incorrect, because capitalism has become a thing of the past and has ceased to exist, at least in the United States. After hearing such nonsense from these imperialist preachers, we cannot but feel that the modern revisionists are talking the same language as they do. But the modern revisionists do not stop at distorting the teachings of Marx, they go further to distort the teachings of Lenin, the great continuer of Marxism who carried Marxism forward.

THE Declaration of the Moscow Meeting pointed out that "the main danger at present is revisionism, or, in other words, right-wing opportunism." Some say that this judgment of the Moscow Meeting no longer holds good under today's conditions. We hold this to be wrong. It makes the people overlook the importance

of the struggle against the main danger—revisionism, and is very harmful to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat. Just as from the beginning of the seventies of the nineteenth century there was a period of "peaceful" development of capitalism during which the old revisionism of Bernstein was born, so under the present circumstances when the imperialists are compelled to accept peaceful coexistence and when there is a kind of "internal peace" in many capitalist countries, revisionist trends find it easy to grow and spread. Therefore, we must always maintain a high degree of vigilance against this main danger in the working-class movement.

As pupils of Lenin and as Leninists, we must utterly smash all attempts of the modern revisionists to distort and carve up the teachings of Lenin.

Leninism is the complete and integrated revolutionary teaching of the proletariat, it is a complete and integrated revolutionary world outlook which, following Marx and Engels, continues to express the thinking of the proletariat. This complete and integrated revolutionary teaching and revolutionary outlook must not be distorted or carved up. We hold the view that the attempts of the modern revisionists to distort and carve up Leninism are nothing but a manifestation of the last ditch struggle of the imperialists facing their doom. In face of continuous victories in building communism in the Soviet Union, in face of continuous victories in building socialism in the socialist countries, in face of the constant strengthening of the unity of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union and of the steadfast and valiant struggles being waged by the increasingly awakened peoples of the world seeking to free themselves from the shackles of capitalist imperialism, the revisionist endeavours of Tito and his ilk are completely futile.

Long live great Leninism!

人民日報
RENMIN RIBAO

Forward Along the Path of the Great Lenin

Following is the text of a "Renmin Ribao" article written by its editorial department and published on April 22, 1960.—Ed.

TODAY, the awakened working people of the whole world are commemorating the 90th anniversary of the birth of V.I. Lenin, great revolutionary teacher of the proletariat.

Lenin was the founder of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the architect of the world's first socialist state—the Soviet Union—and the greatest leader of the international communist movement after Marx and Engels. Lenin developed Marxism in its theories on philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism to a new stage—the stage of Leninism. Leninism is

Marxism in the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution.

The victory of the October Socialist Revolution under the guidance of Lenin freed one-sixth of the earth's surface from capitalist rule. Some 30 years later, a series of new socialist countries were born in Europe and Asia, forming the powerful socialist camp. After the victory of the Chinese revolution, the socialist camp now has more than one-quarter of the earth's surface and over one-third of the world's population. The balance of class forces in the world has greatly altered in favour of the proletariat and the working people.

Lenin's theory and the cause he espoused are dear to the Chinese people because it was precisely in Leninism that the Chinese people found their way to liberation. At

a time when Lenin was still little known in China, he repeatedly pointed out in his writings the great significance and prospects of the revolutionary struggle in China. As early as 1913, Lenin in his *The Historical Destiny of the Doctrine of Karl Marx* set forth his well-known proposition that Asia was "a new source of great world storms." Later, as Comrade Mao Tse-tung said, "the salvos of the October Revolution brought us Marxism-Leninism." With Marxism-Leninism and with a Marxist-Leninist proletarian revolutionary party the Chinese revolution entered upon a new stage.

Lenin pointed out: Imperialism is the eve of the proletarian revolution and will inevitably perish in the combined struggles of the international proletariat and the oppressed nations; the state is an organ of violence at the service of class rule and the proletariat must use revolutionary violence to overthrow counter-revolutionary violence, smash the militarist-bureaucrat state apparatus of the bourgeoisie and set up a new state of the proletarian dictatorship; the proletariat must strengthen its alliance with the peasants, thoroughly solve the agrarian question, secure the leadership in the democratic revolution and must maintain its own independent position in forming an alliance with the national bourgeoisie (or in the popular Chinese expression, both uniting with and struggling against it); it must establish a proletarian revolutionary party of a new type. This party must oppose revisionism, which betrays Marxism, overcome "leftist" adventurism in the communist movement, trust firmly the masses and rely on them. These teachings of Lenin have armed the proletariat of the world as well as the proletariat of China. The universal truths of Marxism-Leninism were readily accepted by the proletariat and revolutionary people of China chiefly because the long-suffering Chinese people had no way out except to fight resolutely for liberation. In the old China, under the most brutal and barbarous rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, how could the proletariat and the masses of people entertain any illusions about the "kind-heartedness" of the imperialists? How could they entertain any illusions about the reactionary ruling class handing over state power to the people of its own accord?

The political party of the Chinese proletariat—the Communist Party—and its leader Comrade Mao Tse-tung have creatively applied the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism, integrated them with the concrete reality of the Chinese revolution and ceaselessly pushed forward the revolutionary struggle in China. When the bourgeois reactionaries represented by Chiang Kai-shek betrayed the revolution and plunged the people into a bloodbath, the Chinese proletariat and its political party could not but use revolutionary violence to resist the counter-revolutionary violence. After 22 years of revolutionary war, they finally overthrew the dark rule of imperialism and the Kuomintang reactionaries, established the people's democratic dictatorship headed by the proletariat and led the Chinese people onto the broad path of socialism.

The victory of the Chinese revolution is the victory of Marxism-Leninism in China. The many victories won by Marxism-Leninism all over the world and in China have made it increasingly clear that the truths of Marxism-Leninism are invincible and that they are the guide to

action for all the world's oppressed classes and oppressed people in winning liberation and for the people throughout the world in marching towards socialism and communism.

What are the chief tasks of the Chinese people now, as we commemorate the 90th anniversary of Lenin's birth? We hold that there are three chief tasks, namely, to build socialism, strive for world peace and unite with our international friends.

The first task before the Chinese people at present is high-speed development of our socialist construction, to build our country before long into a great socialist power with a highly developed modern industry, modern agriculture, modern science and culture. The accomplishment of this task will not only be of decisive significance to the Chinese people but will also be of pronounced and tremendous significance to the cause of peace and socialism of the people of the world.

The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, integrating the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete reality of China's socialist revolution and socialist construction, put forward the general line of going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism. The general line is the most important guarantee for the Chinese people's successful accomplishment of this great task.

To accomplish this great task our people must, as the first step, strive to catch up with and outstrip Britain in the output of major industrial products in less than ten years, and basically set up a complete industrial system; work to realize ahead of schedule the National Programme for Agricultural Development (1956-1967), carry out in the main agricultural mechanization, build water conservancy works on an extensive scale and achieve a considerable degree of electrification; strive to carry out the cultural revolution, to introduce before long universal elementary and secondary school education and spare-time education in the main and strive to fulfil ahead of schedule the long-term Plan for the Development of Science and Technology (1956-1967). At the same time, it is necessary to continue carrying through the socialist revolution on the economic, political and ideological fronts, bring about the complete victory of socialism over capitalism in every sphere and greatly raise the socialist and communist consciousness of the masses. At present, for the fulfilment and overfulfilment of the 1960 National Economic Plan, the Chinese people are unfolding a rousing campaign to increase production and practise economy centring around technical innovations and the technical revolution, striving to raise this year's output of pig iron to 27.5 million tons; steel to 18.4 million tons; coal to 425 million tons; electric power to more than 55,500 million kilowatt hours and striving to increase the output of grain and cotton by around 10 per cent respectively. Thus, the gross value of industrial and agricultural output this year will be 23 per cent higher than last year.

The U.S. imperialists outdo themselves in slander and ridicule on the subject of whether China can build itself into a powerful socialist country at high speed. Taking a distant example, in November 1958, the late U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles said that "it is hard to believe that this effort will

succeed, or be enduring." Taking a recent example, the present U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Parsons said in February of this year that China's campaign to speed up its industrialization "might bring about the violent destruction of the regime from within." But oddly enough, the more odious the imperialist slanders, the higher the revolutionary enthusiasm of the Chinese people and the greater their drive in construction. China's economic situation and the political unity of our people grow better and better, year by year. No one today among the broad masses of people doubts that we shall certainly be able to fulfil ahead of schedule and overfulfil our great construction plan.

Marxism-Leninism has always pointed out that under the socialist system a great emancipation of the productive forces of society and a great emancipation of the initiative and creativeness of the people can be brought about. Lenin held that life in socialist society is a genuinely mass movement, in which a great majority of the population or even the entire population takes part for the first time in history. He held that the vigorous creative power of the masses is the basic factor in socialist society and that there is an inexhaustible supply of talents among the workers and peasants. Lenin described one of Marx's "most profound and at the same time most explicit" principles in the following terms: "The greater the scope and extent of historical actions, the greater is the number of people who participate in these actions, and, contrariwise, the more profound is the transformation we wish to accomplish, the more must we arouse an interest and an intelligent attitude towards this transformation and the more must we convince millions and tens of millions of people that it is necessary. In the last analysis, the reason why our revolution has left all other revolutions far behind is that, through the Soviet form of government, it aroused tens of millions of people who were formerly not interested in state development to take an active part in state development." ("Report on the Work of the Council of People's Commissars Delivered at the Eighth All-Russian Congress of Soviets," *Selected Works*, Lawrence and Wishart, London, Vol. VIII, p. 258.)

We are convinced that the speed of development in our country, like that in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, will far surpass any ever attained by the capitalist countries. In other words, as Chinese Communists put it, we can advance at leap-forward speed. That is because we have, as Lenin said, most extensively mobilized millions upon millions of people to take part in the construction of our country with the highest degree of activity and creativeness by means of the following: our Party's general line of going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism; the whole set of policies we are now carrying out and known as "walking on two legs" — simultaneous development of industry and agriculture, of heavy and light industries, of centrally-run and locally-run industries, of large as well as small and medium-sized enterprises and of both modern and indigenous methods of production; the present surging mass movement for technical innovations and technical revolution to bring about mechanization, semi-mechanization, automation and semi-automation; the consolidation and growth of our rural people's communes and the present establishment everywhere of urban people's communes. Like the

Soviet Union and other socialist countries, China is pushing forward its economic construction in accordance with the common laws of socialist construction, and the series of concrete policies adopted by China in regard to the problems of socialist construction are precisely the product of integrating the universal truths of Leninism with the concrete reality of China.

The bourgeoisie in the Western countries, ignorant as they are, once clamoured about the Soviet Union's high speed in socialist construction. Now they are again clamouring endlessly about our high-speed socialist construction, our general line, big leaps forward and people's communes. The great Lenin dealt a mortal blow to these idiots long ago, in his famous essay *Our Revolution*, written a year before his death. Lenin pointed out: "Russia — standing as she does on the border line between the civilized countries and the countries which this war (Ed. note: the First World War) had for the first time definitely brought into the orbit of civilization, that is, all the oriental, non-European countries — might therefore and was indeed bound to reveal certain peculiar features which, while of course in keeping with the general line of world development, distinguish her revolution from all previous revolutions in West-European countries, and which introduce certain partial innovations in passing to the oriental countries." (*Selected Works*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, part 2, pp. 725-726.) Lenin countered with the question: "What if the complete hopelessness of the situation, by stimulating the efforts of the workers and peasants tenfold, offered us the possibility of creating the fundamental requisites of civilization in a different way from that of the West-European countries?" (*ibid.*, pp. 726-727.) Lenin predicted once again: "Our European philistines never even dream that the subsequent revolutions in oriental countries, which possess much vaster populations and a much vaster diversity of social conditions, will undoubtedly display even greater peculiarities than the Russian revolution." (*ibid.*, pp. 727-728.)

Is that not borne out exactly by the facts? Has not the Soviet Union, using a different way from all Western countries, already, in a very short period of time and at flying speed, surpassed all the capitalist countries of Western Europe in the level of economic development, and is it not overtaking and in certain aspects already beginning to surpass the United States? Likewise, in China, have not the fact of being "poor and blank," the complete hopelessness of the situation, decades of tempering in struggle and accumulated experience, plus the assistance of the mighty socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union and the benefits derived from the experience of the 40 years' construction in the Soviet Union — have not all these things also increased the strength of the Chinese workers and peasants tenfold, offering us the possibility of using a different way from all Western countries to forge forward at flying speed towards a modern industry, modern agriculture, modern science and culture? The Western bourgeoisie damn us to failure, and there are actually a handful of their parrots in our ranks who say that our general line, great leaps forward and people's communes are products of "petty-bourgeois fanaticism," failing to see that they are precisely products of the revolutionary spirit of Marxism-Leninism. Just let them wait and see, wait for ten years, say, and they will see

the light. In short, the foreign and Chinese philistines with their heads stuffed with metaphysics, as Lenin said, know only to regard the "normalcy" of bourgeois relations as an untouchable golden rule and "have completely failed to understand what is decisive in Marxism, namely, its revolutionary dialectics." (*Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, Part 2, p. 724.) Therefore, just as in the past, they were incapable of understanding the great changes that had taken place in the Soviet Union, so today they are incapable of understanding all the vigorous and lively things happening in China.

The second great task of the Chinese people in commemorating the 90th anniversary of the birth of Lenin is to safeguard world peace and oppose imperialist war together with all the socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union, with all the world's peace-loving forces, and with all the world's anti-imperialist and anti-aggression forces.

Marxism-Leninism has always been opposed to imperialist war. On the eve of and during the First World War, the revolutionary slogan of Lenin and the other left-wing leaders of the working class who firmly maintained Marxist positions, was to turn the imperialist war into a civil war so as to put an end to imperialist war and attain peace. One of the main slogans of the October Revolution was peace. After the victory of the October Revolution, Lenin immediately promulgated the Decree on Peace, advocating a just peace. Afterwards Lenin repeatedly put forward the policy of peaceful coexistence between the Soviet state and other nations. The Soviet Union, as is well known, has made tremendous efforts both before and after the Second World War to safeguard world peace, and to bring about collective security and peaceful coexistence of countries with differing social systems.

Since the day of its founding, the People's Republic of China together with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries has actively striven to safeguard world peace. From 1950 to 1953, the Chinese people sent their Volunteers to the Korean front to fight heroically, together with the Korean people, to stop U.S. aggression, forcing the U.S. army of aggression in Korea to accept an armistice agreement, and thus safeguarding peace in the Far East. In 1954, the Chinese Government actively participated in the Geneva Conference, at which an agreement was concluded on the restoration of peace in Indo-China. In the same year, the leaders of the Chinese Government with the leaders of the Indian and Burmese Governments one after the other, jointly initiated the well-known Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, which have all along been the foundation-stone of China's foreign policy towards all countries with differing social systems. In 1955, the Chinese Government actively participated in the Bandung Conference of Asian and African countries held in Indonesia, which proclaimed, on the basis of the Five Principles, the ten principles governing relations between Asian and African countries. In 1958, China withdrew all its People's Volunteers from Korea. The Chinese people have all along actively participated in the peace movements of the world and of Asia, and have repeatedly advocated collective security and establishing an atom-free zone in the Asian and Pacific region. The Chinese Government has consistently advocated the settlement, by peaceful means and not by means

of war, of disputes with other countries (including the United States), and right up to the present is still holding talks on this question with the United States which is occupying Chinese territory.

The socialist countries and the Communist Parties of the various countries of the world have waged unflinching struggles to secure and preserve world peace.

The Moscow Declaration adopted at the Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries held in Moscow in November 1957 and the Peace Manifesto adopted by 64 Communist and Workers' Parties called on the working class and all the peace-loving people of the world to take action to safeguard peace, and pointed out that this was at present the most important struggle for the whole world. It was pointed out in the two Moscow Declarations that there now existed in the world powerful forces for safeguarding peace, and the alliance of these powerful forces had already provided the practical possibility of preventing the outbreak of war. Since the Moscow meeting, the peace forces have been further strengthened. This is first of all because the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union has grown more powerful; the Soviet Union has gone even further ahead of the United States militarily and in the most important aspects of science and technology; the Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers Comrade N.S. Khrushchov has paid a series of peace visits to the United States and other capitalist countries; the Soviet Government has made important new efforts on the questions of disarmament, stopping nuclear weapon tests, etc.; the peace efforts of the Soviet Union, China and the other socialist countries are making a deeper and deeper impression on the minds of the people. At the same time, the national independence movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America and the struggles of the people in capitalist countries for democracy and socialism have also shown important new developments. The internal contradictions in the imperialist camp are continuing to grow, the broad masses of people in the United States itself are everywhere showing dissatisfaction and uneasiness about the anti-peace foreign policy of the government, and the U.S. imperialists are facing increasing difficulties and isolation. All these circumstances have forced U.S. imperialism, the chief plotter of new war, to accept the proposal for East-West summit talks and change their tune on certain occasions, claiming that they also have a "desire for peace." Facts have proved that the world peace forces are triumphing over the forces of war, which is a manifestation of the fact that the "East wind prevails over the West wind" as Comrade Mao Tse-tung puts it.

The East wind prevails over the West wind, and this is the present new world situation, which fundamentally differs from that in Lenin's lifetime, and on the eve of the Second World War. It is entirely necessary to take this new situation into consideration during the struggle against the imperialist plans for new war. This new condition has brought unprecedented confidence and courage to all the world's peace-loving forces, all the anti-imperialist, anti-aggression forces. But that does not in the least mean that this change in the relation of forces has changed the nature of imperialism and therefore al-

together eliminated the possibility of any war from the life of modern society and that mankind has already entered an epoch of everlasting peace.

Leninism has always held that imperialism is the source of modern war. Lenin said: "Modern war is a product of imperialism." ("Draft Resolution of the Zimmerwald Left," *Collected Works*, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. XXI, p. 313.) He said further: "War . . . arises out of the very nature of imperialism." (Lenin, "Reply to the Discussion on the Party Programme at the Eighth Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks)," *Selected Works*, International Publishers, New York, Vol. VIII, p. 366.) This proposition of fundamental principle of Lenin is the result of a profound scientific analysis of imperialism and innumerable historical facts have proved it to be unshakable truth. The Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties held a little over two years ago adduced the latest facts to substantiate this proposition of Lenin's. The Declaration of the Moscow Meeting said:

"So long as imperialism exists there will always be soil for aggressive wars. Throughout the post-war years the American, British, French and other imperialists and their stooges have conducted, or are conducting, wars in Indo-China, Indonesia, Korea, Malaya, Kenya, Guatemala, Egypt, Algeria, Oman and Yemen. At the same time the aggressive imperialist forces flatly refuse to cut armaments, to prohibit the use and production of atomic and hydrogen weapons, to agree on immediate discontinuation of the tests of these weapons; they are continuing the 'cold war' and arms drive, building more military bases and conducting the aggressive policy of undermining peace and creating the danger of a new war. Were a world war to break out before agreement on prohibition of nuclear weapons is reached, it would inevitably become a nuclear war unprecedented in destructive force.

"In West Germany militarism is being revived with U.S. help, thus creating a source of serious war danger in the heart of Europe. . . .

"Simultaneously, the imperialists are trying to impose on the freedom-loving peoples of the Near and Middle East the notorious 'Eisenhower-Dulles Doctrine' thereby creating the danger of war in this area. . . .

"The SEATO aggressive bloc is a source of war danger in Southeast Asia."

The Peace Manifesto of the 64 Communist and Workers' Parties says:

"The peace forces are legion. They can prevent war and safeguard peace. However, we, the Communists, believe that it is our duty to warn all the people of the world that the danger of a monstrous and murderous war has not passed.

"Where does the threat to peace and the security of the peoples come from? From the capitalist monopolies who have a vested interest in war and amassed unprecedented riches from the two world wars and the current arms drive. The arms drive, which brings huge profits to the monopolies, weighs more and more heavily on the working people and seriously worsens the economy of many countries. The ruling circles of some capitalist

countries, under pressure from the monopolies and especially those of the U.S., have rejected proposals for disarmament, prohibition of nuclear weapons, and other measures aimed at preventing a new war. . . .

"Peace can be preserved only if all to whom it is dear combine their forces, sharpen their vigilance in relation to the machinations of the war-instigators and become fully conscious that their sacred duty is to intensify the struggle for peace, which is threatened."

From this it may be seen that the Leninist principle that imperialism is the source of modern war definitely is not and will not be "outmoded." As long as imperialism exists, vigilance against the war danger can never be relaxed. It is from this basic position that the Chinese people carry out the struggle to safeguard world peace and oppose imperialist war. We welcome every step in the relaxation of the international situation, welcome sincere peace efforts on the part of any country (including the United States), while at the same time we tell the whole nation and the world public in good time about the insidious activities of the imperialists, who are continuing to plot new wars, arouse their attention, and point out to them that so long as all the world's peace forces unite together, they will surely be able to overwhelm the forces of war, and that our struggle has a bright future. We have done this in the past and will continue to do so in the future.

U.S. imperialism holds nothing but venom for the peace efforts of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union. It openly proclaims a policy of hostility to the People's Republic of China, and brazenly attacks the just stand of the Chinese people in safeguarding world peace and opposing imperialist war. The Chinese people have made a timely exposure of the fact that the U.S. Government headed by Eisenhower is, since the Camp David talks between Comrade Khrushchov and Eisenhower last September, still continuing to actively carry out arms expansion and war preparations and enlarging its aggression. U.S. imperialist spokesmen spread the slander that the Chinese people do not seem enthusiastic about relaxing the international situation. But this monstrous lie is really too brazen for words. Since the U.S. Government and Eisenhower himself are in actual fact engaged in arms expansion, war preparations and enlarging aggression, and this runs counter to the demand for easing the international situation, how would it help the international situation if this should be concealed or even whitewashed, prettified and extolled? On the contrary, that would only make the tension-makers all the more reckless and unbridled.

Facts speak louder than eloquence. Just have a look at the following brief summary of the words and deeds of the U.S. Government and Eisenhower against peace since the Camp David talks last September:

On October 16, 1959, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Andrew H. Berding said in a speech that the United States could not accept peaceful coexistence because it would mean accepting the status quo of the socialist camp.

On October 21, the U.S. railroaded an illegal resolution on the so-called "Tibet question" through the United

Nations General Assembly interfering in China's internal affairs and slandering the putting down by the Chinese Government of the rebellion of a reactionary group of serf-owners in the Tibet region.

On October 22, the U.S. State Department issued a statement on the third anniversary of the counter-revolutionary revolt in Hungary, slandering the Hungarian and Soviet Governments and "honouring" the counter-revolutionary elements who launched the revolt.

On November 3, when the people of the Panama Canal Zone demonstrated for the restoration of Panamanian sovereignty over the Canal Zone, the American army of occupation suppressed the demonstrating people, wounding over 120 Panamanians.

On November 13, U.S. Vice-President Nixon said, "... The Western powers cannot accept what the Soviets call peaceful co-existence."

On November 22, U.S. Secretary of State Herter published an article in the American magazine *Parade*, smearing the Soviet Union as having "aggressive intentions" and carrying on an "expansionist drive."

On November 27, the U.S. State Department issued a statement, slandering Albania as being "subjected to Soviet domination."

On December 1, U.S. Defense Secretary McElroy said: "By 1963 the United States will have an even greater variety of means of delivering hydrogen warheads against Russia."

From December 4 to 22, Eisenhower visited eleven countries of Europe, Asia and Africa for the purpose of extending the cold war. During his visits, he beat the drums with all his might for the strengthening of the Western military blocs, saying that "the North Atlantic alliance remains the cornerstone of our foreign policy," and that the United States could not abandon the CENTO bloc, and actively working to expand the network of American missile bases abroad.

On December 9, the U.S. forced a resolution on the Korean question through the United Nations General Assembly. Despite the call issued by the Supreme People's Assembly of the Korean Democratic People's Republic on October 27 it refused to withdraw American troops from south Korea and bring about peaceful unification of the country, and furthermore insisted on the holding of so-called "free elections" in Korea under the "supervision" of the U.N., which was one of the belligerents.

On the same day, the U.S. forced through the United Nations General Assembly another resolution on the so-called "Hungarian question," constituting interference in Hungary's internal affairs.

On December 15, Herter presented a "ten-year plan" to the NATO council meeting, demanding that the NATO bloc have the "deterrent" power to wage large-scale warfare, and "sufficient flexibility" for waging local wars.

On December 24, the U.S. directed a handful of extreme pro-U.S. elements in Laos to launch a military coup d'état and further expand the civil war in Laos.

On December 29, Eisenhower declared that beginning from January 1, 1960, the United States was "free to resume nuclear weapons testing."

On January 7 and 18, 1960, Eisenhower presented his State of the Union and Budget Messages, demanding of the United States "the dedication of whatever portion of our resources" was necessary in order to provide "a real deterrent. . . ." He set military expenditures for fiscal year 1961 at more than 45,500 million dollars, or 57.1 per cent of the budget total. In his State of the Union Message, he smeared the socialist countries as "police states," the Soviet Union as "imperialistic communism," and the socialist camp as "a system of sullen satellites."

On January 15, Nixon said, "Under no circumstances should the United States and its allies reduce their strength."

On January 19, "the Treaty of Mutual Co-operation and Security" between the U.S. and Japan was signed in Washington. This aggressive treaty of military alliance is directed against China, the Soviet Union and the Korean Democratic People's Republic, and menaces the peace and security of all Asian countries.

On February 3, Eisenhower declared at a press conference, "I wasn't aware of any spirit of Camp David." He also indicated that the United States was going to provide its allies with secret information on nuclear weapons.

On February 5, the U.S. State Department issued a statement once again rejecting the proposal of the meeting of Warsaw Pact members that the Warsaw Treaty Organization and the NATO bloc sign a treaty of mutual non-aggression.

On February 15, Herter issued a statement in which he went so far as to raise the absurd demand that three republics of the U.S.S.R., namely Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia "again enjoy national independence."

On February 16, Eisenhower said in his "mutual security" message that "the fact, if it is a fact, of reductions in Soviet military manpower, does not alter the need for the maintenance of our collective defence." "It would be most foolish to abandon or to weaken our posture of common deterrent strength." He also said that for the United States ". . . the need is for steadfast, undramatic, and patient persistence in our efforts to maintain our mutual defenses." He announced 2,000 million dollars in foreign military aid appropriations for the new fiscal year, an increase of 700 million dollars over the previous year.

On February 17, Eisenhower stated in his report on the situation in the Middle East that the United States would continue to carry out the congressional resolution of 1957 on the Middle East question (that is, the so-called "Eisenhower Doctrine").

On February 19, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Graham Parsons indicated in a speech that the United States would continue to occupy China's territory Taiwan, and still "hoped" that New China would "collapse." He stated, moreover, that the United States would carry out "a policy which seeks to offset" the growth of China's strength, and "must adhere to measures designed to cope with that strength."

From February 22 to March 3, Eisenhower visited South America, advocating the strengthening of the "Pan-American system," praising the Santiago Foreign

Ministers Conference of the Organization of American States in August last year, which was aimed at intervention in Cuba. He stated, furthermore, that the United States would continue to adhere to the so-called Monroe Doctrine which regards the Americas as belonging to the United States.

On February 26, after continually bringing missile weapons into south Korea in violation of the Korean armistice agreement, the United States openly launched a "Matador" guided missile at Usan in South Korea.

On February 29, in a note replying to the Cuban Government, the United States rejected the Cuban Government's demand that as a necessary condition for resuming the American-Cuban talks the United States refrain from adopting measures which might be harmful to the Cuban people, and went on to threaten, saying that the United States remained free to take "whatever steps" it deemed necessary. Before and after this, American planes continuously bombed Cuba. According to the March 14 statement of Cuban Premier Castro, U.S. planes had raided Cuba over forty times.

On March 9, J.C. Satterthwaite, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, said that the United States had "special political and military interests" in North Africa. He said, "It is also essential for the United States to retain its rights to operate certain key bases in Africa, and that the United States and its allies have continued access to a wide range of important materials in Africa, principally minerals." He also stated that there was a need "for reconciling the present upsurge of nationalism (in Africa) with the means for an orderly transition from the past to the future."

On March 16, the United States and the Chiang Kai-shek clique began large-scale military manoeuvres in the Taiwan Straits, with the participation of 50,000 American troops.

On the same day, the day after he issued a joint communique with Adenauer, Eisenhower said, "We agreed that there was no change of policy on either side." "We would not abandon our position with respect to our rights in Berlin."

On March 21, American warships again encroached on China's territorial waters, and the Chinese Government issued its 93rd serious warning to the United States. In the period since October 1959, the United States intruded 21 times into China's territorial air and waters.

On March 30, Eisenhower asserted that even if the United States now agreed to sign an accord for temporarily suspending nuclear tests, this would not be binding on the next American President. He said that "any successor would have the right to exercise his own judgement in the matter." Herter went a step further on April 3, saying that from the legal point of view Eisenhower's "ability to bind the United States for a longer period of time" "still remains within his own term."

On April 4, Herter made a speech in which he rejected the Soviet proposal for general and complete disarmament and attacked Chairman of the Soviet Council of Ministers Khrushchov for his talk on the German

question, saying that his words "complicate the situation." Herter then said, "If anyone looks for dramatic achievements at the summit he may be disappointed." He expressed "satisfaction" with the speeding up of the rearming of West Germany, and declared "the ground, sea and air forces of NATO require still further strengthening."

On April 6, Eisenhower formally approved the plan for the accelerated development of intercontinental ballistic missiles and atomic submarines firing the "Polaris" ballistic missile. It is reported that the U.S. Government is preparing to expand its original three-year plan figures for manufacturing intercontinental missiles from 270 to 312, and for atomic submarines from 7 to 40.

On April 9, R.S. Benson, Commander of the U.S. Pacific Fleet's Submarine Force, clamoured that the United States would employ 30 "Polaris" missile atomic submarines to encircle the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

On April 14, U.S. Delegate Eaton at the Ten-Nation Disarmament Conference opposed the proposal put forward by the socialist countries for all nations possessing nuclear weapons to commit themselves not to be first to use them. He asserted once again that the United States could not accept the Soviet proposal for general and complete disarmament.

On April 20, U.S. Under-Secretary of State Dillon made a speech attacking Soviet foreign policy. He maliciously accused the Soviet Union of harbouring "expansionist ambitions." He said that "the very phrase 'coexistence' is both weird and presumptuous" and raved about "maintaining and reinforcing" U.S. military strength and its system of aggressive military blocs.

On the same day, U.S.-supported rebels launched an armed rebellion, attempting to overthrow the Venezuelan Government.

The facts listed here are, of course, far from exhaustive, and are limited to data issued openly by the U.S. Government and American publications. Nevertheless, we should like to ask: Are these still not facts? Are these still not the principal facts of present U.S. policy? Can it be said that all this has been concocted by the Chinese Communists? Can it be said that these are only insignificant, trifling survivals of former times in U.S. policy? Naturally, the facts do not bear this out. The fact is, even after the Camp David talks and even on the eve of the East-West summit conference, we see no change at all in substance in U.S. imperialist war policy, in the policy carried out by the U.S. Government and by Eisenhower personally. U.S. imperialism is not only doing its utmost to expand its aggressive military strength, but is also impatiently fostering the militarist forces of West Germany and Japan and turning these countries into hotbeds of new war. Let it be clearly understood that all this is affecting the fate of all mankind. It is absolutely necessary to oppose militarism in West Germany and Japan, and militarism fostered by the United States in other countries. But now it is, first of all, the war policy of U.S. imperialism that plays the decisive role in all this. Departing from this point is departing from the

heart and essence of the matter. If the peace-loving people of the world do not concentrate their strength on continuously and resolutely exposing this war policy of the U.S. authorities and waging a serious struggle against it, the result will inevitably be a grievous calamity.

What right have the Chinese people, standing in the foremost ranks of the struggle for peace together with the peoples of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, to maintain silence on all these facts? What right have we to let Americans do, say and know about all these things, and not let the peoples of China and other countries know about them? Can it be bad for peace, can it aggravate tension, if we explain the true state of affairs to the Chinese and world public, or can concealing the truth help peace and help relax tension? Can it be that, according to the logic of the U.S. imperialists, that is how peace is to be "preserved"? Or is this the "peace in freedom" referred to by Eisenhower and his ilk?

The U.S. imperialists who actively plan for new war do indeed hope that we will conceal the true state of affairs; hope that we will abandon the standpoints of Marxism-Leninism; hope that we will believe the nature of imperialism can change or even that it has already changed; hope that in the struggle to safeguard world peace we, just like the bourgeois pacifists, will not mobilize and rely on the broadest masses of people who are against imperialism, against imperialist war, and against imperialist aggression; hope that we will exaggerate as much as possible the peace gestures which the imperialist aggressive forces are compelled to make and put the masses off their guard or exaggerate the might of the imperialist aggressive forces in war, and so throw the masses of the people into a panic. In short, the plotters of new war hope that we, like them, will not really want peace and will not want real peace, so that they can suddenly force war on the peoples, just as they did in the First and Second World Wars.

But listen, plotters of new war! Your hopes will never be realized. Since we do really want peace and do want real peace, we will never fall into your trap. We must continue to expose all the plots and schemes of the U.S. and other imperialists against peace, do our utmost to mobilize the broad masses who are against imperialism, imperialist war and imperialist aggression to carry on a stubborn struggle against the plotters of new war, and see to it that in this struggle they maintain both ample vigilance and ample confidence, fighting to the end to prevent new war. Only thus will we be wanting and getting real peace. Doing otherwise, we would be wanting and getting a false peace.

Although, as said above, the nature of imperialism cannot change, we are fully confident that, provided they continue to wage a united and persistent struggle, the mighty forces in defence of peace can certainly set up an array of barriers preventing the imperialists from doing as they please according to the dictates of their nature. Moreover, as the Moscow Declaration puts it:

"...Should the bellicose imperialist maniacs venture, regardless of anything, to unleash a war, imperialism

would doom itself to destruction, for the peoples would no longer tolerate a system that brings them so much suffering and exacts so many sacrifices." It was absolutely necessary for the Moscow Declaration to point this out; this was not to weaken but to strengthen the perspective of peace. For only thus can we see to it that the people of all countries do not mentally disarm themselves, do not capitulate to the intimidation and blackmail of the war maniacs, and are not thrown into panic and confusion in the unfortunate event that war should break out after all.

For peaceful coexistence of countries with differing social systems, flexibility and patience and certain understandings and compromises are necessary. The Chinese people, in their struggles against domestic and foreign enemies, never refused to make compromises which did not damage the basic interests of the people, and will not refuse to do so in the future. The Chinese people warmly support the efforts of Comrade Khrushchov and the Soviet Government in connection with the East-West summit conference and hope, furthermore, that the U.S. Government will change the diehard attitude it has adopted so far, thus making it possible for the conference to arrive at the agreements the peoples are waiting for on the questions of disarmament, stopping nuclear weapon tests, the West Berlin and German questions, and relaxation of the international situation.

But the struggle for peace is a protracted one. Imperialism will not readily accept any agreement favourable to peace. Furthermore, innumerable historical facts prove that what the imperialists agree to they can also repudiate at any time. Therefore, struggle is necessary both to reach agreements favourable to peace and to uphold these agreements once they are reached. Lenin put it very well:

"Now, the struggle for peace has unfolded. This is a difficult struggle. Whoever thinks peace is easily obtained, whoever thinks that we have only to mention peace and the bourgeoisie will present it to us on a platter, is quite a naive person. Whoever tries to attribute this viewpoint to the Bolsheviks is practising deception. The capitalists carry out frantic butchery so that they can divide up the spoils. Obviously, to smash war means to overcome capital, and it is precisely in this sense that the Soviet Government has begun the struggle." ("Speech at the First All-Russian Congress of Naval Deputies," *Collected Works*, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. XXVI, p. 310) Precisely because modern war is a product of the very nature of imperialism, and because the nature of imperialism cannot change, the struggle for the realization and maintenance of world peace is necessarily a protracted anti-imperialist struggle. Therefore, repeatedly publicizing Lenin's theory on imperialism, exposing the essence of imperialism and all its deceitful tricks, becomes an urgent task at present in the cause of peace.

Inasmuch as imperialism is the source of modern war, in the struggle for world peace, it is necessary to rally all forces that are against imperialism, imperialist war and imperialist aggression. The Moscow Declaration states: "The cause of peace is upheld by the powerful forces of our era: the invincible camp of socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union; the peace-loving

countries of Asia and Africa taking an anti-imperialist stand and forming, together with the socialist countries, a broad peace zone; the international working class and above all its vanguard — the Communist Parties; the liberation movement of the peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies; the mass peace movement of the peoples; the peoples of the European countries who have proclaimed neutrality, the peoples of Latin America and the masses in the imperialist countries who themselves are firmly resisting plans for a new war. An alliance of these mighty forces could prevent war."

The imperialists, particularly the U.S. imperialists, leave no stone unturned in their efforts to disrupt this united struggle. They dream of putting the struggle for world peace in opposition to the national independence movements of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and the struggles of the peoples for freedom, democracy and socialism. They argue that since peace is wanted, the oppressed nations should not resist aggression and the exploited peoples should not rise up in revolution. They even say that the socialist countries have the duty to prevent the people of other countries from carrying out a revolution. All this is sheer nonsense. As everyone knows, Marxist-Leninists have always maintained that as far as either oppressed nations or exploited peoples are concerned, revolution cannot be exported. Likewise, no one can or has a right to forbid revolution. Modern revolutions basically originate from imperialist aggression, oppression and plunder of the underdeveloped nations and the labouring masses in their own countries. Therefore, so long as imperialism does not give up this aggression, oppression and plunder, so long as imperialism remains imperialism, the oppressed peoples of various countries will not give up their national revolutions and social revolutions.

The imperialist countries have up to this moment not ceased to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries, including the socialist countries, and yet they are spreading the lie that the socialist countries are interfering in other countries' internal affairs. The socialist countries, of course, never interfere in the internal affairs of other countries, including the imperialist countries. Nevertheless, the imperialist powers are trying to force or induce the socialist countries to help them interfere in other countries' internal affairs. Isn't this preposterous?

As long as imperialism remains and continues to pursue its policies of aggression, oppression and plunder by means of violence, the socialist countries always adopt an attitude of sympathy and support for the oppressed nations and exploited people in their resistance struggle. This is because their struggle represents the will of the people, weakens the imperialist forces and is favourable to world peace. Is it not extremely absurd to think that the development of this struggle and the support extended to it are unfavourable to peace?

The socialist countries and the anti-imperialist peace-loving people of the world are striving to avert war. The greater the strength of the socialist countries and the anti-imperialist, peace-loving people of the world, the greater becomes the possibility of accomplishing this.

Therefore, the strengthening of the socialist countries, of the national liberation movement, of the emancipation movement of the proletariat in capitalist countries and of the peace-loving people of the world makes it possible to more effectively prevent imperialist war and defending world peace.

In commemorating the 90th anniversary of Lenin's birth, the third great task of the Chinese people is to consolidate and strengthen their friendship and solidarity with the other peoples, and in the first place with the socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union.

Marxism-Leninism is true proletarian internationalism. From its very beginning, it has been an international phenomenon. The victory of the Chinese revolution and the advance of the socialist construction of the People's Republic of China are inseparably connected with proletarian internationalist support. The Chinese people are for ever grateful for this support, and will never forget their responsibility to support the international proletariat and oppressed nations. Precisely for this reason, Comrade Mao Tse-tung emphatically pointed out on the eve of the founding of the People's Republic of China: "To sum up our experiences and bring them into focus: we must have the people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class (through the Communist Party) and based upon the alliance of workers and peasants. This dictatorship must unite with all international revolutionary forces. This is our formula, our principal experience, our main programme." (*On People's Democratic Dictatorship*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1959, p. 18.) Precisely for this reason too there are, as is well known, two slogans on the wall at the Tien An Men in Peking, one reading "Long Live the People's Republic of China!" and the other "Long Live the Great Unity of the Peoples of the World!"

The Chinese people need to uphold friendship and solidarity with all other peoples at all times. The Chinese people are happy to see that the fraternal unity between us and the other countries in the socialist camp headed by the great Soviet Union is daily growing, that our friendship with the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America who love peace and oppose imperialist aggression is expanding from day to day, and that our friendly contacts with the people in the other capitalist countries are also increasing with each passing day. The Chinese people will on this basis make untiring efforts to strengthen our friendship and solidarity with all other peoples, so as to wage a joint struggle for the common interests of all peoples.

Attempting to undermine the solidarity of the peoples of the world, the imperialists, and particularly the U.S. imperialists, are frantically inciting anti-Chinese campaigns in certain countries. These campaigns, however, have not obtained and will never obtain support from the people, because they are utterly unjustifiable. The Chinese people are industriously building a peaceful new life at home and doing their best to live in friendship with their neighbours; they have not gone abroad to any foreign territory to set up military bases and guided missile bases. Why then should they be opposed? As we know, the Soviet Union which was created by Lenin has always

been a peaceful country, and yet it was also slandered and attacked for a long time by people who were anti-Soviet for certain domestic reasons in some big and small countries (including some it had helped, for instance, China during Kuomintang rule). But this succeeded neither in inflicting damage on the Soviet Union, nor in obstructing the development of friendship between the Soviet people and other peoples, but only exposed the anti-Soviet elements as being against peace and the people. The anti-Chinese campaigns incited by the imperialists and the reactionaries in certain countries can only end up in the same predicament.

At present, the imperialists and their accomplices, the modern revisionists, and a handful of reactionaries in various countries are particularly frenzied in their attempt to disrupt by various vile means the unbreakable fraternal unity between China and the other socialist countries. These provocateurs are extremely stupid as well as vicious. They can never understand that the unity of the socialist countries was formed and has grown up under the banner of great and unshakable Marxism-Leninism. The Moscow Declaration says, "The socialist countries are united in a single community by the fact that they are following the common socialist road, by the common class essence of their social and economic system and state authority, by their need for mutual aid and support, by their common interests and aims in the struggle against imperialism, for the victory of socialism and communism, by the ideology of Marxism-Leninism, which is common to them all."

The fact that the imperialists, revisionists and a handful of reactionaries in various countries are wildly attempting such disruption by no means indicates the strength of their position; rather it shows that they are nearing their doom. The swift victories of Leninism in the past half century, and particularly in the 15 years since the Second World War, have put them on tenterhooks. In face of these earth-shaking victories which are supported by the broadest masses, imperialism, which vainly seeks world domination, is in fact no more than a "giant of clay," as Lenin described it in his article *Summary of the Party Member Recruitment Week in Moscow and Our Tasks*, written in 1919. It is only natural that they are hostile to the sweeping development and firm solidarity of the socialist movement and the national independence movement under the banner of Lenin. But the more they curse Leninism, the more clearly is it proven that Leninism will triumph. Lenin exulted whenever he was attacked by the enemies of the revolution, because this precisely proved that he was correct. He more than once quoted in his writings the following lines by the great Russian poet Nekrasov:

*We hear the voice of approbation,
Not in the dulcet sounds of praise,
But in the roar of irritation!*

Should the correctness of Leninism be proved not by the enemy's furious curses, but by their praise?

In their efforts to build socialism, safeguard peace and oppose war and strengthen the unity of the

international revolutionary forces, the Chinese people have always been frantically attacked by the enemies of the revolution. But all this merely serves to show that the road chosen by the Chinese people is the correct one. The Chinese people will always advance bravely along the road of the great Lenin towards the victory of China's socialist cause, the victory of the cause of world peace and the victory of the cause of socialism throughout the world!

There is no doubt at all that Marxism-Leninism will score even greater victories not only in the Soviet Union, China and the other socialist countries, but also in all other countries of the world. Of course, history develops unevenly, yet twists and turns and stagnations are but partial and temporary phenomena in the long course of development of human history.

At the beginning of this article we referred to the essay *The Historical Destiny of the Doctrine of Karl Marx* written by Lenin in 1913. In this essay, Lenin specifically pointed out that Asia was a new source of world storms, because there was at that time a relative stagnation in the development of the revolution in Europe. Lenin then concluded that this stagnation was only a transient and superficial phenomenon, and that in the ensuing period of history still greater triumphs awaited Marxism, the doctrine of the proletariat. Lenin wrote:

"But the opportunists had scarcely congratulated themselves on 'social peace' and the needlessness of storms under 'democracy' when a new source of great world storms opened up in Asia. . . .

"After Asia, Europe has also begun to stir, although not in the Asiatic way. . . . Feverish armaments and the policy of imperialism are turning modern Europe into a 'social peace' which is more like a barrel of gunpowder than anything else. And at the same time the decay of all the bourgeois parties and the maturing of the proletariat are steadily progressing." (*Selected Works, International Publishers, New York, 1943, Vol. XI, pp. 51-52.*)

This scientific prediction of Lenin came true in Russia in 1917, and subsequently on an even larger scale after the conclusion of the Second World War. Now, new sources of world storms have opened up not only in Asia, but also in Africa and Latin America. There is no longer any secure rear for imperialism on this earth. There is now still a certain degree of "social peace" in some countries of Western Europe and North America. But owing to the feverish arms race and imperialist policies of these countries, owing to the might of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union and the upsurge of the national independence and people's revolutionary movements, owing to the increasing popularity of the peace movement, the "social peace" in the Western countries is in substance turning more and more into a barrel of gunpowder, as Lenin described it. Let the Chinese people and other peoples of the world strive in unison to secure even greater victories in the coming historical period for Leninism, the Marxist theory of the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution.

Unite Under Lenin's Revolutionary Banner!

by LU TING-YI

On April 22, 1960, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party held a meeting in Peking to commemorate the ninetieth anniversary of the birth of Lenin. Lu Ting-yi, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, delivered a report under the title: "Unite Under Lenin's Revolutionary Banner!" Following is the text of the report.— Ed.

Comrades, Friends:

Today, April 22, is the ninetieth anniversary of the birth of the great Lenin.

Lenin, following on Marx and Engels, was a great revolutionary teacher of the proletariat, the working people and the oppressed nations of the whole world. Under the historical conditions of the epoch of imperialism and in the flames of the proletarian socialist revolution, Lenin resolutely defended and developed the revolutionary teachings of Marx and Engels. (Applause.) Leninism is the Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution. In the eyes of the working people of the world, the name of Lenin is the symbol of the triumph of the proletarian revolution, the symbol of the triumph of socialism and communism. (Enthusiastic applause.)

Ninety years ago, when Lenin was born, mankind was still under the dark rule of capitalism. Lenin and the Russian Bolshevik Party led the Russian proletariat and working people to break the chain of world imperialism, overthrow the bourgeois rule of violence by using revolutionary violence, win victory in the Great October Socialist Revolution, found the first state of proletarian dictatorship, and open up a new era in the history of mankind. (Applause.) The October Revolution made real the age-old dream of the working people and progressive humanity, setting up for the first time in history a society free from the exploitation of man by man over one-sixth of the earth. The imperialists vainly attempted to strangle this new-born Soviet state. Fourteen capitalist countries carried out armed intervention in league with the counter-revolutionary forces in Russia at the time. Lenin and the Bolsheviks led the heroic Soviet working class and working people to smash the imperialist armed intervention and wipe out the counter-revolutionary rebellion at home. Lenin pointed out the road of socialist construction, the road of socialist industrialization and the collectivization of agriculture. After Lenin died, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government, headed by Stalin, led the Soviet people in carrying out Lenin's instructions, so that the Soviet Union, once backward economically and technically, was speedily, in a brief historical period, built up into a powerful socialist country. In the Second World War, the Soviet Union became the main force in defeating fascist aggression, helping the peoples of the East European countries win their own liberation and the peoples of Asian countries defeat Japanese

imperialism, greatly furthering the cause of the proletarian revolution and the cause of national liberation, and making an exceptionally great contribution to world peace. (Enthusiastic applause.) Now, the Soviet Union has entered the historical period of the extensive building of communism. Under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government, headed by Comrade N.S. Khrushchov, brilliant achievements have been scored in Soviet economic construction and Soviet science and technology have advanced by leaps and bounds. The Soviet Union launched the world's first batch of artificial earth satellites and space rockets, opening up a new era in man's conquest of nature. These great achievements have greatly inspired the people of the world in their struggles against imperialism, for national liberation, people's democracy and socialism and for a lasting world peace. (Enthusiastic applause.)

THE life of Lenin was the life of a great proletarian revolutionary, spent in bitter struggle against imperialism, against all sorts of reactionaries and opportunists. Leninism developed in the struggles against imperialism and opportunism. The special characteristic, the essence, of Leninism lies in its thorough proletarian revolutionary character. (Applause.) Leninism not only wholly revived the revolutionary content of Marxism which had been emasculated by the revisionists of the Second International, and restored the revolutionary keenness of Marxism once dulled by them, but further developed the revolutionary content and sharpened the revolutionary keenness of Marxism in the light of new historical experience under new historical conditions. (Applause.)

By the end of the 19th century, capitalism had developed to a new stage, that of monopoly capitalism, or imperialism. In this stage, all the contradictions of capitalism further showed up, more fully and more comprehensively. This set a new task for Marxists, requiring that they make a new analysis of this new stage of capitalism. And it was none other than the great Lenin who accomplished this task. (Applause.)

Lenin made a profound analysis of the essential nature of imperialism and thoroughly refuted the white-washing and apologizing for imperialism by renegades of the working class like Bernstein and Kautsky. Lenin scientifically expounded the fact that imperialism is monopolistic, decaying, and moribund capitalism; that it is the eve of the proletarian socialist revolution. In the epoch of imperialism, the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in the same country, the contradiction between capitalist countries, and the contradiction between the capitalist colonialist powers and the colonies and semi-colonies have all developed to an unprecedented acuteness, and these contradictions can be resolved only by revolutions. The imperialists attempt to eliminate the above-

mentioned series of contradictions by plunging millions upon millions of people into a sea of blood in wars among imperialist powers, wars of aggression against colonies and semi-colonies and wars of repression against the proletariat and the working people in their own countries. Contrary to the desire of the imperialists, however, the imperialist counter-revolutionary wars are unable to eliminate the contradictions of imperialism, but precisely aggravate these contradictions and further precipitate the outbreak of revolution.

As is well known, in 1917 after the Russian February Revolution, in his famous "Letters from Afar," Lenin pointed out in connection with the question of the Russian revolution that the worldwide imperialist war of the time had become an "all-powerful director": it was vastly accelerating the course of world history, engendering worldwide crises of unparalleled intensity — economic, political, national and international, and abruptly overturning the filthy and blood-stained cart of the Russian Tsarist system at this particularly abrupt turn in world history.*

Marxist-Leninists are opposed to the imperialist system and imperialist wars under any circumstances. They hold that the contradictions inherent in the capitalist-imperialist system will necessarily, inevitably give rise to proletarian revolution and colonial and semi-colonial revolutions. Scared stiff by the outward "powerfulness" of imperialism, the opportunists of the Second International let themselves be bought up by the bourgeoisie and worked for imperialism. In keeping with the interests of the imperialists, they spread reformist and capitulationist influences among the masses of workers and people, and opposed the path of revolution. When the imperialist war broke out, they descended to the shameful position of supporting the imperialist war. Contrary to the opportunists, Lenin always took the position of a proletarian revolutionary and stood at the forefront against imperialist war. Lenin exposed the opportunists in their true colours as accomplices of the imperialists and firmly opposed imperialist war; and when the imperialist war broke out, he advocated putting an end to it by waging a revolutionary war. Lenin pointed out that "only the socialist system can free man from war."** (Applause.)

THE revolutionary spirit of Leninism has its outstanding expression in the doctrine of proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship. In order to shatter the revisionist "theories" of Kautsky and the like designed to whitewash bourgeois democracy and paralyse the revolutionary spirit of the proletariat, Lenin repeatedly pointed out that the proletarian revolution must smash the bourgeois state machinery and replace it with the dictatorship of the proletariat. He said:

The latter (the bourgeois state) cannot be superseded by the proletarian state (the dictatorship of the proletariat) in a process of "withering away"; as a general rule, this

* "Letters from Afar," March 7, 1917, *Collected Works*, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. XXIII, pp. 292-293.

** "Tasks of the Zimmerwald Left in the Swiss Social Democratic Party," October-November 1916, *Collected Works*, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. XXIII, p. 128.

can happen only by means of a violent revolution. . . . This . . . lies at the root of the whole of Marx's and Engels' doctrine.*

Lenin pointed out further that the proletarian dictatorship is a continuation of the class struggle in another form under new conditions and it is a persistent struggle against the resistance of the exploiting classes, against foreign aggression and against the forces and traditions of the old society. Without the proletarian dictatorship there can be no victory of socialism. The proletarian dictatorship is a political system a million times more democratic than the bourgeois dictatorship. (Applause.)

Lenin brilliantly applied and developed the Marxist idea of uninterrupted revolution, regarding it as a fundamental guiding principle of the proletarian revolution. Lenin set forth the principle that the proletariat should obtain the leadership in the bourgeois democratic revolution and transform the bourgeois democratic revolution without interruption into the socialist revolution. Lenin further pointed out that the socialist revolution is not the final goal and that it is necessary to continue advancing, to accomplish the transition to the higher stage of communism. Lenin said: "In beginning the socialist transformation, we should clearly set forth the ultimate objective of this transformation, that is, the establishment of communist society."**

BASING himself on the absolute law of the uneven economic and political development of capitalism, Lenin came to the conclusion that socialism will achieve victory first in one or several countries. The progress from socialist victory in one or several countries to socialist victory in all countries of the world will embrace a whole historical epoch. Lenin had full confidence in the future of the world revolution. He said in his final article "Better Fewer, but Better":

In the last analysis, the outcome of the struggle will be determined by the fact that Russia, India, China, etc., account for the overwhelming majority of the population of the globe. And it is precisely this majority that, during the past few years, has been drawn into the struggle for emancipation with extraordinary rapidity, so that in this respect there cannot be the slightest shadow of doubt what the final outcome of the world struggle will be. In this sense, the complete victory of Socialism is fully and absolutely assured.*** (Applause.)

The capitalist system will surely perish and will inevitably be replaced by the socialist and communist system. This is an objective law independent of human will. After Marx and Engels, Lenin further expounded this law, and highly extolled the revolutionary initiative of the masses of people. The victory of the Great October Revolution led by Lenin pointed out to all mankind the road to thorough liberation and the brilliant prospect of socialism and communism. As Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said: "Fundamentally speaking,

* "The State and Revolution," August-September 1917, *Selected Works*, International Publishers, New York, Vol. VII, p. 21.

** "Report on Revising the Programme and Changing the Name of the Party," at the 7th Congress of R.C.P. (B.), March 8, 1918, *Collected Works*, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. XXVII, p. 103.

*** March 2, 1923, *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, Part 2, p. 750.

the road of the Soviet Union, the road of the October Revolution, is the common bright road of development for all humanity." (Applause.)

THE Chinese revolution is a continuation of the October Revolution. The Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung integrated the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. Consequently, the Chinese revolution took the right direction and presented a bright new appearance. (Enthusiastic applause.)

Comrade Mao Tse-tung brings the revolutionary spirit of Marxism-Leninism into full play and, under our conditions, has defended Marxism-Leninism and developed it further. Along the revolutionary path pointed out by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, our Party has led the Chinese revolution going continuously from victory to victory. (Prolonged, enthusiastic applause.)

Our country's new democratic revolution was a revolution led by the proletariat, participated in by the great masses of people, against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. The victory of this revolution came about only after more than twenty long years of revolutionary war. (Applause.)

In the long course of the revolution, the imperialists have been the biggest enemy confronting the Chinese people. Before the Chinese revolution attained victory, China had been subjected to oppression and domination by all the imperialist powers in the world. After the victory of the Chinese revolution, the U.S. imperialists launched armed attack against the Korean Democratic People's Republic, menaced the security of our country, occupied our territory of Taiwan by armed force, imposed blockade and embargo and tried to make use of so-called "democratic individualism" to wipe out the Chinese revolution. The Chinese Communist Party, with a high Marxist-Leninist revolutionary spirit, brought into action the broadest masses of people, eradicated the "pro-America, worship America and fear America" feelings cultivated by the imperialists and their servants, waged a firm struggle against imperialism and its lackeys in China, and finally overthrew imperialist oppression and domination in China, firmly safeguarding the fruits of our revolution. (Enthusiastic applause.)

Our Party twice co-operated and twice split with the Kuomintang—political party of the bourgeoisie—and therefore has extremely rich experience on the question of uniting with and struggling against the bourgeoisie. Our Party has rich experience not only in armed struggle but in peaceful struggle as well.

The Chinese Communist Party under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung correctly and concretely applied the ideas, expounded by Lenin, of the proletariat assuming and wielding leadership in the bourgeois democratic revolution, of the proletariat leading the peasant masses to carry out a thoroughgoing democratic revolution, of the democratic revolution being a peasant war and an agrarian revolution, and of uninterrupted revolution in turning the democratic revolution into a socialist revolution. These

* "Speech at Session of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union to Celebrate the 40th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution."

ideas have played a guiding role in winning continuous victories in our revolution. (Applause.)

Lenin taught us that without a proletarian revolutionary party tempered in repeated struggles, it is impossible to vanquish powerful enemies. Such a party should take Marxism-Leninism as its ideological basis, it should have a proletarian revolutionary programme and have close links with the broad masses of labouring people. Our Chinese Communist Party is exactly such a proletarian revolutionary party. Our Party grew to maturity in the struggles against powerful enemies, at home and abroad, and against right and "left" opportunism. It was after repeated struggles against right and "left" opportunism that the Marxist-Leninist leadership of our Party's Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung was firmly established. (Enthusiastic applause.) Precisely because our Party has such a leadership, it has been able, in the period of the democratic revolution, to firmly secure proletarian leadership, carry out the democratic revolution to thorough victory, and quickly turn the victory of the democratic revolution into that of the socialist revolution.

In our Party's struggles against right and "left" opportunism, such works of Lenin as "The Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution," "The State and Revolution," "'Left-Wing' Communism, an Infantile Disorder" and "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky" have been our most important ideological weapons.

OUR Party applied in Chinese revolutionary practice the Marxist-Leninist doctrines of uninterrupted revolution and the development of revolution by stages, and correctly and concretely solved a series of problems in turning the democratic revolution in our country into a socialist revolution. Speaking of the relationship between the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution, Lenin pointed out, ". . . This first grows into the second. The second, in passing, solves the problems of the first. The second consolidates the work of the first. Struggle, and struggle alone, decides how far the second succeeds in outgrowing the first."* He also said, "The more complete the democratic revolution, the sooner, the more widespread, the purer and the more determined will be the development of this new struggle (referring to the socialist revolution)."^{***} Circumstances in our country fully prove that the more thoroughgoing the democratic revolution, the more rapid and smooth is the development of the socialist revolution; the more thoroughgoing the socialist revolution, the more rapid and smooth is socialist construction; and the speeding up of socialist construction will inevitably promote the realization of communism. (Prolonged, enthusiastic applause.)

To carry out the socialist revolution to the end means that we must obtain victory of the socialist revolution not only on the economic front but also on the political and ideological fronts, constantly clearing out bourgeois

* "Fourth Anniversary of October Revolution," October 14, 1921, *Selected Works, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, Part 2, p. 596.*

** "The Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution," June-July 1905, *Selected Works, F.L.P.H., Moscow, Vol. I, Part 2, p. 139.*

political and ideological influence, continuously resolving contradictions between production relations and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base arising in the course of socialist construction. In this way it will be possible to mobilize fully the revolutionary initiative of the masses and to bring about in socialist construction "a genuine, really mass forward movement, embracing first the majority and then the whole of the population,"* as described by Lenin and so promote tremendously the leap forward of social productive forces. (Applause.)

THERE is a kind of theory which holds that there exist in human society only contradictions between ourselves and the enemy but no contradictions among the people; that in socialist society, between the production relations and the productive forces, between the superstructure and the economic base, there is only the aspect of mutual conformity and no aspect of contradiction; that in socialist construction, we need only rely on technique, and not on the masses; that there is no need to develop the socialist system, but only to consolidate it, and even if it is to be developed, to go forward to communism, still there is no need to undergo a struggle and to pass through a qualitative leap; and thus the process of the uninterrupted revolution of human society goes up to this point and no farther. This, in terms of philosophic thought, is a metaphysical viewpoint, and not a dialectical materialist viewpoint. (Applause.)

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's book *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* applies Marxist-Leninist dialectical materialism to the period of socialist construction in our country, raising the question of drawing a distinction between our contradictions with the enemy and contradictions among the people, the question of correct handling of contradictions among the people, and the question of correct handling of contradictions between the production relations and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base under the socialist system. This Marxist-Leninist theory is fundamentally different from the above-mentioned metaphysical viewpoint. It was precisely on the basis of this theory and in accordance with the experience gained in the practice of socialist construction in our country that our Party's general line was formulated—the general line of going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism. (Applause.)

Under the guidance of our Party's general line for socialist construction, our country has seen big leaps forward in industrial and agricultural production, the rural and urban people's communes, the movement for technical innovations and technical revolution, the combining of education with productive labour, and big leaps forward in the work of commerce, scientific research, culture and art, public health and physical culture. (Enthusiastic applause.)

Our Party's general line for socialist construction has not only been attacked by the imperialists and modern revisionists, but has also been slandered by some philis-

times as "petty-bourgeois fanaticism." But facts remain facts. Our general line for socialist construction is a Marxist-Leninist general line. (Prolonged, enthusiastic applause.) With the development of our cause of socialist construction under the guidance of this general line, the face of our country is undergoing a rapid change in all its aspects. (Enthusiastic applause.)

Lenin analysed the transitional character of socialist society in "The State and Revolution" and other works. He pointed out that economically, politically and ideologically socialism could not as yet be entirely free from the traditions or traces of capitalism, that it was not yet a full-fledged mature communist society, that it was still the lower stage of communism and would have to make the transition to the higher stage of communism, to full-fledged mature communism. These ideas of Lenin are of extremely great significance to us. As communists, we must, in accordance with the Marxist-Leninist doctrines of uninterrupted revolution and revolutionary development by stages, actively create conditions for the realization of communism even as we carry on socialist construction. The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party has listed the necessary conditions for our country's future realization of communism. They are:

... The social product will become extremely abundant; the communist consciousness and morality of the entire people will be elevated to a very much higher degree; universal education will be achieved and the level raised; the differences between worker and peasant, between town and country, between mental and manual labour—the legacies of the old society that have inevitably been carried over into the socialist period—and the remnants of unequal bourgeois right which is the reflection of these differences will gradually vanish; and the function of the state will be limited to protecting the country from external aggression, and it will play no role internally. At that time Chinese society will enter the era of communism in which the principle of "from each according to his ability and to each according to his needs" will be practised. (Applause.)

The victories scored by our people in the new democratic revolution, socialist revolution and socialist construction have all been achieved under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung and under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thinking which integrates the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. We have received help from the great Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet Government and the Soviet people, (Applause.) from all the socialist countries (Applause.) and from the Communist and Workers' Parties, labouring people and progressives of all countries. (Applause.) The Chinese people will always cherish this great spirit of internationalism and never forget it. (Prolonged, enthusiastic applause.)

WE are living in the great new epoch in which the collapse of the imperialist system is being further accelerated, and there is a constant growth in the victories and awakening of the people throughout the world. (Applause.)

* "The State and Revolution," August-September 1917, Selected Works, International Publishers, New York, Vol. VII, p. 91.

* "Resolution of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on the Establishment of People's Communes in the Countryside," August 1958.

The Marxist-Leninists and the modern revisionists, starting from fundamentally different stands and viewpoints, draw fundamentally different conclusions on this situation. The Marxist-Leninists regard this as an unprecedentedly favourable new epoch for the proletarian revolution in the countries of the world and for the national revolution in the colonies and semi-colonies. The forces of peace have greatly grown up, and there is already a practical possibility of preventing war. The people of the whole world must further intensify the struggle against imperialism, promote the development of revolution, and defend world peace. (Applause.) The modern revisionists, on the other hand, regard this as a "new epoch" in which the proletarian revolution in various countries and the national revolution in the colonies and semi-colonies disappear from the world agenda. They think that imperialism will step down from the stage of history of its own accord, without a revolution; and that a lasting peace will come of itself, without our waging of anti-imperialist struggles. Thus whether we should carry out revolution and whether we should oppose imperialism have become the fundamental difference between the Marxist-Leninists and the modern revisionists. (Enthusiastic applause.)

THE main arguments of the modern revisionists in revising, emasculating and betraying revolutionary Marxism-Leninism are that under the historical conditions of what they call the new epoch, Lenin's analysis of imperialism has become "outmoded," that imperialism has "changed" its nature and that imperialism has "re-sounded" its policies of war and aggression. Under the pretext of a so-called "historical, non-dogmatic" approach to the theoretical legacy left by Lenin, they have attacked the revolutionary content and revolutionary spirit of Marxism-Leninism.

In the conditions that the East wind has prevailed over the West wind and the forces of socialism and peace have got the upper hand over the imperialist forces of war, there is a multitude of difficulties within the ranks of the imperialists whose life has become increasingly difficult. The imperialists are putting up all sorts of desperate struggles in an attempt to save themselves from their doom. Recently, the imperialists, especially the U.S. imperialists, have tried hard to use even more cunning and deceptive tactics to pursue their aggressive and predatory policies, and benumb the people of the world. Even the U.S. imperialists themselves sometimes make no secret of their intention to adopt what they call more "flexible" tactics. They have employed multifarious means, adopting alternately tactics of war and tactics of peace. While stepping up arms expansion and war preparations and carrying out nuclear-war blackmail, they have at the same time spread a smokescreen of "peace" and used "sugar-coated cannon balls," in an attempt to create the false impression that the imperialists advocate peace. They have on the one hand resorted to ruthless suppression of revolutionary movements, and on the other, resorted to deception and bribery, in an attempt to soften and split the revolutionary movements. The imperialists have resorted to these deceptive methods for the sole purpose of concealing their predatory and aggressive nature and covering up their war preparations, in order to disintegrate the

revolutionary movements in various countries, the revolutionary movements of the colonies and semi-colonies and the struggle of the people of all countries for world peace, to enslave the people of various countries and to subvert the socialist countries.

To cope with the different tactics adopted by the imperialists against the people, the people of various countries all over the world also have to use varying tactics and methods of revolutionary struggle in their fight against imperialism. Marxist-Leninists have always maintained that in revolutionary struggle there should be firmness in principle and flexibility in tactics. All the means of revolution and forms of struggle, including the illegal and the "legal," extra-parliamentary and parliamentary, sanguinary and bloodless, economic and political, military and ideological—all these are for the purpose of unmasking the imperialists to a fuller extent, showing them up as aggressors, constantly raising the revolutionary consciousness of the people, achieving broader mobilization of the masses of people to oppose the imperialists and reactionaries, developing the struggle for world peace, and preparing for and winning victory in the people's revolution and the national revolution. (Enthusiastic applause.)

Marxist-Leninists have always maintained, too, that the proletariat should unite with its reserves in order to win the victory of a revolution. The proletariat should enter into firm alliance with the peasantry, the other working people and the masses of the oppressed people of the colonies and semi-colonies, who are its fundamental allies. In addition, the proletariat should, in different periods, unite with other people who can be united with. In the interests of the people, of course, the proletariat should take full advantage of the contradictions among the imperialists, even though they are only temporary and partial contradictions. All this is for the purpose of overthrowing the imperialists and reactionaries. (Applause.)

IN the struggle against imperialism and its policy of aggression, it is entirely permissible and necessary and in the interests of the people of various countries that, wherever possible, the socialist countries conduct peaceful negotiations and exchange visits with the imperialist countries, strive to settle international disputes by peaceful means instead of war, and endeavour to sign agreements of peaceful coexistence or treaties of mutual non-aggression.

The Soviet Government has made great efforts to ease international tension and defend world peace. The Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese Government and the Chinese people actively support the peace proposals put forward by the Soviet Government headed by Comrade N.S. Khrushchov for convening an East-West meeting of the heads of government, general disarmament, prohibition of nuclear weapons, and so on. (Enthusiastic applause.)

The modern revisionists completely betray the revolutionary spirit of Marxism-Leninism, the interests of the people of the world, and submit and surrender to the bourgeoisie and the imperialists. They maintain that the imperialists have changed their nature and abandoned the war policy of their own accord, and that therefore there is no need to carry on anti-imperialist struggles and revolutions. They are doing their utmost to camouflage

the U.S. imperialists' policies of aggression and war, to prettify imperialism and Eisenhower, the chieftain of the U.S. imperialists. As described by them, Eisenhower has become a "peace emissary," U.S. imperialism is no longer the enemy of peace, no longer the enemy of the national liberation movements of the colonies and semi-colonies, and no longer the most vicious enemy of the people of the entire world. In a word, according to the modern revisionists, there seems to be no longer any difference between socialism and imperialism, and whoever persists in fighting against imperialism and in revolution would be hindering peace and peaceful coexistence and a "rigid dogmatist." (*Laughter.*)

WE, Marxist-Leninists know very well what dogmatism is and have constantly fought against it. Our Chinese Communist Party has rich experience in combating dogmatism. The dogmatists want revolution, but they do not realize the necessity of integrating the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with concrete practice in the revolution in their own countries, of exploiting the concrete contradictions of the enemy, of concentrating forces on fighting against the main enemy, of entering into proper alliance with the various middle-of-the-road forces, and do not know how to apply flexibly the tactics and methods of struggle, thus leaving the proletariat in a position in which it fights single-handedly. We oppose such dogmatism because it is harmful to the revolution. We oppose dogmatism in order to push ahead the revolution and to overthrow the enemy. (*Applause.*) Modern revisionists are doing just the opposite. Opposition to "dogmatism" is for them only a pretext under which they oppose revolution, seeking to do away with it, to misinterpret and adulterate Marxism-Leninism. In Lenin's words, "they omit, obliterate and distort the revolutionary side of this teaching, its revolutionary soul. They push to the foreground and extol what is or seems acceptable to the bourgeoisie."^{*} Modern revisionists slander Marxism-Leninism as "dogmatism"—this is a despicable trick of these renegades to the working class to corrode the revolutionary soul of Marxism-Leninism.

Revolution is the soul of Marxism-Leninism. Before the proletariat of the whole world, Marx and Engels set the great historic task of wiping out the capitalist system and emancipating all mankind. Under new historical conditions Lenin aroused the world proletariat and all oppressed peoples for fiery revolutionary struggle. Marxism-Leninism was born in the proletarian revolutionary struggle, and is continuously developed in that struggle. Marxist-Leninist formulations on some individual questions may change with the passage of time and changes in the situation, but its revolutionary spirit absolutely cannot be changed. (*Applause.*) In the light of historical conditions of his time, Lenin changed the formulations of Marx and Engels on individual questions, and raised questions which Marx and Engels could not have raised in their days. Far from weakening the revolutionary spirit of Marxism in the slightest, however, these changes further increased the revolutionary fighting power of Marxism. Revolution is the locomotive of history, the motive force of

mankind's social progress. This is so in class society and it will remain so in the future communist society, only the revolution of that time will be different in nature and method.

WE know that U.S. imperialism is the most vicious and cunning enemy of the people's revolution in various countries, of the national liberation movement and of world peace. And Eisenhower is now the chieftain of U.S. imperialism. Lenin pointed out long ago that U.S. imperialism is the most vicious enemy of the people of the whole world playing the role of gendarme. Now, U.S. imperialism has gone even further, appointing itself world gendarme, everywhere strangling the revolution, suppressing the national liberation movement and the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat in the capitalist countries, and sabotaging the movement of the people of the world for peace. U.S. imperialism is attempting every minute to subvert and wipe out the socialist countries and, in the guise of opposing communism and socialism, is doing its utmost to expand into the intermediate zones, in the vain hope of achieving world domination. These policies of aggression and war of U.S. imperialism have not changed to this day. No matter what deceptive tactics U.S. imperialism may adopt at any time, its aggressive and predatory nature will never change till its death. U.S. imperialism is the last pillar of international imperialism. If the proletariat in the capitalist countries is to win emancipation, if the peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies are to obtain national liberation, if the people of the world are to defend world peace, the spearhead of the struggle must be directed against U.S. imperialism. (*Enthusiastic applause.*) Whether or not one dares to expose the imperialists, and especially the U.S. imperialists, whether or not one dares to struggle against them, is the touchstone of whether or not he wants to carry out the people's revolution, to win the complete emancipation of the oppressed nations and to win a genuine world peace. (*Prolonged, enthusiastic applause.*)

In order to oppose the aggressive policy of U.S. imperialism, all the world's revolutionary forces and peace-loving forces must be united. World peace can be further defended and effectively defended only by linking up the struggle of the peoples of the socialist countries, the national liberation struggle of the people of the colonies and semi-colonies, the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat in the capitalist countries and the struggle of all peoples for peace, forming them into a mighty anti-imperialist front and dealing firm blows at the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war. (*Applause.*) The socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union is the main force in defence of world peace. The national liberation struggles of people of the colonies and semi-colonies, and the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat and working people in the capitalist countries are also great forces in defence of world peace. Separation from the national liberation struggles of colonies and semi-colonies and from the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat and working people in the capitalist countries, will greatly weaken the forces in defence of world peace and serve the interests of imperialism.

No force on earth can hinder or restrain the people of the colonies and semi-colonies from rising in revolution and

* "The State and Revolution," *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1952, Vol. II, Part 1, p. 202.

smashing the yoke they are under. Their revolutionary struggles play the role of shaking the foundation of the imperialist system. All revolutionary Marxist-Leninists should support these just struggles, resolutely and without the slightest reservation. (Applause.) Similarly no force on earth can hinder or restrain the proletariat and working people in the capitalist countries from rising in revolution to overthrow the reactionary rule of monopoly capital. Their revolutionary struggles can tie the hands of imperialism and prevent it from unleashing aggressive war. All revolutionary Marxist-Leninists should likewise support these just struggles, resolutely and without the slightest reservation. (Applause.) Firm support to these two types of struggle constitutes an effective strengthening of the struggle to defend world peace. (Applause.) Lenin maintained that the proletariat in the socialist countries must, with the assistance of the world proletariat and the working masses of the oppressed nations, defend the fruits of victory which the proletarian revolution has already achieved, and at the same time support the continuous advance of the cause of proletarian revolution in other countries, continuously weakening the strength of imperialism until capitalism has perished and socialism has triumphed throughout the world. As Leninists, we must always bear in mind these basic theses of Lenin.

MODERN revisionism is a product of imperialist policy. The modern revisionists are panic-stricken by the imperialist policy of nuclear-war blackmail. They develop from fear of war to fear of revolution, and proceed from not wanting revolution themselves to opposing other people's carrying out revolution. (Laughter. Animation.) In keeping with the needs of imperialism, they try to obstruct the development of the national liberation movement and the proletarian revolutionary movement in various countries. The imperialists attempt to make socialist countries degenerate into capitalist countries. And modern revisionists like Tito have adapted themselves to this need of the imperialists.

It is important to oppose modern revisionism, because the modern revisionists can play a role that the bourgeoisie and the right-wing social democrats cannot play among the masses of workers and the working people. They are the agents of imperialism and the enemies of the proletariat and working people of all countries.

The Declaration of the Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the Socialist Countries held in Moscow in November 1957, points out the necessity of defending Marxism-Leninism in the present situation.

The Declaration points out, "The imperialist bourgeoisie attaches increasing importance to the ideological corroding of the masses; it misrepresents socialism and smears Marxism-Leninism, misleads and confuses the masses. Therefore it is a prime task to intensify Marxist-Leninist education of the masses, combat bourgeois ideology, expose the lies and slanderous fabrications of imperialist propaganda against socialism and the communist movement and widely propagate in simple and convincing fashion the ideas of socialism, peace and friendship among nations."

The Declaration further says, "Modern revisionism seeks to smear the great teaching of Marxism-Leninism,

declares that it is 'outmoded' and alleges that it has lost its significance for social progress. The revisionists try to kill the revolutionary spirit of Marxism, to undermine faith in socialism among the working class and the working people in general. They deny the historical necessity for a proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat during the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, deny the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party, reject the principles of proletarian internationalism and call for rejection of the Leninist principles of party organization and, above all, of democratic centralism, for transforming the Communist Party from a militant revolutionary organization into some kind of debating society."

MODERN revisionism is at present the chief danger to the international communist movement. It is our sacred duty to bring into full play the Leninist revolutionary spirit, and thoroughly reveal the true colours of this agent of imperialism—modern revisionism. (Enthusiastic applause.)

The Declaration of the Moscow Meeting is the programme of the international communist movement of our time acknowledged by the Communist and Workers' Parties of various countries. We, the Chinese Communist Party, along with the Communist and Workers' Parties of other countries, faithfully abide by and are carrying out this great programme. (Prolonged, enthusiastic applause.)

The communist movement has from the outset been an international movement. International proletarian solidarity is the basic guarantee for the victory of the people's revolutionary cause in all the countries of the world, of the national liberation cause of oppressed nations, and of the peoples' struggle for world peace. In the interests of the socialist countries, of the proletariat and working people of all countries, of the liberation of oppressed nations, and of the defence of world peace, we must at all times strengthen international proletarian solidarity. (Applause.) Marxist-Leninists have always guarded as the apple of their eye the unity of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union, (Applause.) the unity of the international communist ranks, (Applause.) the unity of the world proletariat, (Applause.) and the unity of the world people. (Applause.) The imperialists and modern revisionists regard this great international unity as the greatest obstacle to their attempt of disintegrating the revolutionary movement of various countries. They are scheming day and night in the wild hope of sabotaging this unity through the vilest provocations and splitting activities, rumour-mongering and slanders. But these base intrigues are doomed to complete bankruptcy. (Enthusiastic applause.)

Under the guidance of the revolutionary doctrines of Marxism-Leninism, the socialist cause of the proletariat certainly can and will win complete victory throughout the world. Lasting peace will certainly come to humanity. (Continued, enthusiastic applause.)

Let us unite and advance bravely under the revolutionary banner of the great Lenin! (Prolonged, enthusiastic applause.)

Long live Marxism-Leninism! (Stormy, prolonged, enthusiastic applause.)

PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI IN INDIA

Premier Chou En-lai, now in New Delhi, has had several talks already with Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and, as we go to press, their talks continue.

The Chinese Premier and his party, which includes Vice-Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs Chen Yi, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs Chang Han-fu and other government officials, arrived in the Indian capital on April 19. They were greeted at the airport by Prime Minister Nehru, Indian government ministers, high-ranking military officers and prominent public figures.

In his speech at the airport, Premier Chou En-lai told his welcomers that "The Chinese Government has always advocated the holding of talks between the Prime Ministers of the two countries to seek avenues to a reasonable settlement of the boundary question and other questions. I have come with a sincere desire to settle questions on this occasion. I earnestly hope that, through our joint efforts, our meeting will be able to yield positive and useful results."

Following is the text of Premier Chou En-lai's speech at a banquet given in his honour by the Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru.—Ed.

Premier Chou En-lai's Speech

Your Excellency Respected Prime Minister Nehru,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am greatly honoured to have the opportunity today to attend the banquet given in our honour by His Excellency Prime Minister Nehru. In my own name and that of Vice-Premier Chen Yi, I wish to thank His Excellency Prime Minister Nehru and extend greetings to all the Indian friends and the heads of foreign missions present here.

Nearly three and a half years have passed since I last visited your great country. During this period, great changes favourable to world peace and human progress have further taken place in the world, and our two countries have scored not a few achievements in building our respective lands. In the past year and more, although there occurred certain difficulties in the relations between our two countries owing to temporary differences of opinion on the boundary question between the two countries and certain unfortunate and unexpected incidents, this should not, nor can it, shake the foundation of the long standing friendship between our two peoples. The friendly contacts between our two peoples have a history of thousands of years. Since our two countries attained independence respectively, this age-old traditional friendship has undergone a further development on a new basis. In order to build up our respective countries and safeguard Asian and world peace, we need to continue to strengthen our mutual friendly co-operation. I am deeply convinced that the profound friendship between our two peoples is unshakable.

There is nothing more important to our two peoples than our respective cause of construction. Although our countries have different social systems and follow different roads in their construction, they suffer from equally

serious poverty and backwardness caused by colonialism and face equally arduous tasks of construction. It is therefore very natural that our two peoples should be concerned for each other and learn from each other while engaging in their respective construction. The Economic Construction Exhibition held by India in our country in 1956 aroused the great interest of our people. The Indian people, too, attached importance to the Chinese Agricultural Exhibition held in Delhi this year. The Chinese people have had the honour of receiving quite a number of specialized Indian delegations, and Chinese delegations of similar nature have also visited and studied in India. It should be admitted that not enough has been done in the past to exchange experience in construction between our two countries. In the future, along with the further development of construction in our two countries, it is necessary to strengthen particularly this important link in the friendly co-operation between our two countries.

The Chinese people are devoting all their energy to increasing production, improving the living standards and rapidly building their country into a truly prosperous and strong one. In the past ten years and more, the Chinese people have scored some achievements in these respects. However, these achievements are still extremely limited compared to the tremendous tasks to be accomplished in the future. The Chinese people are fully aware that they will have to make strenuous efforts for several more decades in order to completely lift themselves from backwardness. The Chinese people not only are determined to build up their own country, but sincerely hope that their friendly neighbour India and other Asian and African countries will also quickly grow prosperous and strong. The Asian and African peoples are all industrious and talented, and they all cherish the strong desire of freeing themselves from poverty and backwardness. With this

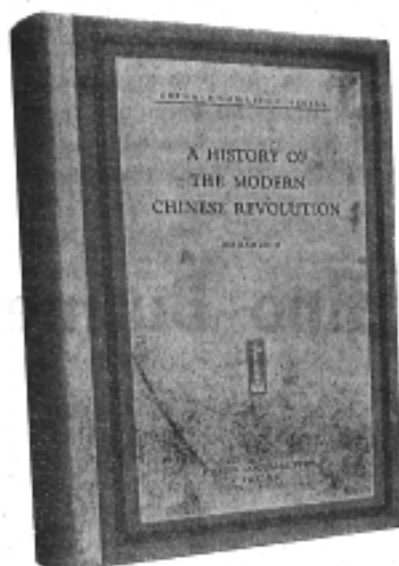
most favourable condition plus our rich resources, it is entirely possible for us to overcome all the difficulties encountered in our construction and to develop our industrial and agricultural production. We Asian and African countries should have the self-confidence that what the Western countries can do, we also can do, and will certainly do even better than they. The dire sufferings brought by colonial rule made us unite together; the glorious tasks of construction should make us unite together even more closely.

We all urgently need a lasting peaceful international environment so that we can devote all our efforts to domestic construction. Both our countries have made unremitting efforts in the cause of safeguarding Asian and world peace. We jointly initiated the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and carried out good co-operation at the Bandung Conference of historic significance. We are glad to note, at the time of the fifth anniversary of the Bandung Conference, that the movements against colonialism and racial discrimination and for winning and safeguarding national independence in Asia, Africa and Latin America have won a continuous series of victories. The Chinese Government and people have adhered faithfully to the Five Principles and remained loyal to the Bandung spirit; they have always supported the struggles of Asian and African peoples and safeguarded the solidarity of Asian and African countries; this stand of China's is firm and unshakable. Some people do not think so, but this we do not mind. We believe that, provided they do not bear us any ill will, they will come to a correct understanding after a period of observation.

As to the present world situation, the prospects for winning peace are brighter than ever before. Like India, China hopes that the conferences concerning disarmament and the forthcoming East-West conference of government heads will lead to further relaxation of the international situation. But some influential circles in the world are still engaging in armament expansion and war preparations, reinforcing their aggressive military alliances, expanding their military bases abroad, and seeking by every means to poison the international atmosphere and obstruct East-West agreement on a number of important international issues. What is particularly worthy of note is that, fostered by these circles, the militarist and fascist forces which launched the last world war are now reviving and once again menacing the peace and security of the world. All this shows that the safeguarding of world peace is still an arduous task. Under these circumstances, it is necessary for China and India to strengthen their friendly co-operation so that they, together with the other peace-loving countries and people of the world, can make significant contributions to world peace and the progress of mankind.

As to the boundary question between our two countries, it is, in our opinion, only an issue of a limited and temporary nature compared with the fundamental question of preserving friendly co-operation between our two countries. To use a common Chinese expression, it concerns only one finger out of ten. Of course, we recognize that a settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question has its difficult aspects, because this is an extremely complicated question left to our two countries by colonialism;

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yet, on the other hand, we also have favourable conditions for settling this question, because both our countries have attained independence and share the desire for friendly co-operation, and it is possible for us not to be bound any longer by outdated ideas. The Chinese Government and myself are deeply convinced that so long as we constantly care for the long-term interests of the friendship between our two countries, take into consideration both the historical background and the present actualities, act on the basis of the Five Principles and in the spirit of mutual understanding and mutual accommodation, it is entirely possible to achieve a fair and reasonable overall settlement of the boundary question between the two countries. The Sino-Indian boundary question is left over by history; it is not created by either of our two Governments. The Chinese Government, in particular, does not wish to see the relations between our two countries affected by the boundary question. In order to seek various avenues to a peaceful settlement of the boundary question, the Chinese Government has never stinted exerting its greatest possible efforts. I sincerely hope that the present meeting

between the Premiers of the two countries will yield positive and useful results.

As His Excellency Prime Minister Nehru aptly put it, friendship is necessary not only for our two countries, but for peace in Asia and the world. I believe that our joint efforts will surely uphold and develop the friendship between our two countries. I thank once again His Excellency Prime Minister Nehru and the Indian Government for their invitation and hospitality and heartily wish even more and greater achievements for the Indian people in the great cause of building up their country and defending peace in Asia and the world. I propose a toast:

To the traditional friendship between the peoples of China and India,

To the prosperity and strength of India,

To Asian and world peace,

To the health of His Excellency Prime Minister Nehru
and

To the health of His Excellency President Prasad!

Sino-Burmese Joint Communiqué

Following is the full text of the joint communiqué issued by the People's Republic of China and the Union of Burma in Rangoon on April 19, 1960.—Ed.

At the invitation of the Government of the Union of Burma, Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, arrived in Rangoon on April 15, 1960 for a four-day friendly visit. He was accompanied by Marshal Chen Yi, Vice-Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Chang Han-fu, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, and other high-ranking officials.

In the course of his visit, Premier Chou En-lai called on His Excellency U Win Maung, President of the Union of Burma, Prime Minister U Nu and General Ne Win.

The Premiers of the two countries held sincere talks on questions of common interest to both countries in a friendly, harmonious and frank atmosphere. Taking part also in the talks were, on the Chinese side: Marshal Chen Yi, Vice-Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Chang Han-fu, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs; and on the Burmese side: Sao Hkun Hkio, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The two Premiers pointed out with satisfaction that with the signing of the Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Non-Aggression Between the People's Republic of China and the Union of Burma and the Agreement Between the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the Union of Burma on the Question of the Boundary Between the Two Countries, friendly co-operation between the two countries had entered a new stage. The two parties indicated their determination, in accordance with the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence jointly initiated by the two countries and the spirit and provisions of the above-mentioned treaty and agreement, to continue to adopt measures to further

strengthen economic co-operation, develop trade and promote cultural and friendly ties between the two countries and to bring about as early as possible a complete and final settlement of the question of the boundary between the two countries.

Premier Chou En-lai's visit to Rangoon coincided with the fifth anniversary of the Bandung Conference of historic significance. The two Premiers confirmed with pleasure that the development of Sino-Burmese friendly relations and the series of victories won by Asian and African peoples under the banners of independence, peace and friendship over the past five years fully proved the great vitality of the Bandung spirit and the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence. The two parties expressed the hope that the Asian and African countries would adhere to the Bandung spirit and work for the strengthening of the solidarity of the Asian and African peoples who are struggling for national independence and against racial discrimination, and condemned the repressive measures and use of force against the African peoples by some governments.

The two Premiers were firmly convinced that the safeguarding of peace is an important matter of common interest to all the peoples of the world. They expressed the hope that the conference of the government heads of the big powers to be held in May this year would contribute to world peace and the relaxation of international tension and held that the countries concerned should reach agreement speedily on the prohibition of nuclear weapons, general disarmament and other problems.

Premier Chou En-lai, on behalf of the Chinese Government, invited Prime Minister U Nu to pay a friendly visit to China. Prime Minister U Nu accepted this invitation with pleasure and indicated that he would carry out the visit as early as possible.

SIDELIGHTS

A People's Deputy. Shop-assistant Wang Hsueh-ting did not fully grasp the meaning of the Party's slogan to "serve the people with all one's heart" until the day after she took her son to a shop to buy shoes. When asked to be shown a third pair, the man who waited on them grumbled about people who were "so hard to please." She got up and walked out of the shop. When her anger subsided, she realized that if such a remark however unintentional could spoil her whole day, wouldn't it hurt someone equally if she herself was rude or showed impatience? Service meant doing all you can to make others happy—she remembered and understood the slogan. Some months later, when a man with four youngsters in tow hesitantly asked for four pairs of sandals, she translated her understanding into action.

Her mother's eye immediately saw their muddy feet. . . . She politely asked him to wait and went into the back of the shop. A few minutes later when she reappeared with towels and a basin of warm water, she found her customer about to leave with his children. She apologized for keeping them waiting and asked the children to sit down. He saw her drop to her knees and begin unlacing the children's shoes. . . . Twenty minutes later, four happy children skipped out of the shop followed by an equally happy—and thoughtful father. This happened several years ago and Wang Hsueh-ting who has been doing all she can to serve the people since that day is now a people's deputy and has been repeatedly cited as a model worker.

Of Men and Machines. "Mechanization, automation" are words on everyone's lips these days and every newspaper in China is crammed with reports about machines and things mechanical and about automation. Workers in all trades are tinkering and experimenting. Take the staff of a Harbin cinema for example. They have thought up an automatic device to dim the theatre, start projection, change reels, adjust sound and focus when necessary and automated roughly twenty processes required in film projection. Automatic projection runs

smoothly and flawlessly it has been found and with only one operator for a large cinema. He arrives in the morning and sets the machine for the day's several screenings then busies himself on something else—like thinking up more technical innovations.

No Stink of Reaction A million willows have been planted in lovely Lhasa's now clean-swept streets and lanes. This is a part of the great national health drive to improve environmental and personal hygiene. Several thousand tons of refuse and night-soil that gathered in foetid heaps in the city during the long years of reactionary rule have now been carted away to make manure for crops. This, together with other new public health measures, has gone a long way to ending the life-taking epidemics which plagued Lhasa in the past. The city's public drainage system too has been thoroughly overhauled and extended. Now even the stink of reaction has been removed from liberated Lhasa.

T.V. Universities. Television in China besides providing good entertainment is educating millions. Now two "universities of the air" have appeared offering T. V. lectures and demonstrations by university teachers in chemistry, mathematics and physics to some 12,000 Peking and Shanghai workers and technicians. This is part of an answer to the insistent demand for advanced scientific knowledge stimulated by the nationwide campaign to supplant manual labour with machines.



Like Magic. World-famous conjurer and magician Yang Hsiao-ting has been honoured as an outstanding worker and for his services to the people. A magician and conjurer of unusual talent, he has delighted and astonished huge audiences in the Soviet Union and other socialist coun-

tries as well as those in Britain, France and Italy. Over fifty, he is as nimble and alert as ever. He well must be, for one of his better known and breathtaking tricks is to produce a flaming brazier from under his gown. Besides reviving and refurbishing many of the tricks from repertoires lost over the long years of neglect in pre-liberation China of such popular entertainers, he has trained many youngsters including three of his own in the art of magic. "Magicians were considered no better than vagabonds before liberation," the wizard told a correspondent. "And though I could make things appear from seemingly nowhere, I could not make enough to eat in those days. Now things are different indeed."

A Hint from the Birds. Birds in flight unwittingly sow seeds, sometimes in the most inaccessible places. Now, as a radical measure to stop erosion, the technique of aerial sowing of seeds of grass and trees has been adopted to plant verdure on the loess highlands and mountains of Northwest China. During the last two years such experimental sowing by aircraft has been carried out over a great area from Inner Mongolia south to Szechuan. It has proved so successful that a centre has been set up to direct large scale, systematic aerial sowing from planes all over the catchment area of the upper reaches of the Yellow River. This aerial afforestation centre has been established jointly by the Ministries of Forestry, Agriculture, Water Conservancy and Electric Power and the Civil Aviation Administration. Clothing the denuded loess catchment areas with a verdant water-retaining mantle will effectively reduce erosion and beautify the land.

A Big New Bridge. The new, double-track railway bridge spanning the Yellow River at Chengchow has been completed in less than two years—six months ahead of schedule. One of the longest in China, this bridge which carries the Peking-Canton line across the river was opened to traffic on April 21. It replaces the single-track bridge which foreign engineering companies built. This was thoroughly overhauled after liberation, but it was so shoddily constructed that trains had to slow down to a snail's pace crossing it. It was quite inadequate for today's big leap traffic, hence the new bridge designed by Chinese engineers.

THEATRE ARTS

LOCAL OPERA FESTIVAL

The first quarter of 1960 has been a busy time in the Peking theatrical world. First, there was the *quyi* (balladry) festival at which 75 items were performed representing 25 forms of *quyi* from different parts of the country. Then came the shadow and puppet play festival with troupes from ten provinces and municipalities. Then the modern drama festival just concluded and finally the all-important festival of local operas on modern themes. This lasted more than ten days. It is now over, but public showings of the operas are still being given.

The festivals, sponsored by the Ministry of Culture, gave Peking's theatre-goers a unique opportunity to see the country's best dramatic performances, but more important, they enabled the artists to review their work and discuss future developments.

The local opera festival highlighted modern themes. It presented ten operas by ten companies with more than 600 performers taking part. All were new operas produced after the big leap forward. Many portray the new heroes of socialist construction and reflect the growing communist spirit of the people. Some were on historical themes about the revolutionary struggle. All have gained wide popularity during the last two years.

The festival opened on April 13 with *The Szechuan White-Haired Girl*, a new Peking opera, produced by graduates of the Chinese Opera School in Peking. This is based on the true story of a poor peasant girl who spent 12 years in the forests fleeing from her landlord persecutors. (The real life heroine, Lo Chang-hsiu, by the way, is now an outstanding worker in a Szechuan people's commune, married and with a happy family of her own.)

This opera is typical of the general boldness in experimentation shown at the festival. Traditional techniques are creatively adapted to dramatize the struggle between the peasants and landlords. Liu Hsiu-yung in the title role has combined the special characteristics of the different *dan* (female) roles of Peking opera. She

even uses some of the actions of the *sheng* (male) roles to reflect the heroine's strong feelings and hatred towards her landlord oppressors. In singing, speech, and the mass scenes, there are fresh innovations, all are based on the old traditional theatre but at the same time they are not limited to traditional techniques.

Other operas shown included *Chang Shih-chen* by the Tientsin Pingju Company, which is based on the story of a Tientsin shop assistant who was elected to the national heroes' conference last autumn; *Flames Over Palin*, by a Peking opera company from Inner Mongolia dealing with a slave revolt of some 50 years ago; *Following Winter Comes Spring* by the Third Company of the Honan Opera Theatre, on the great water conservancy campaign in rural China. (See *Peking Review*, No. 15, "What's On in Peking.")

Theatres in all parts of the country sent representatives to see the festival performances and join in the discussions. Libretto writers, directors, specialists in stage designing, musical accompaniment, make-up and costuming had a field day discussing a wide range of questions concerning the writing of librettos on modern themes, and their staging.

This festival will greatly promote development of the traditional opera. With one superbly developed "leg" — the traditional repertoire — plus a new "leg" of operas on modern themes, it will certainly make a greater leap ahead.

MODERN DRAMA FESTIVAL

The modern drama with a bare 50 years of life in China and therefore with no burdens of age and hide-bound traditions has big advantages compared with the ancient, traditional Chinese dramatic forms in mirroring contemporary life and the new heroes of our times. And popular demand on it for plays on contemporary themes is also big. Since the big leap forward, it has made great efforts to meet this demand. It was to review what had been done along this line that the recent modern drama festival was held in Peking.

"A Withered Tree Revives"

One was *A Withered Tree Revives*. This is about schistosomiasis. This

forbidding disease which infects the blood, causes debility, sterility and death, plagued the people of a vast area south of the Yangtse River. It depopulated whole villages. Modern medicine was baffled by it. After liberation, not to speak of its direct toll of human suffering, it proved to be a major local obstacle to the peasants' advance to prosperity and happiness. It was finally curbed as a result of an unprecedented effort led by the Communist Party mobilizing the people, the experts and rank and file medical workers against it. *A Withered Tree Revives*, produced by the Shanghai People's Art Theatre, describes a dramatic segment of that struggle not alone of man against disease, but of social outlooks, the clash between advanced and conservative ideas, between the revolutionary working-class way of attacking the problems of treatment and cure and that of people still infected with bourgeois ideas of "fame" and what is, and what is not, possible. This play deals with disease, but the clash of attitudes and ideas it depicts are typical of many other spheres of life. Its clear-cut analysis of the protagonists in this particular struggle truly reflects reality in our times.

It starts with a short scene. In a desolate part of pre-liberation South China, people are fleeing from the disease-ridden soil. Human evil adds to the terror: Kuomintang press-gangs are hunting men, wrenching families apart, depriving them of their breadwinners. This prologue in muted colours, is followed by a sharply contrasted scene after liberation. Twin Pagodas Township in the same area is eagerly welcoming a group of medical workers sent down as the vanguard to investigate and find a cure for the disease. A good harvest is ready for reaping; farm hands are urgently needed to get it in, but many are ailing with schistosomiasis. Soon a sharp conflict develops in the medical centre. Lo Shun-teh, the leader, is a Party member who has thrown himself into the work, avidly collects local lore about the disease and pushes ahead with investigation and current treatment with all available means. The young medical assistant is determined to go in for a "thorough" study of the disease that will take years and as for the sick waiting for a cure: "Well, it's too bad for them!"

One of the village girls nicknamed "Ill-fated Sister" because of her many misfortunes, is stricken with the disease just when she meets again the man she loves. She steadfastly refuses to marry him with the shadow of death hanging over her. "Ill-fated Sister" personalizes the story of millions of peasants.

Chairman Mao and the Party have put out the call for an all-out drive against the disease and a well-known specialist arrives to reinforce the struggle. At this crucial moment the young assistant insists on going off to Shanghai to hear a lecture and, on top of that, forgets to bring back medicines urgently needed to treat the patients including "Ill-fated Sister." It is a bitter moment when he realizes that his "idealism" and "thoroughness" is just selfish humbug and that this has led him to forget to put first things first and endanger people's lives. This is the climax. Lo has mobilized help to get the needed medicines. Effective treatment and cure for the disease is found as a result of a well-coordinated joint effort. The new society restores "Ill-fated Sister" to health and happiness.

This is an effective dramatization of a dramatic theme. When first staged in Shanghai it immediately recommended itself to audiences. When presented at the recent modern drama festival in Peking it had already been seen by more than 100,000 people. A long run seems assured for it in productions by the Shanghai and other troupes as well.

Wang Lien, the playwright and a new name in the theatre, has poured his enthusiasm into this play not only as a writer but as a schistosomiasis sufferer himself who knows well what the campaign to stamp it out means personally to him and millions of others.

Festival Highlights

Twelve troupes staged 12 plays at the recent modern drama festival in Peking. This was less than ten per cent of the modern theatre troupes now performing and an even smaller proportion of the current modern drama repertoire, yet it gave a fair cross section of the new trends in the modern drama.

The subject matter of the plays was very varied. They dealt with

contemporary themes from the revolutionary struggle as well as socialist construction. *Taming Dragons and Tigers* (see *Peking Review*, No. 1, 1960), *Together We Advance*, a comedy of domestic trials when housewives emancipate their minds and join socialist construction, and *Detained by Flood*, about a railroad battle against flood, mirror life during the big leap forward. Others reflect events in revolutionary history. *Keep the Red Flag Flying* (see *Peking Review*, No. 50, 1959), portrays the revolutionary struggle of the peasants in central Hopei during the late 20s. *Long Live the Heroes!* is about the epic struggle of the Chinese People's Volunteers and the Korean People's Army against the U.S. invaders. Their heroes are the heroes of the people, and China's new people inspired by communist ideals.

Members of the audience in letters to the press describe the positive educational impact on them personally of plays such as *A Withered Tree Revives*. In a letter to Xiju Bao (Theatrical Arts), a fortnightly, Wei Yen-wen, an anti-epidemic worker, who saw the play in Canton, wrote how he had thought wrongly about his work. "I didn't like it," he said, "because it keeps me so on the go and is full of hardships, but the example of Lo Shun-teh made me think things over and inspired me to work with greater enthusiasm." Modern theatre workers are very conscious of the importance of this educational aspect of their art. They have been profoundly inspired by Chairman Mao Tse-tung's ideas on the subject of art as a medium of socialist and communist education.

Methods of production vary. Many-sided experiments are being made to evolve a national style of acting and staging. These range from modernizing traditional stage techniques, to integrating Western and Chinese classical traditions, adapting various styles of acting taken from the local classical drama or the techniques of ballad singers. In staging *Keep the Red Flag Flying* the Hopei theatre visited the actual locale of the action, and thoroughly studied local customs and history. They used this knowledge to good effect on the stage. In *Phoenixes Under a Glorious Sun*, the Szechuan theatre made similar excellent use of local songs and dances.

Festival performances were followed by lively discussions. Representatives of all the country's 100-odd major modern drama theatres took part in them. The consensus of opinion was that both in numbers of plays staged and their ideological and artistic qualities, achievements in the past two years of the big leap forward surpass those of the previous eight years. These new plays, it is felt, combined revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism, embodied great ideals and a practical spirit. Great stress was put on taking the modern drama out to the people in factories and rural communes, in addition to giving regular performances in the metropolitan theatres. This is a practice which not only enriches the cultural life of the people but, as the discussions made very clear, also benefits modern drama workers both politically and artistically.

SHORT NOTES

Art Boosts the Communes.

The East wind blows. Red Flags fly high.

Songs of rejoicing reach the sky.

It's a victory of the general line we sing,

Ring in

The urban people's communes!

This is part of a song composed and sung by the student chorus of the middle school attached to the Central Conservatory of Music. Since April 8, all the arts have turned their attention to the people's communes. By collective efforts, theatre people have already composed more than 60 short plays, songs, dances and *quyi* ballads about them. Every night since April 11 they have given performances of these to the members of newly-established urban communes at the inauguration celebrations.

Film workers are busy making film records of these jubilant events. Artists have already painted over 300 posters and sketches to help decorate commune premises and spread the good news of their benefits.

China Makes Stereoscopic Films. The August First Film Studio has completed two widescreen stereoscopic shorts in colour, first of their kind in China. They are *Journey on the River Li* and *Chinese Acrobatics*, both to be released soon.

Memorable Burmese Visit

Premier Chou En-lai's goodwill visit to Burma (April 15-19) makes yet another memorable page in the annals of Sino-Burmese relations. Following on the Sino-Burmese Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Non-Aggression signed in Peking during the January visit to China of the then Burmese Premier General Ne Win, it has further cemented the age-old friendship between the two neighbouring countries.

The Burmese new year celebrations coinciding with the visit gave it a festive atmosphere, highlighting the close kinship of the Chinese and Burmese peoples. The national flags of the two countries flew side by side over the Presidential House as well as downtown buildings and private residences in Rangoon. Cheers, flowers and shouts of "Long Live Chinese-Burmese Friendship" greeted the Chinese visitors everywhere they went.

The Chinese Premier enjoyed the friendliest of relations with the Burmese government leaders. He was guest of honour at banquets given by the Burmese President U Win Maung, Prime Minister U Nu and the Chief of the General Staff General Ne Win. Several friendly talks he had with Premier U Nu led up to the Sino-Burmese joint communique issued on the eve of his departure (full text see page 42). The Chinese Premier also met U Ba Swe and U Kyaw Nyein, President and Vice-President of the Stable Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League of Burma.

Great warmth also characterized the reception given by the Chinese Ambassador Li Yi-mang in honour of the visit, and the banquet which Premier Chou En-lai himself gave to Burmese government leaders and friends. On the latter occasion, Premier U Nu, in honour of the Chinese guests, spoke in fluent Chinese to toast Sino-Burmese friendship and wish long life to the Chinese leaders.

The most colourful part of the visit was the enthusiastic welcome Rangoon citizens gave to the Chinese Premier when he took part in the Thingyan water festival. Shortly after their

arrival in Rangoon, Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi donned Burmese *longyi* and *gaungbaung* (gowns and headscarves) and accompanied by Premier U Nu, toured the greater part of the city in an open car to join the festivities. They were greeted with cheers and handclaps from hundreds of thousands of people who lined the streets and packed top-storey windows. At the water-splashing pavilions where the Chinese guests stopped, gay young Burmese men and women played musical instruments, sang and danced; they made a point of it to douse the guests thoroughly — a sign of affection and good luck.

Another interesting sidelight was the visit of the Chinese Premier to the Thamaing Cotton Mill in Rangoon's northern suburb, where once again he was given a rousing welcome by the factory's staff and workers. The cotton mill itself is a symbol of Sino-Burmese co-operation — equipped with Chinese-made machines it uses Burma-grown cotton. Workers and technicians there affectionately remember the Chinese experts who had helped build the mill in 1958 and coached them in the use and maintenance of the machines.

Burmese public opinion attached the highest importance to Premier Chou En-lai's visit. The press front-paged news of the visit and editorialized on the close kinship between the two countries. They pointed out that the Sino-Burmese Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Non-Aggression not only reflected the goodwill and solidarity between the two Governments and peoples but set a good example of solidarity for all Asian countries. Many papers pointed out that the Western powers' schemes to use a Sino-Burmese border dispute to divide Asian solidarity and rule over Asia are doomed to fail.

Bandung Spirit in Peking

Peking on the evening of April 18 was the scene of an international get-together which was the embodiment of the Bandung spirit. The Chinese Foreign Ministry invited some 2,000 guests to a reception at the Great Hall of the People to mark the 5th

Bandung anniversary. The cold buffet gave an informal air to the proceedings. Guests moved from group to group seeking old and making new friends. Many toasts were proposed. Dancing, film shows and other entertainments went on till midnight.

Ho Lung's Speech

"The Chinese Government and people have consistently developed friendly co-operation with other Asian and African countries in accordance with the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the Bandung spirit. The Chinese people firmly support the just struggle of the Asian and African peoples," said Vice-Premier Ho Lung in his keynote address at the reception.

Speaking of the inspiration which the Bandung spirit during the past five years had given to the cause of the Asian and African peoples in opposing imperialism and colonialism, winning and safeguarding national independence and defending world peace and the extremely important achievements it had scored, he declared: "The national independence movement in Africa is now surging to a great height. New independent states have come into being one after another. The Asian and African peoples, with telling force, are dealing blow after heavy blow against the imperialists... So long as the Asian and African peoples, with the support of the peace-loving people of all the world, strengthen their solidarity, heighten their vigilance and persist in their struggle, they will certainly be able to defeat every plot of the imperialists and win ever greater victories."

Vice-Premier Ho Lung expressed China's confidence that friendly co-operation between the Chinese people and the other Asian and African peoples will develop steadily and that all the plots and schemes of the imperialists to sow discord among them will end in utter failure.

Scientific Co-operation

China and the German Democratic Republic will strengthen co-operation in the fields of science and technology, says the communique issued by the 5th session of the Standing Committee for Sino-German Scientific and Technical Co-operation which met in Peking in the early part of April.

A protocol signed at the session provides that China will supply technical data on the metallurgical, chemical and machine-building industries. German experts will visit China to study the production of tungsten-molybdenum filament, precision optical instruments and other goods.

The G.D.R. will provide China with technical data in the fields of chemistry, agriculture, metallurgy and machine-building. It will send experts to China to give technical assistance. Chinese experts will visit the G.D.R. to study German achievements in metallurgy, water conservancy, electric power, machine-building and coal production.

A new nuclear particle — anti sigma minus hyperon — has been discovered by scientists of the socialist countries working together at the Joint Nuclear Research Institute in Dubna, outside Moscow (established in 1956 by representatives of 12 governments of the socialist states). In addition to the Soviet physicists who led in obtaining this remarkable result, Professor Wang Kan-chang, prominent Chinese scientist who is the vice-director of the Joint Institute, played a big part. He has long been a figure of world renown in the field of physics.

Speaking of the new success, Professor Wang described it as the first discovery of a charged anti-hyperon ever made, marking another step forward in man's knowledge of the basic particles of the micro-world.

Professor Wang attributed this triumph first of all to leadership and support by the Soviet director of the Institute and to close co-operation in work by scientists of other socialist countries. It is truly, he said, a fresh testimony to the superiority of the socialist system.

Poets Rally for Cuba

A poetry reading session was held in Peking on April 20 as a rally of friendship and support for Cuba. It was organized in response to an appeal signed by Rafael Alberti and Nicolas Guillen to their fellow poets all over the world to donate an aeroplane to be named *Poetry* to defend the Cuban revolution.

"We Chinese people determinedly support the anti-imperialist struggle

of the Cuban and other Latin American peoples. Their struggle is our struggle, and their victory, our victory. Our poems today are the voice of China's 650 million people," declared Emi Siao who chaired the meeting.

Many poems were written overnight in Peking after the publication of the appeal in the press. Veteran poet Kuo Mo-jo cabled a poem from Shanghai saluting the heroic Cuban people. Before noted poets and amateur writers from among steel, textile and printing workers, a Cuban workers' delegation, and guests from Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Spain and other countries, many poets recited their own works as well as verses from the works of Guillen, Alberti and Pablo Neruda. The meeting collected 25,000 yuan to the cost of the plane.

Support for Japanese People

Voicing support for the Japanese people's 15th nationwide united action against the ratification of the new Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty," Chinese mass organizations have sent cables to the Japanese people expressing admiration for their persistence in the struggle.

In a cable to the Japanese National Council Against Revision of the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty," the China Peace Committee says that the Chinese people are resolved to struggle together with the Japanese, Asian and all peace-loving peoples to smash the war and aggressive plots of the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries and to defend Asian and world peace.

The Chinese National Women's Federation in its cable to Japanese women greets the Japanese National Women's Congress and pays high tribute to the heroic fight Japanese women are putting up. The cable stresses that with the powerful support of the socialist camp and the world's peace-loving peoples they will certainly gain the final victory.

In Peking, a visiting delegation of Tokyo trade unionists and the Peking Trade Union Council have issued a joint statement condemning the new Japan-U.S. treaty of military alliance.

CULTURAL NEWS

A Chinese acrobatic troupe gave its premiere in Conakry on April 12. At the end of the performance, Guinean President Sekou Toure and his wife

went on stage to greet the Chinese artists and had a photo taken with them. The performance was very warmly received by the audience.

Later, at a reception given by President Sekou Toure, Chu Wu, head of the troupe, presented gifts to the President and Madame Toure on behalf of the Chinese Government and people.

The troupe left Conakry on April 22 for a performance tour in other parts of the country.

The Chinese classical theatre led by Chen Chung-ching arrived in Caracas in two groups on April 16 and 18. It was warmly welcomed by Venezuelan art circles, deputies and municipal councillors, and executive members of the Friends of China Society.

The Venezuelan press has carried many reports and pictures about the theatre.

Kuo Mo-jo, President of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, has been elected member of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences.

The Chinese drama *Red Storm*, dealing with the great Peking-Hankow railway strike of February 7, 1923, has been staged in the German Democratic Republic by the Leipzig City Theatre. It is directed by Karl Kayser, general manager of the theatre, who saw it performed in China on a visit last year.

Under the Roofs of Shanghai by Hsia Yen, Vice-Minister of Culture of China, and *Fifteen Strings of Cash* the classical drama by Chu Su-chen of the Ming Dynasty, have also been staged in the G.D.R.

An illustrated collection of popular Chinese poems on the period of the big leap forward has appeared in Czech translation under the title *Many Lamps Have Appeared on Earth*. Published by the Czechoslovak State Publishing House of Fiction, Music and Art in Prague, it contains 100 poems and songs by workers, peasants and P.L.A. men from China's great urban and industrial centres and rural communes. The national minorities of China are well represented. A first edition of 7,000 copies has been printed.

CHINESE PRESS OPINION

Agricultural Co-operation Flourishes in G.D.R.

With the rapid completion of agricultural co-operation in all its 14 regions the German Democratic Republic has brought about a profound change in its countryside. The peasants in People's Germany have thrown off the bondage of old ideas and habits and entered a new era of socialist collective economy. This is a signal victory for socialism on German soil, writes *Renmin Ribao's* Commentator (April 18).

"This victory is not only of historic significance to the people of the G.D.R., but also adds strength to the entire socialist camp," says Commentator. The Chinese people warmly acclaim this brilliant success of the fraternal German people.

Commentator ascribes the victory primarily to the prolonged and extensive work of the Socialist Unity Party in effecting the socialist transformation in agriculture. The G.D.R. inaugurated the large-scale agricultural co-operative movement in 1952. Following the Seventh Plenum of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party, party and government functionaries went to the countryside to expound the policy and help organize co-operative production. These measures laid a sound foundation for the movement. Consequently the superiority of socialist farming has attracted ever more peasants into the co-operatives.

The establishment of agricultural co-operation in the highly developed industrial G.D.R. will undoubtedly accelerate agricultural growth. This will play an important role in the realization of the seven-year economic development plan (1959-1965) which envisages a 36 per cent increase in agricultural output, Commentator points out.

This new success of the G.D.R. testifies to the superiority of the G.D.R.'s socialist agriculture over capitalist agriculture in West Germany and deals a telling blow to U.S. imperialism and the West German reactionaries' plots against the G.D.R., Commentator continues.

U.S. imperialism and the West German reactionaries look in vain towards the day when capitalism will be restored in the G.D.R. and other socialist countries of Eastern Europe. In addition to plots for armed intervention, they have placed their hopes in a "change" within the socialist countries. But the successful completion of agricultural co-operation in the G.D.R. demonstrates the further consolidation of the socialist system east of the Elbe. The imperialists and West German reactionaries will never realize their dreams, Commentator concludes.

New U.S. Plot in South Viet Nam

Renmin Ribao's Commentator (April 19) urges the two co-chairmen of the 1954 Geneva Conference and the chairman of the International Commission in Viet Nam to take urgent measures to check illegal U.S. imperialist intervention in Viet Nam's affairs and dissolve the U.S. "Military Aid Advisory Group" in south Viet Nam.

Commentator describes as "very timely" demands made in the cables of Foreign Minister Pham Van Dong and Commander-in-Chief General Vo Nguyen Giap of the Viet Nam Democratic Republic to the co-chairmen of the Geneva Conference and the

chairman of the International Commission in Viet Nam respectively. Pham Van Dong demanded that the two co-chairmen of the Geneva Conference direct the International Commission to reject the illegal request of the south Viet Nam authorities for an increase in U.S. military personnel of the "M.A.A.G." General Vo Nguyen Giap demanded that the U.S. "M.A.A.G." be dissolved. Both cables emphatically pointed out that this is a vicious plot by the U.S. and the Ngo Dinh Diem clique to introduce added military personnel into the "M.A.A.G." under the pretext of replacing former French military personnel and it is a provocative act in open violation of the Geneva agreements.

The existence of "M.A.A.G." in south Viet Nam is completely illegal, Commentator points out. It was a U.S. imperialist instrument to assist the French colonialists in their aggressive war against the Indo-Chinese states. Since the Geneva agreements explicitly prohibit "the introduction into Viet Nam of foreign troops and military personnel," there is no justification for the U.S. "M.A.A.G." hanging on in south Viet Nam. It is absolutely impermissible for it to remain there, Commentator stresses.

U.S. refusal to withdraw the military advisory group from south Viet Nam in violation of the Geneva agreements is prompted by ulterior motives, says

THE PASSING SHOW

May Day?—Forget It!

President Eisenhower, naming May First (International Labour Day), "Loyalty Day" by Presidential order, calls on the American people on that day to "reaffirm their loyalty to the United States" at church or other meetings giving "grateful expression to our country's deep hold upon our hearts and minds."

Old Ike, he said that May Day
Was a holy, holy day;
Not a day for strikes and protests,
But a fitting day to pray.

"Pray for wealth and capital,
Pray for stocks and shares and
gain,
Pray the bosses grow and flourish;
Make their profits free from
pain.

Forget your slums and hunger,
Unemployment, old age cares;

Want and lack of schools, low wages,
War and labour racketeers.

No need for demonstrations,
Or for solidarity,
End these Marxist obfuscations!
Pledge your loyalty to me!"



Commentator. When the military advisory group was first set up to assist the French colonialists in their aggressive war, the U.S. planned to intensify its intervention in Indo-China and, step by step, edge out French influence and supplant the French colonialists. It also planned to contain and sabotage the national independence movements in Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia. After the conclusion of the Geneva agreements and the restoration of peace in Indo-China, U.S. imperialism used "M.A.A.G." as an effective tool in undermining the Geneva agreements and turning south Viet Nam into a U.S. colony and military base, Commentator continues.

With the help of "M.A.A.G.," the U.S. is stepping up its efforts to sabotage the implementation of the Geneva agreements in south Viet

Nam. It has taken a direct part in the "mopping up" operations against former resistance members and incited the Ngo Dinh Diem clique to issue the fascist decree "No. 10, 1959" which set up a "special military tribunal" to persecute patriots in south Viet Nam. Recently, the U.S. introduced into south Viet Nam large amounts of military supplies to accelerate its war preparations and mapped out a war programme for southeast Asia including south Viet Nam.

The U.S. plot to expand and legalize the military advisory group in south Viet Nam is meant to serve its war programme in southeast Asia. If U.S. imperialism succeeded, it would utilize the "M.A.A.G." to unscrupulously tear up the Geneva agreements, intensify its aggressive activities and introduce U.S. troops into south Viet Nam. The

result would lead to U.S. armed occupation of south Viet Nam making it a second south Korea. Once U.S. troops openly enter south Viet Nam, peace and security in Indo-China and southeast Asia will be seriously menaced, Commentator warns.

"As a neighbour of Viet Nam and a participant in the Geneva Conference, the people of China express their full support of the demands of Foreign Minister Pham Van Dong and General Vo Nguyen Giap," Commentator stresses. "We hope that appropriate measures will be speedily taken by the co-chairmen of the Geneva Conference and the chairman of the International Commission in Viet Nam in the interest of the peaceful unification of Viet Nam and peace and security in Indo-China and southeast Asia," Commentator concludes.

WHAT'S ON IN PEKING

— Highlights of Current Entertainment, Exhibitions, etc. —

Programmes are subject to change, where times are not listed consult theatre or daily press.

PEKING OPERA

▲ **LANTERN FESTIVAL STORY** A historical opera set in Ming times. A bully hits a man during the lantern festival but puts the blame on an innocent young man. A bureaucratic official convicts the young man, but a good official sees that justice is done. Produced by the China Peking Opera Theatre.

April 27, 7:30 p.m. Renmin Theatre

▲ **RED FLAGS ON PAIYUN MOUNTAIN** A new Peking Opera produced by the China Peking Opera Theatre. The Mongolian people battle Japanese invaders and traitors to protect the iron ore in their Paiyun Mountain from plunder. After liberation, led by the Communist Party they build the Paotow Iron and Steel Works there.

April 28, 7:30 p.m. Renmin Theatre

PINGJU OPERA

▲ **SONG OF LIFE** A new opera produced by the China Pingju Opera Theatre. It describes the recent blossoming out of people's communes in China's cities.

April 27-29, 7:30 p.m. Da Zhong Theatre

MODERN OPERA

▲ **RED SUN OVER KESHAN MOUNTAIN** A new opera produced by the Cultural Troupe of the P.L.A. Exposing the miseries suffered by the Tibetan people under serfdom in the past, this opera shows how, after helping to put down the rebellion of the reactionaries in the Khamba area, they started to build a new, happy life for themselves.

▲ **RED EAGLE** A modern opera produced by the Cultural Troupe of the P.L.A. telling of the work of a P.L.A. doctor working among the Tibetan people and the friendship that is created between them.

(Watch for the dates and places.)

ACROBATICS

▲ **JOINT PROGRAMME** of conjuring, juggling and acrobatics presented by the China Acrobatic Troupe, and Chinese music performed by the Central Radio Folk Instru-

ments Orchestra, gold medal-winner at the 1957 World Youth Festival.

May 1, 1:30 p.m. Cultural Palace of Nationalities
May 2, 7:30 p.m. Zhong He Theatre

CHINESE DANCE DRAMA

▲ **THE MAGIC LOTUS LANTERN** A Chinese dance drama based on an ancient Chinese fairy tale. The nymph of Mt. Huashan falls in love with a scholar. Infuriated by her attachment to a mortal, her intolerant brother imprisons her. Fifteen years later her child, who has grown up to be a brave warrior, defeats his uncle in combat and sets his mother free. Produced by the Central Experimental Opera Theatre.

▲ **MAID OF THE SEA** An ancient Chinese fairy tale about the love between a sea maiden and a huntsman and how they defeat the machinations of a jealous demon. Produced by the Peking School of Dancing.

(Watch for the dates and places.)

BALLET

▲ **SWAN LAKE** China's first full production of Tchaikovsky's ballet, performed by the Experimental Ballet Troupe of the Peking School of Dancing.

(Watch for the dates and places.)

SONG AND DANCE

The "Mazowsze" Song and Dance Ensemble of the People's Republic of Poland, headed by Marianna Sygietynska, the popular Polish dancer, will give a performance.

May 2, 7:30 p.m. Tianqiao Theatre

THEATRE

▲ **DETAINED BY FLOOD** Flood has destroyed a section of railway roadbed and a train is marooned on high ground. The Communist Party group on it organizes the passengers and staff to overcome their difficulties. Produced by the Experimental Theatre of the Central Drama School.

April 27 & 28, 7:15 p.m. Shiyen Theatre

▲ **HEROES OF TODAY** Based on a moving story of real life. A fire is accidentally caused at the Ma Kou Paper Mill in Kwangtung Province. Forty-seven cadres and people's policemen rush to save it. Peking, Shanghai and other large cities mobilize their forces to cure and care for the wounded. Produced by the Experimental Theatre of the Central Drama School.

April 30 & May 1, 7:15 p.m. Shiyen Theatre

▲ **LENIN AND THE YOUNG GENERATION** A Soviet play about Lenin's care and concern for the children in the hard days of 1914. Produced by the China Children's Theatre.

April 27-30, 7:00 p.m. Peking Theatre

FILMS

▲ **HEROIC ISLAND** A feature. The heroic P.L.A. and people on a frontline island defeat the attacks of the U.S.-backed Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries. Produced by the August First Film Studio.

April 27-29, Peking Theatre, Showda Theatre, Shengli

▲ **TRIAL RUN** A feature in colour, based on the successful building of their first 10,000-ton ship by China's shipbuilding workers. Produced by Changchun Film Studio.

April 27-29, Da Huxi, Jiao Dao Kou, Erlong, Zhongyuan, Guang An Men, Peking Workers' Club

▲ **WIND FROM THE EAST** A feature in colour produced by the Moscow Film Studio and Changchun Film Studio. A story of Sino-Soviet friendship in Russian Revolution, in building a hydro-electric power station in China and in fighting flood.

April 27-29, Showda Cinema, Peking Exhibition Centre Cinema, Xin Jie Kou, Xin Zhong Gao, Guang He

▲ **A FAMILY OF STEEL WORKERS** A feature in colour produced by Tianma Film Studio about a family of steel workers who dauntlessly protect their steel works from the K.M.T. reactionaries on the eve of liberation and build a socialist plant there after liberation.

(Watch for dates and places.)

EXHIBITIONS

▲ **EXHIBITION OF YUAN MURALS OF THE YUNGLO TEMPLE** Open daily from 8:30 a.m.-5:30 p.m.

At Palace Museum

▲ **EXHIBITION OF MODERN JAPANESE CALLIGRAPHY** Open daily from 10:30 a.m.-5:00 p.m.

At Jingshan Park

▲ **MAY FIRST EXHIBITION OF PEKING'S FINE ARTS** Oil paintings, water colours, graphic art, etc. Open daily (except Mon.) 8:30 a.m.-5:30 p.m.

At Beihai Park

▲ **SOVIET ARTISTS FINE ART EXHIBITION** Celebrating the 90th anniversary of the birth of Lenin. Open daily from 9:30 a.m.-6:30 p.m.

At Zhongshan Park

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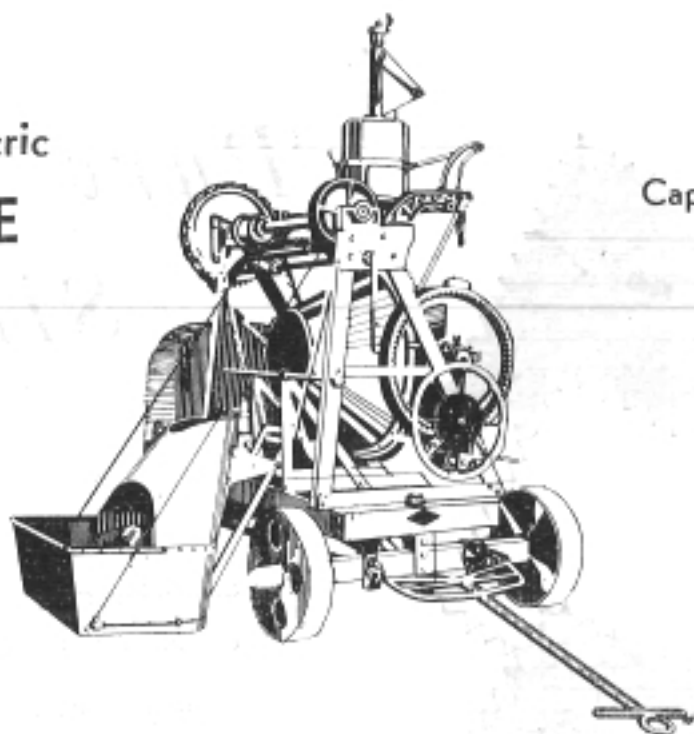
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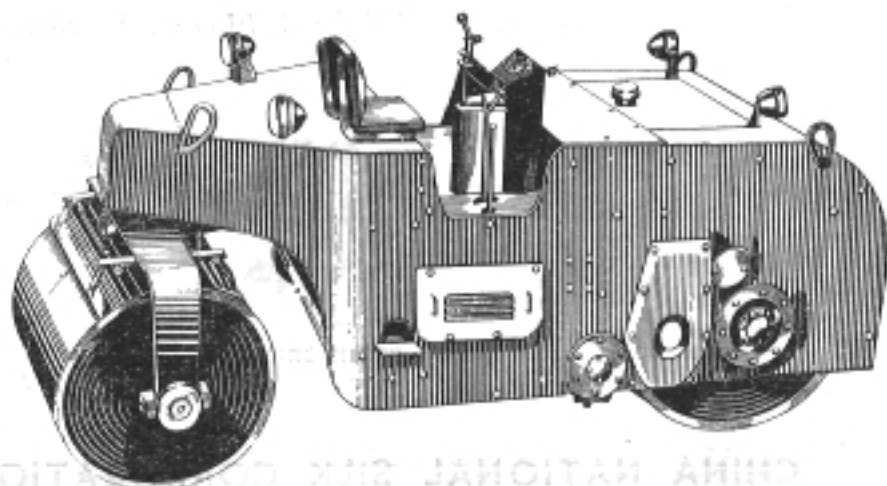
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