

# PEKING REVIEW

# 45

November 8, 1960

## Basic Summation of Experience of The Victorious Chinese Revolution

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## MARCH ALONG THE PATH OF THE GREAT OCTOBER REVOLUTION

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	18.00-19.00		31.73	9457
	(Santiago de Chile)			
	17.00-18.00			
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	18.00-19.00		25.75	11650
	(Paraguay)		31.73	9457
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<b>Transmission III</b>	20.00-21.00	10.00-11.00	16.91	17745
	(México, Nicaragua Honduras and Costa Rica)		19.92	15060
	21.00-22.00		25.38	11820
	(la Habana)			
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	(Santiago de Chile)			
	23.00-24.00			
<i>Beamed to Spain</i>	(Bs. As., Montevideo and Río de Janeiro)	4.30-5.30	24.88	12055
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## THE PATH OF SOCIALIST LITERATURE AND ART IN CHINA

CHOU YANG

The pamphlet presents the text of a report delivered on July 22, 1960, by Comrade Chou Yang to the Third Congress of Chinese Literary and Art Workers. It correctly sums up the great achievements made in literature and art in China in the past eleven years and the rich experience gained; it is a profound exposition of the thinking of Mao Tse-tung on questions of art and literature and the Party's line on these questions. It provides a detailed explanation of the political direction, the path of development and the creative method of socialist literature and art under present circumstances. It thoroughly criticizes modern revisionism and penetratingly deals with the question of how to critically assimilate heritage of literature and art.

Covering a wide range of topics and forcefully argued, this is an important, militant and scientifically presented essay imbued with a strong Marxist-Leninist spirit. It will give active guidance and inspiration to the development of socialist literature and art.

74 pp.

Published by: **FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS** Pai Wan Chuang, Peking (37), China

Distributed by: **GUOZI SHUDIAN** P. O. Box 399, Peking, China

# PEKING REVIEW

北京周报

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE  
NEWS AND VIEWS

November 8, 1960 Vol. III No. 45

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Published every Tuesday by PEKING REVIEW  
Pai Wan Chuang, Peking (37), China  
Cable Address: PEKING 6170

Post Office Registration No. 2-922

Printed in the People's Republic of China

November 8, 1960

## ROUND THE WEEK

### To the Countryside!

The campaign to support agriculture is taking on gigantic proportions. In every part of the country, in every city, big or small, people are translating into action the call of the Communist Party. Everyone wants to play his part in this grand strategic move in the country's socialist construction.

Two issues back we reported how the people of the city of Wusih, Kiangsu Province, went into action in this drive; now comes a report from Heilungkiang showing how this north-eastern province is deploying its forces for a big boost in agricultural production.

The Party's call was carried to every corner of the province. It was widely discussed in government offices, factories, institutions and schools. Government cadres, workers, professors and university students volunteered in their thousands to go to the countryside. To date, about 200,000 have already left Heilungkiang's cities to settle down in the rural people's communes. They are taking their hands, their skills, a great strength and a great wealth of cultural, scientific and technical knowledge to help speed the building of a prosperous socialist countryside.

The rural communes will acquire the services of a large number of cadres who have had long years of experience in leadership at basic levels. Among them are secretaries of the county committees of the Communist Party, county heads and leading cadres in various enterprises. Groups of highly skilled industrial workers are going to reinforce commune-run industries.

A new trend in this massive drive to support agriculture in Heilungkiang is the wholesale transfer of small and medium-sized factories from cities to the countryside. Most of these are enterprises relying mainly on farm products as raw materials or which can help farm production. In the last few months alone, 34 factories have moved from Harbin to the rural areas; another 49 machine-build-

ing, light industrial as well as chemical works will soon follow suit.

One of the trail blazers in this field is the Sungari Agricultural Machinery Plant, lately of Harbin. Since its transfer to Wuchang County, not far from Harbin, it has made and sent to the surrounding communes thousands of seeders, weeders, harvesters, generators, pumps and other farm machines. At the same time, it has trained many skilled workers for commune-run factories, supplied them with machinery and assumed full responsibility for repair jobs. Its products and services played a decisive role mechanizing rice sowing in the county this year. Now the villagers have an endearing name for it: they call it the "pearl in the palm of our hand."

Following this lead several colleges and scientific institutes are also moving to the countryside; they know that bringing science and technique face to face with the practical problems of agriculture will benefit both. Some are still busily preparing the move, but the Harbin Veterinary Research Institute of the Chinese Academy of Sciences is already getting set in a rich pastoral area where abundant livestock are available for research and experiment.

Heilungkiang is well fitted to give such extensive support to agriculture. In the course of the First Five-Year Plan and subsequently, it has been transformed from a backward province with only a few processing industries into one of the nation's leading industrial areas. By concentrating the efforts of its industrial resources, technical know-how and skilled manpower on agriculture, it is determined to turn to full account its rich soil, vast expanse of virgin land and good transport system to speedily transform itself into one of the country's leading agricultural bases too.

### Small and Modern Does It

Hofei, capital of Anhwei Province, sends the good word that its seven small and modern iron and steel plants reached their 1960 goals for pig iron

in mid-October—77 days ahead of schedule!

Persistent effort to increase technical efficiency pushed up Hofei's average daily output of iron per cubic metre of blast furnace volume from 0.98 tons in the first three quarters of last year to 2.44 tons in the first nine and a half months this year. And the curve of efficiency is still going up.

Hofei's feat is typical of the more than 1,000 other small and modern iron and steel works now scattered throughout the country. It shows how far these enterprises have come and how they are living up to the important role they play in the current push for more steel.

Established in the autumn of 1958, they have long graduated from their early use of simple, indigenous methods of production. Many are growing into integrated works handling coking, iron smelting, steel making and rolling. This year, they climbed still another rung up the ladder of progress by introducing and popularizing a series of new techniques to get higher output, better quality and lower costs. In iron smelting, popularization of such advanced methods as the use of dressed ore, maximum blast and high temperatures has given a big boost to the average utilization coefficient for small blast furnaces and sharply cut coke consumption per ton of pig iron. Hundreds of small blast furnaces are now rivalling the utilization coefficient of their "big brothers" in the giant metallurgical plants. Small converters too have succeeded in reducing melting time, lowering the consumption of pig iron and turning out an increasing number of different types of steel.

Because of their widespread distribution and usually close proximity to the farming areas, these small and medium-sized iron and steel works and a still larger number of small indigenous-style blast furnaces are giving excellent service in the current drive to support agriculture. Members of Jiubuziang People's Commune, Yuh sien County, in Hunan, also have an affectionate name for their small local iron and steel works: they call it "our little old hen." And with good reason. Since it was built at the beginning of last year, it has supplied them with something over 1,000 tons of

home-made steel, over 2,000 tons of pig iron made by both modern and local methods and more than 100 tons of rolled steel. With this metal in hand, the commune members have among other things put all their transport work on wheels, and made large numbers of rice transplanters, harvesters, threshers, and other farm machines sufficient to save them a total of more than 200,000 workdays a year.

### First Crop from Spare-Time Colleges

At a recent ceremony in the Liming Machinery Works in northeast China, university diplomas were given to 30 workers and 36 technicians and staff. They are the first graduates of the factory's two-year-old spare-time college.

Working on a tight part-study-part-work schedule, these worker-engineers completed in the span of two short years 17 courses required in engineering colleges—including higher mathematics, engineering mechanics, machine designing and mechanical drawing.

For their graduation the factory invited a special group of professors and lecturers from nearby universities to make a thorough, all-round review of their general attainments, examination papers and graduation designs. The examiners gave a unanimous opinion that the Liming graduates had not only attained the vocational standards of full-time college graduates, but possessed greater ability in independent thinking and applying theory to practical production problems. Special commendation was given to an automatic optical grinding machine designed by Cheng Hsi-hsiang and his mates as part of their student work. The examiners described it as an important innovation in its field.

Once a child labourer, Cheng had worked for 13 years but only had five years of schooling. Some of his fellow graduates had even less. But what they lacked in formal schooling, they more than made up for in practical experience and a spirit of dedication to the socialist cause. Of the 66, 62 are model workers, and the majority are members of the Communist Party or Communist Youth League.

Liming's worker graduates are only the first crop from China's flourishing spare-time college educational system.

The press reports similar graduation ceremonies from other parts of the country. They will be added to in increasing numbers in the coming months.

### Where There's a Will . . .

Multi-utilization of coal is working wonders in the countryside. Taweichia People's Commune near Lushun-Talien has a pocket-size plant with a staff of 120 that is turning out good quality coke, diesel oil, petrol, chemical fertilizer and a host of other products from coal.

The Taweichia area abounds in iron ore, but lack of coke hindered the development of iron smelting. In 1958 while on a visit to the Talien Gas Company, the commune members saw a small oven that produced coke and coal tar to boot. This seemed to be exactly the sort of thing they needed. With this model and the help of several Talien factories and research institutes, they set out to build their own installation to produce coke. This led them to the multi-purpose utilization of coal—a process formerly thought to be within the province of large modern plants only.

Since its commissioning, Taweichia's simple but effective plant has grown to its present size of two installations with some 20 workshops clustered round them. The coke produced is sent to nearby blast furnaces. Many chemicals are extracted from the oven gases which are also used as fuel for cement, food-processing and other workshops as well as the community kitchens. The commune-run farm machinery workshop gets its power from the oven gases and uses iron from the commune's own small furnaces to make seeders, threshers, water pumps and other machines and tools.

Taweichia's ingenious commune members have also learnt to extract diesel oil and petrol from their coal tar and thus have the two main essentials for farm mechanization at hand—iron and power. By killing two, in fact several, birds with one stone, they have set another brilliant example of implementing the policy of walking on two legs—using both modern and indigenous methods—to speed the modernization of China's countryside.

# The Path of the Great October Revolution Is the Common Path of the Liberation of Mankind

Following is the full text of an editorial published in the November 1 issue of "Hongqi" (Red Flag), fortnightly of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. — Ed.

THE 43rd anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution has arrived. We are jubilantly celebrating this great glorious red-letter day of the entire mankind. Forty-three years ago, the proletariat and all the working people of Russia, led by V.I. Lenin, the great teacher of revolution, continuing the cause of the Paris Commune, carried out an armed uprising, overthrew the counter-revolutionary rule of the landlord and capitalist classes and won a great victory in the world-shaking proletarian revolution. Subsequently, after three years of heroic struggle, they smashed armed intervention by 14 capitalist countries, crushed the counter-revolutionary rebellions at home and safeguarded the great victory of the October Revolution. As Lenin pointed out, "Revolutionary violence won a magnificent victory in the October Revolution."\*

The October Socialist Revolution was an extremely great and profound revolution in the history of mankind. It smashed the state machine of the capitalist class and founded the world's first state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It ushered in a new epoch in the history of mankind, and marked the beginning of a new world revolution in which the proletarian revolution played the leading part.

After the victory of the October Socialist Revolution, the Soviet people, led by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and after many years of efforts, realized socialist industrialization and agricultural collectivization and built backward, impoverished Russia into an advanced, rich and strong socialist state. In World War II, the Soviet Union formed the backbone of the forces that defeated German fascism, and helped the people of various Eastern European countries to gain their liberation and the people of various Asian countries to defeat Japanese imperialism, thereby greatly promoting the development of the cause of proletarian revolution and the cause of national liberation. Now, the Soviet Union has entered the historical period of full-scale communist construction. The Soviet people, by their creative labour, are successfully carrying out the magnificent Seven-Year Plan and have made high-g geared progress in Soviet economic construction, in science and technology and other fields.

The people of all countries in the world have come to see more and more clearly their own future in the achievements of the Soviet people. Fundamentally speaking, the path of the October Revolution is the common

bright path of advance for the entire mankind. Historical facts have endlessly proved to us that without smashing the state machine of the capitalist class by revolutionary means, without establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat, there can be no socialism, no genuine liberation of the proletariat and the other labouring people. Lenin had repeatedly pointed out that the theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat is the most essential component of Marxism and "only he is a Marxist who extends the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is what constitutes the most profound difference between the Marxist and the ordinary petty (as well as big) bourgeois."\* Lenin had also constantly pointed out that to recognize the dictatorship of the proletariat required that the Party go deep among the tens of millions of the labouring masses of the workers and peasants, devote its main efforts to leading the masses to carry out struggle, constantly raise their revolutionary level, make long, painstaking and persistent preparations for realizing the dictatorship of the proletariat, combine the struggle for the immediate interests of the proletariat with the struggle for its long-term interests and oppose the erroneous tendency of sacrificing the fundamental interests of the proletariat for the immediate interests. To put into effect the programme of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Lenin, in leading the revolution, waged persistently a firm struggle against the opportunists and revisionists of the Second International and their Russian counterparts, the Mensheviks. On the eve of the October Revolution, these opportunists and revisionists tried desperately to oppose the launching of an armed uprising by the Russian proletariat. After the October Revolution, they again tried their utmost to oppose the conversion of the Soviets into a state organization of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the dissolution of the reactionary constituent assembly of the capitalist class, the defeat and rout of the reactionary troops, etc. Lenin stressed: "The point is whether the old state machine (bound by thousands of threads to the bourgeoisie and permeated through and through with routine and inertia) shall remain, or be destroyed and replaced by a new one. Revolution consists not in the new class commanding, governing with the aid of the old state machine, but in this class smashing this machine and commanding, governing with the aid of a new machine. Kautsky slurs over this basic idea of Marxism, or he had utterly failed to understand it."\*\*

The enemies that confronted the Russian Revolution seemed to be very powerful, comprising not only the

\*Successes and Difficulties of the Soviet Power.

\*The State and Revolution.

\*\*Ibid.

Russian landlords and capitalists but also international imperialism. At that time, many self-styled socialists held that it was an illusion, without the least hope of success, for the Russian proletariat to think of starting an uprising and seizing state power. But unlike all philistines, Lenin, at a time when the revolutionary crisis was ripe, firmly and timely put forward the task of seizing state power and led the Russian proletariat in materializing the world-shaking cause of the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin wrote the great work *The State and Revolution* on the eve of the outbreak of the October Revolution, theoretically defending and developing the fundamental idea of Marxism on smashing the state machine of the capitalist class and realizing the dictatorship of the proletariat, further elucidating in detail the path of the Paris Commune and laying a solid theoretical foundation for the victory of the Russian proletariat in the October Socialist Revolution and the realization of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This was of extremely great significance for the cause of the world proletarian revolution and the cause of mankind's liberation.

**T**HE victory of the October Socialist Revolution was the victory of the Marxist-Leninist theory on proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The great significance of the October Revolution in the entire course of history manifests itself more and more clearly with the passing of time. The lapse of over 40 years has not in the least dimmed the truth about the dictatorship of the proletariat confirmed by the October Revolution; on the contrary, it has enabled this truth to receive new confirmation time after time and win victory after victory in actual life. After the establishment of the first state of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia, the dictatorship of the proletariat has been established in a number of countries in Europe and Asia. The experiences of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries prove that only under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat is it possible to realize the socialist transformation of the national economy and carry out socialist and communist construction. At the same time, the overthrown capitalist class always seeks to restore its rule and the influence of the bourgeoisie, petty-bourgeoisie and their intellectuals on society is still very strong. Therefore, the question of whether capitalism or socialism will win will take a considerable time to settle. The existence of international capitalism-imperialism also confronts the dictatorship of the proletariat with the task of carrying on a protracted, serious struggle. This, therefore, determines that after its seizure of political power the proletariat must steadily strengthen and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Declaration of the Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries, which is of great historic significance, has summed up the experience of the international communist movement in the past 100 years, and especially the past 40 years. The Declaration points out that the "guidance of the working masses by the working class, the core of which is the Marxist-Leninist Party, in effecting a proletarian revolution in one form or another and establishing one form or another of the dictatorship of the proletariat" is a major

universal law. The modern revisionists represented by the Tito clique of Yugoslavia deny the historical necessity of carrying out the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism and do all they can to oppose the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Their "revision" of Marxism-Leninism is precisely an attempt to depart from the highroad of the liberation of the proletariat. Therefore, the task of all Communists is to resolutely oppose revisionism and defend this Marxist-Leninist path blazed by the October Revolution.

**C**OMPARED with conditions over 40 years ago, the world situation has changed considerably. Socialism has triumphed in areas inhabited by more than one-third of the world's population and comprising one-fourth of its land surface. The socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union, supporting each other and working closely together, are successfully building socialism and have achieved an economic upsurge in common. With the support of the socialist forces and progressive forces throughout the world, the national liberation movement has made tremendous progress in the colonies and semi-colonies of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The workers' movement in the capitalist countries and the movement for peace by the people of the whole world have also grown remarkably. As a result of these changes, the domain of imperialism has become daily smaller, the contradictions within the imperialist system are steadily sharpening, and the imperialist countries are having a very hard time. The world situation today shows that we are living in a new epoch in which the forces of peace prevail over the forces of war, the forces of the people over the forces of reaction and the forces of socialism over the forces of imperialism, a new epoch which is unprecedentedly favourable to the proletarian revolution in various countries of the world, a new epoch which is unprecedentedly favourable to the national revolution in the colonies and semi-colonies, a new epoch in which the collapse of the imperialist system is being further accelerated and the victory of the people throughout the world and their awakening are constantly mounting. At present, the primary task of the peoples of the various countries in the world is to form a broadest united front against imperialism headed by the United States, resolutely oppose the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war, firmly oppose colonialism, promote the growth of the national liberation movement and stimulate the development of the revolutionary struggle of the working people in the imperialist countries against the bellicose groups and monopoly capital, so as to achieve the aim of preventing imperialism from starting a world war and of safeguarding world peace.

Imperialism will never reconcile itself to its doom. Imperialism, U.S. imperialism in particular, is making frantic efforts to expand armaments and prepare for war, maintain everywhere the system of national oppression and national enslavement and foster reactionary rule and reactionary forces in all parts of the world, and sparing no effort to plot for the subversion of the socialist countries. The socialist camp headed by the great Soviet Union is the strong bulwark for the defence of world peace and the struggle for the liberation of mankind. To

continue to develop and increase the might of the socialist camp, consolidate and strengthen its unity, is the sacred duty of the peoples of the socialist countries. The Chinese people have done, are doing and will continue to do their utmost to fulfil this sacred duty. Imperialism and its lackeys, the modern revisionists, have used every dirty trick to undermine the unity of the countries of the socialist camp. However, all their acts of sabotage have invariably ended in ignominious failure, and will inevitably suffer one defeat after another in the future as well.

The fact that, over the past 40 years and more, socialism has been in the ascendant while imperialism has been steadily on the decline shows that the capitalist system will inevitably be superseded by the socialist system. The people of the whole world will advance along the path of the October Revolution and the infinitely beautiful, new socialist and communist society will be built in every corner of the world.

Long live the path of the Great October Revolution!  
Long live great Marxism-Leninism!

## Hold High the Red Banner of the October Revolution, March from Victory to Victory

*Following is a translation of the "Renmin Ribao" editorial published on November 7, in celebration of the 43rd anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution.—Ed.*

**T**ODAY is the 43rd anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Together with the great Soviet people, the working people of the whole world and all progressive mankind, the Chinese people celebrate this glorious festival with boundless elation, and congratulate the Soviet people on their brilliant victories in the cause of building communism.

The October Revolution ushered in a new era in the history of mankind. Just as Lenin has said: "The important thing is that the ice has been broken, the road is open and the path has been blazed." Over the past 43 years, the proletariat and working people throughout the world have waged undaunted struggles following the road of the October Revolution, marching towards the new world of communism.

Lenin has said: "Revolutionary violence won a magnificent victory in the October Revolution." The Russian proletariat, under Lenin's leadership, seized political power by an armed uprising, and overthrew the rule of the bourgeoisie. From that time on, the system of exploitation of man by man was ended on one-sixth of the earth and socialism was turned from an ideal into a reality. The October Revolution, continuing the cause of the Paris Commune, carried out Marx's teachings concerning the proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship. The victory of the October Revolution shook the very foundations of the rule of imperialism all over the world, enhanced the militant will of the proletariat throughout the world and created greater actual possibilities for the masses of people in the colonial and semi-colonial lands to shatter the chains of slavery. The path of the October Revolution is the common path along which the proletariat and working people of all countries will advance to free themselves from oppression and exploitation and strive for freedom and liberation.

The circumstances in which the great Soviet people carried the October Revolution to victory were very complicated and difficult. They had to take up arms first to defend the fruits of the revolution and defeat imperialist armed intervention and the counter-revolutionary re-

bellion within the country; they were encircled and blockaded economically by the capitalist countries; and the national economy, devastated by long years of war, was in a deplorable state. The Soviet people went through all kinds of hardships. At times, the workers could get only one-quarter of a pound of bread each day. But difficulties could not frighten the revolutionary people. With dauntless proletarian heroism, the Soviet people relied on their own efforts, overcame unimaginable difficulties and performed historic miracles. In less than 20 years, they completed industrialization, something which it took all the advanced capitalist countries about a hundred years to achieve. With a speed impossible for any capitalist country, they built a poverty-stricken and backward Russia into a prosperous, rich and strong industrialized socialist state. By the end of last year, the gross industrial output value of the Soviet Union had increased to 40 times that of 1913 before the October Revolution, while its gross agricultural output value was nearly 2.2 times and its national income nearly 25 times that of 1913. In the 42 years between 1917 and 1959, the average annual increase of the gross industrial output value of the Soviet Union was 10.1 per cent, or more than four times the average annual rate of industrial growth of the United States in the same period. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has worked out the Seven-Year Plan for the development of the national economy (1959-65) in building communism. This year is the second year of the Seven-Year Plan. In the past two years, the speed of development of industrial production in the Soviet Union has greatly exceeded the average annual targets set in the Seven-Year Plan. The Soviet people are now vigorously launching technical renovations and emulation campaigns for fulfilling the Seven-Year Plan ahead of schedule and shortening the time required to surpass the United States in per capita output of industry and agriculture. The achievements scored by the Soviet people in science and technology have astonished the world. It was the Soviet Union that was the first to succeed in launching an artificial earth-satellite; it was the Soviet Union that was the first to hit the moon with a space rocket; it was the Soviet Union that was the first to succeed in launching an automatic interplanetary station and revealed the secrets of the other side of the moon; and it was also the Soviet Union that was the first to

launch a spaceship which safely brought back to the earth the first batch of "passengers" in it. These great and unprecedented feats have opened the door to inter-planetary travel. All these also eloquently show that the Soviet Union is far ahead of the United States in the most important scientific and technological fields.

The Chinese people feel elated and inspired at the great achievements of the Soviet people. We Chinese people regard the achievements of the Soviet people as our own achievements, and the successes of the Soviet people as our own successes. From the bottom of our hearts, we wish the Soviet people still more brilliant successes. The greater the achievements are, the more will they enhance the confidence of the peoples of all countries in striving for a happy future and strengthen the forces of peace and socialism.

The victory of the October Revolution has spread Marxism-Leninism throughout the world. At the present time, 12 countries have won victory in the socialist revolution and established proletarian dictatorships; the powerful socialist camp embraces one-third of the population and one-quarter of the land area of the world. The countries of the socialist camp, in accordance with the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, have established a new type of relations between states and are closely united in the big family of socialism headed by the Soviet Union, giving each other support and encouragement and marching forward together. At present, all the socialist countries in the world are developing their national economies at high speed and speeding up their progress in building socialism and communism. The unprecedentedly powerful strength of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union has attracted more and more people in all countries of the world to take an active part in the struggle for socialism. There are now 86 Communist Parties in the world. Today, the prospects for realizing communism throughout the world are brighter than ever before.

**S**INCE the Great October Revolution, the national liberation movements in the colonies and semi-colonies have entered a new stage. Today, there is a new upsurge in the national and democratic movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have given warm support and tremendous encouragement to the national independence movements in various countries; the people in all the countries which are struggling for national independence look upon the people of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries as their most faithful friends. The successful development of the national independence movements has greatly weakened the imperialist system and at the same time given tremendous support to the building of socialism in the socialist countries and to the struggle of the world's people for peace. The October Revolution has closely linked together the cause of the socialist revolution of the proletariat in all countries and the struggle of all the oppressed nations for liberation. The linking together of the socialist revolution and the national liberation movement has accelerated the collapse of the imperialist system and speeded up the victorious progress of the struggle of all oppressed nations for national independence and democratic freedom.

The great Soviet Union is the mighty bastion of world peace. To seek peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems, to relax international tension, realize general disarmament and prohibit nuclear weapons, the Soviet Government has put forward a series of proposals which have won warm response and support from people throughout the world.

**N**OW, the peace movement in which the peoples of all countries in the world struggle against imperialist aggression and for safeguarding world peace is developing on an unprecedented scale. Imperialism is having an increasingly difficult time. But imperialism and its lackeys will never of their own accord retire from the arena of history. The imperialist bloc headed by the United States is carrying out a frantic struggle, aggravating international tension and preparing for a new world war. After sabotaging the Paris four-power conference of government heads, U.S. imperialism has continued to obstruct the disarmament talks, brazenly clamoured for the subversion of the socialist countries in Eastern Europe, resorted to every possible means in its attempts to undermine the solidarity of the socialist camp, sabotage the struggle of all the people of the various countries and suppress and undermine the national and democratic movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America. All these desperate struggles of U.S. imperialism can by no means turn back the wheel of history; namely, imperialism is doomed to failure and the people of all nations will certainly win victory.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said: "The salvoes of the October Revolution awoke us to Marxism-Leninism." Marxism-Leninism brought about an entirely new phase in the Chinese revolution. The Chinese people, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung and through 30 years of arduous struggle, won victory in their revolution, and broke through the frontline of imperialism in the East. In the past 11 years the Chinese people have continued to learn from the example of the arduous struggle of the people of the Soviet Union, and in their struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression and blockade, have carried out socialist transformation and socialist construction. Since 1958, the Chinese people have been holding high the three red banners of the general line, the big leap forward and the people's commune, and at leap-forward speed have been changing China's face of poverty and blankness. The Chinese revolution is a component part of the cause of the world proletarian revolution. In their course of revolution and construction, the Chinese people have received tremendous assistance from the Soviet Union. For this, the Chinese people will for ever be grateful and will never forget it.

The daily growing strength and firm unity of the countries of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union are playing a greater and greater role in the cause of world peace and human progress. We support the proposals and efforts of the Soviet Union for easing international tension and safeguarding world peace. The Chinese people will always stand united with the Soviet people, and the friendship and unity between them are unbreakable. Comrade Liu Shao-chi, in his speech at the Moscow airport on November 5, said correctly: "This unity has



# Message of Greetings

*Following is the text of the message of greetings from the Communist Party and government leaders of China to the Communist Party and government leaders of the Soviet Union on the occasion of the 43rd anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. — Ed.*

**Comrade N. S. Khrushchov, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R.,**

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

On the occasion of the 43rd anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, we, on behalf of the Chinese people, the Communist Party of China and the Chinese Government, extend our warmest fraternal greetings to you and through you to the great Soviet people, the Communist Party and the Government of the Soviet Union.

The October Socialist Revolution was the greatest and most thoroughgoing revolution in the history of mankind, opening up for mankind a new era of transition from capitalism to socialism and communism. Tremendous changes have taken place in the world situation in the past 43 years. Socialism has triumphed in areas covering more than one-third of the world's population and one-fourth of the world's land surface. Today, the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union is unprecedentedly powerful. The national liberation movements in the colonies and semi-colonies are surging forward. The struggles of the peoples in various countries for peace, democracy and socialism are developing vigorously. The imperialist forces of aggression headed by the United States have become unprecedentedly isolated. The prospects for world peace and human progress have never been so bright as they are today. History has proved and will continue to prove that the path of the October Revolution is the common path along which the proletariat and working people of the world strive for complete emancipation and advance towards socialism and communism. The great unity and the persistent and unremitting struggle of the peace-loving forces throughout the world with the socialist camp as their core are the powerful guarantee of the defeat of the imperialist forces of aggression and the winning of lasting world peace.

The great Soviet people, under the leadership of the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union, have scored

tremendous achievements in successfully fulfilling the Seven-Year Plan for extensive communist building, in striving for peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems, and in safeguarding world peace. The Chinese people heartily rejoice at these tremendous successes made by the fraternal Soviet people. The Chinese people will continue to advance hand in hand with the Soviet people in their common cause of building socialism and communism, opposing imperialist aggression and defending world peace.

The Chinese people, guided by the general line of the Communist Party of China for socialist construction, are transforming the appearance of their country. The Chinese people have received fraternal assistance from the Soviet people and the Soviet Government in their socialist construction. For this, the Chinese people express their heartfelt thanks.

The great friendship and unity between the Chinese and Soviet peoples formed on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism represent the supreme interests of the Chinese and Soviet peoples, as well as the supreme interests of the world's peoples. The monolithic friendship and unity between China and the Soviet Union cannot be undermined by any force. All vain attempts by imperialism and its lackeys to undermine this friendship and unity have failed and will always fail in the future. As in the past, the Chinese people will do everything in their power to continue to strengthen the unity between the Chinese and Soviet peoples and the unity of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union.

May the great Soviet people achieve new, still greater successes in the cause of building communism and in the struggle to defend world peace.

Long live the Great October Socialist Revolution!

**Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party**

**Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the People's Republic of China**

**Chu Teh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China**

**Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China**

November 6, 1960, Peking

undergone the test of history and will stand the test of history in the future too. In all circumstances, no matter whether great storms or difficulties occur in the world, people will see that the 860 million people of China and the Soviet Union will always stand together." The Chinese people will always treasure and constantly strengthen the unity between China and the Soviet Union, strengthen the unity of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union, and strengthen the unity of the in-

ternational communist movement with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as its centre.

The development of history in the past 43 years since the October Revolution has shown that throughout the world, the new system of socialism will certainly replace the old system of capitalism. The people of the socialist countries and the working people of the world will hold even higher the glorious banner of the October Revolution and march from victory to victory.

# Chairman Liu Shao-chi's Speech at Moscow Airport

*Following is a translation of the speech made by Liu Shao-chi, head of the Chinese Party and Government Delegation to the U.S.S.R., Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman of the People's Republic of China, at the airport on the delegation's arrival in Moscow on November 5. — Ed.*

**Dear Comrade Khrushchov,**

**Dear Comrade Brezhnev,**

**Dear Comrades:**

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

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

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

and inspired by the great achievements of the fraternal Soviet people.

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

The Chinese people heartily thank the Soviet Union for the tremendous assistance it has rendered to the Chinese revolution and construction. Everlasting and unbreakable friendship and unity have been forged between the peoples of China and the Soviet Union in their joint struggle against the enemy. This unity has undergone the test of history and will stand the test of history in the future too. In all circumstances, no matter whether great storms or difficulties occur in the world, people will see that the 860 million people of China and the Soviet Union will always stand together. (*Enthusiastic applause.*) The strengthening of the unity between China and the Soviet Union and the strengthening of the unity of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union are the most reliable guarantee for the people of the world in striving for peace, democracy, national liberation and the cause of socialism. The Communist Party of China and the Chinese people have all along safeguarded and strengthened this unity and are confident that this unity will assuredly be further consolidated and developed on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. (*Applause.*)

Long live the Great October Socialist Revolution!

Long live the great Soviet Union!

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

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

Long live world peace! (*Enthusiastic applause.*)

# Premier Chou En-lai's Speech at the Soviet Ambassador's Reception

*Following is a translation of the speech made by Premier Chou En-lai at the reception given by the Ambassador of the U.S.S.R. in China on November 7, 1960, in celebration of the 43rd anniversary of the October Revolution.—Ed.*

**Dear Comrade Ambassador,**

**Comrades and Friends,**

Today is the 43rd anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the grand festival of the Soviet people as well as the common festival of the proletariat, the working people and all progressive mankind of the world. On behalf of the Chinese people, the Communist Party of China and the Chinese Government, I would like to extend the warmest and sincerest congratulations to the glorious Soviet people, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government.

Forty-three years ago today, the Russian proletariat and working people, under the leadership of the great revolutionary teacher V.I. Lenin and the Bolshevik Party, staged an armed uprising, overthrew the reactionary rule of the landlords and the bourgeoisie and established the first socialist state in the world. The Great October Socialist Revolution broke the chain of imperialism on one-sixth of the globe and opened a new era in the history of mankind—the era of transition from capitalism to socialism and communism. Just as Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said: "The October Revolution has opened up wide possibilities for the emancipation of the peoples of the world and the right paths towards it; it has created a new front of revolutions against world imperialism, extending from the proletarians of the West, through the Russian revolution, to the oppressed peoples of the East."

In the past 43 years, the great Soviet people, under the leadership of the glorious Communist Party and Government of the Soviet Union, waged bitter struggles, made sacrifices in blood, overcame countless difficulties, and have ultimately built the old Russia which was economically backward and full of scars and wounds into a socialist power highly developed in economy, culture, science and technology. Today, the Soviet Union has entered the historic period of extensive building of communism. With high political enthusiasm and selfless labour, the Soviet people are successfully carrying out the gigantic Seven-Year Plan. Undoubtedly, it will not be long before the Soviet people will, in the gross as well as per capita output of industrial and agricultural production, overtake and surpass the United States, the most developed country in capitalist production. Even now, the Soviet Union has already left the United States far behind in the most advanced branches of science and technology, particularly in the conquest of cosmic space. In international affairs, the

Soviet Government and people have made untiring efforts to attain peaceful coexistence among nations with different social systems, to safeguard world peace and to ease international tension. All these achievements of the Soviet people have greatly increased the might and influence of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union and reinforced the courage and confidence of the people of the world striving for peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism. The Chinese people regard the achievements of the brotherly Soviet people as their own achievements. The Chinese people heartily wish the Soviet people new and greater successes in the cause of building communism and defending world peace and security.

The Chinese revolution is a continuation of the October Revolution. The Chinese people are advancing victoriously along the path of the October Socialist Revolution. Since 1958, the Chinese people, under the leadership of the Communist Party of China and Comrade Mao Tse-tung and holding high the three red banners of the general line, the big leap forward and the people's communes, have continuously won new victories on all the fronts of the socialist revolution and socialist construction, and effected a continued leap forward of the national economy. The Soviet people and Government have given the Chinese people tremendous assistance in China's cause of socialist construction. The Chinese people and Government express sincere gratitude for this.

Like all the other socialist countries, China has consistently pursued a foreign policy of peace and has always supported the initiatives and efforts of the Soviet Union in opposing imperialist aggression, safeguarding world peace and easing international tension. The Chinese people and Government have always advocated the realization of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems on the basis of the Five Principles. This year, our Government has successively signed treaties of friendship and mutual non-aggression or of peace and friendship with the governments of some Asian and African countries; and, not long ago signed with the Government of the Union of Burma the Sino-Burmese Boundary Treaty. In the future, we shall continue to make unremitting efforts to oppose imperialist aggression and safeguard world peace.

Comrades and Friends! The friendship and unity between the Chinese and the Soviet peoples, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, has withstood long-term tests in the years of revolution and war and in years of peaceful construction. Both our peoples are clearly aware what tremendous significance their great friendship and unity has for the common cause of safeguarding world peace and securing

human progress. In the past, present and future, the Chinese people for ever advance courageously together with the great Soviet people and the peoples of the other socialist countries for our common cause.

Now, I propose a toast

to the Great October Socialist Revolution,

to the great victories of Marxism-Leninism,

to the unbreakable friendship between the Chinese and Soviet peoples,

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

to friendship among the peoples of the world,

to world peace,

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

to the health of Comrade L.I. Brezhnev, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union!

# China Celebrates October Revolution Anniversary

by OUR CORRESPONDENT

**T**HE 43rd anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution—glorious festival of the proletariat, the working masses and of all the oppressed people throughout the world—was warmly celebrated in China.

On November 6, the eve of the anniversary, Chairman Mao Tse-tung, Chairman Liu Shao-chi, Chairman Chu Teh and Premier Chou En-lai sent a message to Chairman N.S. Khrushchov and President L.I. Brezhnev conveying warmest fraternal greetings and wishing the Soviet people new and still greater successes in building communism and in the struggle to defend world peace (text of the message on p. 9).

A grand reception given by Soviet Ambassador S.V. Chervonenko in Peking on November 7, at which Chairman Mao Tse-tung was present, and a mass rally held on the previous evening were highlights of a host of celebration activities that have been going on in the capital and elsewhere in the country.

## Chairman Liu Shao-chi in Moscow

Meanwhile, a Chinese Party and Government Delegation has gone to Moscow to attend the celebrations. It is headed by Liu Shao-chi, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman of the People's Republic of China, and its deputy head is Teng Hsiao-ping, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. Upon his arrival in Moscow on November 5, Chairman Liu Shao-chi was greeted at the airport by Soviet Party and state leaders L.I. Brezhnev, M.A. Suslov and N.S. Khrushchov. Chairman Liu Shao-chi made a speech (text on p. 10) at the airport after President Brezhnev spoke and warmly welcomed the Chinese Delegation.

The other members of the Chinese Delegation are: Peng Chen, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Vice-

Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress; Li Ching-chuan, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party; Lu Ting-yi, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Vice-Premier; Kang Sheng, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party; Yang Shang-kun and Hu Chiao-mu, Alternate Members of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party; Liu Hsiao, Member of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Chinese Ambassador to the Soviet Union; Liao Cheng-chih and Liu Ning-I, Members of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

## Rally in Peking

A festive atmosphere reigned at the Peking celebration rally on November 6. Prominently displayed in the meeting hall was a passage quoted from Chairman Mao Tse-tung's writings: "The October Revolution has opened up wide possibilities for the emancipation of the peoples of the world and the right paths towards it; it has created a new front of revolutions against world imperialism, extending from the proletarians of the West, through the Russian revolution, to the oppressed peoples of the East." Chou En-lai, Chu Teh and other leaders of the Chinese Communist Party and state attended the rally. Among the Soviet guests present were: Ambassador Chervonenko; members of the Delegation of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Association headed by V.N. Stoletov; and O.Y. Goncharok, head of the visiting Soviet artists' group.

Chen Yi, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Vice-Premier, addressed the rally. First of all, he expressed warm fraternal greetings on behalf of the Chinese people,

the Chinese Communist Party and Government to the great Soviet people, the Soviet Communist Party and Government.

Chen Yi hailed the October Socialist Revolution as an epoch-making, the greatest and most thorough revolution in the history of mankind. He said: "The road of the October Revolution and the experience of the Soviet people's struggle in the past 43 years have borne out a most important universal truth of Marxism-Leninism, that is: only by seizing state power by revolutionary means, thoroughly smashing the reactionary state machine and replacing it by the revolutionary state machine in the hands of the people, establishing a dictatorship of the proletariat and continuously strengthening and consolidating this dictatorship, can there be victories of the socialist revolution and socialist construction and the thorough emancipation of the proletariat and the working people."

Speaking about the great victory of the Chinese revolution, Chen Yi stressed that the Chinese revolution is a continuation of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Proceeding from the specific conditions of China, the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung have creatively applied and developed Marxism-Leninism and solved and are solving a series of theoretical and practical problems in the socialist revolution and socialist construction of China, he said.

Chen Yi analysed the international situation since the October Revolution and particularly of today and paid warm tribute to the vigorous development of the national and democratic movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America. He said that the development of history is absolutely independent of the will of imperialism and that whatever tactics imperialism may resort to, it will never be able to stem the torrent of the national independence movement.

Chen Yi reaffirmed that the Chinese Government and people have consistently supported the peace proposals and endeavours of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. In line with their consistent stand, he said, the Chinese people will make greater contributions in opposing imperialist aggression and defending world peace. He pointed out that imperialism headed by the United States will by no means reconcile itself to defeat and that the danger of a new world war still exists. The people of the whole world, he said, must rally to form the broadest united front to wage a steadfast and untiring struggle against the policies of aggression and war of imperialism headed by the United States.

Chen Yi forcefully stressed that "the 43 years since the October Revolution have been 43 years in which the Marxist-Leninist ideology has found its way ever deeper into the hearts of the people the world over. Instead of any fading as time goes by, the great theory of Marxism-Leninism has, on the contrary, shown to a greater extent its incomparable vitality as a result of the tests it stood in real life." Chen Yi denounced the modern revisionists represented by the Tito clique of Yugoslavia,

and said that they comprehensively and systematically emasculate the revolutionary soul of Marxism-Leninism, distort the road of the October Revolution and oppose the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. He pointed out that although the renegade features of the Tito clique in serving imperialism have been exposed more and more clearly, their treacherous activities and the poisonous ideas they spread should by no means be overlooked. The struggle against modern revisionism must be carried through to the end, he said.

Concluding, Chen Yi stressed the great significance of further strengthening the unity of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union. He said that this unity of ours is the firmest unity which no force can disrupt. Under any circumstances, he said, the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people will follow the teachings of Comrade Mao Tse-tung to guard the great unity of the peoples of China and the Soviet Union as the apple of their eye. On behalf of the Chinese people, he expressed heartfelt thanks once again to the great Soviet people for the tremendous assistance they extended to the Chinese people during their protracted revolutionary struggles and their socialist construction — assistance which the Chinese people will for ever remember.

Soviet Ambassador Chervonenko was the next speaker. He expressed sincere thanks for the extensive celebrations throughout China on the occasion of the October Revolution anniversary. This year, he said, the Soviet people, builders of communism, are greeting the anniversary of the October Revolution under conditions of a flourishing of their creative efforts; they have full confidence in an even more happy and gratifying future and are firmly convinced of the correctness of the great cause of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

Chervonenko stressed that the October Revolution opened the era of the collapse of the shameful colonialist system. Marxist-Leninists are always opposed to aggression, to imperialist wars of aggression, but they stand for ever on the side of people waging just wars to win freedom from colonialist enslavement.

Chervonenko emphatically declared: "The friendship of the two great socialist powers — the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China — is a most important factor for the constant consolidation of the world socialist system. There is no force, and can be no force on earth that can shake this kind of friendship." He stressed that "the friendship and unity of the Soviet Union, China and all the socialist countries is a powerful factor of our times, which is exerting a decisive influence on the entire course of human progress."

V.N. Stoletov, head of the visiting Delegation of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Association, then took the floor. He extended warm greetings to the fraternal Chinese people. "The friendship between the great peoples of the Soviet Union and China is everlasting and unbreakable," he declared. "The friendship and alliance between our two great countries have immense vitality. We should make every effort to develop and consolidate this strength

so as to make all progressive mankind happy and the enemies of socialism tremble."

The rally closed to the strains of the *Internationale*.

### Grand Reception

At the reception given by Soviet Ambassador Chervonenko on November 7, Premier Chou En-lai made a speech (text on p. 11) in which he declared that "in the past, present and future, the Chinese people for ever advance courageously together with the great Soviet people and the peoples of the other socialist countries for our common cause." Chu Teh and Lin Piao were among the other Chinese Party and state leaders attending the Soviet reception.

Speaking on the occasion, Ambassador Chervonenko heartily welcomed Chairman Mao Tse-tung, other Chinese leaders and public figures, as well as the guests from other countries, present at the reception. He declared that the October Revolution proclaimed to the whole world the beginning of the new epoch of the collapse of moribund capitalism and the victory of socialism. He noted that the Soviet people with their hard work are triumphantly implementing their magnificent plan for the building of communism.

The Soviet Ambassador said that the victory of the Chinese revolution is a historic event of tremendous significance; it has dealt a new crushing blow to imperialism. He said that the battle-tested Chinese Communist Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, creatively developing Marxism-Leninism and applying its universal truth to concrete practice in China, has successfully led the Chinese people onto the path of socialist construction and has achieved great victories.

The Soviet Ambassador referred to the balance of world forces which has undergone a fundamental change favourable to socialism. But, he said, all those people to whom peace and freedom are dear should not forget that as long as imperialism exists it can bring much misery to the people. That is why it is necessary to constantly heighten vigilance and to expose the intrigues of the imperialists and their lackeys, he continued.

The Soviet Ambassador denounced the imperialist countries headed by the United States for refusing to agree to complete and general disarmament. They are, on the contrary, speeding up the armament race. Under these circumstances, he said, the Soviet Union together with all the other socialist countries will strengthen their national defences and keep at their disposal all the necessary modern means of defence so as to uphold with honour and dignity the achievements of the Great October Revolution.

The Soviet Ambassador said that the People's Republic of China, carrying out the principles of peaceful coexistence, has made tremendous contributions to the great and noble cause of peace. The Soviet people, he declared, resolutely stand for the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations Organization; they have supported and will always support the just acts of the Chinese people against U.S. imperialism and their firm resolve to liberate their own territory — Taiwan.

The Soviet Ambassador pointed out that the friendship between the two great countries, the Soviet Union and

China, is of historic significance. He said that the trip to Moscow of the high-level Chinese Party and Government Delegation headed by Comrade Liu Shao-chi to take part in the October Revolution anniversary celebrations will undoubtedly play a great role in further consolidating and developing the cause of Soviet-Chinese friendship.

### Nationwide Celebrations

As we go to press, news reports are pouring in about celebrations in many other parts of China's vast land — mass meetings in big cities, smaller gatherings and evening parties in factories, schools, people's communes and government organizations, photographic exhibitions on the Soviet Seven-Year Plan. . . . The Soviet Film Week, featuring ten Soviet films simultaneously in Peking and 12 other cities, are attracting enthusiastic audiences. An exhibition on "The Soviet Union in Construction" is on in the Chinese capital. Newspapers give prominent and extensive coverage to reports of the celebrations, print messages of greetings from Chinese people's organizations to their Soviet counterparts, and publish commemorative articles by both Chinese and Soviet writers. Radio and television are featuring special programmes. Apart from the Delegation of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Association and the Soviet artistes' group, a number of Soviet athletes are touring this country.

Underlining this multitude of festivities are the profound friendship between the Chinese and Soviet peoples and a determination to bear aloft the red banner of the October Revolution, to march towards still greater victories in the cause of mankind's emancipation.

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# A Basic Summation of Experience Gained in The Victory of the Chinese People's Revolution

by THE EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT OF "HONGQI"

Following is the translation of an article written by the Editorial Department of "Hongqi" (Red Flag) published in the November 1 issue of this fortnightly of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. The article was written on the occasion of the publication of the fourth volume of the "Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung." — Ed.

**I**N summing up the experience of the Paris Commune, Karl Marx put forward the famous proposition that the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machine, and use it for its own purposes.

This famous proposition of Marx runs like a red thread through Lenin's great work, *The State and Revolution*.

Lenin's break with the revisionists and opportunists of the Second International consisted mainly in his restoring the original revolutionary features of Marxism on this most essential question of the proletarian revolution and further enriching Marxism and carrying it forward on the basis of the new experience of the international proletarian struggle. The infamous leaders of the Second International became renegades mainly because they forsook and distorted Marx's teachings on this question. Therefore, just as Lenin said, "The struggle for the emancipation of the toiling masses from the influence of the bourgeoisie in general, and of the imperialist bourgeoisie in particular, is impossible without a struggle against opportunist prejudices concerning the 'state.'"<sup>\*</sup>

Lenin had intended to devote more space in *The State and Revolution* to summing up the experience of the Russian revolution of 1905\* and 1917 in order to expound further the Marxist theory of proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship; but he was much too busy leading the October Revolution to do so. Later, in his other great work *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*, Lenin actually accomplished what he had intended to do. In this new work, he also repeatedly expounded and proved the fundamental principle of Marxism that the old militarist-bureaucratic state machine must be destroyed and replaced by a new, revolutionary state machine in the hands of the people, if the proletarian revolution is to attain victory.

The reason why the proletarian socialist revolution must destroy the old militarist-bureaucratic state machine and establish a new, revolutionary state machine is because

the old state machine serves the system of exploitation and is the principal instrument of the exploiting classes for safeguarding their system of exploitation and ruling over the people. Without first of all destroying the old militarist-bureaucratic state machine—the principal instrument for safeguarding the system of exploitation—it will be utterly impossible for the proletariat and all the other exploited classes to overthrow the system of exploitation, change the old relations of production and establish socialist relations of production. This is the essence of Lenin's meaning when he stressed that "politics are the concentrated expression of economics."<sup>\*\*</sup>

A particular type of relations of production forms the economic basis of a particular type of society. Each type of relations of production, each type of economic basis, has its corresponding type of superstructure. The political system and ideology are the superstructure of society, and the question of political system is mainly a question of the state machine. Without destroying the old superstructure, and, in particular without smashing the old state machine, it is impossible to change the old economic basis of society. It is impossible, so far as the proletarian socialist revolution is concerned, to establish step by step socialist ownership of the means of production and step by step lay the economic basis of socialism. These views have been expounded over and over again in the Marxist-Leninist classics.

**W**HY was the Great October Revolution able to succeed? Because the Russian proletariat, under the leadership of the great Lenin's Bolshevik Party, thoroughly smashed the old Russian militarist-bureaucratic state machine, established the dictatorship of the proletariat and set up a new Soviet state machine, thereby transforming the state from an instrument used by the exploiting few to oppress the majority of the people into one used by the majority to oppress the exploiting few.

The establishment of the system of people's democracy in a series of European and Asian countries towards the end of and after the Second World War was also due to the smashing of the old militarist-bureaucratic state machine in these countries by their own people, or by their own people with the assistance of the Soviet Red Army which was in pursuit of the German fascist, bandit troops.

\* Preface to the first edition of "The State and Revolution."

\*\* Once Again on the Trade Union, the Present Situation and the Mistakes of Trotsky and Bukharin.

The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party has repeatedly pointed out that the Chinese revolution was the continuation of the October Revolution. Why was the great revolution of the Chinese people able to succeed? The reason was the same. How could this victory have been achieved if we did not overthrow the counter-revolutionary dictatorship of the big landlords and the big bourgeoisie and smash the old state machine of the warlords, bureaucrats and secret agents? The victory of the Chinese revolution has once again proved, in a big Eastern country, the Marxist-Leninist principles on the state and revolution.

The specific historical conditions of the revolution in various countries are usually not completely identical; they often differ. The concrete process through which the reactionary state machine was smashed and the revolutionary state machine established in the Chinese revolution also had its own special characteristics.

The October Revolution started with the armed uprising of the Russian working class in the capital. Its course of development was first to occupy the cities and then the countryside. But the Chinese revolutionary war which began in the autumn of 1927, namely, the revolutionary war under the independent leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, first won victory in a part of the rural areas on the basis of the agrarian revolution, then this victory was gradually extended and victory in the cities was achieved only afterwards. This process was characterized by development from the establishment in the rural areas of small revolutionary bases to the establishment of large revolutionary bases, from the establishment of a small number of revolutionary bases to a great number of revolutionary bases and from encirclement of the cities by the rural areas to the ultimate seizure of the cities.

This above-mentioned process shows that the Chinese people captured political power first in one place and then another, area by area, and they smashed the reactionary state machine in the same way. Through this process of revolutionary development over 22 long years, the Chinese proletariat and the Chinese people won victory throughout the country and achieved their aim.

This course of development of the Chinese revolution was put forward by Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

**A**FTER the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries, instigated by imperialism, perfidiously launched their surprise counter-revolutionary attack against the revolutionary Chinese people in 1927 and engulfed the revolutionary people in a bloody sea of white terror, it was precisely under the banner of Comrade Mao Tse-tung that the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people "rose to their feet again, staunched their wounds, buried their fallen comrades and carried on the fight."\* Comrade Mao Tse-tung applied the Marxist-Leninist method and made a concrete analysis of social and historical conditions in China at that time. Proceeding from the fact that China was a big semi-colonial, semi-feudal country with a very uneven political and economic development and that the counter-revolutionary camp in China lacked internal unity and was beset by contradictions, he came to the following conclusions:

\* Mao Tse-tung, "On Coalition Government."

1. that numerous small revolutionary bases in the rural areas could arise under the conditions of encirclement by the counter-revolutionary regime, and could hold out and spread out like waves;

2. that the people's armed forces and revolutionary bases, led by the Chinese Communist Party, were the principal form of the worker-peasant alliance in the democratic revolution of our country and the principal form of struggle by which the proletariat of our country led the whole people to achieve their liberation;

3. that the revolutionary bases were the great positions of the revolution of the Chinese people in the military, political, economic and cultural fields and the revolutionary people relied exactly on such bases to deliver blows against the counter-revolutionary attacks, to build up and temper their own forces and as starting points for the launching of revolutionary offensives; and

4. that the existence and development of the revolutionary armed forces and the revolutionary bases would inevitably enhance the revolutionary consciousness of the masses of the people all over the country, gradually shake the foundations of counter-revolutionary rule and expedite an upsurge in the great revolution of the people throughout the country.

Thus, in the light of the experience of the Chinese revolution, Comrade Mao Tse-tung put forward a new formula for the development of the revolution in Chinese conditions, thus enabling the Marxist-Leninist theory on the state and revolution to win new victories in the vast expanses of a big Eastern country and enriching it with new content.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has waged unceasing struggles to defend the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism on the two fronts against right opportunism and "left" adventurism.

**A**FTER Chiang Kai-shek's betrayal of the revolution, a group of the former capitulationists represented by Chen Tu-hsiu joined hands with the counter-revolutionary Trotskyites and became liquidationists. They declared that the Chinese revolution had ended and held that the Chinese people should not touch Chiang Kai-shek's counter-revolutionary state machine but should only engage in legal activities under the reactionary rule of Chiang Kai-shek, with a "national assembly" as the central slogan. They also shamelessly acclaimed Chiang Kai-shek's various counter-revolutionary wars and slandered the peasants' revolutionary wars and guerrilla wars led by the proletariat as "movements of roving insurgents" doomed to failure. Comrade Mao Tse-tung refuted this counter-revolutionary babble of the Trotskyite-Chen Tu-hsiu liquidationists and held firm to the banner of the Chinese people's revolution. He maintained that "a single spark can start a prairie fire" and that revolutionary armed forces and revolutionary bases, though small and existing only in the rural areas at that time, had tremendous vitality and an unlimited future.

On the other hand, there was in our revolutionary ranks at that time a group of petty-bourgeois "left" adventurists who occupied the leading organs of the Party for several years and beat down a large number of correct



leading comrades headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung with the result that they could not raise their heads. These "left" adventurists denied the protracted nature and the twists and turns of China's revolutionary struggle, failed to comprehend that the Chinese revolution had to pass through a process of developing from small to big and from the countryside to the cities and impatiently wanted to seize big cities. They were unwilling to carry on among the people the arduous task of building up the forces of the revolution, but engaged in wishful thinking that the Chinese revolution could achieve victory overnight and that Chiang Kai-shek's counter-revolutionary state machine could be smashed lock, stock and barrel in one, single "decisive battle." In fact, it was impossible for "left" adventurism to achieve the aim of overthrowing the reactionary rule of Chiang Kai-shek or to really strengthen and expand the forces of the revolution. On the contrary, such blind actions could only lead to the weakening of the revolutionary forces and the positions of the revolution. During the ten years' civil war, from 1927 to 1936, Comrade Mao Tse-tung unceasingly opposed this anti-Marxist-Leninist "left" opportunist line and emphatically pointed out that it was necessary to pay attention to establishing a solid foundation of revolutionary bases in the countryside, "thus placing ourselves in an invincible position." Comrade Mao Tse-tung maintained that above all, the small base areas in the countryside, which at the beginning were still few in number, should be firmly held and continuously expanded and developed; in this way it would be possible "to come ever nearer the goal of attaining nationwide political power." Comrade Mao Tse-tung's victory over "left" adventurism in 1935 led to the quick resuscitation of the forces of the revolution, which had dwindled at that time to only one-tenth of their former strength, and ensured that the Chinese revolution took the path of sound development.

ON the basis of the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism, Comrade Mao Tse-tung concentrated the aim of the Chinese revolution on smashing Chiang Kai-shek's counter-revolutionary state machine. Without smashing Chiang Kai-shek's counter-revolutionary state machine, it would have been impossible to overthrow the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, to establish the people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class and based upon the worker-peasant alliance, to carry out any social and political reforms and it would have been all the more impossible to transform the democratic revolution into the socialist revolution. Summing up the entire experience of the victory of the Chinese revolution, Comrade Mao Tse-tung said:

"Our experience can be summed up and crystallized into one essential point, namely, the establishment of 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 completely with the international revolutionary forces. This is our formula, our principal experience, our main programme."\*

What is dictatorship? Anyone who does not want to practise deceit will acknowledge the truth that has always

been pointed out by Marxism-Leninism, that is, as Lenin said: "Dictatorship is the domination of one part of society over the rest of society, and domination, moreover, that rests directly on violence."\* There are dictatorships of different natures. The most fundamental difference is whether it is the dictatorship of the exploiting few over the exploited masses that constitute the overwhelming majority or the dictatorship of the exploited masses that constitute the overwhelming majority over the exploiting few. The dictatorships of the slave-owners, feudal lords and bourgeoisie, though varying in form, all belong to the former category; the dictatorship of the proletariat, though it may also vary in form in different countries, belongs to the latter category.

THE people's democratic dictatorship in our country has undergone two different stages of development. Before the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, the people's democratic dictatorship in our country was in fact a dictatorship of the democratic revolution, a dictatorship of several revolutionary classes, led by the proletariat and based on the worker-peasant alliance, a dictatorship of the Chinese people over the jackals of imperialism, the comprador class and the feudal class. After the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, the people's democratic dictatorship began to take on a new nature; it was in fact a dictatorship of the socialist revolution, a dictatorship of the proletariat.

No dictatorship can be realized or maintained unless it rests directly on violence. This is true of counter-revolutionary dictatorship and also of revolutionary dictatorship. What is violence? It consists of the armed forces, police, law courts, prisons, etc.

In *The State and Revolution* Lenin said: "A standing army and police are the chief instruments of state power. But can it be otherwise?"

Comrade Mao Tse-tung in "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship" said, "the state machine, including the army, the police and the law courts, is the instrument with which one class suppresses another. It is an instrument for the suppression of antagonistic classes; it is violence and certainly not anything 'benevolent.'"

Thus matters are very clear: If the Chinese people wanted to overthrow the rule of counter-revolution, they had to build up their own armed forces, they had to have a people's army. During the period of the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression, Comrade Mao Tse-tung said in his "Problems of War and Strategy": "According to the Marxist theory of the state, the army is the main component of the political power of the state. Whoever wants to seize state power and to keep it must have a strong army."

The armed revolution which the Chinese people conducted for a long period against armed counter-revolution was a process of unceasingly smashing the armed forces of the counter-revolution and building up the armed forces of the revolution, a process of unceasingly shattering the state machine of the counter-revolution and building up the state machine of the revolution, and a process of

\*"On the People's Democratic Dictatorship."

\*A Caricature of Marxism and "Imperialist Economism."

unceasingly reducing the area under the rule of the counter-revolution and expanding the revolutionary bases and the liberated areas.

In the same article mentioned above, Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "The task of the proletarian parties in the capitalist countries is to prepare for the final overthrow of capitalism by educating the workers and building up strength through a long period of legal struggle. There we find long legal struggle, the utilization of the platform of the legislative body, economic and political strikes, . . ." and he further said that in those countries, "war or . . . armed insurrection should not be launched until the bourgeoisie becomes really helpless, until the majority of the proletariat are determined to take up arms and wage war and until the peasant masses are willing to give assistance to the proletariat." But China was in a condition different from this. According to Comrade Mao Tse-tung, in a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country like China, there was no parliament to be utilized, nor did there exist the legal right to organize the workers to conduct strikes. "In China the main form of struggle is war and the main form of organization is the army." Such a war was mainly a peasant war and such an army was an army with the peasants as its main component.

**W**E Communists are aware that, even in the capitalist countries, parliaments are only an ornament of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. To fail to understand this is sheer stupidity. Of course, it is also stupid if, when circumstances call for it, the political parties of the proletariat do not make use of such an instrument as a parliament to conduct legal struggle. In China, we say, there was no parliament to make use of, and so our main form of struggle was revolutionary war and our main form of organization was the army. This by no means signifies that all the possible conditions for carrying on legal struggle should not be made use of; to think so is also stupid. But in the period of the ten-year civil war, the "left" opportunists within our Party committed precisely this stupidity.

To keep revolutionary struggle within the confines of legal struggle, or to refuse completely to make use of such legal struggles as are possible and necessary, is equally wrong. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has always sharply criticized such errors.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has always maintained that a revolutionary party must seize every opportunity to make the fullest possible use of contradictions among the enemy, develop the progressive forces, win over the middle-of-the-road forces and isolate the reactionary forces. He has opposed all kinds of one-sidedness. He said that our policy "is neither unity to the exclusion of struggle nor struggle to the exclusion of unity, but a combination of both."\* However, during the ten-year civil war, the "left" opportunists adopted an extremely one-sided and erroneous policy. What they chose as the main target of attack was not the reactionaries but the middle-of-the-road forces, whom they termed "the most dangerous enemy." They did not recognize the contradictions within the camp of reaction, still less the contradictions between the middle-of-the-road forces and the reactionary regime.

\* "On Policy."

Their formula was the reverse of the right opportunist formula adopted by Chen Tu-hsiu in 1926-27. Chen Tu-hsiu's formula at the time was unity to the exclusion of struggle. The "left" opportunist formula this time was struggle to the exclusion of unity. The "left" opportunists refused to utilize any opportunity for legal struggle. Consequently, the policy they adopted isolated not the reactionaries but themselves. Comrade Wang Ming, who had previously made serious "left" opportunist mistakes, became a right opportunist in the period of the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression. The right opportunists agreed to the anti-Japanese national united front. But what they adopted was Chen Tu-hsiu's old formula: unity to the exclusion of struggle. Distorting the Party's Marxist-Leninist policy for a united front, Wang Ming forgot Lenin's important injunction that, while in alliance with the bourgeoisie, the party of the proletariat must unconditionally maintain the "independence of the proletarian movement."\* Wang Ming denied the Party's policy of independence and autonomy in the united front; he did not agree to independent and autonomous anti-Japanese guerrilla warfare under the leadership of the Communist Party or to the expansion and development of the people's armed forces and the base areas for resistance to Japanese aggression under the Party's leadership, but pinned China's hopes chiefly on the reactionary Kuomintang regime, advocating that the people's armed forces, the base areas for the resistance to Japanese aggression and the people's organizations should all be "unified" by the Kuomintang, that is, that they should all be placed under the "unified" control of the state machine of the reactionary Kuomintang regime. The characteristic feature of Wang Ming's right opportunist thinking and the policy and line he adopted was that the state machine of the reactionary Kuomintang regime should not be touched but protected. He came to the conclusion that after victory in the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression, China could not be in the hands of the people, but could only remain under Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang.

**T**WO kinds of state machines played two diametrically opposite roles in the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression. The People's Liberation Army and the people's political power in the liberated areas under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party were the principal motive force in the war of resistance waged by the whole people against Japanese aggression and the principal motive force of social progress for the whole country. The role played by the reactionary state machine of Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang was, as it could only be, to weaken, contain and strangle the anti-Japanese forces of the people. The Kuomintang reactionaries tried by all possible means to undermine and crush the state machine of the revolutionary people, and the sacred task of the revolutionary people was to defend, develop and strengthen this revolutionary state machine in order to attain their revolutionary objective of overthrowing Japanese imperialism and, immediately after, overthrowing the Kuomintang reactionaries who dared to attack the revolutionary forces. This was a struggle between two destinies, two futures, for China.

\* *Preliminary Draft of the Thesis on the National and Colonial Question.*

The struggle between the Marxist-Leninist line represented by Comrade Mao Tse-tung and the right opportunist line represented by Wang Ming was actually a struggle between these two destinies, two futures, for China. If Wang Ming's right opportunist line had been carried out, even if the Chinese people had won the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression, the fruits of victory in that war could only have fallen into the hands of Chiang Kai-shek; the Chinese people could not have won power to rule on a countrywide scale, nor could they have shattered the wild plan of U.S. imperialism to take the place of Japanese imperialism in China. On the contrary, because the Chinese Communist Party persistently carried out among the Chinese people the correct line formulated by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the People's Liberation Army and the people's liberated areas grew in strength continuously. This not only ensured victory in the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression, but also, after Japan's surrender, ensured the speedy defeat of the counter-revolutionary attacks launched by U.S. imperialism and its running dog Chiang Kai-shek and the winning of victory in the great people's revolution with the support of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union and the revolutionary people of all countries of the world, and the establishment of the great People's Republic of China.

**I**N combating right opportunism, Comrade Mao Tse-tung repeatedly stated the following truth: "Without armed struggle there would be in China no place for the proletariat, the people or the Communist Party and no victory for the revolution."\*

Is this not the fact?

The Chinese Communist Party held many talks with Chiang Kai-shek in the period after the Japanese imperialists' surrender and before Chiang Kai-shek launched a new, all-out counter-revolutionary civil war. Comrade Mao Tse-tung personally went to Chungking for direct talks with Chiang Kai-shek and agreement was reached on peace and national reconstruction. The "Summary of Conversations Between the Representatives of the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party," signed on October 10, 1945, laid down in its very first article "the basic policy on peace and national reconstruction," providing in specific terms for "determined efforts to avert civil war." But, three days after the signing of the agreement, on October 13, Chiang Kai-shek secretly issued the so-called "bandit suppression" order for attacks on the liberated areas. The political consultative conference closed on January 31, 1946, yet scarcely ten days later, on February 10, an incident occurred at Chiao-chang-kou, Chungking, in which Kuomintang secret agents broke up the mass rally held to celebrate the political consultative conference and committed atrocities there. From January to June 1946, the Kuomintang and the Communist Party concluded truce agreements on three occasions, yet each was immediately violated by ever bigger military attacks by Chiang Kai-shek.

Beginning at the time of the Sian incident in 1936, through the period of the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression and up to 1946, Chiang Kai-shek made a great

deal of high-sounding promises to the representatives of the Communist Party and the people. He not only agreed to avoid civil war, but openly agreed to stop the activities of the Kuomintang secret service. However, what he always did was, on the one hand, to consent to the conclusion of agreements and make promises to the people, and, on the other, to take action fundamentally violating these agreements and promises. The reactionaries used all agreements and promises as a smokescreen for taking new steps against the people, and tore them up whenever they considered them unnecessary.

**M**ARXISM-LENINISM has repeatedly pointed out the indisputable truth that the reactionaries will not step down from the stage of history of their own accord. Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "What is reactionary will not topple unless you strike it down. It is also like sweeping the floor: As a rule, where the broom does not reach, the dust will not go of itself."\* In the article "Carry the Revolution Through to the End," written towards the end of 1948, he made the following review of the history of how Chiang Kai-shek wrecked the talks and tore up the agreements: "Just think of the extreme magnanimity and tolerance the Chinese people have shown towards this gang of bandits—since the Sian incident of December 1936, the Chungking talks of October 1945 and the political consultative conference of January 1946—in the hope of bringing about internal peace with them. But have all such good intentions succeeded in changing their class character by one jot or tittle? In their criminal records not one of these bandits can be separated from U.S. imperialism. . . . Only by thoroughly destroying the Chinese reactionaries and kicking out the aggressive forces of U.S. imperialism can China gain independence, democracy and peace. Isn't this truth clear enough by now?" Blocking all possible avenues for carrying out social and political reforms by peaceful means, the Kuomintang reactionaries always forced civil war on the Chinese people. Chiang Kai-shek often proposed to the Chinese Communists: Hand over your army, and I will give you democracy and let you join the organs of state power. The right opportunists lent a willing ear to these words from Chiang Kai-shek and showed much interest in them. Comrade Mao Tse-tung, on the contrary, always reminded us that we must not fall into this trap laid by Chiang Kai-shek. Under the circumstances where the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries was continuously strengthening their counter-revolutionary state machine, was it possible to win democracy peacefully or to win political power peacefully? Obviously not.

The right opportunists did not believe that the masses of the people are the creators of history and did not see the great strength of the masses of the people; they saw only the seeming strength of the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries, not their inherent weakness. The right opportunists' illusions about Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang actually stemmed from the fact that they were cowed by its seeming strength. Marxist-Leninists scorned this weak-kneed, impotent attitude of the right opportunists and held that their own task was to show up

\* "Introductory Remarks to 'The Communist.'"

\* "The Situation and Our Policy After the Victory of the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression."

the reactionaries as being outwardly strong but inwardly weak, and to inspire the masses of the people to dare to wage the struggle and dare to gain victory. This was precisely the task which Comrade Mao Tse-tung fulfilled. At the time when Chiang Kai-shek with the backing of U.S. imperialism had expanded his army to well over four million men, that is to say, at the time when the counter-revolutionary state machine of China's big landlords and big bourgeoisie reached its peak, Comrade Mao Tse-tung penetratingly pointed out that the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries were nothing but paper tigers and that the Chinese people should prepare themselves, and they had the strength, to overthrow the reactionary rule of Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang, found a new China of people's democracy and make themselves the masters of their country.

Things turned out exactly as Comrade Mao Tse-tung had predicted. The massive counter-revolutionary army under Chiang Kai-shek, hammered and battered by the People's Liberation Army, rapidly fell to pieces in something over three years.

**T**HROUGHOUT the long years of revolutionary armed struggle, the Chinese Communist Party constantly summed up the experience and steadily forged ahead. During the period of the Third Revolutionary Civil War, the articles written by Comrade Mao Tse-tung — "Muster an Overwhelming Force to Wipe Out the Enemy Piecemeal" in September 1946, "A Three-Month Summary" in October of the same year, "Strategic Principles for the Second Year of the Liberation War" in September 1947, "The Present Situation and Our Tasks" in December of the same year, "Briefs on the Situation" in March 1948 and "Important Change in China's Military Situation" in November of the same year and so on — timely summed up the experience in the various stages of development of the revolutionary war and guided the revolutionary war step by step to victory. Basing himself on the experience of the long years of Chinese revolutionary war, Comrade Mao Tse-tung laid down the well-known "ten cardinal military principles," went a step further in putting into concrete terms the operational method of mustering an overwhelming force to wipe out the enemy piecemeal and achieved in a planned and systematic way the objective of completely annihilating the Kuomintang troops. The longer the war continued, the larger and stronger the People's Liberation Army became, while the smaller and weaker became the Chiang Kai-shek army. As the result of the elimination of the main force of the reactionary Kuomintang army, the reactionary Kuomintang regime also collapsed.

Lenin once pointed out in his controversy with the renegade Kautsky: "Not a single great revolution has ever taken place, or ever can take place, without the 'disorganization' of the army. For the army is the most ossified instrument for supporting the old regime, the most hardened bulwark of bourgeois discipline, buttressing up the rule of capital, and preserving and fostering among the working people the servile spirit of submission and subjection to capital."\* By this Lenin meant: it was impossible for the oppressed classes to achieve their emancipation and put themselves in the ruling position

\**The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky.*

unless they disorganized the old, counter-revolutionary army, unless they smashed this principal component of the counter-revolutionary state machine. These words of Lenin were written after the October Revolution and more than 40 years have elapsed since then, but can we say they have become outdated? Of course not. In the 40 years and more since the Great October Revolution the additional revolutionary experience of a whole series of countries in Europe and Asia, the experience of the great revolution of the Chinese people, plus the experience gained from all kinds of revolutionary struggles which the people of various countries are now waging, have proved, and are still proving ever more clearly, that these words of Lenin have not become outdated; they have proved and are still proving ever more clearly the vitality of the truth revealed in these words of Lenin.

It is one thing for the proletariat and the masses of the people to seize political power, smash the old, reactionary state machine and establish a new, revolutionary state machine. It is another thing, having seized political power and relying on it, to proceed to the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production. The two cannot be confused. Only when the former has been done can the latter be done. This is how it was in the Soviet Union, this is how it was in the various socialist countries of Europe and Asia, and this is also how it was in the People's Republic of China.

It is muddle-headed to confuse these two things — the seizing of political power by the working class and the carrying out by the working class of socialist transformation by peaceful means after it seizes political power. Such muddle-headedness conceals the most fundamental thing, that is, as expounded time and again by Lenin: "The basic question in any revolution is that of state power."

**H**ISTORY shows that the people's revolutions in all countries stem from the demands of the people and are the result of the development of the class struggle. These revolutions are made within a country by certain oppressed classes to overthrow certain oppressing classes, by certain exploited classes to overthrow certain exploiting classes. Marxist-Leninists have always held that revolution cannot be imported, nor can it be exported. The view that revolution can be imported or exported is utterly wrong. This is precisely the way in which the imperialists and reactionaries in various countries slander the revolutions of the people in various countries, but such slanders can in no way check the advance of the revolutionary movement in any country or prevent the occurrence of revolution in any country.

No Marxist-Leninist Party advocates that the socialist countries resort to war between states to spread revolution. The Tito clique of Yugoslavia slanders the socialist countries as intending to use "war between states" to spread revolution. This is sheer nonsense in the service of imperialism.

The development of the revolutionary forces of the people in the various countries and their victories in revolution are the fundamental factors in preventing imperialism from launching a world war and in defending world peace. The victory in the Chinese people's great revolution and the founding of the People's Republic of China have further strengthened the socialist camp

headed by the Soviet Union, further expanded the forces defending world peace and greatly frustrated the adventurist policies and plans of the imperialists to start a new world war. The stronger the socialist camp becomes, and the more the people's revolutionary movements in the various countries develop and the greater the number of countries that win victory in their revolutions, the greater will be the safeguard for world peace. The modern revisionists and certain muddle-headed people oppose the revolutions in the various countries to world peace, alleging that revolutions cannot be carried out if world peace is to be preserved. This viewpoint is completely preposterous and runs utterly counter to Marxism-Leninism.

The Marxist theory of revolution has consistently illumined the road of advance for humanity during the past hundred years and more. Over 40 years ago, under the leadership of the great Lenin, the proletariat achieved victory in its revolution first in a land covering one-sixth of the globe. As Comrade Mao Tse-tung stated in his article "A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire," the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics brought into existence by the October Revolution has imbued the peoples of the world with faith in the socialist revolution. Now the socialist revolution has triumphed in one-quarter of the world's territory inhabited by one-third of the world's population. The victory of the socialist revolution is utterly irresistible.

The socialist revolution cannot triumph at one stroke in all the countries of the world simultaneously.

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## "Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung," Volume IV, on Sale in Hanoi

According to a dispatch of the Hsinhua News Agency of November 1, the recently published fourth volume of the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* (Chinese edition) went on sale in the evening of October 29 in Hanoi, capital of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. Bookshops selling the volume were immediately crowded as soon as the news got around and stocks were soon sold out. Requests for copies have been pouring in from disappointed late-comers asking for more copies to be ordered from Peking.

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Victories will come, separately and step by step, as a result of the inherent factors of society in the various countries, the awakening of the peoples themselves, their own efforts and their preparations for revolution. Guided by Marxism-Leninism, by the Marxist-Leninist theory on the state and revolution, and by the Marxist-Leninist theory that the system of capitalism and imperialism is doomed to destruction and the system of socialism and communism is bound to triumph, the peoples of all countries, through their own struggle and with their own hands, will ultimately achieve their goal.

# Television Interview Given by Premier Chou En-lai to British Correspondent Felix Greene

*Premier Chou En-lai received the British correspondent, Felix Greene, on September 5 at the latter's request for a television interview and answered his questions. Following is the full text of the questions and answers.* — Ed.

**Greene:** May I thank you first for this opportunity of asking you some questions which are concerning many people, thoughtful people, in the West. I am grateful to you for this opportunity. As I have a good many questions, may I plunge right in?

**Premier Chou:** Yes. Please go ahead.

**Question 1:** I have seen many things while travelling round this country which give me the impression that China is actively and strenuously preparing to defend herself. Does this mean that the Chinese Government feels that war with the United States is a probability?

**Answer:** The Chinese people do not want war with the United States. The Chinese people have always wanted to be friends with the American people. We wish

to build up our own country in a peaceful environment. We believe that the American people, too, do not want war with China. The U.S. Government, however, has all along pursued a policy of aggression against China. The United States has occupied China's territory Taiwan and set up many military bases and guided missile bases in regions close to China. It seeks in this way to form a military encirclement of China. The United States has carried out endless military provocations and war threats against China. Since September 1958, U.S. aircraft and warships have intruded into China's air space and territorial waters over a hundred times. Moreover, the United States has time and again staged large-scale military manoeuvres in the Far East with China as the hypothetical enemy. It has stepped up the rearming of Japan and concluded a treaty of military alliance with Japan, thus threatening the security of China, the Soviet Union and the Southeast Asian countries. Confronted with these war threats, the Chinese people cannot but be constantly on guard and strengthen their power to defend themselves. The greater our power for self-defence, the harder it will be for the United States to carry out military adventures. We believe that so long as the people

of China and the United States, as well as the peace-loving people throughout the world, work together, it is possible to prevent the U.S. Government from launching a war of aggression against China.

**Question 2:** It would seem that no fundamental improvement in the relations between China and the United States is possible as long as the issue of Taiwan (or Formosa as we call it) remains unresolved. Am I right?

**Answer:** You are right. So long as the United States continues to occupy Taiwan, there can be no basic improvement in the relations between China and the United States. Supposing Long Island in the United States were occupied by another country, could the United States improve its relations with that country? The Chinese Government has always stood for the settlement of international disputes through negotiations, without resorting to the use or threat of force. It is even willing to sit down and talk with the U.S. Government which has invaded and occupied China's territory Taiwan. The Chinese-United States ambassadorial talks were started on China's initiative. But, as the United States Government persists in occupying Taiwan by force, the talks have dragged out for five years, through a hundred sessions without results so far.

**Question 3:** Are there any conceivable arrangements regarding Taiwan under which China would be prepared to consider a compromise?

**Answer:** Taiwan is an inalienable part of China's territory. This is a historical fact. The Cairo and the Potsdam Declarations, both signed by the U.S. Government, confirm that Taiwan is Chinese territory. After the Japanese surrender, Taiwan was formally restored to China on October 25, 1945, and was taken over and administered by the then Chinese Government. Liberation of Taiwan by the Chinese people, like the liberation of the mainland of China, is purely China's internal affair in which no foreign country can interfere. The question now is that the U.S. Government is occupying China's territory Taiwan with its armed forces and blocking the Chinese Government from exercising its sovereignty in Taiwan. There is only one way to settle this question. The U.S. Government must agree to withdraw all its armed forces from Taiwan and the Taiwan Straits.

For quite some time now, the U.S. Government has been scheming to create "two Chinas." In this regard, both the Republican and the Democratic Parties in the United States have the same policy. The United States seeks to set up what they call an "independent state" of Taiwan, or a "Sino-Formosan nation," or to conduct what they call a "plebiscite" in Taiwan, or even to place Taiwan "under trusteeship," and so on. All this is aimed at dismembering Chinese territory, violating China's sovereign rights and legalizing the seizure of Taiwan by the United States. All the Chinese people, including those on Taiwan, are firmly opposed to these schemes; even those members of the Chiang Kai-shek clique who have the slightest concern for the national interest don't approve of them.

**Question 4:** Both sides seem to have taken and reaffirmed positions which are irreconcilable, both are

deeply committed. Do you consider that your proposal for a Pacific Pact which would include the United States might form the basis of some agreement which would end the present impasse between the United States and China?

**Answer:** China has always advocated peaceful coexistence among nations with different social systems. Proceeding from this principle of peaceful coexistence, the Chinese Government recently again proposed that the countries of Asia and those bordering on the Pacific, including the United States, should conclude a peace pact of mutual non-aggression and turn this whole area into an area free of nuclear weapons. This proposal by the Chinese Government has won wide support from world public opinion. It also won a warm response in the general resolution adopted by the Sixth World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs and for Total Disarmament held in Tokyo not long ago. But, the proposal was hurriedly rejected by the U.S. State Department. This shows that the U.S. Government is afraid of peace; it is afraid that it will no longer be able to make use of tension to control its military bases in Asia and the Pacific region, and that the puppets it has reared in many countries in this region will all collapse like Syngman Rhee and Kishi. This also shows that the allegations of United States officials and certain newspapers to the effect that "China is belligerent," that "China rejects peaceful coexistence between countries of different social systems," that "China wants to start a war to advance the world revolution" and so forth are all groundless slanders. The Chinese Government's proposal is not only in the interest of the people of China and the United States, but it is also in the interest of the people of other Asian countries and those bordering on the Pacific. The Chinese people will work tirelessly over a long period of time, together with the peoples of these countries, to bring this proposal to fruition.

**Question 5:** I want to ask a few questions about Russia, if I may. There have been many reports lately of a divergence between China and the Soviet Union, especially in regard to the policy of "peaceful coexistence." Do you have any comments you would like to make about these reports?

**Answer:** China has always stood for peaceful coexistence among nations with different social systems. This has also been the consistent stand of the Soviet Union and the other socialist states. There is no divergence on this. As early as in 1954, China initiated jointly with India and Burma the Five Principles of peaceful coexistence. They are: mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence. At the Bandung Conference in 1955, China, together with other Asian and African countries, formulated the ten principles of peaceful coexistence. In line with the principle of peaceful coexistence China has established peaceful and friendly relations with many Asian and African countries as well as a number of European countries, and has now established formal diplomatic relations with Cuba. In the past two years and more, China has signed treaties of friendship and mutual non-aggression or treaties of

peace and friendship with Yemen, Burma, Nepal and Afghanistan. The facts show that China has consistently pursued a policy of peaceful coexistence, and that China's stand has never changed. If other countries, the United States included, also cherish the same desire, China is of course willing to coexist peacefully with them on the basis of the Five Principles. But the imperialist countries, particularly the United States, persist in the policies of positions of strength and the cold war. They, and particularly the United States, have imposed embargoes, carried out subversive activities, military provocations and war threats against the socialist countries, thereby gravely jeopardizing world peace. Such policies are against the common interest of the people in the United States and throughout the world. Only by concerting their efforts and struggling persistently to expose and resist these policies of the U.S. Government can the people of the whole world possibly prevent the U.S. Government from launching an aggressive war. Only by so doing can they possibly force the U.S. Government to enter into earnest negotiations on disarmament and the prohibition of nuclear weapons, and compel it to agree to abolish its military bases on foreign soil and disband its aggressive military alliances. And only thus can our wish for peaceful coexistence with the United States possibly be realized.

**Question 6:** China, though today she is lagging behind the Soviet Union in technology, is potentially more powerful in natural resources and, of course, in population. Some Westerners think that there are signs of Russia already beginning to be apprehensive of the rapidly growing development of China's industrial and military power. Do you have anything you want to say about that?

**Answer:** The socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union is today more powerful than ever before. The recent safe return to the earth of the second space-ship launched by the Soviet Union proves that the Soviet Union is far ahead of the United States in science and technology. The Chinese people are overjoyed at this brilliant achievement of the Soviet people.

As for China, there is no need to deny that we are still backward economically and culturally. We are making efforts to lift ourselves quickly out of this backwardness, striving to catch up with or surpass Britain in the output of the main industrial products in about ten years. The rapid progress of China's socialist construction adds to the strength of the socialist camp. It is therefore something that the peoples of the other socialist countries are glad to see.

The relationship between socialist countries is a brand new type of fraternal relationship between nations. The socialist countries cannot possibly be apprehensive of each other. Their common interest is to help and support each other for a common upsurge in their national economy and continuously raise the material and cultural standards of their own peoples. The solidarity among all the countries of the socialist camp is unbreakable. What is more, the solidarity between the two great countries, China and the Soviet Union, is the bulwark of the defence of world peace. What the imperialists and all reactionaries fear the most is the solidarity of the socialist countries. They seek by every means to sow discord and break up this

solidarity. But they will never succeed in these despicable designs. In case the imperialist countries delude themselves into thinking that there is a chance to start some military adventure against the socialist countries, then, I would like to reaffirm now what the Chinese Government has repeatedly declared in the past, namely: The socialist camp is one integral whole; a provocation against any socialist country is a provocation against China, and in that event we would never sit idly by.

**Question 7:** Have you any comments you wish to make about the border dispute between China and India and the present discussions that are going on between the two countries?

**Answer:** China has undelimited boundaries with many neighbouring countries in Southeast Asia. This is a question inherited from history. The Chinese Government has always held that in accordance with the Five Principles of peaceful coexistence, settlements fair and reasonable to both sides should be sought through friendly consultations in a spirit of mutual understanding and mutual accommodation, and that pending an overall settlement of the boundary questions, the status quo should be maintained and not altered by one-sided action, let alone by force. The boundary questions between China and Burma, and between China and Nepal could be and were settled precisely because both sides adopted such an attitude. If the Indian Government had taken a similar attitude, the boundary question between China and India could have been settled. But, it is regrettable that the Indian Government not only wants to hold onto a big piece of territory which belonged to China, but has brought up new territorial demands against China. What is more, Indian troops provoked armed clashes on the border. At the same time, an anti-China campaign was launched by forces in India who tried to use disputes with foreign countries for political aims at home. All this has brought about tension between China and India for a while.

In order to seek various ways to a reasonable settlement of the boundary question, I went to Delhi in April this year to meet with Prime Minister Nehru. In spite of very great efforts on our part, the Indian side failed to respond accordingly. At present, Chinese and Indian officials are holding meetings. I hope they will achieve positive results.

The traditional friendship of the 1,000 million people of China and India is a profound one. We are confident that the Indian people, like the Chinese people, hope that the boundary question between the two countries will be speedily settled. With continued sincerity and confidence as before, the Chinese Government will go on working tirelessly for a fair and reasonable settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question.

**Question 8:** Mr. Chou En-lai, are you satisfied with the present China-United Kingdom relations?

**Answer:** The Chinese people wish to develop friendly exchanges with the British people in the economic, commercial, cultural, scientific and other fields. I believe that the British people have the same desire in relation to China.

The Chinese Government has always been willing to improve its relations with Britain and has made many efforts for this. To promote Sino-British relations is not only in the common interest of the two peoples, but would also help to safeguard world peace. In recent years, however, Sino-British relations have not improved as they should have. This is because the British Government, while on the one hand it recognizes the Government of the People's Republic of China as the only one which can represent China, on the other hand, trails behind the United States in supporting the Chiang Kai-shek clique in the United Nations. If this obstacle is removed, Sino-British relations will improve at once, and trade and cultural exchanges between the two countries will also develop.

**Question 9:** Do you wish to say anything about Sino-Canadian relations?

**Answer:** The Chinese people have friendly feelings for the Canadian people. We will never forget the late Dr. Norman Bethune, that fine son of Canada, who came to China to help the Chinese people in the most difficult days of their war of resistance and gave his life to the Chinese people's cause. In the past few years, a good many Canadians from all walks of life have visited China. A Chinese art troupe is now touring Canada. It has been welcomed and given hospitality by the Canadian people, and I would like to take this opportunity to thank the Canadian people.

There are as yet no diplomatic relations between China and Canada. Everyone knows, I think, that China is not responsible for this situation. I believe, moreover, that this situation cannot last for long, because both the Chinese and the Canadian people eagerly desire mutual friendship.

**Question 10:** In regard to Japan, does the constitution of the new government there give any grounds for hope that the Chinese-Japanese relations might be improved?

**Answer:** This will depend on what attitude the new Japanese Government adopts towards China. We are willing to work for the normalization of Sino-Japanese relations in accordance with the Five Principles of peaceful coexistence. We have seen the Japanese people giving strong expression to the same desire. Provided the new Japanese Government no longer pursues a policy of hostility to China, as did the Kishi Government, provided it no longer trails behind the United States in manufacturing "two Chinas," and that it no longer obstructs and sabotages the normalization of Sino-Japanese relations, the relations between the two countries can be improved. But up to now we have seen no positive moves on the part of the Ikeda cabinet towards improving Sino-Japanese relations. On the contrary, the Ikeda cabinet still sticks to the Japan-U.S. treaty of military alliance which is aimed at aggression against China and the Soviet Union and threatening the Southeast Asian countries, and it continues to revive the forces of Japanese militarism. That's exactly why the Japanese people's struggle for independence, democracy, peace and neutrality continues to develop. The Chinese people give sincere sympathy and support to their just struggle.

**Question 11:** Some Westerners think that China is extremely anxious to become a member of the United Nations—that is, for the Peking Government to be accepted and recognized as the rightful representative of the Chinese people. Others are saying that the Chinese Government, your government, is quite prepared to let things go as they are for quite a while, on the ground that non-admission into the United Nations provides what may be called a legitimate grievance which could be very useful for propaganda purposes, especially against the United States. Do you have anything you want to say about these speculations?

**Answer:** China is a member of the United Nations in the first place. Indeed it is one of the founding members of the United Nations together with the Soviet Union, the United States, Britain and France. The question is now that the U.S. Government, controlling the United Nations, is forcibly keeping there the Chiang Kai-shek clique, which was cast aside long ago by the Chinese people. China's seat in the United Nations is thus usurped, and the People's Republic of China, with its 650 million people, is deprived of its legitimate rights in the United Nations. The Chinese people firmly oppose this line of action of the U.S. Government. If the U.S. Government fails to change it, the United States and not China will be more and more isolated; and the prestige of the United Nations and not China's international status will suffer more and more. The United Nations must expel the Chiang Kai-shek clique and restore China's legitimate rights. Otherwise, it will be impossible for China to have anything to do with the United Nations.

**Question 12:** I have two questions to ask you about population, which I can put into one. China's population today is nearly 700 million and is increasing at the rate of between, I think, 12 to 14 million a year or (to make it more vivid), one could say, increasing at the rate of about 1,700 every hour. So my first question is this. Why is the Chinese Government making less effort to popularize birth control than it was, say, three years ago in 1957? The second part of my question is this. Though it may be true that China during the past ten years has increased the rate of its agricultural production at a greater rate of increase than her population, surely there is definite limit to the extent to which any country can increase its food supply. So my second question is this. What will happen when that limit is reached in China? Will China not then be compelled either to drastically reduce its population, or perhaps forcibly to increase its territories?

**Answer:** China is the most populous country in the world, but its density of population is only about seventy persons per square kilometre, much lower than that of Britain, Japan or India. Education on planned parenthood was and continues to be carried on in China mainly to protect the health of mothers and provide favourable conditions for bringing up children, not because of so-called "population pressure." China's population is increasing at an annual rate of about 2 per cent. In absolute figures, it means an increase of over ten million each year, which is indeed a considerable number. It is not such a great number, however, when you consider the natural conditions of China with its vast territory and rich resources.



It seems even less like a large number considering the manpower needed in our long-range, large-scale construction and development programmes.

China's cultivated area is only a little over a million square kilometres, which is about one-ninth of the total area of the country. After long-term efforts at land reclamation, the cultivated area can be gradually enlarged to over two million square kilometres. So the question of scarcity of arable land will not arise at all.

What is even more important, the rate of increase of our grain output is higher than the rate of increase of our population. Our production of manufactured goods for daily use is increasing at an even faster rate. During the ten years from 1949 to 1959, the average annual rate of increase of the population was 2 per cent, while that of grain output was 9.8 per cent. That is to say, grain output increased at a rate more than four times that of the population. Our industrial production has been developing even more rapidly, with output of articles of daily use increasing by over 10 per cent every year. As we take various steps to modernize our agriculture, our yields per unit area will greatly rise, in addition to which, the cultivated area will be gradually enlarged. So grain output will continue to increase at a faster rate than population, and there can be no question of a grain shortage because of population growth.

You seem to think that a country carries on expansion because of over-population. We disagree with this view. Before the First World War, Britain had a population of 45 million, which was not a large figure. Yet Britain for a long time had a colonial empire on which,

it was said, "the sun never set." The United States has an area slightly smaller than China and a population less than one-third of China's. Yet the military bases of the United States are spread out all over the globe, and it maintains as many as 1.5 million troops on foreign soil. China, on the other hand, in spite of its enormous population, has not a single soldier, let alone a military base, on foreign territory. So you can see that whether a country carries on expansion or not is not decided by the size of its population, but by its social system.

Being a socialist country, China cannot, must not and need not seize a single inch of foreign territory under any circumstances. The Chinese people in the past suffered greatly from imperialist aggression. We know very well that an aggressor can only end up in defeat. He has no other fate in store. We have boundless sympathy for all peoples who were or are subjected to imperialist and colonialist oppression. We resolutely support the Asian, African and Latin American peoples in their just struggle against imperialism and colonialism; to win and preserve their national independence. We are willing to make common efforts together with the people of other countries to oppose imperialist aggression and safeguard world peace.

**Greene:** Well, Prime Minister, I have many other questions I would like to ask you, but our time has run out. But may I thank you again, on behalf of the many people in many countries who will be seeing this programme for the readiness that you have shown to answer the important questions I have asked you today. Good-bye, and thank you very much indeed.

## Greetings on Australian C.P. Anniversary

**O**N the occasion of the 40th anniversary (October 30) of the founding of the Communist Party of Australia, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China sent a message of greetings dated October 25 to the Central Committee of the Australian Communist Party. The message declares:

"On this occasion of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Australia, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, on behalf of all its members and all the Chinese people, extends warm, fraternal greetings to the Communist Party of Australia and the Australian working class.

"Over the past 40 years, the Communist Party of Australia has held aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism, persistently and unremittingly struggled for the vital interests and complete liberation of the working class and labouring people of Australia and made great contributions to the common cause in the struggle for world peace, democracy and socialism. Your Party is worthy of the name of the vanguard of the Australian working class.

"The Communist Party of Australia and the Australian people have always shown interest in and supported the revolutionary struggles and the cause of socialist con-

struction of the Chinese people, for which the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people are most grateful. We are deeply convinced that the friendship between our two Parties and our two peoples will be further developed.

"The development of the present international situation is extremely favourable to us. As Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said, the enemy is rotting with each passing day while for us things are getting better daily. The might of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union is growing constantly, the national and democratic movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America are advancing with vigour, the revolutionary struggles of the people in the capitalist countries are rising with each passing day, and the forces of the world's peoples in defence of peace are becoming more powerful; while the imperialist camp headed by the United States is disintegrating and the days of imperialism are numbered. Confronted with this situation, U.S. imperialism has in recent years repeatedly played its tricks of paying lip service to peace and actually preparing for war, and utilized the modern revisionists to attack Marxism-Leninism and undermine the unity of the international communist movement by all means. However, so long as we Communists continue

to hold high the revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism, incessantly educate the masses, sharpen our vigilance, strengthen our solidarity, form a united front against imperialism headed by the United States and against its lackeys, persist in the struggle against imperialism and strengthen the struggle to expose modern revisionism thoroughly, we can surely smash the imperialist policies of aggression and war, safeguard world peace and promote the further and more vigorous development of the revolutionary cause of the people of the world.

"We deeply believe that the Communist Party of Australia, having been tempered and tested through 40

years of struggle, will certainly continue in the future to bear aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism, unite the working class and labouring people of Australia, achieve even greater successes in the struggle against imperialism and the bourgeois reactionaries and make still greater contributions to the cause of world peace, democracy and socialism."

On October 30, *Renmin Ribao* carried the full text of an article by L. L. Sharkey, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Australia, entitled "Forty Years of Struggle for Peace, Democracy and Socialism" which appeared in the October issue of the Australian Party organ, *Communist Review*, in honour of the anniversary.

# China Firmly Supports Algerian People's Just Struggle

by OUR CORRESPONDENT

COMMEMORATING the sixth anniversary (November 1) of the Algerian people's nationwide armed uprising against the French colonialists, China once again reaffirmed its steadfast support for the Algerian people battling resolutely for their national liberation.

The day was marked in Peking by an assembly of over 1,500 citizens. Sponsored by seven Chinese people's organizations, the rally was held in response to an appeal by Algeria's people's organizations, as well as a call issued at the recent Havana meeting of the International Trade Union Committee for Solidarity with the Workers and People of Algeria, to observe a "Solidarity with Algeria Day." Vice-Premier Chen Yi and Chairman of the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity Liao Cheng-chih were among those present. Speakers at the rally were: Burhan Shahidi, Vice-Chairman of the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity and Vice-President of the Chinese-African People's Friendship Association; Li Chieh-po, Vice-President of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions; Rafa Abdel Madjid, head of the visiting Algerian Art Troupe; Malan Tanko Yakasai, national organizer of the Northern Elements Progressive Union of Nigeria; Alao Aka Bashorun, a trade union worker from Nigeria; and Ahmed Mohammed Kheil, Sudanese peace champion who is now in Peking.

The rally was a demonstration of the militant friendship between China and Algeria. It adopted a message paying high tribute to the heroic Algerian people and underscoring the resolute support of China's 650 millions for their national liberation struggle till final victory.

Both the speakers at the rally and the Chinese press commenting on the anniversary reviewed the resounding victory already gained by the Algerian people. Starting

with 3,000 men armed only with spears and old rifles, the Algerian National Liberation Army over the past six years has grown into a powerful force of 130,000 men. Fighting against more than 800,000 crack French troops equipped with modern weapons, it has liberated vast areas inhabited by over half of Algeria's population. The founding of the Algerian Provisional Government marked a new stage in the struggle.

French imperialism, on the other hand, finds disaster dogging its footsteps. Most of its army, 60 per cent of its air force and 90 per cent of its navy are tied down in the quagmire of its dirty war in Algeria; 150,000 of its troops have been wiped out; and the war costs France more than 3,000 million francs a day. Its barbarous acts of suppression—the massacre of a million Algerians, the forcible herding of two million more out of their homes and a tight blockade of the Algerian liberated areas, etc.—have failed to halt the triumphant advance of the Algerian people.

## Algerian Victory Hailed

The great victory won by the Algerian people, as Burhan Shahidi said in his opening speech at the Peking rally, forcefully proves that the strength of the people is inexhaustible and invincible while imperialism is only a paper tiger which is outwardly strong but inwardly weak. The main factor determining the outcome of war, Li Chieh-po stressed in his speech, is not weapons but popular support. The Algerian guest speaker, Rafa Abdel Madjid, also pointed out that, in face of the courage and invincible strength of the people of a small nation who have stood up to fight for their own rights, imperialism is only a "colossus made of clay" or, as Chairman Mao Tse-tung put it, a mere "paper tiger." The Nigerian trade unionist Alao Aka Bashorun likewise cited Chairman Mao Tse-tung's

famous dictums about imperialism and all reactionaries being paper tigers and about weapons being an important but not the decisive factor in war. And he added, the entire military and financial resources of the NATO bloc, composed of the world's imperialist powers and led by U.S. monopoly capital, have failed to shake the firm confidence of the Algerian people in achieving self-determination through struggle.

The significance and repercussions of Algeria's national liberation war have spread far and wide beyond its boundaries. It has become a brilliant example for the African national liberation movements, as Li Chieh-po pointed out. The Algerian people's heroic war of resistance, he declared, has not only given very great spiritual encouragement to the African peoples striving for national liberation, but has continuously whittled away and pinned down the main body of the French colonialist forces backed by U.S. imperialism. Hence it has directly and powerfully supported the African peoples' struggles against imperialism and for national independence, upset imperialism's plans to prepare for new wars and made a tremendous contribution to the defence of world peace.

### U.S. Imperialism Condemned

The speakers at the Peking rally and the Chinese press also sharply denounced the activities of U.S. imperialism. The U.S. Government, according even to incomplete statistics, has given France military "aid" amounting to 4,500 million U.S. dollars in the decade 1950-60; the United States and NATO have provided no less than 75 per cent of the weapons now being used by the French colonialist forces against Algeria. Algeria has indeed become one of the major targets of the aggression carried on by U.S. imperialism which schemes to supplant France there.

In his speech, Li Chieh-po drew particular attention to the fact that U.S. imperialism, in its criminal attempt to swallow the Congo, has of late carried out armed intervention in that country under the fig leaf of the United Nations and that it is trying to apply the same vicious tactics in its aggression against the whole of Africa. The Algerian speaker, Rafa Abdel Madjid, also pointed out that France is getting support from the U.S.-led imperialist countries which have formed a veritable alliance against Algeria. The facts thus show that U.S. imperialism is now the most ferocious and dangerous enemy facing the Algerian people.

Meanwhile, Chinese public opinion also exposed the fraudulent "peace" proposed by the de Gaulle government. Having failed to achieve its aims through a brutal colonial war, that government has resorted to the hoax of "ceasefire talks" and "giving" Algeria the "right to self-determination." In its November 1 editorial greeting the Algerian uprising anniversary, *Renmin Ribao* pointed out that the essence of de Gaulle's so-called "peace" has long since been laid bare by himself on many occasions. De Gaulle refused to give any guarantee of the Algerian people's "right to self-determination"; during the Melun talks, he even refused to give equal status to the representatives of the Algerian Provisional Government. All this, *Renmin Ribao* said, has provided further proof that imperialism absolutely will not quit its colonies of its own accord, and that it absolutely will not deal with the people of the colonies on an equal footing unless a serious struggle is waged against it.

As the Algerian Premier Abbas Ferhat aptly put it, *Renmin Ribao* recalled, "while seeking negotiations and giving peace every opportunity, we must strengthen our means of fighting and our armed combat. Independence is not handed over, it must be won." And "this recourse [of de Gaulle] to self-determination, as conceived by France, is merely a means, a trick designed to 'chloroform,' to abuse international public opinion which is always badly informed." When interviewed by a Hsinhua correspondent on October 30, Premier Abbas further pointed out: "The talks France wants are confined to a ceasefire and a ceasefire as France conceives it is in essence a kind of surrender. The Algerian people have no common language with the French Government, for it wants to negotiate with the Algerians as a conqueror would negotiate with the conquered. Such talks can never take place, since the Algerian people will never agree to talks for the sake of surrender." The Chinese people, *Renmin Ribao* declared, fully agree with these views expressed by Premier Abbas; they support the Algerian people who persist in their war of resistance and will never lay down their arms while, at the same time, not excluding negotiations on an equal footing in their struggle for national independence.

Observance of "Solidarity with Algeria Day" in China, as elsewhere in the world, was a powerful demonstration of the mass support which the cause of the Algerian people has enlisted. As Li Chieh-po said at the Peking meeting, the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, as well as those of the whole socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union and all the other peace-loving and just-minded people of the world, stand firmly on the side of the Algerian people. The Algerian speaker, Rafa Abdel Madjid, also emphatically stated: "The Algerian people are not alone. Their friends are more powerful than their enemies." And he took the occasion to express heartfelt thanks to the Chinese people for their firm support to the Algerian cause.

The speakers and press comments further noted that the world situation is more favourable than ever before to the Algerian people. As Li Chieh-po said, the East wind now continues to prevail over the West wind and the situation is excellent throughout Africa and the world. In its editorial *Renmin Ribao* pointed out that the strength of the Algerian people, though still temporarily in an inferior position when viewed locally, is nonetheless already in a superior position from the overall viewpoint of the world situation. The massive wheel of history, it continued, is crushing the colonialist system; imperialism is like a flickering candle in the wind and its days are numbered. These conditions, *Renmin Ribao* said, are favourable for the Algerian people to press forward with their struggle till victory.

### Steadfast Struggle Means Victory

In this excellent world situation, the Algerian people are confidently forging ahead towards their set goal. The Peking rally heard their militant voice and, indeed, the militant voices of the whole Africa. The war will be protracted, said Rafa Abdel Madjid, but the valiant Algerian people are prepared to overcome every difficulty till victory is won. Once the forces of imperialism have invaded a country, said Malan Tanko Yakasai, they can only be driven out by armed struggle waged by the people. Let

us declare to the world, said Alao Aka Bashorun, our unshakable determination to wipe out imperialism and colonialism from the world and so enable the peoples to attain freedom and liberation and to enjoy peace. Extensive and organized struggle of the masses is the only language understandable to the imperialists who are bloodthirsty by their very nature, Ahmed Mohammed Kheil said.

In its editorial, *Renmin Ribao* expressed the confidence of the Chinese people in the ultimate triumph of their Algerian brothers. Recalling the unimaginable difficulties, great hardships and sacrifices that mark the

long decades of China's fight against imperialism, the paper said: "But we have never been overwhelmed by any of these difficulties. Relying on the strength and unity of the people and steadfast in struggle, we have overcome them all. It is precisely because of these bitter experiences that the Chinese people have a most profound understanding of the present struggle and circumstances of the Algerian people and, consequently, cherish the greatest sympathy and heartfelt admiration for them. We are deeply convinced that no enemy or difficulty can subjugate the heroic and unflinching Algerian people." Persistence in struggle, *Renmin Ribao* declared, means victory.

人民日报

RENMIN RIBAO

## Speeding Up the Development of China's Agriculture

*Following are excerpts from an editorial published in "Renmin Ribao" on October 23, 1960, under the title "Show an Ardent Love for Agricultural Labour, Strengthen Agricultural Production and Build Splendid and Happy Rural People's Communes."—Ed.*

THE policy put forward by the Chinese Communist Party of taking agriculture as the foundation of the national economy is a long-term, fundamental strategic policy. It is not only of immense economic significance but of far-reaching political significance. It plays an important role not only in accelerating the building of socialism but in the future realization of communism. The development of agriculture is an extremely important task and an extremely glorious task as well. Agricultural production is a matter of primary importance, that is concerned in the closest way with the food, clothing and daily life of all the country's 650 million people. With further big developments in agricultural production and still more grain, non-staple foodstuffs and industrial raw materials available, it will be possible to open up the broadest market for heavy industrial products, absorb still more light industrial products and provide still more labour power and funds for industry; as the products turned out by each rural people's commune provide for the needs of still more people, a still firmer foundation will be created for a big development of the national economy as a whole. By continuously strengthening this foundation and bringing the dominant role of industry, particularly heavy industry, into full play, we will be able to develop at high speed into a rich and powerful socialist country with a modern industry, agriculture, culture and science and bring to realization the great ideal of communism at an earlier date.

One of the major requisites for realizing communism is to eliminate the three differences: between industry

and agriculture, between city and countryside and between physical and mental labour. The strengthening of agricultural production is a decisive key factor in eliminating these differences. In the 11 years since liberation, while carrying out the socialist revolution, the Party has adopted the policy of taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the dominant factor and mutually integrating priority for the development of heavy industry with the speedy development of agriculture; in the past few years especially the big leap and continued leap forward has been realized and the rural people's communes have been developed and consolidated; earth-shaking changes have taken place in the face of our cities and rural areas, antagonisms between industry and agriculture, city and countryside, physical and mental labour have disappeared and the differences between them have also begun to be reduced. During the First Five-Year Plan, the ratio of rates of increase between the gross value of industrial and agricultural production was four to one; it changed to 2.35 to one in 1959. The movement for technical innovations and technical revolution unfolded in agricultural production on a wide scale, there has been a general popularization of improved farm tools and the number of farm machines has steadily increased. The amount of newly added motive power in farm machines this year alone is equivalent to a labour force of nearly 20 million able-bodied men. Simultaneous with the development of agricultural production, rapid advances have been made in the industry and scientific, cultural and educational work of the people's communes throughout the vast countryside and the material life and cultural level of the peasants have been raised correspondingly. However, it was only 11 years ago that our country emerged out of old semi-feudal and semi-colonial China and taking the general situation of the country as a whole, its material and cultural life still remains at a low level. Compared with the city, the countryside is in a still "poorer and blander" state; rural life is relatively hard and agri-

cultural labour relatively heavy. It is precisely to vigorously change this state of affairs that the Party and the state are mobilizing the broad masses of the people to reinforce the farm front. Our countryside will undergo still more conspicuous changes in less than ten years from now. By then, when the National Programme for Agricultural Development, 1956-67, is fulfilled and the plan for agricultural mechanization which calls for "a minor solution in four years, an intermediate solution in seven years and a major solution in ten years" is realized, agriculture will, in the main, be mechanized, on more than one half of the cultivated land the extensive building of water conservancy works will be completed and the standards of garden farming will be reached on it, while a certain degree of electrification will be introduced in agriculture; grain output will increase in large amount; commune-run industry and communications and transport will be developed more swiftly; forestry, livestock breeding, subsidiary occupations and fishery will also be greatly developed and to a certain extent semi-mechanized or fully mechanized; ordinary floods and drought and the insect pests, plant diseases and beasts that do most serious harm to the crops will be basically eliminated; diseases from which the people suffer most seriously and the "four evils"\* will be practically wiped out; housing for the members of the people's communes will be improved stage by stage and group by group; educational, cultural and scientific research work in the people's communes will be further popularized. In short, collective production and collective living in the rural people's communes will all have reached a fairly high level. After the National Programme for Agricultural Development is fulfilled, a still further step will be taken on the road of gradually eliminating the three differences mentioned above. By that time, by continuing to strive hard and creating more abundant and firmer material and spiritual conditions and as a result of many-sided efforts and protracted struggles the three differences will be eliminated and the people will lead a fuller and better material and spiritual life under the communist banner of from each according to his ability and to each according to his needs.

**A**T the same time we must understand that the complete fulfilment of the National Programme for Agricultural Development is no easy task and that the final elimination of the differences between industry and agriculture, between city and countryside and between physical and mental labour in the future all the more calls for strenuous efforts over a long period of time. Only when we show still greater love for agricultural labour, put greater strength into agricultural production and make still greater efforts in building up the rural people's communes will it be possible for us to enjoy a greater abundance of agricultural products. When we have a great abundance of such products, industry can be developed and the technical transformation of agriculture can be carried out more swiftly and the elimination of the difference between agriculture and industry can be accelerated. Only when the productive forces in agriculture have been greatly raised can living conditions in the rural areas be enormously improved. At the same time, intellectuals can be tempered all the better and faster

\*They include rats, bedbugs, flies and mosquitoes.—Tr.

through participation in agricultural labour—because present working conditions in agriculture are more arduous and the class struggle in the rural areas is relatively more complicated. In order to eliminate gradually the difference between physical and mental labour it is necessary to put still greater and even more strength into the field of agricultural labour because agricultural labour represents the largest amount of physical labour in our country and because the difference between physical labour in agriculture and mental labour is even greater than that between physical labour in industry and mental labour. This will also more effectively facilitate elimination of the difference between industry and agriculture and between city and countryside. Therefore, by mobilizing more people to take part in agricultural labour, to strengthen the agricultural front and to build up the rural people's communes over a fairly long period, we can all the faster and better bring about a steady improvement in working conditions in agriculture and living conditions in the rural areas, and bring them closer to industry and cities until they finally catch up with the latter.

**H**OW to regard strenuous efforts and physical labour is the line of demarcation between revolution and non-revolution, between genuine revolution and false revolution. Only the exploiting classes love leisure and hate labour and despise physical labour. Communists look on physical labour as the prime necessity of life. Some people think that in the future, man's physical labour will be eliminated and that all physical labour will be turned into something like pressing electric buttons while sitting in easy chairs, as easy and comfortable as playing a game. This is an imaginary picture of the far distant future. If, at the present time, this sort of imagining is seized on as an excuse for refusing to take part in arduous and heavy physical labour, this really reflects the bourgeois idea of despising physical labour. Yet in a sense, the kind of work done by pressing buttons from an easy chair is also arduous and heavy. Imagine the pilot of a jet plane, seated before his many meters, electric buttons and red and green lights, when pressing his electric buttons he must act precisely according to the indications of the meters and the red and green lights. The smallest mistake can bring about enormous losses. Can we regard this sort of labour as easy and comfortable? Modern production tools need to be manufactured, installed and repaired. Is the process of their manufacture, installation and repair easy and comfortable? Arduous and painstaking labour is needed to learn how to manufacture, install and repair these modern production tools and operate them. Is this kind of labour easy and comfortable? No creative labour is easy and comfortable. It requires hard thinking, toil and sweat; and many kinds of productive labour even demand the facing of the danger of bloodshed and loss of life. In the struggle in production, as in the class struggle, we must really work hard, march forward bravely, be fearless of dangers and difficulties and endure a thousand and one hardships and tribulations before final victory can be won. A high degree of the spirit of staunchness and of self-sacrifice is called for in the big battle for steel and food grains; in doing hard work in the depths of the mountains and dense forests, in the underground, at high altitudes, and on the oceans; in dangerous jobs which involve working in high tem-



Filling Granaries

A collective work of the amateur "Sawdust" woodcut group of Chitung County, Kiangsu Province

peratures, or under high pressures, in low temperatures, or under low pressures or in which the materials one works with are corrosive or radioactive; when dealing with accidents in which materials and products have to be saved in spite of all the risks involved, and in the battle against drought, storms and floods. At the present time, we are still far from having realized mechanization and automation, particularly in the rural areas. Over a fairly long period, and over considerable areas, we shall still have to do relatively arduous and heavy labour with the equipment available to us now. And it is inevitable that we shall have to brave high winds, torrential rains, scorching sun and severe cold while doing so. In the future, more up-to-date and labour-saving machines will be continuously produced. But, when machines of more up-to-date types are first produced, it is impossible at one stroke to replace all the machines then in use. Therefore, relatively speaking, there will always be comparatively heavy labour. Even when communist society is reached, we shall have to carry out on an unprecedented scale magnificent plans of moving mountains and filling up seas, transforming the deserts and changing the climate; we shall have to embark on still more magnificent plans for subduing nature. To do this, it will still be necessary to do a great deal of arduous and heavy physical labour and even run great risks. We are endeavouring to realize mechanization and automation in order to lighten the heaviness of physical labour; it is not intended to eliminate physical labour, nor is it possible to eliminate it. All the social wealth of mankind is created by physical labour. A normal, healthy man naturally needs to do a certain amount of physical labour. Physical labour, including relatively heavy physical labour, cannot be eliminated in ten thousand years.

**I**N October 1945 when some comrades were leaving Yen-an to work at the front, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out: "A fine comrade is one who is more eager to go to a place where he expects greater difficulties. The work in these places is hard. Hard work is like a

load placed before us which challenges us to carry it. Some loads are heavy, some light. Some people prefer the light to the heavy; they pick the light and leave the heavy to others. This attitude is bad. Some comrades behave differently; they leave ease and comfort to others and carry the heavy loads themselves; they are the first to bear hardship, the last to enjoy comforts. Those are fine comrades. We should all emulate their communist spirit."\* The greater the hardship is, the more glorious should one feel it to be; and the greater the difficulty, the firmer should be his resolve. One should set oneself the goal of building the poorest areas into the richest, and transforming the most backward regions into the most advanced. This communist spirit is being continuously developed and carried forward in our country, and has become a new, universally acknowledged criterion of one's moral qualities. When one's own conditions have improved, he should help better the conditions of others; when one's own people's commune is well off, he should help other people's communes to become well off; when the revolution in one's own country has succeeded, he should help the people of other countries to succeed in their revolutions too—so there is no end to transforming society or nature. Only when people possess such a spirit and style of work can they propel society forward without pause.

It is a long-term strategic policy of China's construction to take agriculture as the foundation of the national economy; and it is a permanent task for the Chinese people to develop agricultural production. The frontline of socialist construction today lies in the countryside.

In both cities and villages throughout China there has emerged a new upsurge in the mass movement of everyone going in for agriculture and grain production. This movement will assuredly and forcefully usher in a new situation in which our national economy continues to leap forward, and will give a strong impetus to socialist construction as a whole.

\* "On the Chungking Talks."

# CHINA AND THE WORLD

## Warm Welcome for President Ho Chi Minh

President Ho Chi Minh was accorded a warm welcome on his arrival in Peking on November 2 en route to Moscow to attend the celebrations of the 43rd anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution. Liu Shao-chi, Chou En-lai, Chu Teh, Teng Hsiao-ping and other leaders of the Chinese Communist Party and the state were at the airport to welcome him.

On the same evening, Chairman Mao Tse-tung and Chairman Liu Shao-chi met with him and they had a cordial talk together. President Ho Chi Minh was also guest of honour at a banquet given by Chairman Mao and Chairman Liu. He left Peking for Moscow on November 4.

## Sino-Korean Friendship

The Chinese Military Goodwill Mission led by Marshal Ho Lung and Senior General Lo Jui-ching is concluding its visit to Korea. Everywhere it went, in Pyongyang, Kaesong, Wonsan and elsewhere, the mission was given a welcome which in its warmth and regard clearly manifested the fraternal friendship of the Korean people for the whole Chinese people.

On the eve of their departure, Marshal Ho Lung and Senior General Lo Jui-ching gave a farewell banquet in Pyongyang at which Premier Kim Il Sung and other Party and government leaders of Korea were guests of honour.

In his banquet speech, Marshal Ho Lung hailed the great successes won in socialist construction by the industrious and valiant Korean people under the leadership of the Korean Workers' Party and Comrade Kim Il Sung. He said that displaying the spirit of a hero mounted on a winged steed, the Korean people have achieved miracles. Marshal Ho Lung also paid tribute to the Korean People's Army which, he said, is tirelessly and

vigilantly standing guard day and night on the eastern forefront of the socialist camp and has made and continues to make important contributions to maintaining the armistice in Korea and world peace.

Speaking about Sino-Korean solidarity, Marshal Ho Lung stressed that one of the fundamental guarantees for the victory of our common cause is the unbreakable unity and close friendship formed between the two countries as well as between them and the other socialist states. We are firmly convinced that no force can undermine the solid unity between the Korean and Chinese peoples sealed in blood and based on proletarian internationalism, Marshal Ho Lung declared.

Senior General Kim Kwang Hyup, Korean Vice-Premier, in his reply declared that the Korean people and the Korean People's Army would march forward for ever shoulder to shoulder with the fraternal Chinese people and their armed forces in the big family of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union, and that they would continue to wage resolute struggles against the U.S. imperialist aggressors for the defence of peace in the East and the cause of socialism.

Leaving Pyongyang on November 3, Marshal Ho Lung said in his farewell speech that "if U.S. imperialism should once more dare to start aggression against us, our two peoples certainly will fight again hand in hand in defence of the common security of the two countries and deal destructive blows to the aggressors."

## Korean Ensemble in China

Meanwhile, the Korean People's Army Ensemble is visiting China and it has been given a rousing welcome in Peking and other Chinese cities. Chairman Mao Tse-tung, Chairman Liu Shao-chi, Premier Chou En-lai, General Secretary Teng Hsiao-ping and other leaders of the Chinese Communist Party and the state attended one of its performances in Peking. During the intermission, Chairman Mao and the other Chinese leaders received and had a cordial talk with Major-General Chang Su Hwan, head of the ensemble, and the deputy heads and leading artists of the troupe. On the same evening, Premier Chou En-lai gave a reception to the ensemble.

## Kenya T.U. Leader's Impression Of China

A Kenyan guest, Arthur Aggrey Ochwada, General Secretary of the Trade Union Congress of Kenya and of the East African Federation of Building and Construction Workers' Union, had warm words of admiration for New China when interviewed on the eve of his departure by a Hsinhua correspondent.

After visiting China, Arthur Ochwada declared, he knew the real reason why the imperialists are trying to prevent the people of the colonial countries of Africa from visiting China. It is because the great achievements in China's high-speed development are shocking imperialism and the imperialists dislike them. The imperialists are spreading the propaganda that contact with the People's Republic of China and other socialist countries is not good for the African people, he said, but during his stay in China, he has seen quite a few things that the Kenyan people can learn from China, because they are anxious to get rid of poverty, ignorance and disease. The future Kenya, when it gains its independence, will also take the line of socialism in the interests of its people, Ochwada declared. What most impressed him during his visit to China are the tremendous development of its national economy since liberation, the dedicated way the people are working to improve their economic situation and their spirit of hard work. The Chinese people have deep confidence in Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese Communist Party, said the Kenyan guest.

Praising the rural and urban people's communes, he said that he regarded the setting up of these communes as a big step forward in increasing production and the income and well-being of the people. He expressed his amazement at the highly successful work being done by former housewives in the commune factories. He was impressed by the modest commune factories which are producing precision apparatus.

In conclusion, Ochwada expressed the hope that Kenya and China will establish closer relations in the nearest future. And he said that the friendship between the peoples of Kenya and China will last for ever.

# CHINESE PRESS OPINION

## **Present Primary Task of the Laotian Nation**

Prince Souphanouvong, Chairman of the Neo Lao Haksat Party, has made a most timely statement clearly pointing out once again that the primary task of the Laotian nation at present is to rally all patriotic forces and direct the struggle against the common enemy of the nation—U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, writes *Renmin Ribao's* Commentator (November 5). The Laotian people have made great advances and won many victories in their struggle for independence, peace, neutrality and national harmony, but a grave danger still exists in the Laotian situation. U.S. imperialism is stepping up its intervention against Laos, instigating and backing the Phoumi Nosavan rebel clique to divide Laos and spread the civil war and sparing no efforts to force the government of Prince Souvanna Phouma to give up its policy of peace, neutrality and national harmony.

Commentator notes that everything which has happened to harm the interests of the Laotian people since the restoration of peace in Indo-China in 1954 has been the result of instigation and scheming by U.S. imperialism. The ambition of U.S. imperialism is to turn Laos into a new kind of U.S. colony and military base, Commentator points out.

Having repeatedly failed in its schemes to stage a come-back of the reactionary forces by making use of the Nosavan clique to start a rebellion, U.S. imperialism is now seeking by every available means to step up intervention against Laos, Commentator declares. It continues to back the separatist activities of the Nosavan clique by providing it with large amounts of dollars and arms, and, in the name of "aiding" the Phouma government, is doing its utmost to obstruct negotiations between that government and the Neo Lao Haksat Party. It is undermining the Phouma government's policy of peace, neutrality and national harmony and preparing to overthrow that government whenever it deems necessary. Commentator, meanwhile, draws attention to the U.S.-instigated interventionist activities of the reactionary

Thai Government and the SEATO bloc against Laos.

Faced with increasingly brazen acts of aggression and intervention by U.S. imperialism and its accomplices, Commentator continues, the realization of Prince Souphanouvong's proposal will not only help to remove the grave crisis facing the Laotian nation but will also greatly facilitate the advancement of the cause of the Laotian people for peace, neutrality, independence, democracy, unification and prosperity. The post-independence history of Laos has shown that U.S. imperialism is the principal and most dangerous enemy of the state and nation of Laos, says Commentator. Only by uniting themselves to wage a resolute struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys can the Laotian patriotic forces and the broad masses of the Laotian people safeguard the national independence of Laos and defend that policy of peace, neutrality and national harmony for which the Laotian people have been striving for years.

Commentator concludes that the stand of the Neo Lao Haksat Party as announced by Prince Souphanouvong completely conforms to the interests and aspirations of the Laotian people and has won the enthusiastic support of patriotic Laotians of all sections. The "Committee for Peace, Neutrality, National Harmony and Unification" newly set up by representatives of various Laotian political parties and people's organizations and non-party individuals is proof of this. "We are convinced that as long as the Laotian patriotic forces unite, they will certainly be able to safeguard peace and neutrality, bring about national harmony and create conditions for the building of a peaceful, neutral, independent, democratic, unified and prosperous Laos."

## **Cuban People Are Invincible**

*Da Gong Bao* in a commentary (November 3) writes that U.S. imperialism is making frantic preparations for armed aggression against Cuba. The adventurist schemes, it declares, constitute a grave threat not only to the Cuban people, but also to

the Latin American peoples and to world peace.

The commentary points out that U.S. imperialism is acting in this frantic way not because of its strength, but because it has suffered ignominious defeats in Cuba. It has failed in all its plots against Cuba including the embargo and the U.S.-engineered counter-revolutionary invasion. Like a wild beast trapped, U.S. imperialism is becoming ever more frenzied and is resorting to naked war threats.

The Cuban people, who have rich experience in fighting U.S. imperialism, realize that they must oppose counter-revolutionary armed force with revolutionary armed force, the commentary states. Confronted with the danger of armed invasion by U.S. imperialism, the Cuban militia have been mobilized and the people throughout Cuba, while standing in combat readiness, are stepping up production so as to repulse any U.S. imperialist attack. Premier Castro has called on the people to cast away all illusions and to wage a resolute struggle. The Cuban people, high in morale and determined to defend their country, are a powerful force; they are invincible, says the commentary.

The Cuban people's revolutionary spirit, manifested in their courage to scorn U.S. imperialism, to struggle and strive for victory, has won the respect and support of all the Latin American peoples and the people the world over, declares the commentary. The world situation is becoming more and more favourable to the Cuban revolution. The Latin American peoples and all peace-loving people throughout the world stand on the side of the Cuban people, while U.S. imperialism is becoming more and more isolated. In their head-on struggle against U.S. imperialism in the past year and more, the Cuban people have won a series of great victories and they will, with the support of the peoples of Latin America and of the world, win yet bigger victories and crush the U.S. imperialist schemes of armed aggression. Should U.S. imperialism dare to attack Cuba in defiance of world opinion, it will be dealt a telling blow by the Cuban people; it will find itself surrounded and attacked by the peoples of Latin America and the whole world and suffer a still more ignominious defeat, the commentary concludes.



# MUSIC

## **Nieh Erh and Hsien Hsing-hai**

Nieh Erh and Hsien Hsing-hai were the pioneers of proletarian music in China. They and their work enjoy a deep popular love and regard. This imparted an especial warmth to the activities of the past two weeks commemorating the 25th and 15th anniversaries respectively of their deaths. In Peking, as elsewhere, there have been many concerts of their works both orchestral and vocal. The newly released film of Nieh Erh's life has been extensively shown and reviewed. Commemorative articles have been featured in the press. There have been affectionate personal reminiscences of old comrades-in-arms and friends throwing a revealing light on their life and their revolutionary work. Critical studies have paid tribute to their decisive contribution in opening the road to a new people's music in China.

The name of Nieh Erh (1912-35), of course, is today known to millions far beyond his homeland. His *March of the Volunteers* which did so much to inspire the nation in the fight for independence and freedom and which has become the national anthem of the Chinese People's Republic since 1949, is known to the world. It was he who for the first time succeeded in picturing in musical terms and from a proletarian standpoint, clearly, compellingly and with deep insight, the Chinese working class and the revolutionary masses. His music expressed the indomitable spirit of the Chinese



Hsien Hsing-hai

people in their struggle against imperialism. The more than 30 songs he wrote from 1933 to 1935 were a source of immense inspiration to the people at a time when China faced one of the gravest national crises in her history. They sounded out like a clarion call for resistance to the Japanese invaders. They were heard on all battle fronts.

Following the untimely death of Nieh Erh, it was Hsien Hsing-hai (1905-45) who became the standard-bearer of revolutionary music in China. His *Yellow River Cantata* won him worldwide fame. The great majority of his works composed during the decade 1935-45 reflected the anti-imperialist struggle in one way or another. His portrayals of the people and the heroic times in which he lived are more varied in form and wider in scope than those of his younger colleague. His works add up to a body of music of great power and depth. He wrote hundreds of songs, six cantatas and eight full-length symphonies.

Hsien Hsing-hai, like Nieh Erh, put his art at the service of proletarian politics; he strove to create a music with a national and popular style, and in this he succeeded brilliantly. The revolutionary spirit of these two men and their achievements, the artistic path they pioneered has become an integral part of the heritage of contemporary Chinese music. The importance of carrying forward that tradition was the common theme of recent speeches and writings dedicated to the two outstanding composers.

One of the highlights of Peking's commemorative activities was a concert jointly sponsored by the Ministry of Culture, the China Federation of Literary and Art Circles and the Union of Chinese Musicians. It featured Nieh Erh's short opera *Storm on the Yangtse* produced by the Central Experimental Opera Theatre, Hsien Hsing-hai's *Production Cantata* jointly produced by the Central National Music Ensemble, the Central Song and Dance Ensemble and the China Children's Theatre, and a number of the composers' most popular songs.

*Storm on the Yangtse*, China's first revolutionary opera, was the only opera composed by Nieh Erh. It was written in 1934 to a libretto by the playwright Tien Han. Its action, set in 1932 when the Japanese imperialists invaded Shanghai, dramatizes an episode on the Shanghai waterfront. Kuomintang reactionaries, in league



Nieh Erh

Linocuts by Chen Po-chien

with the enemy, are doing all they can to prevent the growth of the resistance movement led by the Communist Party. Gangsters and special agents are given the run of the docks, but their brutal attacks on patriots only lead to the spread and intensification of the struggle climaxing in the stevedores uniting to toss into the Yangtse River U.S. supplies sent to the Japanese invaders for use against the Chinese people.

This short work provided an unrivalled opportunity for studying the special features of Nieh Erh's creative method, particularly the way he used material taken from real life and developed it in musical terms. The melodies of *Song of the Stevedores*, *Song of the Road-Builders* and *The New Woman* came straight from the heart of the working people. Their note is clear, strong and intensely evocative. Today, 25 years after they were composed, they have lost none of their impact.

This opera was first performed in 1935 in Shanghai. Nieh Erh himself played the leading role, the old worker Chou Kuei-sheng, and the production, as many recall, was very moving. For the present performance, Tien Han has slightly revised the libretto, adding a few more incidents and incorporating into the score excerpts from some popular Nieh Erh songs.

The concert also presented Hsien Hsing-hai's *Production Cantata*, a combination of cantata, dance and drama which gives the work a unique style of its own. Folk melodies give it freshness and vitality that is of the

essence of the time when it was composed.

The first scene, *Sowing, and Fighting the Invaders*, shows the peasants in the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region in the midst of a big effort to raise a bumper harvest to reinforce its strength for victory against enemy attack and economic blockade. The music uses the well-known melodies of *In the Second Moon of the Year* and *Get Ready to Fight!*

The second scene depicts the harvesting. The women, besides looking after their poultry farms and cattle, are busy making winter clothes for soldiers at the front. Their menfolk gather in their crops and celebrate the good harvest; they sing of their confidence in resisting the aggressors and building the happy tomorrow in the liberated areas.

This cantata was written in 1939 in Yen-an, then the nerve centre of revolution, as part of the big production campaign launched throughout the liberated areas.

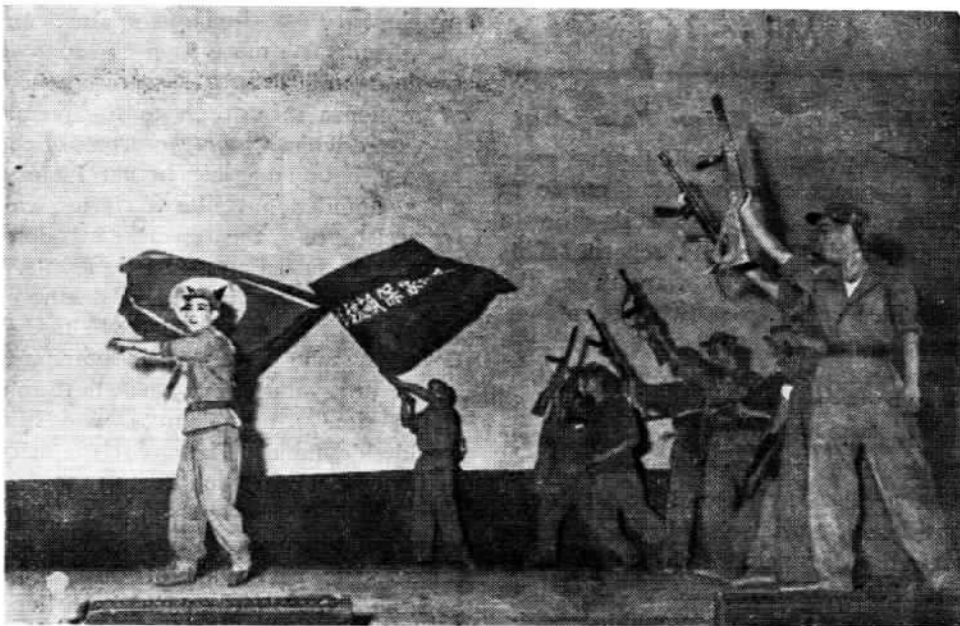
The third part of the concert consists of the *Trail Blazers* by Nieh Erh, the *National Salvation Army Song*, *On the Taihang Mountains*, and *Roar, Yellow River* by Hsien Hsing-hai, performed jointly by the Central Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra, Central Radio Chorus and the chorus of the People's Liberation Army Song and Dance Ensemble. Nieh Erh's *March of the Volunteers* brought the concert to an end. The whole hall joined to sing it and its notes recalled again those years of war, of the heroic resistance to and their defeat of the Japanese aggressor.

As Lu Chi, Chairman of the Union of Chinese Musicians said in an address before the concert: "Comrades Nieh Erh and Hsien Hsing-hai followed the road charted by the Party—they created music serving the revolution, and its politics and the workers, peasants and soldiers. This remains for ever the road to victory."

## THEATRE

### **Korean People's Army Ensemble**

Joining the activities commemorating the tenth anniversary of the entry of the Chinese People's Volunteers into the Korean war, a 200-member-strong Korean People's Army ensemble is now touring China. Their songs and



"Meeting on the Heights": The victorious K.P.A. and C.P.V. join forces

dances evoke vivid recollections of those historic days of struggle, suffering, heroism and victory that humbled the U.S. invaders.

In tribute to their Chinese comrades-in-arms, the ensemble opened its Peking premiere with the male-voice chorus *Song of the Chinese People's Volunteers*. The singing of this inspiring song, like the two that followed, *Full of Friendship* and *We Must Plant the Victorious Flag on Taiwan*, is a militant, full-throated statement of the fraternal friendship of the Korean people and their army for the Chinese people.

In the dance *Comrades-in-Arms*, the scene is a battlefield bathed in the light of blazing flames. A Korean is wounded, a Chinese Volunteer quickly rushes to his rescue; he too is hit. His Korean comrade seizes his rifle and repulses the enemy's onslaught. How many such episodes were witnessed in that epic struggle against imperialist aggression! The jubilant and just pride of the men who defeated the vaunted "might" of the U.S. aggressors is vividly portrayed in the dance *Meeting on the Heights*, a description of the victorious joining of forces of the K.P.A. and C.P.V. Told with directness and great spirit these and other warmly encoored dances make manifest the high revolutionary consciousness and exalted moral qualities of the men and women who fought imperialism in Korea, their revolutionary optimism, perseverance and confidence in the victory of their cause. Here is an artistic epitome of the

features of revolutionary fighters in a just people's war. It is in reflecting such great truths that revolutionary art grows. It is in this truthful approach to contemporary or historical events that the artistic creations of revolutionary realism derive their immense vitality and power of attraction.

Other songs and dances picture other aspects of the Korean people's past and present. *Wind and Snow*, a song from the suite *Anti-Japanese Guerrillas* and the dance *Heroes in the Forests* recall the early days of the anti-Japanese struggles of the Korean people's forces. *Orchard Harvest* and *Interlude on the Construction Site* with their buoyant rhythms reflect the spirit of the Korean people's winged-horse movement in socialist construction and the happiness of their busy, rewarding life today.

Revolutionary Korean art has evolved its own distinctive national character. This ensemble has the *élan*, the spirit of courage and grit that one expects of an army ensemble. In the male-voice *March to the Decisive Battlefield*, the lyrical *obbligato* is skilfully blended with the baritone and base rhythms. The *diminuendo falsetto* that ends *The Flying Dining Car* and the gradual *crescendo* in *Wind and Snow* testify to the excellence of the chorus' vocal technique and artistic imagination. Traditional West European vocal methods are successfully blended with Korea's own traditional methods and styles. In advancing boldly to new themes and subject matter the ensemble has thus success-

fully developed its own national heritage of song.

The artistry of the orchestral accompaniment contributed immensely to the success of the songs and dances. The same was true of the ensemble's national instrumental music. Its traditional orchestra has boldly introduced new artistic methods that creatively enrich and develop Korea's national musical heritage. This was well exemplified in the classical *Fan Dance*. Here the complete harmony between

music, dance and stage *décor* fully brought out the great lyric beauty of the original.

The male-voice chorus, the soprano An He Yung and International Youth Festival prize-winner dancer Hong Jung Hwa received repeated curtain calls.

That this ensemble so brilliantly projects the spirit of the Korean People's Army is because it is so closely associated with it. Established in 1948, its first members were, in fact, all

soldiers. The ensemble has since been a great help to the Korean Workers' Party's political and educational work in the army. During the war, its members fought against the U.S. invaders by giving performances to the K.P.A. and C.P.V. forces at the front-lines and also, when necessary, using their arms against the enemies. Today they teach and perform for the peace-time army and make regular tours as well to factories and rural areas.

## 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

▲ **MAN JIANG HONG** A historical opera set in Sung Dynasty times tells the story of the patriotic and highly respected national hero, Yo Fei. It describes how Yo Fei courageously leads his army against the Kin intruders and how the selfish and short-sighted emperor Kao Tsung and his scheming Prime Minister Chin Kuei, reluctant to fight the invaders, murder Yo Fei. Produced by the China Peking Opera Theatre.

Nov. 8 & 13, 7:00 p.m. Renmin Theatre

▲ **THE WOMEN GENERALS OF THE YANG FAMILY** A Sung Dynasty story about the famous women generals of the Yang family, She Tai Chun and her granddaughter-in-law Mu Kuei-ying who defeat the Hsia invaders. Produced by the China Peking Opera Theatre.

Nov. 9, 7:00 p.m. Renmin Theatre

▲ **YU TANG CHUN** A well-known opera based on the love story of the famous Ming courtesan, Yu Tang Chun. Produced by the China Peking Opera Theatre.

Nov. 10, 7:00 p.m. Renmin Theatre

▲ **LANTERN FESTIVAL STORY** A historical opera set in Ming times. A bully kills a man during the Lantern Festival but pins 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.

Nov. 11, 7:00 p.m. Renmin Theatre

### PINGJU OPERA

▲ **BY THE KINSHA RIVER** An episode from the famous Long March. It tells how the Red Army exposes a Kuomintang plot and unites in friendship with the Tibetans as it crosses the Tibetan region by the Kinsha River in 1936. Produced by the China Pingju Opera Theatre.

Nov. 8-13, 7:15 p.m. Da Zhong Theatre

### KUNQU OPERA

▲ **LEIFENG PAGODA** An opera adapted from the legendary love story, *The Tale of the White Snake*. Produced by the North Kunqu Opera Theatre.

Nov. 13, 7:15 p.m. Wu Dao Kou Club

### SHAOHSING OPERA

▲ **THE MAGIC LOTUS LANTERN** 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 Peking Shaohsing Opera Troupe.

Nov. 12-15, 7:15 p.m. Peking Workers' Club

### MODERN OPERA

▲ **STORM ON THE YANGTSE** An opera with libretto by Tien Han and music by Nieh Erh, produced by the Central Experimental Opera Theatre in commemoration of the 25th anniversary of the death of Nieh Erh as well as the 15th anniversary of the death of Hsien Hsing-hal. Its theme is the heroic struggle of the Shanghai stevedores against the Japanese invaders in 1932.

Nov. 8 & 9, 7:15 p.m. Tianqiao Theatre

### THEATRE

▲ **AESOP** A play by the Brazilian playwright Guillermo Figuereido, based on the life story of Aesop, the slave and clever teller of fables of ancient Greece. It reflects the struggle between slaves and slave-owners, and the determination of the slaves to die for freedom rather than live the life of slaves. Produced by the Peking People's Art Theatre.

Nov. 8 & 9, 7:15 p.m. Shoudu Theatre

▲ **IN THE NAME OF REVOLUTION** A famous Soviet play by M. Shatrov produced by the China Children's Theatre. It shows Lenin's care and concern for the young generation in the hard days of 1918.

Nov. 10-13, 7:15 p.m. Tianqiao Theatre

▲ **HOLDING THE LONG CORD IN OUR HANDS** A new play in six acts produced by the China Youth Art Theatre. It draws its name from Chairman Mao's famous lines: "Today we hold the long cord in our hands; When shall we bind fast the Grey Dragon?" (referring to the Japanese aggressors). It tells about the militiamen in an old liberated area concentrating on agricultural production while at the same time giving a good account of themselves as militiamen.

Nov. 8-10, 7:15 p.m. China Youth Art Theatre

### FILMS

▲ **ETERNAL FRIENDSHIP** Sian Film Studio production. A feature film dedicated to Sino-Soviet friendship. The life of a Soviet woman geologist is saved by a young Chinese surveyor, whose life in his childhood she herself saved when she served in the Soviet Army on the eve of victory in the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression.

Nov. 7-10, Da Hua, Jiao Dao Kou, Ertong

Nov. 11-16, Guang An Men, Zhongyang, Peking Workers' Club

▲ **FIGHT ON THE MARSHES** How the peasants in the liberated areas of northern Kiangsu fought the Kuomintang forces in 1946. Produced by the Shanghai Film Studio.

Nov. 7-10, Da Hua, Jiao Dao Kou, Ertong

Nov. 11-15, Shoudu Cinema, Xin Jie Kou, Peking Exhibition Centre Cinema

### — SOVIET FILM WEEK —

(Nov. 6-12)

Celebrating the 43rd

Anniversary of the Great October Revolution

▲ **STORIES ABOUT LENIN** Two episodes from Lenin's life. Lenin, on the eve of the October Revolution, outwits counter-revolutionary agents by disguising himself as a Finnish worker. Lenin in the last days of his life, when, despite his serious illness, he still insists on paying the closest attention to the direction of the revolution.

▲ **THE ULYANOV FAMILY** A feature film about the boyhood of Lenin.

▲ **THE MAN WITH THE GUN** A feature film adapted from the famous Soviet play of the same title by N.F. Pogodin.

▲ **WARRANT OFFICER PANIN** How a Bolshevik in the Russian navy in 1912 helped 13 comrades escape from a Tsarist prison.

▲ **THE VIBORG SIDE** From the famous *Maxim* trilogy. Maxim, a Bolshevik worker, after the victory of the October Revolution becomes a bank manager, and wages a resolute struggle against sabotage by the reactionary bourgeoisie.

▲ **TANYA** Based on the moving story of the heroic Soviet girl Zoya who sacrificed her young life in defence of her motherland during the fascist invasion.

▲ **AN ORDINARY SOLDIER** Adapted from the popular novel of the same title. The life story of Matrosov, young hero of the anti-fascist war.

▲ **ON THE WILD BANKS OF THE IRTYSH** A feature film portraying the indomitable spirit of the Soviet people in communist construction.

▲ **THE WARM HEART** A story of the enthusiasm of an inventive Soviet worker. In colour.

▲ **THE GIRL FROM KIEV** The life, work and love of a Soviet girl. In colour.

(All these Soviet films are dubbed in Chinese and will be showing in all the major cinemas in Peking.)

### EXHIBITIONS

▲ **PHOTO EXHIBITION OF THE SOVIET UNION IN CONSTRUCTION** Open daily 1:00-6:00 p.m.

At the Sino-Soviet Friendship Hall

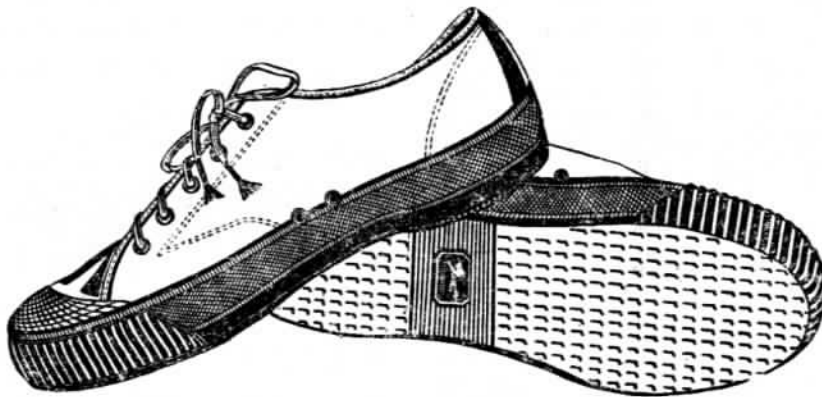
▲ **EXHIBITION OF CUBAN GRAPHIC ART** Open daily (except Mon.) 9:00 a.m.-5:00 p.m. till Nov. 14.

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