

PEKING REVIEW

1

January 3, 1964

Continue the Triumphant Advance

China's achievements in 1963 and tasks in 1964 (p. 6).

Common Ideology, Common Cause

Renmin Ribao hails Premier Chou En-lai's visit to fraternal Albania
(p. 8).

Premier Chou En-lai in Algeria And Morocco

Reports and documents (pp. 28-38).

FIGHTING TASK OF WORKERS IN PHILOSOPHY AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

Speech by Chou Yang, Vice-Director of the Propaganda
Department of the Central Committee of the C.P.C.
(p. 10).

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A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

PEKIN INFORMA

Now A Weekly

From January 1964, *Pekin Informa* (fortnightly Spanish edition of *Peking Review*) will be published weekly. The price of single copies will remain unchanged, but subscription rates will be doubled. The old rates will, however, continue to apply to all overseas subscriptions placed before February 1, 1964. The old 1-year subscription rate is as follows:

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PEKING REVIEW

北京周報

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE
NEWS AND VIEWS

January 3, 1964 Vol. VII No. 1

CONTENTS

THE WEEK	3
ARTICLES AND DOCUMENTS	
Continue the Triumphant Advance — <i>Renmin Ribao</i> Editorial	6
Militant Friendship and Great Unity — <i>Renmin Ribao</i> Editorial	8
The Fighting Task Confronting Workers in Philosophy and the Social Sciences — Chou Yang	10
Premier Chou En-lai's visit to Algeria and Morocco — Our Correspondent	28
Sino-Algerian Joint Communiqué	31
Sino-Moroccan Joint Communiqué	33
African People's Example of Daring to Wage Armed Struggle and Seize Victory — Premier Chou En-lai's Speech	34
Premier Chou En-lai's Press Conference	37
Premier Chou En-lai on the Growing Friendship Between the Chinese and African Peoples	38
ACROSS THE LAND	42
ART	44
ROUND THE WORLD	45

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January 3, 1964

THE WEEK

Among the major events of the week:

- The Chinese people celebrated a happy New Year, buoyed by notable achievements in all spheres of national life in 1963 and all set for even greater successes in 1964.

- Premier Chou En-lai is visiting fraternal Albania after visits to Algeria and Morocco.

Premier Chou will visit Tunisia this month. Diplomatic relations will be established between China and Tunisia. Premier Chou will also visit Ghana, Mali and Guinea.

- Peking and other major cities celebrated the 5th anniversary of the victory of the Cuban revolution.

- The nation's leading newspapers carried a report entitled "The Fighting Task Confronting Workers in Philosophy and the Social Sciences" made recently by Chou Yang, Deputy Director of the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, at the fourth enlarged conference of the Committee of the Department of Philosophy and Social Sciences under the Chinese Academy of Sciences.

- The Chinese press reprinted:

- an article carried by the Albanian paper *Zeri i Popullit* entitled "The Moscow Statement — the Ever-Triumphant Banner of the Anti-Imperialist and Anti-Revisionist Struggle."

- an article carried in the Indonesian paper *Harian Rakjat* entitled "The Moscow Statement and the Asian, African and Latin American Revolution."

- an article by R. Nunes, Member of the Political Committee of the New Zealand Communist Party, refuting revisionist ideas on the state. The article appeared in the October issue of *New Zealand Communist Review*.

- a political report by D.N. Aidit, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party, on the Party's activities in domestic and international affairs and its new tasks and on Party building. It was made on December 23 at a meeting of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party.

Premier Chou En-lai in Tirana

Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China and Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, accompanied by Marshal Chen Yi, Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister and Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, arrived in Tirana on December 31 for a friendship visit at the invitation of Mehmet Shehu, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania and Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of

Labour. He was given a warm welcome at the airport by Enver Hoxha, Haxhi Lleshi, Mehmet Shehu and other leaders of the Albanian Party and Government.

Premier Chou's visit gave added zest to Tirana's New Year celebrations. He brought with him the greetings and best wishes of the Chinese Communist Party, Government and people for the Albanian people.

A great crowd welcomed the Chinese guests at the airport. Portraits of Mao Tse-tung and Enver Hoxha decorated the main airport building.



Enver Hoxha warmly greets Chou En-lai at the airport

Over it, gay with flags, was a giant streamer with the words in Chinese: "Dear Friends, Welcome!"

Premier Chou's plane was escorted in by four jet fighters of the Albanian People's Army. As soon as he alighted, Enver Hoxha, Haxhi Lleshi, Mehmet Shehu and other Albanian leaders went forward to greet him, warmly embracing him according to Albanian national custom. Then a group of Young Pioneers presented bouquets to him and the other members of his party.

In his welcoming speech at the airport, Mehmet Shehu greeted Premier Chou and his colleagues as comrades-in-arms and brothers. "Your visit is a most precious New Year's gift to the Albanian people," he said. "Your visit brings boundless joy and inspiration to all Albania!" Referring to the great unity and militant friendship between the Chinese and Albanian peoples, he said: "The Albanian people and their Party of Labour are proud to have such a great people as the Chinese people and such a great Party as the Chinese Communist Party as their allies. The Chinese people are great primarily because the struggle they wage for freedom and independence and for peace and socialism is great, and because the contributions they have made to human history are great."

Speaking of the struggle against imperialism and revisionism and to

uphold world peace, Mehmet Shehu said: "The Chinese Communist Party is great primarily because the struggle it wages for the triumph of Marxist-Leninist ideology is great and because the contributions it has made to the history of the international communist movement are great." Praising the Chinese Communist Party for holding high the banners of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin which the modern revisionists had abandoned and for waging a courageous and highly principled struggle in defence of Marxism-Leninism, Mehmet Shehu

continued: "The Chinese Communist Party has become the greatest insurmountable obstacle to the modern revisionists, has become a loyal, the principal and staunchest fighter in defence of the unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement and an inspiring revolutionary example for all Marxist-Leninists in the world."

Premier Chou, in his speech, paid tribute to the Albanian people who, he declared, under the wise leadership of the Albanian Party of Labour headed by Comrade Hoxha, were successfully building socialism and staunchly guarding the southwestern outpost of the socialist camp, carrying aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Said the Chinese Premier: "In the struggle against imperialism and for world peace, in the struggle against modern revisionism and in defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism, and in their socialist revolution and socialist construction, the Chinese and Albanian Parties, their countries and their peoples have always encouraged and learnt from each other, supported and helped each other and have built up their great friendship and fighting solidarity. In the interest of the revolutionary cause of the international proletariat and of world peace, it is undoubtedly of great significance to consolidate and develop constantly the solidarity and friendship of our two Parties, two countries and two



Tirana accords the Chinese Premier a rousing welcome

peoples." The Premier expressed the conviction that his visit would contribute to the further strengthening of this revolutionary friendship.

Following the airport ceremony, Chou En-lai, accompanied by Enver Hoxha and Mehmet Shehu, and Chen Yi, accompanied by Hysni Kapo and Beqir Balluku, drove to the state guest house—the Partisan Palace. They passed through a city festively decorated with flags and bunting. Across the streets were strung streamers bearing slogans in Chinese and Albanian: "Long live the unbreakable friendship between Albania and China!" and "Long live the Chinese Communist Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung!" All along the way, tens of thousands of people lined the roads to cheer their guests, waving the national flags of the two countries, holding high the portraits of leaders of the two nations and singing and dancing to the accompaniment of folk music. At the centre of the city—the square named after Skanderbeg, the Albanian national hero—a group of Albanian artists dressed in bright and colourful national costumes presented bouquets to Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi.

On the evening of their first day in Tirana Premier Chou and Vice-Premier Chen paid a call on the Albanian leaders and had a most cordial and friendly talk with them.

Cuba's Liberation Anniversary

In their messages to Cuban leaders, Chairman Mao Tse-tung and other Chinese leaders warmly greeted the 5th anniversary of the victory of the Cuban revolution.

The anniversary which fell on New Year's Day was celebrated throughout China with a full ten-day programme centred round the theme of Sino-Cuban friendship. Sponsored by 14 mass organizations, the celebrations began on December 27. Among the varied activities were meetings and get-togethers, an exhibition of paintings by the artist Shao Yu and a talk over the radio by Vice-Minister of Culture Hsu Kuang-hsiao, both of whom recently returned from a visit to Cuba. All the leading newspapers published editorials and a special set of commemorative stamps was issued marking the occasion. While a Chinese delegation left for Cuba to attend the festivities there, a Cuban delega-

tion headed by Gustavo Mazorra arrived in Peking to participate in the anniversary celebrations here.

It was five years ago, on January 1, 1959, that the Cuban people led by Fidel Castro overthrew the Batista regime, which was backed to the hilt by U.S. imperialism, and established the people's democratic political power. Then, having completed the tasks of their national-democratic revolution, they forged ahead along the road of socialist revolution. The past five years were no ordinary years for the heroic Cuban people. They stood firm against economic blockade, blackmail and threats, sabotage and subversive activities and even invasion by U.S. imperialism and its flunkies; they successfully defended their country and safeguarded the fruits of their revolution. Cuba's revolution will go down in history as an event of world importance, as a resounding victory in the struggle against U.S. imperialism—bulwark of world reaction today.

Peking Rally

The impact of the Cuban revolution cannot be overestimated. This was underscored in the speeches made at the mass rally held on December 30 in Peking. This climaxed the round of activities in the capital to celebrate Cuba's liberation anniversary and demonstrate solidarity with the Cuban people.

Ten thousand people gathered in Peking's Great Hall of the People. Chu Teh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress; Ho Lung, Vice-Premier; and other Chinese leaders attended. When they appeared on the rostrum with members of the Cuban Friendship Delegation led by Gustavo Mazorra, Cuban Ambassador Oscar Pino Santos and his wife and other Cuban guests, they were given a standing ovation. The hall echoed with the singing of Cuban revolutionary songs, the popular Chinese song *Workers of All Lands, Unite!* and the chant of "Cuba si, Yanquis no!"

Kuo Mo-jo, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, delivered the main speech at the rally. He paid tribute to the Cuban Revolutionary Government led by Premier Fidel Castro, and to the heroic Cuban people. "The victory of the Cuban revolution," he said,

"is a great event of world significance. It has dealt telling blows against U.S. imperialist rule in Latin America, set a brilliant example for the Latin American people in their national-democratic revolution, and greatly inspired the oppressed peoples and nations throughout the world in their struggle for liberation." He stressed that the Cuban revolution was a victory for armed revolution over armed counter-revolution. He recalled that the Cuban insurgent army, starting with only 12 revolutionary pioneers and seven rifles, grew and became stronger in the hard, protracted fighting. This brilliant revolutionary example, he declared, "is like a beacon in the dark; it has lit the road ahead for the Latin American people."

Gustavo Mazorra addressed the rally and his news of the great achievements of the Cuban people, under the leadership of Premier Fidel Castro, in the struggle against U.S. imperialism and to build a new life was received with thunderous applause. He cited many facts to show that U.S. imperialism had used every kind of criminal means against Cuba. He declared: "U.S. imperialism is bent on strangling the Cuban people, torpedoing their revolution and destroying their achievements because it fears the inevitable revolution of the Latin American people and the liberation of the over 200 million people enslaved by it." Referring to China's support and aid to Cuba, he said: "To the Cubans, the name of China is a symbol of the best friendship and a proof of proletarian internationalism."

Cuban Ambassador Oscar Pino Santos hailed the great significance of the meeting. He said that despite the distance between China and Cuba the two peoples were closely united by their common struggle and common ideal—to oppose imperialism and build socialism.

Meetings celebrating the Cuban anniversary and supporting the Cuban people were also held in all the major cities in the country.

Greeting 1964

The nation happily greeted the dawn of a New Year—1964.

The Chinese people bade farewell to 1963 with pride and satisfaction in the

(Continued on p. 9.)

Continue the Triumphant Advance

Following is an abridged translation of "Renmin Ribao's" New Year editorial. Subheads are ours.—Ed.

THE year 1963 has passed. Full of joy and confidence, the Chinese people of various nationalities are ushering in the new year of 1964.

Guided by the general line of going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism, the Chinese people expended tremendous efforts during the past year to carry forward the country's socialist revolution and socialist construction, and won brilliant successes. China's national economic plans for 1963 were completely fulfilled and overfulfilled. Development above the previous year was registered to varying degrees in agriculture, industry, communications and transport, capital construction, commerce, finance, science, culture, education and national defence. China's national economy began to show an all-round turn for the better.

1963 — Year of Great Victory

The past year was one of great victories for the Chinese people in continuing to carry through the general policy of developing the national economy with agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor. A host of facts has given further proof that this general policy is correct. Guided by it we were able to bring more fully into play the great might of the collective economy of the rural people's communes, while mobilizing more manpower, materials and money from all quarters to aid agricultural production. As a result, China's agricultural productive forces have been developed rapidly. This in turn has provided favourable conditions for the further growth of industry.

Last year saw increases in both the output of grain and of industrial crops. The increases in the output of the major industrial crops—cotton, hemp, tobacco and sugar-bearing plants—were particularly marked. Big increases were also obtained in livestock and poultry. Last year's increases in agricultural production, as in previous years, were achieved in struggles against natural calamities caused by grave drought in parts of the south and grave waterlogging in parts of the north. The ability of the rural people's communes to fight against natural calamities was greatly enhanced. This accounted for the bumper harvests wrested in some areas that suffered from serious drought, such as the Pearl River Delta, and some areas affected by serious waterlogging, such as the suburban areas around Peking. The fact that many areas were able to protect their crops and ensure stable production and high yields despite drought or waterlogging last year is cause for rejoicing.

Last year was a year in which China achieved even more marked success in carrying out the policy of

"readjustment, consolidation, filling out and raising standards" on the industrial front and in which industry took a big step forward along the path of switching over to taking agriculture as the foundation. Great efforts were made by all industrial departments according to the needs of the technical transformation of agriculture and their own potential, and notable achievements were made. Among these, the output of chemical fertilizers went up by 39 per cent, that of agricultural machinery, more than 20 per cent and rural consumption of electric power by 30 per cent.

In the new year, we shall further carry through the general policy of taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor in developing the national economy. This means that the collective economy of the rural people's communes should be further strengthened and both production and capital construction in farming, forestry, animal husbandry, side occupations and fishery raised to a new level with aid from all over the country. It is especially important to select a number of areas with favourable conditions and to concentrate great resources on developing there such capital construction as farmland irrigation projects. The purpose is to extend gradually the area of farmland on which crops are protected, and output stable and high yielding irrespective of drought or waterlogging and thus to provide, within a comparatively short period, a more reliable guarantee for the basic needs of the Chinese people for food and cotton. This is the most important task in construction confronting the Chinese people. Development in the fields of industry, finance, banking, science, culture, education and health must be adapted to this great task and work arranged accordingly.

New Successes for Self-Reliance Policy

The past year was one of new and great victories for the Chinese people in carrying through the policy of relying on their own efforts in building socialism. All industrial production grew steadily. It is particularly encouraging that the past year was marked by the greatest and the quickest improvement ever in the quality of products, by the biggest increase in the variety of products and by the sharpest rise in the rate of self-sufficiency in important raw and semi-processed materials, fuel and important machinery and equipment. The quality of about 70 per cent of the major products improved; the number of new products successfully trial manufactured exceeded the total for the previous two years. China is now in the main self-sufficient in meeting its needs in petroleum products, and the time when China had to live on imported "foreign oil" will soon be gone for ever. All this shows that the technique of China's industrial production has attained new levels. China's ability to build an independent, comprehensive, and modern national economic system by relying on her own efforts has become greater.

At the same time, China not only achieved a balanced budget in revenue and expenditure but even had a small surplus last year, thanks to the implementation of the policy of self-reliance and building up the country industriously and thriftily. China has repaid by far the largest part of the loans obtained from the Soviet Union and the accrued interest. Market conditions in China have improved markedly. The supply of all basic consumer goods for the over 600 million working people is guaranteed. China will very soon become a country free of both foreign and internal debts.

1964 Tasks

In the new year we will continue to carry out the policy of self-reliance. We must bring the wisdom and talent of the more than 600 million people into full play, use our natural resources to the fullest advantage, develop the revolutionary spirit of breaking down fetishes and liberating our minds, combine great revolutionary vigour with the scientific attitude of seeking truth from facts, and try by every possible method to turn out what we have not been able to produce, improve the quality of products that are not good enough and increase the output of products produced in small quantities. It is particularly important to concentrate our efforts and step up scientific experiments to solve the key problems in current production as well as those in the latest science and technology, so as to raise China's industry and science and technology to higher levels.

All the Chinese people should continue to develop the fine traditions of plain living and hard struggle and of building the country with industry and thrift and run all enterprises, undertakings, people's communes and households with industry and thrift. They should continue to carry forward the movement to increase production and practise economy, to accumulate more funds for the country's construction, to achieve the maximum economic results from every state appropriation and to make the policy of self-reliance yield still more fruitful results.

The movement of socialist education stressing class consciousness which began in the vast countryside and in the cities last year is a movement of the ideological revolution of great historic significance in which hundreds of millions of people took part voluntarily. It is a great revolutionary movement of re-educating the people in proletarian, socialist ideology and uniting the mass of cadres and the mass of the people to struggle against class enemies and nature. Wherever the movement of socialist education has been carried out, the socialist consciousness of the cadres and the masses has risen considerably and blows have been dealt at the remnant forces of capitalism and feudalism. The unity among the workers, peasants, intellectuals and other working people in China as well as the unity among the various nationalities, the democratic parties and patriotic elements has been further strengthened. This excellent political situation is a decisive factor in bringing about the beginning of an all-round improvement in China's national economy.

In the new year, the socialist education movement should be carried forward both in depth and scope. This should be done step by step and group by group. Cadres at all levels should take part in this movement in an or-

ganized and planned way. While helping with the work at the basic level, they should draw upon lessons together with the masses and thereby help raise their own political level.

Ideological and Political Work

Doing ideological and political work in the basic units still better is of very great significance for the smooth fulfilment of the various tasks in the socialist revolution and socialist construction. Experience has shown that in a unit where ideological and political work is well done and the red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking is held high, the political enthusiasm and initiative in production of the cadres and masses is brought into full play and excellent work results.

In the new year, all departments and all regions throughout the country must strengthen their ideological and political work and in particular do this work well at the basic level. Ideological and political work means revolutionizing man, arming man's thinking with socialist and communist ideology, arming it with Mao Tse-tung's thinking, the integration of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with concrete reality in China. Politics is the commander and soul. By doing ideological and political work well, doing it by means of living examples and dealing concretely with individuals, a change will be effected in the people's mental outlook and lofty communist ethics and social customs will be gradually fostered. In this respect, the whole nation should learn from the experience of the People's Liberation Army which has a splendid tradition in political work. Conservative thinking, such as self-complacency and arrogance and getting into a rut, should be opposed. Efforts should be made modestly to learn from the advanced experience of other areas, departments and units. In ideological and political work, it is necessary to commend advanced examples with great publicity, and unfold the movement to emulate the advanced, learn from them and overtake them, and assist those lagging behind. It is necessary to bring into full play the revolutionary heroism of going all out and aiming high, in order that the cadres and the masses will be full of vigour and vitality, daring to tackle all kinds of difficulties, able to do more, and do it quicker, better and economically, scaling one summit after another.

The Chinese people are full of confidence when they look ahead at the beginning of this new year. Across the vast territory from Heilungkiang to Hainan Island and from the Kunlun Mountains to the shore of the East China Sea, everywhere there is a heartening picture of prosperity. A new upsurge in agricultural production is emerging and developing in many places, and on the front of industry and communications, an emulation drive is developing in greater scope and depth.

Favourable International Situation

Internationally, the whole situation is very favourable to the Chinese people. In the past year, the revolutionary people of the world have won great victories in the sharp struggles against imperialism headed by the United States. The strength of the socialist camp has continued to grow. The national and democratic revolutionary movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America have continued to develop with an irresistible momentum. The struggles of the

working class and other working people in the capitalist countries of Western Europe, North America and Australasia against the domination by monopoly capital have become broader and sharper. On the other hand, the difficulties in the imperialist camp have increased day by day. The contradictions among the imperialist countries, particularly the struggle between the United States and the West European countries have intensified to an unprecedented degree. Imperialism is disintegrating; U.S. imperialism is falling on still harder times. Revisionism, which is an offshoot of the policies of imperialism, has become increasingly exposed in all its ugliness as betraying Marxism-Leninism, repudiating proletarian internationalism, opposing revolution and serving as an apologist for imperialism and colonialism. The plots of the imperialists, reactionaries of all countries and modern revisionists to isolate China have gone bankrupt one after another. In both socialist construction and international affairs our country has received powerful support from the people of all the socialist countries and all the peace-loving nations and people in the world. We have friends all over the world.

In this favourable domestic and international situation, the people of our country must continue marching forward from the victory already won. We must hold aloft the brilliant banner of the general line for building socialism and further carry out the three revolutionary movements—class struggle, struggle for production and scientific experiment. We should work in accordance with the requirements arising from basing the whole national

economy on self-reliance, overcome all difficulties in our forward march and do our work well in all fields, so as to bring into being a further, all-round improvement in the national economy, and continue to strive for building up an independent, comprehensive and modern national economy.

In our international activities, we must continue to hold high the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, strive to uphold and strengthen the unity of the international communist movement and the socialist camp on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and resolutely oppose modern revisionism and modern dogmatism. We must actively support the revolutionary struggles of all the oppressed people and nations. We must resolutely oppose the policies of war and aggression of imperialism headed by the United States, safeguard world peace, and further develop our friendly relations with all peace-loving countries on the basis of the Five Principles.

We are firmly convinced that under the brilliant leadership of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung and guided by the general line, the people of all nationalities of our country will unite still more closely, work hard to build the country with industry and thrift and by self-reliance, and make the country prosperous by their energetic efforts. They will undoubtedly achieve still more glorious feats on all fronts of the country's socialist revolution and socialist construction, and win still greater victories in the cause of opposing imperialism, defending world peace and striving for the progress of mankind.

Militant Friendship and Great Unity

Following is a translation of the December 31, 1963, "Renmin Ribao" editorial "We Are Closely Linked Together By a Common Ideology and a Common Cause." Sub-heads are ours.—Ed.

TODAY, at the invitation of Comrade Mehmet Shehu, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania and Member of the Political Bureau of the Albanian Party of Labour, Comrade Chou En-lai, Chinese Premier and Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party left Morocco by air for Tirana on a friendship visit to Albania. He is accompanied by Marshal Chen Yi, Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister and Member of the Political Bureau of the Chinese Party's Central Committee. This is a great event in the political life of the Chinese and Albanian peoples.

Albania Has Friends All Over the World

The Albanians are a heroic people. They have a glorious revolutionary tradition of their own. Like what the Chinese people had suffered in the past, the Albanian people suffered untold hardships in the long years before the revolution. In the footsteps of the fallen they have fought many heroic battles against reactionaries at home and foreign aggressors. At long last, after toppling the

rule of the forces of reaction, both domestic and foreign, the Albanian people, under the correct leadership of the long-tested Albanian Party of Labour headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, have recorded a series of victories written in glistening gold letters in their socialist revolution and socialist construction.

Before the revolution Albania had no modern industry and its agriculture was backward. Today, standing firmly on the Adriatic Sea is an Albania with a developed industry and a collectivized agriculture, a prosperous and socialist Albania. This is all the more admirable since the Albanian people gained these after travelling a rugged but glorious road of struggle. Geographically, they are surrounded by the enemies; besides facing a blockade by a hostile imperialism, they are also confronted with many difficulties created by the Tito clique of Yugoslavia. In recent years in particular, the modern revisionists have been applying great pressure on the Albanian people in the political, economic, military and other fields. But the revolutionary will of the great Albanian people, who would rather die on their feet than live on their knees, and their determination to forge ahead towards socialism are something that no pressure of any kind, nor blackmail nor blockade, can check. One evidence of this is that Albania's industrial production in 1963 rose 21 per cent compared with 1960; agricultural production is

estimated to have had a 37 per cent increase. This valiant, stubborn fighting spirit of the Albanian people, this dauntless revolutionary courage of theirs have won the respect of the revolutionary people throughout the world.

Today, great Albania is the eagle guarding the south-western outpost of the socialist camp. The Albanian Government and people, resolutely preserving and strengthening friendship and co-operation between the peoples in the socialist camp and firmly opposing the policies of aggression and war of imperialism headed by the United States, energetically supporting the national-liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America, have played an important role and have made outstanding contributions in defending world peace and promoting mankind's progress. However hostile the imperialists and modern revisionists may be, and however viciously they may curse Albania, the People's Republic of Albania is increasingly making its influence felt in the world and its international prestige is waxing with each passing day. The Albanian people have friends all over the world.

Sino-Albanian Comradeship-in-Arms

The revolutionary red banner of socialist Albania is flying over the Adriatic Sea. The Albanian Party of Labour is the bearer of this standard. It is a Party which has been steeled in the flames of struggle and has established close ties with the people. Applying Marxism-Leninism to the reality of Albania, it furnishes valuable experience in building socialism while surrounded and threatened by the imperialists and modern revisionists. The Party stands in the van of the struggle against modern revisionism, determinedly defends the purity of Marxism-Leninism, staunchly upholds the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement, thus setting for Communists throughout the world a brilliant example of persevering in truth, unity and struggle. As Comrade Hoxha has put it, the Albanian Party of Labour "has carried on and is developing still more the finest traditions of our heroic people, i.e., valour, courage and indomitability in the struggle for realizing their aims and overcoming difficulties, hatred

for the enemy, steadfast loyalty to and respect for their genuine friends, admiration and ardent love of truth." The Albanian Party of Labour faithfully defends at all times and under all circumstances the interests of the Albanian people as well as the revolutionary people of the world, and has honourably carried out its own internationalist duties. The Chinese people are infinitely proud of such a comrade-in-arms.

Although living far from one another, China and Albania are linked closely by the common ideology of Marxism-Leninism and the common cause of socialist revolution and construction. Our two peoples have always supported and helped each other and co-operated closely in the struggle against imperialism, against modern revisionism and for the defence of world peace and in the cause of building socialism. Especially in the last few years, the two countries have greatly strengthened their ties and co-operation in the political, economic, cultural and other spheres. The unity and friendship of the two peoples have become more solid than ever. The Albanian people have consistently and resolutely supported our people's just struggle to liberate Taiwan, firmly backed the restoration to China its legitimate rights in the United Nations and support our correct stand on the Sino-Indian boundary question and other important issues. The Chinese people treasure the fraternal support of the Albanian people and thank them for it. As comrades-in-arms through thick and thin, the Chinese and Albanian peoples will always stand united, no matter what storms may arise. High mountains may be levelled and deep seas filled, but no force on earth can shake the two peoples' friendship and unity built on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The Chinese people are turning their eyes to Premier Chou En-lai's visit to Albania with joy and exaltation. The Chinese government and Party leaders will bring the friendship and regards of the 650 million people to the heroic Albanian people, our close brothers far off on the Adriatic Sea. We are confident that as a result of this visit, the militant friendship and great unity of the Chinese and Albanian peoples will become ever closer and more solid.

THE WEEK

(Continued from p. 5.)

year's achievements in all phases of national life.

In Peking coloured banners and bunting fluttered in the wind, palace lanterns and festive arches decorated many public buildings, factories, schools and offices. On the city's main shopping streets, the show windows, decorated specially for the festival, made a gay and gorgeous sight. Everywhere the words "Happy New Year" in traditional red greeted the eye.

The well-stocked stores did a roaring trade. There was the usual spending spree for the New Year festivities. The food markets, in particular, were

crowded from dawn to dusk, with people buying delicacies for family dinners on New Year's Eve and New Year's Day. As in other cities there was an abundance of meat, poultry, fish, eggs, fresh vegetables and fruit from which housewives could choose. Members of the people's communes on the city's outskirts excelled themselves by supplying from their greenhouses tomatoes, cucumbers, cauliflowers and other green vegetables not usually available in cold weather.

The people, young and old, had a most happy time and public halls, cinemas and theatres, where there was a big programme of films and theatrical performances by both professional and amateur troupes, were thronged.

There were special competitions and invitation matches for sports fans. And, of course, there were many parties and get-togethers where families and friends were reunited.

Vice-Premier Fetes Foreign Guests

Vice-Premier Li Fu-chun gave a New Year banquet on December 30 to specialists from 48 countries helping in China's socialist construction. It was a memorable gathering in the brightly lit banquet hall of the Great Hall of the People, with the host and the foreign specialists and their families toasting the unity of the people of the socialist camp, of the international communist movement and of the people of the whole world.

The Fighting Task Confronting Workers In Philosophy and the Social Sciences

Speech at the Fourth Enlarged Session of the Committee of the Department
Of Philosophy and Social Science of the Chinese Academy of
Sciences Held on October 26, 1963

by CHOU YANG

PHILOSOPHY and the social sciences constitute an important front in the ideological struggle. In the present domestic and international situation, what should be our function on this front and what tasks should we undertake?

A great debate of world historic significance is now going on in the international communist movement between revolutionary Marxist-Leninists and modern revisionists. This debate, which has attracted worldwide attention, has a vital bearing on the future of the world revolution and the destiny of mankind.

While terming their own pronouncements "a remarkable model of the creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory," the modern revisionists call true Marxist-Leninists "dogmatists" and "pseudo-revolutionaries" and level preposterous attacks against them. Who are the true Marxist-Leninists, and who are the false Marxist-Leninists? Who are the genuine revolutionaries, and who are the pseudo-revolutionaries? These questions are posed to every revolutionary party, every revolutionary and every thinking person, compelling them to give close attention to the debate and to think over, study and weigh the issues carefully, so as to distinguish truth from falsehood and decide on what path to follow.

Together with all other revolutionary people and parties in the world, the Communist Party of China stands firmly in the forefront of the fight against imperialism and is waging a tit-for-tat struggle against the modern revisionists who willingly serve imperialism. By its irrefutable arguments in "A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement," the Central Committee of our Party has defended Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary spirit of the 1957 Moscow Declaration and the 1960 Moscow Statement.

The socialist revolution continues to develop in depth in our country, and a nationwide socialist education movement is being unfolded. Our people have overcome many difficulties, achieved great successes and accumulated rich experience in socialist construction. Facts have confirmed and will continue to confirm the correctness of our Party's general line for socialist construction and the policy of self-reliance and also the invincible might of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theories on our country's socialist revolution and socialist construction. All the aspiring revolu-

tionary people who have awakened rejoice over our achievements and place great hopes on the Chinese people.

In these circumstances, it is obvious that we workers in philosophy and social science will achieve nothing unless we actively participate in the great struggles against modern revisionism and for socialist revolution and socialist construction. We should actively and systematically refute modern revisionism on the academic front and carry on the revolution on the ideological front and the building of the ideological superstructure of socialism, so as to serve our socialist revolution and socialist construction on the political and economic fronts.

As ideology, both philosophy and social science are part of the superstructure of society and, together with the natural sciences, serve the socialist economic base and the revolutionary political struggle in China. It will not do unless they serve the economic base or the current political struggle. Politics is the concentrated expression of economics. As soon as he became a dialectical materialist, Marx grew dissatisfied with Feuerbach's philosophical theories, divorced as they were from politics. He pointed out that contemporary philosophy could become true only when combined with politics. "Theory is only actualized in a nation in so far as it is the actualization of the nation's needs." ("Introduction to *Critique of the Hegelian Philosophy of Law*," *Collected Works of Marx and Engels*, German ed., Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1958, Vol. I, p.386.) In the words of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, "The fate of philosophy depends on the extent to which it meets the needs of social classes." That is to say, theory must meet the needs of the times before it can play a positive role, influence millions of people, become a material force and help to change the face of the world. Only thus can our ideological front become a truly militant, vigorous and revolutionary one.

This means that our workers in philosophy and social science must actively join in the struggle against modern revisionism, study Marxism-Leninism anew, and raise the banner of criticism in every branch of ideology. Without destruction there will be no construction; without the defeat of the old the new will not prevail. This is the law of development in theory and science. Unless

revisionism is defeated, unless this adverse current is checked, Marxism-Leninism cannot be strengthened or developed. Marx said in his early years that "the superiority of the new trend lies precisely in the fact that we do not anticipate the future dogmatically but wish to find the new world in criticizing the old." ("Marx to A. Ruge, September 1843," *Works of Marx and Engels*, German ed., Berlin, Vol. I, p.344.) The whole value of Marx's theory lies in the fact that it is critical and revolutionary in its essence.

It means that we must earnestly learn from Comrade Mao Tse-tung and skilfully apply the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method to the study of the problems and lessons of our revolution and construction, to the study of the problems and lessons of the people's revolutions throughout the world and to the study of our own history and world history, and that we must give priority to the study of current problems in our research work. Academic research will become lifeless if it loses its close links with current struggles. Partiality for the classical combined with contempt for the modern would lead our research work astray.

It means that in the course of struggle we must train and temper a contingent of combat-worthy Marxist-Leninist theorists who can stand up to storm and stress, so as to provide a strong backbone and nucleus for the ranks of philosophy and social science.

This is what the current revolutionary struggle demands and what the people of our country and the world expect of us. This is the fighting task confronting us, a task we cannot shirk.

Together with the whole Chinese people, our workers in philosophy and social science have taken part in our country's socialist revolution and socialist construction. They have realized the importance of the struggle against modern revisionism and have taken up new studies and begun new explorations in the course of the struggle. They have scored achievements in scientific research and teaching and have rendered service to the people. Young people have gradually matured. On the whole, our ranks are good. But what we have accomplished still falls far short of what the objective situation demands of us.

How should we carry on the struggle against modern revisionism on the academic front? How should we rank the subjects of our research to accord with actual needs? What are the correct methods for training and tempering our forces? These are the questions which must be solved in developing our work in philosophy and social science and which will be discussed at the present session. I would like to state my views on these questions. And I hope that you comrades will criticize and correct them wherever they are wrong.

I. The History of the Development of Marxism-Leninism Is One of Debate With, Struggle Against and Victory Over Diverse Anti-Marxist-Leninist Ideological Trends

In the discussion of the current struggle against modern revisionism, it is best to review how Marxism-

Leninism has grown and developed in the course of debate and struggle against diverse anti-Marxist-Leninist ideological trends, because we shall then know how to carry forward the cause of our revolutionary predecessors.

Throughout their lives, Marx and Engels waged firm and repeated struggles against anti-proletarian theories on behalf of the proletarian revolution. It was on the basis of their scientific analysis of capitalist society and their summing up of the lesson of the revolutionary working-class movement, and through debate with the exponents of antagonistic ideas, that the founders of Marxism laid its theoretical foundation, dialectical materialism and historical materialism, formulated the theory of surplus value and discovered that class struggle had been the motive force of historical development since the dawn of civilization and that class struggle would inevitably lead to the dictatorship of the proletariat; they thus transformed utopian socialism into scientific socialism. They levelled their theoretical criticism in the first place against Hegel and Feuerbach whom they had regarded as teachers and held in esteem. And it is precisely from the works of these two masters that Marx and Engels assimilated the quintessence of classical German philosophy while at the same time critically evaluating it. They sharply criticized their contemporaries, the Left Hegelian theorists, and refuted all sorts of feudal, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois socialist theories and schools all of which were based on an idealist historical outlook. Marx and Engels first wrote a series of polemical works, including *The Holy Family*, *The German Ideology*, and *The Poverty of Philosophy*, and then, as everybody knows, wrote the *Communist Manifesto* together. Later, Marx devoted himself to writing *Capital*, and Engels wrote *Anti-Duhring* and *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy*; these works were comprehensive and profound expositions of Marx's thinking in philosophy, political economy and socialist theory. In this way they gradually freed the working-class movement from the influence of utopian socialism and various pseudo-socialist ideological trends and established the leading position of Marxist thought in the international working-class movement, thereby facilitating the tremendous growth of the movement with Western Europe as its centre.

This struggle was an extremely arduous one. Marx once said that they had devoted decades of effort and labour to exploding illusions about the future structure of society and to inculcating scientific socialism in the minds of the workers. Since scientific socialism is based on materialism, whoever wants "to give socialism a 'higher, idealistic' orientation, that is to say, to replace its materialistic basis. . . by modern mythology with its goddesses of Justice, Liberty, Equality and Fraternity" will do "mischief" to socialist theory. ("Marx to F.A. Sorge, October 19, 1877," *Selected Correspondence of Marx and Engels*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, pp.375-76.) On this question, Marx took an uncompromising stand.

Already in Marx's and Engels' lifetime, attempts to tamper with or discard their dialectical materialism, historical materialism and theory of class struggle occurred among German Social-Democrats. Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Programme* was shelved for sixteen years, and

when Engels demanded its immediate publication and solemnly declared that any further delay would be a crime, the leaders of the German Social-Democratic Party still placed many obstructions in the way. The criticism of Duhring also met with much opposition within the leading clique of the German Social-Democratic Party. In publishing "The Introduction to 'The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850'" which Engels wrote late in life, *Vorwärts*, the organ of the German Social-Democratic Party, deliberately deleted some of the most important passages about the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat, so that Engels was presented as an unqualified supporter of the tactics of "peace" and an opponent of the use of "force." He strongly protested against this. When Kautsky and others compiled a history of the socialist movement, they did so behind Engels' back; thus Engels learnt of the ulterior motives of the revisionists before his death. A revisionist, anti-Marxist faction had already cropped up within the Marxist ranks.

This phenomenon may seem strange. How can certain people who had previously been supporters of revolutionary scientific socialism degenerate into counter-revolutionary anti-scientific revisionists? Yet it is not at all strange. Everything tends to divide itself in two. Theories are no exception, and they also tend to divide. Wherever there is a revolutionary, scientific doctrine, its antithesis, a counter-revolutionary, anti-scientific doctrine, is bound to arise in the course of the development of that doctrine. As modern society is divided into classes and as the difference between progressive and backward groups will continue far into the future, the emergence of antitheses is inevitable. This has long been borne out by the history of Marxist philosophy and the social sciences and also by the history of natural science. Science and the history of science themselves reflect the unity and struggle of opposites, and science develops through such unity and struggle.

What the opportunists and revisionists dread and hate most and have therefore tried in every way to revise is the Marxist theory of class struggle, and particularly that of proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. As Engels said, "Hence, their fanatical hatred of Marx and all of us—because of the class struggle." ("Engels to F.A. Sorge, January 18, 1893," *Selected Correspondence of Marx and Engels*, Moscow, p.537.) This is the heart of the matter. On this central issue Marx and Engels took the most determined and clearcut stand. In their circular letter to A. Bebel and others, they solemnly declared:

For almost forty years we have stressed the class struggle as the immediate driving power of history, and in particular the class struggle between bourgeoisie and proletariat as the great lever of the modern social revolution; it is, therefore, impossible for us to co-operate with people who wish to expunge this class struggle from the movement. ("Marx and Engels, to A. Bebel, W. Liebknecht, W. Bracke and Others ['Circular Letter'], September 17-18, 1879," *Selected Correspondence of Marx and Engels*, Moscow, p.395.)

Later Engels emphatically pointed out:

The development of the proletariat proceeds everywhere amidst internal struggles. . . . Unity is quite a

good thing so long as it is possible, but there are things which stand above unity. And when, like Marx and myself, one has fought harder all one's life against self-styled Socialists than against anyone else (for we regarded the bourgeoisie only as a class and hardly ever involved ourselves in conflicts with individual bourgeois), one cannot be greatly grieved that the inevitable struggle has broken out. ("Engels to A. Bebel, October 28, 1882," *Selected Correspondence of Marx and Engels*, Moscow, p.427.)

Thus, that which is unified breaks into two—into two conflicting parts.

Marxist-Leninist parties always treasure the unity of the ranks of the proletariat, but Marxist-Leninists must never co-operate with those who expunge the class struggle from the movement and must never surrender principle for the sake of unity. This is the most important and most precious behest the founders of Marxism have left us. Any betrayal of this behest is a betrayal of Marxism itself.

To persevere in or to abandon the class struggle of the proletariat, to persevere in or to renounce the dictatorship of the proletariat—here is the fundamental line of demarcation between Marxism and revisionism.

Soon after Engels' death, first Bernstein and then Kautsky came out and made systematic revisions of Marxist doctrines. The leadership of the Second International founded by Engels gradually fell into the hands of the revisionists. As capitalism was then undergoing a period of relatively "peaceful" development, a labour aristocracy emerged within the working class and a revisionist trend and faction began to overrun the workers' movement in Europe. The earliest representative of this trend and faction was Bernstein.

In 1899 Bernstein published his book *The Prerequisites of Socialism and the Tasks of Social-Democracy* in which he made a thoroughgoing revision of Marx's doctrines in the fields of philosophy, economics and politics, and proclaimed his notorious formula that "the movement is everything, the final aim is nothing." The struggle against revisionism began as soon as revisionism emerged. The historical mission of consistently combating revisionism and defending Marxism then fell upon the shoulders of a great young proletarian revolutionary—Lenin. In the same year, Lenin published *A Protest by Russian Social-Democrats and Our Programme* and launched fierce counter-attacks against Bernsteinism and its disciples in Russia. With these works Lenin entered the arena of history as a staunch proletarian revolutionary and mature Marxist. Shortly after, he published *What Is to Be Done?* in which he opposed economism with its belittlement and renunciation of theory, and laid a solid ideological foundation for the building of the Russian Social-Democratic Party. In *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*, he refuted the opportunist tactics of the Mensheviks in the democratic revolution. In *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* he made a profound and devastating criticism of revisionism in philosophy and defended and developed Marxist dialectical materialism. In *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, he refuted Kautsky's reactionary theory of ultra-imperialism and scientifically and penetratingly dissected imperialism. In *The State and Revolution* and *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*,

he ably developed the teachings of Marx and Engels on the state and the dictatorship of the proletariat. In *"Left-Wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder*, he vigorously denounced the treachery of the opportunists of the Second International, criticized at length "Leftist" thinking which alienated the masses and elucidated Marxist strategy and tactics.

What is there to feel strange about? The inflated revisionist leadership of the Second International was bound to topple from its throne, because it had become a lackey of the bourgeoisie and was opposed to revolution, science, communism and the people. The "nobodies" led by Lenin now came forth to replace them.

Through these debates, the treachery of Bernstein and Kautsky was fully exposed. After the victory of the October Revolution, they launched still more vicious attacks on Lenin and all other revolutionary Marxists. Kautsky even spread the slander that the dictatorship of the proletariat as advocated and practised by the Bolsheviks would lead only to "Tartar socialism," which fell far short of "Asiatic socialism" because Asia had given birth to a Confucius and a Buddha. Kautsky hoped that the young Soviet Republic would soon collapse. But what happened? Despite armed foreign intervention and despite Kautsky's wild abuse, the Soviet Union towers as the first great socialist state in the world. History has testified to Lenin's thesis that socialism would triumph first in one country, and Lenin has gone down in history as the founder of this state. And what has become of Kautsky and his like? They achieved nothing but everlasting shame as renegades from the proletariat.

Stalin spoke most highly of the theoretical contributions made by Lenin in the period after Engels' death. He held that Lenin had summed up according to materialist philosophy the most important scientific achievements of that period and had refuted the anti-materialist factions in various fields within the Marxist ranks. He quoted Engels as saying that "materialism must assume a new aspect with every new great discovery" and maintained that "none other than Lenin accomplished this task for his own time in his remarkable work *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*." (Stalin, "The Foundations of Leninism," *Works, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1953, Vol. 6, p.93.*) Stalin held that Lenin had developed Marxism with respect to the theory and tactics of the proletarian revolution, and particularly with respect to the theory and tactics of the dictatorship of the proletariat. He pointed out that Lenin had advanced Marxism to a new phase — Leninism.

After Lenin's death, Stalin carried on Lenin's cause and waged a bitter struggle against the opportunist factions within the C.P.S.U., which were represented by Trotsky and Bukharin. In this struggle, Stalin defended and developed Marxism-Leninism. He wrote *The Foundations of Leninism, Concerning Questions of Leninism, The Social-Democratic Deviation in Our Party, Once More on the Social-Democratic Deviation in Our Party, The National Question and Leninism, The Right Deviation in the C.P.S.U. (B.)* and many other works, most of which were later included in the two collections entitled *Problems of Leninism* and *On the Opposition*. In his later years, he wrote *Marxism and Problems of Linguistics and Economic*

Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. He succeeded Lenin and led the Soviet people through the stresses of national construction and in building the first socialist state and winning the world-historic victory of the anti-fascist war.

In China, Comrade Mao Tse-tung conducted a fierce debate against the various opportunist lines within the Chinese Communist Party. Despite the sneer of "narrow empiricism" and despite the political attacks and isolation to which he was subjected, he integrated the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution and creatively developed Marxism-Leninism by drawing on new revolutionary experience under new conditions. During the period of the Chinese people's democratic revolution, Comrade Mao Tse-tung wrote many works, including *Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society, Why Is It That Red Political Power Can Exist in China?, A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire, Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War, On Practice, On Contradiction, On Protracted War, The Question of Independence Within the United Front, Problems of War and Strategy, On New Democracy, Reform Our Study, Rectify the Party's Style of Work, Oppose Stereotyped Party Writing, and Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art*. After the victory of the revolution he wrote *On the People's Democratic Dictatorship* and *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, among other works. These are the fruits of his persistent struggles against "Left" and Right opportunism within the Party. It is by following the line laid down by Comrade Mao Tse-tung that the Chinese people have won great victories in their democratic and socialist revolutions, carried forward the great cause of the October Revolution and further transformed the face of the world.

It is obvious to all that in China the broad masses supported the Chinese Communists and the Left-wing revolutionaries because the Communists and the Left were in possession of the truth. The monstrous evils of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism were overthrown, and those who had been despised led the broad masses of the workers, peasants and intellectuals making up over 90 per cent of the population, seized state power and founded the people's republic. An earth-shaking change was effected.

Soon after Stalin's death, the leaders of the C.P.S.U. totally negated him. They followed in the wake of the Tito clique of Yugoslavia and sank deeper and deeper into the mire of revisionism. Modern revisionism is a repetition and a still more vicious outgrowth of old-line revisionism under new conditions and is the result of the attempt to cater to disintegrating imperialism. Because modern revisionism has arisen in a large socialist country which is moreover the birthplace of Lenin, it has far greater capacity to confuse people and is much more pernicious than the old revisionism. At the same time, the forces of revolutionary Marxism-Leninism are also stronger today than when they fought against old revisionism, and they are growing apace in the fight against modern revisionism. Revolutionary people and parties everywhere are increasingly placing their hopes on the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties, including the Communist Party of China, and the genuine Marxist-Leninist groups and individuals, whose thinking increas-

ingly represents the banner of revolutionary Marxism-Leninism and the banner of world revolution.

In the current great debate between revolutionary Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism, the modern revisionists have concentrated their unscrupulous and vicious attacks on the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung. This is by no means accidental. It is because Comrade Mao Tse-tung has always firmly stood at the forefront in defence of Marxism-Leninism and against modern revisionism that they hate him so much.

For more than forty years Comrade Mao Tse-tung has led the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people in arduous and untiring struggles against imperialism and all kinds of counter-revolutionary forces at home. Applying Marxist-Leninist principles and methods, he has correctly solved the problems of the Chinese revolution, repeatedly defeated both Right and "Left" opportunism, and thus led the Chinese revolution to victory.

The Chinese people have come to understand Comrade Mao Tse-tung's greatness through their own experience, and the people of the world have also come to know him through the practical achievements of the Chinese revolution and his writings. All the calumnies poured on Comrade Mao Tse-tung by the modern revisionists are of no avail and cannot in the least hurt him.

In violation of the correct principles laid down in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, the leaders of the C.P.S.U. arbitrarily denounced a fraternal Party, the Albanian Party of Labour, as "anti-Marxist-Leninist" at their own Party congress, thus bringing an inter-Party dispute into the open before the enemy for the first time. Since then they have committed a great many base acts against the Chinese Communists and against all Communists who do not approve of their wrong line. They consider this tactic clever, and have been arrogantly using it for quite a number of years. Actually it is not at all clever and will only ruin their prestige and make things more difficult for themselves. If they do not turn back and correct their errors, they are bound to fall on still harder times. If you doubt this, just wait and see!

There are three things the modern revisionists fear: first, imperialism; second, genuine Marxism-Leninism, or what they call dogmatism; and third, the revolutionary people. Cowardly as mice, they dare not let the people of their own countries read the replies of those whom they label "dogmatists" to their criticisms, and they try to quarantine these replies as though they were the plague. This single fact suffices to indicate the kind of future that is in store for the modern revisionists.

Lenin has said:

... I have seen too many sights in the history of the revolution to be disturbed by the hostile looks and shouts of people who abandon themselves to emotion and are unable to reason. ("Report on the Ratification of the Peace Treaty Delivered at the Fourth All-Russian Extraordinary

Congress of Soviets," *Collected Works*, fourth Russian ed., Gospolitizdat, Moscow, 1950, Vol. 27, p.158.)

He also said that his "fate" was "one battle after another against political stupidity, vulgarity, opportunism, etc. ("Letter to Inessa Armand, December 18, 1916," fourth Russian ed., Moscow, Vol. 35, p.209.) Certainly, such was not the fate of Lenin alone. It was the fate of Marx and Engels, and of Stalin too. Indeed, it is the fate of all revolutionaries.

Looking back over the history of Marxism-Leninism, we can see that it gained ground and advanced step by step through "one battle after another." For more than a century, neither the enemy's attacks from without nor the enemy's "revisions" from within have been able to defeat it. On the contrary, it is precisely through repeated struggles against external and internal foes of all shades that the forces of Marxism-Leninism have grown strong.

In the beginning, Marxism was but one of many doctrines and schools in the socialist movement and this school consisted only of Marx and Engels. But because it is right and because it truly and scientifically represents the revolutionary proletariat's interests and needs, Marxism has finally vanquished all antagonistic ideological systems in struggle and won the worldwide support of the revolutionary working class and the revolutionary people.

Lenin, too, was once in the minority in the struggle against revisionism. On the revisionist side at that time were the leaders of the Second International, the German Social-Democratic Party, which enjoyed great prestige, and such veteran leaders and authoritative theorists as Bernstein, Kautsky and Plekhanov. Lenin was beneath their notice. Nevertheless, as Lenin's thinking embodied the truth and reflected the needs of a new era, the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution, it was not crushed by the then rampant revisionism; instead, it eventually triumphed over revisionism and became the great banner of the whole international communist movement.

True revolutionaries, true proletarian revolutionary fighters and true Marxist-Leninists, who are militant materialists, are dauntless. They fear neither isolation nor the abuse of the reactionaries and revisionists. For they know it is not these seemingly formidable giants but "nobodies" like themselves who represent the future. All great men were once nobodies. Provided they possess the truth, those who are seemingly isolated in the beginning are sure to be victorious in the end. So it was with Lenin and the Third International. On the contrary, the celebrities and big battalions are bound to decline and to dwindle and putrefy when they lose possession of the truth and therefore lose the support of the masses. So it was with Bernstein and the Second International. Under particular conditions, things are bound to change into their opposites.

There is inevitably a realignment in the forces of revolution in the course of the struggle between the proletariat and the revolutionary people on the one hand and the forces of reaction on the other and in the course of the struggle between Marxism on the one hand and opportunism and revisionism on the other.

Marx and Engels once mentioned that the centre of gravity of the European working-class movement had temporarily shifted from France to Germany after the defeat of the Paris Commune. When history demanded that the German working class should stand at the forefront of the proletarian struggle, both Marx and Engels were proud of it. But Engels noted at the same time, "How long events will allow them to occupy this post of honour cannot be foretold." ("Preparatory Note to the *Peasant War in Germany*," *Selected Works of Marx and Engels*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1958, Vol. 1, p.653.)

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Russia became the focal point of the various contradictions in the era of imperialism. When Kautsky was still a revolutionary, he said that the centre of revolution would shift from Germany to Russia. While Kautsky later became a renegade from the revolution, Lenin still quoted with approval this earlier revolutionary prediction of Kautsky's.

Then the storm of revolution reached the East. Marx, Engels and Lenin all spoke highly of the awakening of the peoples of the East and had the warmest sympathy for it. They consistently held that the revolutionary peoples of the East were the great ally of the proletariat of the Western capitalist countries and that their revolutionary movement would in turn influence and promote the proletarian revolution in these countries. At a time when the European working class was under the corrosive influence of revisionism, Lenin recognized the emerging power of the multi-million peoples of Asia who "have been drawn into the struggle for these same European ideals."

In their quest for truth from the West, progressive people in Asia finally discovered Marxism-Leninism and adopted the proletarian world outlook as the instrument for studying the destiny of their countries.

History has shown that whether the party or country is large or small, the proletarian party of a country can make its own specific contribution to the development of Marxism-Leninism, provided it is able to stand in the van of the people's revolutionary struggle, correctly lead it to victory and so enrich the experience of the proletarian revolutionary movement. If, on the other hand, a proletarian party fails to stand in the forefront of the people's revolutionary struggle, discards the banner of revolution, renounces the revolutionary tradition of its own country and adopts a passive or even negative attitude towards the cause of the proletarian revolution, then it is bound to become an opportunist, revisionist party and forfeit its place in the ranks of the vanguards of the international proletariat.

Certain persons who claim to have "creatively developed Marxism-Leninism" have actually thrown it overboard, and yet they are arrogantly trying to monopolize the right to interpret Marxism-Leninism. Like the French king who proclaimed "*L'Etat, c'est moi*" ("I am the State"), they talk as if "*Le Marxisme-Léninisme, c'est moi*" ("I am Marxism-Leninism"). Whoever refuses to endorse the resolutions of their Party congress and the programme of their Party is accused of departing from Marxism-Leninism and violating so-called international discipline. What does this abominable attitude reveal except their deep-seated great-power and great-Party chauvinism and their extremely

backward feudal ideas on the line of succession and their out-and-out reactionary idealistic view of history?

The revolutionary storm is bound to rise and the sparks of Marxism-Leninism are bound to fly everywhere. No one can stop them.

What tremendous changes have taken place in the world revolutionary forces and revolutionary situation as compared with the times of Marx or Lenin! A number of new socialist countries have come into being since World War II. The people of the Asian, African and Latin American countries have awakened or are awakening; they are rising in heroic battles against imperialism and old and new colonialism. A widespread struggle is being waged by the people of all countries for world peace, national independence, people's democracy and socialism. For a long time in the past, the working-class movement and the struggle centring around it were mainly confined to the advanced capitalist countries in Europe and North America. Now, however, the people's struggle against imperialism headed by the United States and the struggle of the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists against modern revisionism are being waged on a much broader — indeed, on a worldwide — scale. In a number of countries the vanguard of the proletariat formerly standing at the forefront of the struggle is now corroded by modern revisionism, while the proletariat and revolutionary people of many countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America who have long been looked down upon now stand in the front line of battle.

In Europe, North America and Australasia, leaders of certain Communist Parties are increasingly singing the same tune as the social democrats in defence of the interests of imperialism and capitalism. As a result, there is hardly any substantial or even formal difference between them and the social democrats. Moreover, they are expelling true Marxist-Leninists from the Party and taking other measures to create splits. Under these circumstances, political parties genuinely representing the revolutionary proletariat are bound to appear on these continents. Such a process is also taking place among some of the Communists in Latin America and Asia. Some people who for a time fail to see things clearly and are misled by the revisionists will sooner or later learn from the facts, part ways with revisionism and return to the road of Marxism-Leninism.

In short, whatever the country or place may be, where there is oppression, there will be resistance; where there is revisionism, there will be Marxism-Leninism fighting against it; and where expulsion of Marxist-Leninists from the Party and other measures are taken to create splits, new outstanding Marxist-Leninists and strong revolutionary parties are bound to emerge. Changes are taking place which are contrary to what the modern revisionists and modern dogmatists expected. These persons are creating their own opposites and will be buried by them in the end. This is an inexorable law.

Reviewing the past and looking forward to the future, what else can we see but the magnificent spectacle of ceaseless growth for Marxism-Leninism and constant victories for the cause of proletarian revolution?

Lenin once said that the ideological struggle between revolutionary Marxism and revisionism at the end of the

nineteenth century was the prelude to great revolutionary battles by the proletariat.

The present struggle between revolutionary Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism is the prelude to new and still greater revolutionary battles by the world proletariat.

It can be anticipated that the next fifty to a hundred years will be the great epoch of the thorough transformation of society, an earth-shaking epoch without any parallel. In this great epoch, the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat, leading the revolutionary people, who account for more than 90 per cent of the world's population, will overcome every difficulty on the road of revolution and march to the complete victory of the revolutionary cause of the people of the whole world.

II. Refute Modern Revisionism and Study Anew and Propagate Marxism-Leninism — The Most Important Current Tasks on the Front of Philosophy and Social Science

"A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement" and the articles by the Central Committee of our Party preceding and succeeding it have profoundly and thoroughly exposed and refuted modern revisionism both politically and theoretically. The essence of the present debate between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism is whether or not to accept the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism, whether or not to accept the fact that the people still living under the imperialist and capitalist system, who comprise two-thirds of the world's population, need to make revolution, and whether or not to accept the fact that the people already on the socialist road, who comprise one-third of the world's population, need to carry their revolution forward to the end.

To take an active part in this debate, to study Marxism-Leninism anew, to refute modern revisionism and bourgeois ideology in all its manifestations on the academic front and to defend, propagate and develop Marxism-Leninism—these now constitute the most important tasks for Chinese workers in the fields of philosophy and social science.

Revisionism in the academic field is the mouthpiece of revisionism in politics and is a variety of bourgeois ideology. It serves the revisionist political line, provides it with a theoretical basis, and tries to justify it and to sway public opinion. The revisionist thinking of a section of people in Soviet academic circles is growing steadily along with the development of the revisionist political line of the leadership of the C.P.S.U. Supporting the "combat against the personality cult," they have repudiated all Stalin's theoretical writings under the slogan of "eliminating the consequences of the personality cult." To repudiate Stalin completely is in fact to negate Marxism-Leninism, which Stalin defended and developed. On the pretext that times have changed, they brazenly declare Leninist theories to be outmoded. They energetically praise the line and programme formulated at the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the C.P.S.U., lauding them as "a model of creative Marxism-Leninism," "the supreme achievement of contemporary social-scientific

thought" and "the Communist Manifesto of the present epoch."

Let us now see how the modern revisionists have tampered with the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism in its main aspects: philosophy, the theory of socialism and communism and political economy.

In philosophy, like the old revisionists, the modern revisionists replace materialism by subjective idealism, revolutionary dialectics by vulgar evolutionism and sophistry, and the Marxist-Leninist theory of class struggle by the hypocritical bourgeois theory of "supra-class" human nature.

The old-line revisionists were enamoured of the once fashionable slogan of "back to Kant." Bernstein declared dialectics to be "the treacherous factor in Marx's doctrine, the snare lying in the way of any logical consideration of things." The Russian revisionist philosophers represented by Bogdanov and Lunarcharsky grew pessimistic about the future of the revolution after the failure of the 1905 Revolution. They believed that the best way out was to seek the aid of subjective idealism and theology, and openly advocated a combination of Marxist materialism with Machism and of socialism with religion in order to turn revolutionaries into "God-builders." This reactionary tendency in the Second International and inside the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party was thoroughly repudiated by Lenin. It was for the purpose of refuting the God-builders that he wrote his great work *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*. The modern revisionists dare not openly advocate combining the philosophical thought of Marx and Lenin with the modern reactionary philosophical trends of the Western bourgeoisie, but resort to more covert and cunning ways to emasculate dialectical materialism and historical materialism and to smuggle in reactionary bourgeois philosophical views. Since they pursue the line of betraying socialism and capitulating to imperialism in politics, it is only logical that they should betray the proletarian stand in philosophical thinking.

In political practice, the modern revisionists replace proletarian dialectical materialism by the imperialist and bourgeois philosophy of pragmatism.

Pragmatism, which originated in the United States in the late nineteenth century, is a subjective idealistic philosophy of the bourgeoisie in the era of imperialism. It denies objective reality, objective laws and objective truth. It holds that truth is nothing but an instrument used by men to achieve his immediate purposes in his acts of coping with the environment, and its motto is that "it is true because it is useful." It is an out-and-out philistine philosophy and represents the reactionary outlook on life of the decadent and moribund bourgeoisie. It is the philosophy *par excellence* of U.S. imperialism. The bourgeoisie can no longer act on the basis of knowledge of objective laws and principles of truth in contradistinction from falsehood and of right in contradistinction from wrong, since these laws and principles are diametrically opposed to their interests. They can only observe society and deal with the environment in a pragmatist way and they need a pragmatist philosophy to rationalize their actions. At the same time, pragmatism is a philosophy the imperialists and bourgeois reactionaries use to benumb the

revolutionary consciousness of the masses. It causes the masses to consider only superficial appearances and not the laws of social development and the broad prospect for changes on a world scale; it causes the masses to seek only their immediate interests and not to struggle for their complete emancipation.

The representatives of modern revisionism are all worshippers of the United States politically. What they follow in all their policies is the American brand of pragmatist philosophy. Of course, they do not openly admit their belief in pragmatism, for that would interfere with their disguise as revolutionaries.

Lenin gave a good description of the old revisionism.

To determine its conduct from case to case, to adapt itself to the events of the day and to the chops and changes of petty politics, to forget the basic interests of the proletariat, the main features of the capitalist system as a whole and of capitalist evolution as a whole; to sacrifice these interests for the real or assumed advantages of the moment—such is the policy of revisionism. ("Marxism and Revisionism," *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1950, Vol. 1, Part 1, p.94.)

The modern revisionists go even farther. They cater to imperialism, sacrifice the fundamental interests of the proletariat on major questions of principle and bargain away principles as though they were commodities. On the one hand, they yield and surrender to the nuclear blackmail of U.S. imperialism, while on the other they gang up with the U.S. imperialists to conduct nuclear blackmail against the people of the world. Nuclear fetishism and nuclear blackmail are the basis of their theories and policies. The modern revisionists do not believe in the strength of the people and deny that the people are the makers of history. They do not believe that historical development will unquestionably lead to the destruction of nuclear weapons by man and not the other way round. They preach that in the face of nuclear weapons questions of principle cease to exist and that principles are already liquidated. "What is the use of principles, if the head is cut off?"¹—such is their pragmatist philosophy of survival. Thus the sufferings of the people, the world revolution and the communist ideal can all be totally ignored. This is the way in which the modern revisionists have replaced the revolutionary philosophy of the proletariat by the philistine philosophy of mere vegetative existence.

Since the representatives of modern revisionism are essentially pragmatists in their approach to objective truth and objective laws, it is only natural that they look down upon theory. The modern revisionists regard the basic theories of Marxism-Leninism not as truths which must be adhered to, but as expedient tools and as apologetics which they can wilfully concoct and revise in order to serve their immediate interests.

The modern revisionists have wantonly distorted and revised the Marxist-Leninist teachings on the laws of contradiction, and spread their views about the merging and reconciliation of contradictions.

On the pretext of what they call the characteristics of the transition from socialism to communism, they preach a "new way of putting the question," namely, "the overcoming of opposites through their uniting [merging],"²

claiming that under socialist conditions "new phenomena" or "new processes" emerge in which "dialectical opposites, contradictions, turn into differences and differences merge into unity."³ Some of their philosophers even claim that the law of the unity and struggle of opposites is outmoded under socialist conditions.

This theory of the merging or reconciliation of contradictions and the theory that the laws of contradiction are outmoded constitute a radical revision of materialist dialectics.

The Marxist-Leninist view is that the law of materialist dialectics, the law of the unity of opposites, is a universal law which governs the development of nature, society and thought, and which is applicable to the past, the present and the future. In other words, it is applicable to class society, to socialist society which is transitional between class and classless society, and also to the classless communist society of the future. Contradictions exist everywhere and at all times. They are differentiated into antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradictions, but not into reconcilable and irreconcilable contradictions. Contradictions are all irreconcilable and have to be resolved through struggle. Contradictions and the struggles to resolve them are always the motive force that pushes human society forward.

Whether or not a person persists in Marxist-Leninist revolutionary dialectics is shown by whether or not he dares to face and acknowledge the contradiction between the imperialists headed by the United States and the people of the world, whether or not he dares to face and acknowledge the fact that class contradictions and class struggles exist in all countries, and whether or not he dares to face and acknowledge the two types of contradictions (antagonistic and non-antagonistic) within socialist society. All conservatives and opportunists, all those who do not desire but fear revolution, dread change and evade or deny contradictions. On the contrary, all revolutionaries who take upon themselves the transformation of the world desire change, courageously face contradictions and resolve them by revolutionary means. As old contradictions are resolved, new ones arise and must be resolved by new methods. History thus advances with the endless resolution and emergence of contradictions. Only thoroughgoing revolutionaries can be thoroughgoing revolutionary dialecticians.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has shown outstanding theoretical courage and genius in developing dialectics. For the first time in the history of Marxism-Leninism he penetratingly and systematically revealed the contradictions within socialist society in his work *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, and set forth the necessity for differentiating the two types of contradictions and for using different methods in handling them. This is a great contribution of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's to the development of Marxist-Leninist theory. On the basis of the laws of materialist dialectics, he is guiding the socialist revolution and socialist construction of our country from one victory to another. He is teaching us correctly to understand and handle the contradictions confronting us, to remain sober and alert in the face of the continued existence of classes and class struggle in socialist society and of the danger of a restoration of

capitalism, and to take the correct and necessary measures to avert this danger. All this immensely fortifies the Chinese people's immunity to revisionism.

In the past, some comrades one-sidedly emphasized the "moral and political unity" of socialist society and failed to see that contradictions, classes and class struggle continue to exist in it, and that the struggle against bourgeois ideology within socialist society remains a main task of the dictatorship of the proletariat for a long period after the seizure of power. They only recognized solidarity and unity and denied the existence of internal contradictions in socialist society and the fact that contradictions are the motive force of social progress. They thus denied the universality of contradiction and did away with dialectics, and as a result the "theory of absence of conflict" spread far and wide.

The mistakes in their understanding of contradictions in socialist society paved the way for the modern revisionists of today. The modern revisionists have formulated a theory about the merging or reconciliation of contradictions, in order to provide a philosophical basis for their fallacies concerning "a state of the whole people" and "a party of the entire people." Moreover, they have extended this theory of the merging or reconciliation of contradictions to the sphere of international struggle, so as to present a philosophical justification for their line of "peaceful coexistence," "peaceful competition" and "peaceful transition." They use the fictitious contradiction between the survival of mankind and nuclear weapons to cover up the class contradictions and national contradictions of real life. They hold that the appearance of nuclear weapons has rendered senseless the principles of class analysis and class struggle. They say that "the atom bomb does not adhere to the class principle." They hold that the contradiction between imperialism and socialism, the contradiction between imperialism and the oppressed nations, the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat and the contradictions among imperialist powers and among monopoly-capitalist groups within an imperialist country can and should be reconciled and merged. Such is their conclusion and their political purpose.

Completely discarding historical materialism, the modern revisionists substitute the bourgeois theory of human nature for the Marxist-Leninist teachings on class struggle and proletarian dictatorship, for scientific communism. They have dropped the proletarian banner of revolution and raised the bourgeois banner of the theory of human nature. They have equated the concept of humanism so-called with that of scientific communism and completely merged scientific communism with bourgeois humanism.

They say, "communist ideology is the most humane ideology,"⁴ they talk of humanism as "the highest embodiment of communism," and they assert that "humanism in the broad sense of the word merges with communism,"⁵ and that "the communist system means the triumph of humaneness."⁶ They harp on such slogans as "Everything for the sake of man and for the benefit of man," "Man is to man a friend, comrade and brother" and "Long live the fraternity of all the peoples and all men on earth." They brag about "peaceful coexistence" as "the most

humane, the proletarian method of class struggle in the international arena," and about the plan for universal and complete disarmament as "the highest expression of humanism."

Tito boasted: "We are Communists but Communists first of all should be humanists."⁷ American bourgeois scholars have applauded "Titoism" as "a much more humane variety of Marxism than the world has yet known," claiming that it "has re-established the connection between Marxism and the fundamentals of Western liberalism."⁸ Thus one can detect the subterfuge of the modern revisionists in propagating "humanism" and their theory of human nature.

Marxist-Leninists have always taken a scientific and analytical attitude towards humanism. We fully appreciate the positive and enlightening role played by the various trends of bourgeois humanism from the Renaissance in Italy in the fourteenth-sixteenth centuries up to the mid-nineteenth century. Today there are still bourgeois humanists, with whom we wish to establish an alliance in the common struggle against imperialism and in defence of world peace. Nevertheless, proletarian communism and bourgeois humanism are two fundamentally different world outlooks. We are firmly opposed to substituting the theory of human nature in the abstract and the preaching of fraternity for the standpoint of class analysis and class struggle; we are against describing communism as humanism and against placing humanism above communism.

As the revolutionary world outlook of the proletariat, communism is built on the solid scientific basis of dialectical materialism and historical materialism. The great achievement of the founders of Marxism lies in the fact that they revealed the objective laws of development of capitalist society and defined the true historical mission of the proletariat. Contrary to this, instead of basing itself on a scientific analysis of objective social reality, all humanist theory proceeds from humanity in the abstract to produce blueprints for social reform in accordance with subjective desires; its foundation is historical idealism. As the theory of social revolution, communism stands for the attainment of socialist and communist society through class struggle, through proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat; humanism, on the other hand, advocates the solution of contradictions in real life and the materialization of humanist social ideals through "fraternity" among all people, which in effect is "fraternity" between the exploiting and the exploited classes. As the ethics of the proletariat, communism stresses revolutionary collectivism and stands for the appropriate integration of personal interests with the collective interests of the masses, to which it gives the first place; humanism, on the other hand, sets personal dignity and personal happiness as the highest aims of life, which in fact means personal dignity and happiness for a tiny bourgeois elite and lack of personal dignity and misery for the vast majority of the population, and which in fact means advocating bourgeois individualism. As described in the *Communist Manifesto*, the ideal society we want to bring about is "an association in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all." But such a society can be brought about only

through a communist revolution, as this revolution is itself "the common condition for the free development" of the individual. ("The German Ideology," Marx and Engels, *Works*, German ed., Berlin, 1959, Vol. 3, p.425.) All this shows that proletarian communism and bourgeois humanism are two totally different world outlooks and cannot be mentioned in the same breath.

The birth of scientific communism was a great leap in human thought. Now the revisionists have tampered with the teachings of scientific communism, and reverted to the preaching of human nature in the abstract and of "love of humanity," which Marxism-Leninism transcended long long ago, and to such slogans as "man is to man a brother." How can this be considered as anything but a great step backwards in thought? What else is this but the merging of proletarian ideology with bourgeois ideology? Isn't it true that those who claim they are against peaceful coexistence with the bourgeoisie in the ideological sphere are actually trying to reconcile and merge Marxist materialism with all kinds of bourgeois idealism and even with Christianity through the medium of humanism?

The modern revisionists and some bourgeois scholars try to describe Marxism as humanism and call Marx a humanist. Some people counterpose the young Marx to the mature proletarian revolutionary Marx. In particular, they make use of certain views on "alienation" expressed by Marx in his early *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844* to depict him as an exponent of the bourgeois theory of human nature. They do their best to preach so-called humanism by using the concept of alienation. This, of course, is futile.

In the early stage of development of their thought, Marx and Engels were indeed somewhat influenced by humanist ideas which were closely related to mechanical materialism and utopian socialism. But when they formulated the materialist conception of history and discovered that class struggle is the motive force of social development, they immediately got rid of this influence. It is from this point that they parted company with Feuerbach. Feuerbach attempted to substitute "anthropology" or the science of man for "theology" or the science of God. But what he advocated was man in general and in the abstract, or in reality bourgeois man. Like God, man in the abstract has no objective existence. So although Feuerbach opposed the old religions, he created a new religion which worshipped man in the abstract and preached "love of humanity." As Engels said, the cult of abstract man had to be replaced by the science of real men and of their historical development. And the great credit for the establishment of this science, i.e., historical materialism, goes to Marx and Engels. They directed violent and merciless criticism against German "true socialism" which enthusiastically preached "humanism." They criticized "true socialism" as being "concerned no longer with real human beings but with 'Man,' having lost all revolutionary enthusiasm and proclaiming instead the universal love of mankind." (Marx and Engels, *The German Ideology*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, p.81.) Does not this criticism hit the nail right on the head!

As for alienation, it was a term current in the classical German philosophy of the time. It denotes that

the subject, at a certain stage of its development, produces its opposite, which becomes an external force alien to itself. This term was completely shrouded in mystery when Hegel used it in his exposition of idealism. Marx said, "With him it [dialectic] is standing on its head. It must be turned right side up again, if you would discover the rational kernel within the mystical shell." ("Afterword to the Second German Edition," *Capital*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1959, Vol. I, p.20.) The same is true of the question of alienation. If we interpret alienation from the materialist viewpoint and in accordance with the dialectical law that a thing always divides itself in two and develops into its opposite, the term alienation which Hegel stood on its head will be turned right side up again, and we will then have to admit that alienation is a general phenomenon in nature and human society, which assumes diverse forms.

Hegel used alienation to expound the process by which his so-called Absolute Idea transforms itself into the external world and then turns back on itself. Unlike Hegel, Feuerbach used alienation to show how man, through his imagination, alienates his essence into and prostrates himself before God and how when he comes to realize that Man is his own supreme essence and that the essence of God is the essence of man, he will be able to eliminate this phenomenon of alienation and destroy the cult of God. Unlike Hegel and Feuerbach, Marx borrowed this term to express his ideas on the alienation of labour. Just as man created God out of his own head and was governed by God, so the worker created wealth with his own hands and was governed by it. Wealth created by the workers' labour does not belong to them, but to other people. Thus this wealth, its appropriator and even labour itself become alien forces antagonistic to and dominating the workers. With this Marx exposed the irrationality of private ownership, and pointed out that in order to eliminate this phenomenon of alienation, it is necessary to eliminate private ownership and the antagonistic form of the social division of labour. Marx later used the materialistic conception of history and the labour theory of value in discovering the law of surplus value which operates in capitalist society and exposing the secret of the fetishism of commodities. He thus further revealed the essence of capitalist private ownership and the fundamental contradiction of capitalist society, the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

According to Marxism, only when socialism and communism are established through proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat and only when capitalist private ownership with its remnants are thoroughly abolished, can the working class and the working people gradually and finally overcome the alienated forces which control and dominate them in capitalist society, emancipate themselves from the fetishism of commodities, become the real, conscious masters, not only of nature but also of society and, with full consciousness, begin to make their own history and master their own fate. This is what the founders of Marxism meant by mankind's leap from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom and what Comrade Mao Tse-tung meant when he said, "The epoch of world communism will be reached when all mankind voluntarily and consciously changes itself and the world." (*On Practice*.)

The theory of alienation the revisionists and bourgeois scholars advocate is in fact the bourgeois theory of human nature, which is directed against the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. They describe the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism as alien forces antagonistic to human nature. The Yugoslav revisionists assert that "ruling in the workers' name is exactly the same as a regency's ruling in the king's name."⁹ They maintain that in a socialist society under the dictatorship of the proletariat, people are not free politically, economically and ideologically and that there is some sort of "eternal human nature" and any restraint imposed on individuals by society represents the "alienation of man." Therefore, the only way to make man return to himself is to get rid of all kinds of social restraint. In their view, to eliminate the "alienation of man," it is necessary to destroy the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system. In advocating the return of man to himself, they are actually advocating absolute individual freedom and asking the people who live under socialism to return to the human nature of bourgeois individualism and to restore capitalism by which it is fostered.

The modern revisionists try to cover up their betrayal of the revolutionary cause of the proletariat by harping on the fashionable slogan of "humanism." They never tire of saying, "Everything for the sake of man." We would like to ask, for what kind of man? They have no love for the revolutionary people or the labouring masses. The ones they do have love for are the leaders of imperialism and reaction. They fear the people and the people's revolution. After World War II, "humanism" as advocated by the bourgeoisie became fashionable for a time. Though there were many different schools of "humanism," most of them reflected the anxiety, fear and despair of the decaying and moribund monopoly capitalists, and served as an opiate to lull the vigilance of the people of the world against the imperialists' nuclear blackmail. The "humanism" advocated by the modern revisionists is intimately tied up with the contemporary humanism of the reactionary bourgeoisie of the West.

The humanism on the lips of the modern revisionists is not only profoundly reactionary when contrasted with scientific communism, it is even reactionary when contrasted with the bourgeois humanism which in the past once played a progressive role.

In the field of the theory of socialism and communism, the modern revisionists have been even more brazen in betraying Marxism-Leninism and the revolution. They have discarded the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the theory of the proletarian party, which form the essence of Marxism-Leninism.

The modern revisionists attempt, on the one hand, to write off class struggle and the proletarian revolution in the capitalist countries and, on the other, to deny that classes and class struggle as well as the possibility of the restoration of capitalism continue to exist in the socialist countries throughout the historical period of the transition from capitalism to communism. They have flagrantly abolished the dictatorship of the proletariat.

On this question, the leadership of the C.P.S.U. and the Tito clique support and echo each other.

The Yugoslav revisionists said that class struggle has already been abolished in their country, that no conditions whatsoever obtain for the "re-creation of the bourgeoisie as a class"¹⁰ and that "the restoration of any system of exploitation of man by man has been precluded."¹¹ The leadership of the C.P.S.U. has also proclaimed that class struggle no longer exists in their country and that "the danger of capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union is ruled out."¹²

The Yugoslav revisionists said: If more people are enabled by democratic means to take part in the "socialist" regime, "there is no need whatsoever to keep on waving the red kerchief of the dictatorship of the proletariat."¹³ The leaders of the C.P.S.U. followed suit by declaring that "the dictatorship of the proletariat . . . has ceased to be necessary in the U.S.S.R. from the point of view of the tasks of internal development,"¹⁴ and that at the present stage the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat has become a "state of the whole people." They also allege that, in conformity with this situation, the party of the proletariat has become a "party of the entire people."

The leaders of the C.P.S.U. have energetically advertised their fallacies concerning the "state of the whole people" and the "party of the entire people," claiming them to be "new inventions by the Party."

"New inventions" forsooth!

The so-called state of the whole people is nothing but an old device used by reactionary classes to cover up their dictatorship and deceive the working people. The bourgeoisie used to call the state under its dictatorship a "state of the whole people." The classical Marxist writers exposed this fraud long ago and scientifically expounded the class nature of the state. The state is always an instrument of class dictatorship. There is no such thing as a "supra-class" state or a state "of the whole people." The task of the proletarian revolution is not to establish a "state of the whole people," but to replace the state of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie by the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The state will disappear only with the ultimate elimination of classes through the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Lenin clearly pointed out, "The essence of Marx's teaching on the state has been mastered only by those who understand that the dictatorship of a *single* class [the proletariat] is necessary . . . for the entire *historical period* which separates capitalism from 'classless society,' from communism." ("The State and Revolution," *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, Vol. 2, Part 1, p.234.) In socialist society, the dictatorship of the proletariat has not fulfilled its historical mission so long as there still exist remnants of the old exploiting classes and the possibility of the emergence of new bourgeois elements, and so long as there still exist the class difference between workers and peasants and the differentiation between manual and mental labour. The dictatorship of the proletariat will disappear only with the attainment of a communist society when classes and class differences will have been completely eliminated. The dictatorship of the proletariat will not disappear before this.

Similarly, political parties have always been instruments of class struggle. There is no political party that

is "supra-class" or "of the entire people." The leadership of the proletarian party is the core of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The proletarian party cannot wither away before the dictatorship of the proletariat. The withering away of the dictatorship of the proletariat means the withering away of the state and of the Party.

It is a fact that all socialist countries without exception, including the Soviet Union, are still far, far removed from the fulfilment of the historical mission of the dictatorship of the proletariat and from classless, communist society. In all these countries without exception there are still classes and class struggle. And there is still the danger of capitalist restoration. Therefore, the struggle between the two roads of socialism and capitalism still exists in all socialist countries, and the question of who will win has not yet been completely and finally solved. Only by upholding the dictatorship of the proletariat and the leadership of the proletarian party and carrying the socialist revolution through to the end, can the final victory of socialism and the transition to communist society be achieved. Conversely, if the dictatorship of the proletariat and the proletarian party are abolished, if the socialist revolution is left off unfinished half-way, it will lead to the loss of the fruits of the socialist revolution and the re-emergence of capitalism. The two different lines lead to different futures. This is an objective law independent of human will.

Both in theory and in practice, the fallacies of the state of the whole people and of the party of the entire people will inevitably result in the replacement of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat by that of the dictatorship of another class, and the replacement of the party of the vanguard of the proletariat by a party of another character. There is no other possibility. Yugoslavia has already set an example. The Yugoslav modern revisionists are the political representatives of bourgeois forces. They usurped the leadership of the Party and the state and brought about the degeneration of the dictatorship of the proletariat into that of the bourgeoisie and of the proletarian party into a bourgeois one. Undoubtedly, whoever takes the path of Yugoslavia will have no better future.

In the field of political economy, too, the modern revisionists follow the old revisionists and try hard to revise the fundamentals of the Marxist-Leninist theory of capitalist imperialism by means of "new data on economic development." The old revisionists propagated the theory of ultra-imperialism and proclaimed that the Marxist theses concerning capitalist economic crisis and the inevitable collapse of capitalism were obsolete. Lenin thoroughly refuted this reactionary propaganda and made a profound analysis of the nature of imperialism as monopoly capitalism, as decadent and moribund capitalism. The modern revisionists propagate the view that the nature of imperialism has changed, that imperialism and colonialism have virtually ceased to exist, and that the Leninist theory on imperialism is obsolete. They say:

... Lenin advanced and developed his propositions on imperialism decades ago when many of the factors that are now decisive for historical progress, for the international situation as a whole, were absent.¹⁵

They have also concocted various theories to hide the deep contradictions within the imperialist system, and praise the "vitality" of imperialism and embellish it. These theories of theirs are nothing but a rehash of the long bankrupt platitudes of the old revisionists. They are also different versions of such myths as "people's capitalism" fabricated by imperialist theorists, decked out in "revolutionary" phraseology.

In the field of the economic problems of socialism, Marxist-Leninists proceed from the collective interests of the working people and insist on the principle of "to each according to his work" on the basis of socialist ownership by the whole people and collective ownership. In other words, those who do not work shall not eat, those who work more shall receive more and those who work less shall receive less. In the interest of the high-income stratum, the modern revisionists have completely distorted the socialist principle of "to each according to his work" as set forth by Marxism-Leninism. They are actually using the slogan of individual "material incentive" and "material interest" surreptitiously to supersede the socialist principle of "to each according to his work" which Marxist-Leninists have always advocated. They describe their vaunted individual "material incentive" and "material interest" as "the motive force in the growth of socialist production,"¹⁶ as "the core and motive force of the socialist plan"¹⁷ or, in Khrushchov's words, as "the foundation for the raising of production and the growth of labour productivity."¹⁸

The modern revisionists completely ignore the enthusiasm of the labouring masses for collective production in socialist society and are opposed to giving prime importance to political education which heightens the socialist consciousness of the masses. They are infatuated with the much vaunted idea of "individual material incentive," which can only lead people to the pursuit of purely personal interests, whet their desire for personal gain and profit, encourage the growth of bourgeois individualism and damage the socialist economy based on ownership by the whole people and on collective ownership or even cause it to disintegrate.

They also use the quest for profit to stimulate the management of enterprises and confuse socialist with capitalist profit in their attempt to replace the socialist economic principle of planning by the capitalist economic principle of profit, and so pave the way for the liberalization of the economy and the degeneration of socialist into capitalist economy. It is not surprising, therefore, that the modern revisionists are becoming more and more recipient to the fashions and vogues of bourgeois economic theory.

In the field of economic relations among socialist countries, under the guise of the international division of labour the leaders of the C.P.S.U. go to great lengths to slander the correct policy of building socialism by one's own efforts, which they term a "nationalist" policy. Their attack is wrong in theory and has an ulterior purpose in practice, namely, to make some socialist countries dependent on them economically and hence subservient politically and obedient to their baton. Theirs is truly a policy of national egoism and great-power chauvinism. To this end, certain persons even demand that those socialist coun-

tries which are "backward in production" should confine themselves to developing agriculture and industries processing farm produce so as to provide agricultural products for other countries. This sounds like a variety of neo-colonialist theory under the signboard of "international socialist division of labour."

In short, the modern revisionists are savagely attacking the fundamental theories of Marxism-Leninism in every sphere of learning. Thus in every sphere they have set up concrete targets for our criticism. Revolutionary workers in philosophy and social science should come forward to smash the attacks of modern revisionism and in the course of this struggle further develop Marxist-Leninist theory in all spheres of learning.

III. In All Our Research in Philosophy and Social Science, First Place Should be Given To the Summing Up and Study of the Experience and Problems of Contemporary Revolutionary Struggles

In close co-ordination with current international and domestic struggles, we should give priority in all our research in philosophy and social science to studying the experience of revolution and construction in China and to the new problems arising from the current domestic and international struggles.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out the fundamental direction for our Party's theoretical work in his *Reform Our Study* published in 1941 and in a number of other works published during the rectification campaign. These works continue to be the basic programme for our activity in philosophy and social science. In a recent speech at the Nguyen Ai Quoc Party School in Viet Nam Comrade Liu Shao-chi discussed the importance of the current struggle against modern revisionism and of the study of Marxism-Leninism. This too is a guide to our work in philosophy and social science.

In his *Reform Our Study*, Comrade Mao Tse-tung time and again stressed the principle of integrating theory with practice to which Marxist-Leninists have always attached great importance. In order to achieve this, it is necessary to study both the present and the past and to lay stress on the application of theory, that is, the basic theories of Marxism-Leninism should be applied to the constant study and summing up of the lessons of specific struggles in order to draw new conclusions for guiding revolutionary action, thus turning theory into practice. Every new advance in the development of Marxism-Leninism has been achieved through the study and summation of new problems and new experience in the proletarian revolutionary struggle and through the integration of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of revolution. But revisionism and dogmatism depart from this basic principle in two opposite directions. Revisionism discards the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and thus essentially betrays Marxism-Leninism, whereas dogmatism is divorced from reality and, so far from developing Marxism-Leninism, only makes it stagnate, with retrogression as the inevitable result.

In his essay *Our Programme*, written in the early period of his theoretical activity, Lenin on the one hand

opposed the "renovation" of fundamental Marxist theory by the revisionists headed by Bernstein, pointing out that "there can be no strong socialist party without a revolutionary theory," and on the other hand opposed dogmatism, stressing the study of real life and the need for "an independent elaboration of Marx's theory."

We do not regard Marx's theory as something completed and inviolable; on the contrary, we are convinced that it has only laid the foundation stone of the science which socialists *must* develop in all directions if they wish to keep pace with life.

Marx's theory, he continued, "provides only general *guiding* principles, which, *in particular*, are applied in England differently than in France, in France differently than in Germany and in Germany differently than in Russia." In 1900, Lenin wrote in *The Urgent Tasks of Our Movement*:

... in every country this combination of socialism and the working-class movement was evolved historically, in unique ways, in accordance with the prevailing conditions of time and place. . . . It is a very difficult process. . . .

The same process has taken place in China. Braving numerous difficulties in prolonged revolutionary struggles, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has persevered in combating both "Left" and Right opportunism, and particularly dogmatism, always proceeding on the basis of concrete reality and integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. On this last question, Comrade Mao Tse-tung wrote in *Rectify the Party's Style of Work*:

The arrow of Marxism-Leninism must be used to shoot at the target of the Chinese revolution. Unless this point is made clear, the theoretical level of our Party can never be raised and the Chinese revolution can never be victorious.

The leaders of the C.P.S.U. claim to have "creatively developed Marxism-Leninism," but while they give themselves and their followers the licence to revise it, they forbid others to develop it in a truly creative way and to "elaborate Marx's theory independently" as Lenin taught us. If anyone does so, they slap such labels as adherent of "nationalism" and "the personality cult" on him. While wantonly adulterating Marxism-Leninism, they demand that other Communist Parties should follow their every step and parrot their every word as if their adulteration were an "imperial edict." Consequently, whether they wield the baton themselves or whether they dance to the baton of others, the modern revisionists are at the same time modern dogmatists.

We must oppose both modern revisionists and modern dogmatists and must take an attitude completely different from theirs. We must study current revolutionary problems and strive to integrate Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese and world revolutions.

In 1938, Comrade Mao Tse-tung dealt as follows with the question of study in his report to the Sixth Plenary Session of the Sixth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party:

What are the characteristics of the present movement? What are its laws? How to direct this movement? All

these are practical problems. . . . The movement is developing, new things have yet to emerge, and they are emerging endlessly. To study this movement in its entirety and in its development is a great task for ever claiming our attention. If anyone refuses to study these problems seriously and carefully, then he will not be a Marxist.

Study of practical problems is certainly not easy. It requires a mastery of abundant factual data, a good grasp of current struggles and an understanding of the Party's line and policies. If we are to be revolutionary workers in philosophy and social science, we must study practical problems. If we are afraid of difficulties and therefore avoid practical problems in our research work and concentrate our interest and energy on the past, our research will go astray in stressing the past more than the present. This trend must be opposed. We must give every encouragement and support to the study of practical problems by our workers in philosophy and social science and provide them with the necessary facilities.

It is a most important task for the workers in philosophy and social science to study and sum up our experience in revolution and construction.

This experience is extremely rich. Studying it and summing it up are most important for the guidance of our practical work and for the education of the future generations. Much of it is of great international significance, and the revolutionary people of other countries are watching China's experience with fraternal and keen interest. They are profoundly interested in a wide variety of subjects ranging from armed struggle, land reform, the united front, the building of the Party, the establishment of revolutionary base areas, the building of the armed forces, rural policies, policies concerning industry and commerce and policies concerning culture, education and the intellectuals, all the way to our concrete experience and working methods, and particularly our experience in political work and methods connected with the mass line, as well as the new problems arising from the present socialist revolution and construction in China. Comrade Mao Tse-tung and the Central Committee of our Party have already made basic generalizations about this experience and these problems. We must take the thinking of Comrade Mao Tse-tung as our guide, thoroughly and systematically study this experience and these problems in all fields, expound and contribute to theory, and write revolutionary scientific works.

While intensifying our study of China's practical problems, we must also devote more attention to studying the current situation in other countries and the new problems and new experience arising in the international struggle.

To meet the needs of the revolution, we must make a careful and comprehensive analysis of the various forces involved in the international struggle. The academic research work now being done in this field is rather weak and should be strengthened. One must not adopt an exclusivist attitude in academic research. Every nation, whether advanced or backward, and every country, whether large or small, has its own contribution to make in the fields of revolutionary experience, revolutionary theory, science and culture. We should learn from them

modestly and must never entertain the least feeling of great-nation chauvinism.

We have to investigate the new phenomena and problems that have arisen in the capitalist world since Lenin's *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, and particularly since World War II, and to study and critically evaluate the academic advances of the capitalist countries. Through such study and evaluation we can enhance our own ability to create new things of our own.

We have to study the new problems and new experience of the international communist movement, the positive and negative experience of the socialist countries, and the historical and social roots of modern revisionism and its manifestations in the political, economic, cultural and other fields.

We have to study the experience of all peoples in their struggle for world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and socialism, and in particular, the experience of the national-liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

While stressing the study of present-day China and the contemporary world, we should also attach importance to the study of China and the world of yesterday and the day before yesterday. The study of our own history is of particular significance. Comrade Mao Tse-tung long ago criticized some of our comrades for their ignorance of Chinese history as reflecting a truly abnormal state of affairs. China is one of the oldest countries in the world. We should study her whole history since ancient times, while emphasizing the modern and the contemporary. Marx's penetrating understanding of the capitalist economy provided him with the key to understanding the economy of the past, just as the anatomy of man is the key to the anatomy of the monkey, to quote his own metaphor. Twenty-two years ago, Comrade Mao Tse-tung set us the task of writing the economic, political, military and cultural histories of China in the last century, and this task we have not yet accomplished. It is high time we did so.

Another task Chinese historians should undertake is the compilation of a world history from the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint. We cannot rest content with the use of world histories compiled by foreign scholars. We should make serious and balanced criticisms of the distortions of world history by Western bourgeois and modern revisionist historians.

An important field of work for our philosophy and social science is the study and critical summation of China's historical legacy from the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint.

In his article *The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War*, Comrade Mao Tse-tung said:

As we are believers in the Marxist approach to history, we must not cut off our whole historical past. We must make a summing-up from Confucius down to Sun Yat-sen and inherit this precious legacy. This will help much in directing the great movement of today.

He pointed out the great importance of absorbing this historical legacy for the concrete application of Marxism in China and for giving it a national form.

Lenin wrote in the *Rough Draft of a Resolution on Proletarian Culture*:

Not the concoction of a new proletarian culture, but the development of the best models, traditions and results of existing culture from the point of view of the world outlook of Marxism and the conditions of the life and struggle of the proletariat in the epoch of its dictatorship.

Here Lenin called attention to two points in one's attitude towards one's cultural tradition: first, it is essential to abide by the Marxist world outlook, that is, the viewpoint of dialectical materialism and historical materialism; and secondly, it is essential to be guided by the political interests and needs of the proletariat.

In the last few years, much work has been done in Chinese academic circles in organizing and studying our historical legacy, and some excellent results have been achieved. We should give this work its proper place in the realm of philosophy and social science and continue to make progress.

Whether or not to absorb our historical legacy has long since ceased to be a question at issue. For the proletariat is the only true defender of all that is fine in our cultural legacy and its sole heir. The question now is, from what viewpoint and by what methods should we sift this historical legacy? In recent years as a result of studying Marxism-Leninism and Comrade Mao Tse-tung's works, more and more people have begun to study history and re-appraise historical events and personages from new points of view. This is a good sign. However, there are still people who do not approve of the study of history and the appraisal of historical personages and events from the viewpoint of historical materialism and by the method of class analysis. This has aroused keen debate in academic circles.

The question of what attitude to take towards our historical legacy is in fact ideologically linked with the struggle between proletarian ideology and bourgeois and feudal ideology, with the struggle between two different conceptions of history, i.e., between historical materialism and historical idealism, and with the question of whether or not to raise the banner of Marxist-Leninist criticism in the field of history. We hold that only scientific analysis and judgment can enable us to distinguish the gold from the dross in our historical legacy and to decide what to keep and what to discard. And it is also through Marxist-Leninist criticism that what is vital in the legacy can be turned into something scientific and valuable to us today. Historical materialism is a powerful scientific tool with which to clear away the mists of feudal and bourgeois idealism that have long veiled history, so that we can get nearer to the historical truth than those before us and draw on the useful experience and wisdom of our forefathers in their bitter and arduous struggles for the unification, prosperity and progress of our motherland and on the intellectual wealth accumulated over the generations. We do not study history for its own sake. We not only preserve what is fine in our legacy but, more important, we develop it. We respect the scholars of the past for their many achievements in studying historical sources and give weight to their incisive judgments on historical events and persons. But our new and scientific concep-

tion of history is entirely different from theirs. We study history to serve the needs of the people at present. We study the dead not to give the dead control over the living but to free the living from the bondage of the tradition of the dead.

Thus it is clearly necessary to stimulate the critical spirit in academic circles. The re-evaluation of China's legacy has been going on for nearly half a century since the May 4th Movement in 1919. We cherish the memory of our valiant forerunners—those who dared to challenge the culture of feudalism, its ideology and its idols. Although they did not understand Marxist dialectics and were formalistic in that they either affirmed or repudiated things wholesale, their anti-feudal spirit and courage deserve undying praise. But now some people have lost this spirit and courage and seem to have relapsed into the state of mind prevailing before the May 4th Movement. Certain people again present Confucius as an idol and bow to him, but now he is clad in modern dress and the *kowtow* has become a new-style formal bow. How can this be reconciled with the revolutionary critical spirit of Marxism-Leninism? We cannot but describe it as a tendency towards idolizing the ancients and we must certainly oppose it. Confucius must be given his due as a classical Chinese thinker and teacher. But for over two thousand years feudal rulers used his teachings, as expounded by later scholars from Tung Chung-shu (179-104 B.C.) to Chu Hsi (1130-1200 A.D.), to enslave the minds of the people. The May 4th Movement rendered a great service in boldly criticizing Confucius, which represented a great emancipation of the minds of the Chinese people.

While showing respect for our history and our forefathers, we should do more to encourage those who dare to depart from the beaten track of our predecessors and to re-evaluate history, study its lessons and put forward new themes and views from the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint—in short, to stimulate their critical spirit and to encourage them to be bold in their theoretical explorations. Without such revolutionary courage to strike out along new paths, it is impossible to score new achievements and advances in scientific work.

The unity of the profoundly revolutionary with the profoundly scientific attitude is an inherent characteristic of Marxism-Leninism. In re-evaluating history and studying its lessons, we must persist in the attitude of seeking the truth from the facts. It is no easy work to study history and sort out our legacy by means of the Marxist viewpoint. Engels said:

The development of the materialist conception even in regard to only a single historical example was a scientific work which would have demanded years of tranquil study, for it is obvious that nothing can be done here with mere phrases, that only a mass of critically sifted, completely mastered historical material can enable one to accomplish such a task. ("Karl Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*," *Selected Works of Marx and Engels*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, Vol. 1, p.369.)

Comrade Mao Tse-tung points out that Marxism-Leninism is a science, that science means honest, solid knowledge and that there is no room for the playing of tricks. Time and again he has advised us that in study-

ing a problem it is necessary to appropriate the material in detail, do systematic and thorough investigation and derive from objective facts inherent laws and not imaginary ones. Such is the scientific attitude. To use the simple method of sticking this or that label on something may seem to conform with historical materialism and the class viewpoint, but in fact it is subjectivism. We disapprove of it.

We should take no less serious an attitude in studying the historical legacy of other countries and should assimilate whatever is helpful through critical analysis. We know from Chinese history that in the Tang Dynasty and also in the modern period of the May 4th Movement, much stress was laid on assimilating what was good in the culture of other countries. As a result in both periods our culture flourished. Today, it is all the more necessary for us to have a picture of the whole world and to draw on the wisdom of all mankind to enrich our country's new socialist culture.

In assimilating outstanding academic and cultural achievements from abroad, we must critically examine them from the proletarian class stand and viewpoint and in the light of our own national and socialist needs before we decide what to take or what to discard. Things introduced from abroad must be digested and transformed so that they become our own and bear our own national style and characteristics. Blind worship of the West, contempt for one's own country and belief in the superiority of everything foreign are ugly manifestations of the comprador-capitalist ideology and the most sterile academic dogmatism, and we must oppose them.

In the sphere of philosophy and social science, the policy of "let a hundred schools of thought contend" must be pursued under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism, whether we are dealing with practical or theoretical questions or with our historical legacy.

Philosophy and social science bear the strong imprint of class character and party spirit. In this realm, the guidance of Marxist-Leninist teaching must be consistently followed. In the absence of a Marxist-Leninist orientation, the policy of "let a hundred schools of thought contend" would become the kind of liberalizing policy the modern revisionists desire and follow. If, on the contrary, the policy of "let a hundred schools of thought contend" is not carried out in the academic field, if free exploration and debate and independent thinking are discouraged, and if the method of simply issuing administrative decrees to solve complicated questions in the intellectual field is employed instead, then the result will be ossification of thought in the academic world. As Marx said in an article criticizing the censorship in Prussia, since one does not require roses to smell the same as violets, how can one demand that the mind, the richest of all forms of matter, should have only one form of existence? To oppose and prevent bourgeois liberalization on the one hand and ossification of thought on the other—such is the struggle on two fronts we must wage in the realm of learning and ideology.

In order to know and change the world, revolutionary workers in philosophy and social science need to break new ground in the study of many practical and theoretical questions. In the course of such exploration, mistakes of

one kind or another are hardly avoidable. But can we abandon our duty to know and change the world for fear of making mistakes?

In scientific investigation, error often leads to truth. It is by drawing lessons from mistakes and correcting them that sound knowledge is gradually acquired. Therefore, only those who are not afraid of making mistakes and have the courage to correct them can contribute to the great cause of changing the world and at the same time change themselves. Lenin said that "only he who never does anything never commits errors." In what contempt and ridicule Lenin held the philistines who "pride themselves on the infallibility of their revolutionary inaction"! Everyone in our academic circles who commits a mistake on a theoretical or academic question can and should correct it through discussion and practice, provided he does not deliberately oppose the socialist road and the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, and provided he has the desire and zeal to seek the truth. Our workers in the field of philosophy and social science must have the courage to break new ground untouched by any predecessors, and explore problems they were not aware of. As Marx stated, "There is no royal road to science, and only those who do not dread the fatiguing climb of its steep paths have a chance of gaining its luminous summits." ("Preface to the French Edition of *Capital*," *Capital*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, Vol. 1, p.21.)

IV. Building and Strengthening the Ranks of Marxist-Leninist Theorists

Forming a powerful contingent of Marxist-Leninist theorists capable of weathering any storm is a task having both urgency and long-term strategic significance.

It is an arduous task to develop Marxist-Leninist philosophy and social science through the criticism of modern revisionism, the summing up of the lessons of contemporary revolutionary struggles and the sorting out of our historical legacy. For a few people to continue at their present level will not be sufficient for this task. We must strive to train more theorists and constantly raise their level.

Workers in philosophy and social science are spokesmen of the ideology of a class; they are an important force in creating intellectual values and influencing the minds of the people. Proletarian workers in philosophy and social science serve the interests of the proletariat, and bourgeois workers in these fields serve those of the bourgeoisie. Their different class stands make them play opposite roles. Hence the great importance of the question of how to educate the ranks of our philosophers and social scientists.

What should be the orientation and method of training for our theorists? There are two fundamentally different lines on this question. One is to train them in the proletarian orientation, that is, train them to serve the people wholeheartedly and to strive to be both "red and expert," so that they will take an active part in practical struggle and manual labour and become proletarian fighters closely linked with the working people. This is the correct proletarian line. Its application will make it possible to produce good Marxist-Leninist theorists. The

other line is to train them in a bourgeois orientation, that is, train them to seek personal fame and fortune and to become experts devoid of socialist consciousness, so that they will divorce themselves from reality and the working people and lord it over the people as intellectual aristocrats. This is a wrong line, the bourgeois line. Its application can only result in producing revisionists and new reactionary bourgeois experts, or the degeneration of revolutionary specialists into revisionists and bourgeois philistines. The lessons of certain socialist countries in this respect are a warning to us all.

In his article *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, Comrade Mao Tse-tung calls on Chinese intellectuals to "gradually acquire a communist world outlook, get a better grasp of Marxism-Leninism and identify themselves with the workers and peasants." In other words, it is necessary for intellectuals to effect a fundamental change in their world outlook, the key to which lies in linking themselves closely with the workers and peasants.

Twenty-one years have passed since the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art where Comrade Mao Tse-tung advanced the view that literary and artistic workers must go among and identify themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers. And now a goodly number of comrades have accepted this view and put it into practice. It is a fundamental matter of principle for the orientation of workers in philosophy and social science, too.

Although social science and literature and art are different ideological forms, both are unquestionably reflections in people's minds of social life and are instruments for understanding and remoulding society. Writers and artists epitomize the lessons of the people's struggle in artistic form, whereas social scientists sum them up in theoretical form. Therefore, like workers in literature and art, those in philosophy and social science must go into the midst of the workers and peasants, participate in their labour and struggle, do practical work in organizations at the lower level, learn and study the lessons of the workers' and peasants' struggles, and study the complex phenomena of social life so as to discover its laws and its new problems and provide theoretical explanations for them. To do so is our bounden duty and the only way we can ensure ourselves against separation from the masses and reality and against atrophy in our thinking; hence it is the only way to avoid revisionism and dogmatism. No one can contribute to the revolutionary cause in the field of science if he does not link himself with the workers and peasants but belittles the lessons of their revolutionary struggles and immerses himself in books behind closed doors. No one aspiring to be a Marxist-Leninist will ever become one so long as he feels out of his element among the workers and peasants.

While engaged in the practice of class struggle and production, the masses of workers, peasants and cadres raise all kinds of theoretical questions for solution, and they advance many original views. But they lack the requisite book knowledge and theoretical equipment while many of the professional workers in philosophy and social science lack the steeling and experience acquired in practical struggles. In 1942 in his speech *Rectify the Party's*

Style of Work, Comrade Mao Tse-tung asked the people with book-learning to combine with those experienced in work.

Those with book-learning must develop in the direction of practice; only so will they not rest content with books, only so will they not commit dogmatist errors. Those experienced in work must take up the study of theory and must read seriously; only then will they be able to systematize and synthesize their experience and raise it to the level of theory, only then will they not mistake their partial experience for universal truth and not commit empiricist errors.

The combination of these two kinds of people, so that they can make up for each other's deficiencies and raise each other's level, will prove very helpful not only to theoretical work but to the revolutionary cause as a whole. Man's correct ideas come only from social practice. Man's social being determines his consciousness. Once grasped by the masses, the correct ideas which a progressive class represents become a material force capable of changing society and the world. The movement from the material to the mental and then back from the mental to the material, i.e., the movement from practice to knowledge and from knowledge back to practice, has to be repeated many times before correct knowledge takes shape. The dialectical process of the transformation of the material into the mental and the mental into the material in the course of social struggle will be more consciously grasped and will give rise to still greater achievements in the revolutionary cause as a result of the combination of professional theoretical workers with those engaged in practical work. Promising theorists will emerge from among the practical workers. A powerful contingent of theorists, with the professional theorists as its centre but comprising large numbers of practical workers too, will grow relatively rapidly.

In stressing the need for workers in philosophy and social science to link themselves with the workers and peasants and to keep in contact with and understand reality, we do not in the least minimize the importance of book knowledge. Workers in philosophy and social science must be proficient in their own fields as well as being well versed in the Marxist-Leninist classics; they must acquire knowledge of a wide range of subjects and become truly learned.

Marx's theories are revolutionary and critical because he had the courage not only to make a thorough criticism of the old world but also to assimilate critically the whole range of human knowledge, past and present, thus enriching and fortifying his theories. Speaking of Marx, Lenin said:

He critically reshaped everything that had been created by human society, not ignoring a single point. Everything that had been created by human thought he reshaped, criticized, tested on the working-class movement, and drew conclusions which people restricted by bourgeois limits or bound by bourgeois prejudices could not draw. ("The Tasks of the Youth Leagues," *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, Vol. 2, Part 2, p.478.)

The same is true of Lenin himself, of Engels and of Stalin. It is also true of Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

When discussing party spirit in philosophy in *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*, Lenin pointed out:

The task of Marxists in both cases [i.e., in economics and philosophy] is to be able to master and refashion the achievements of these "salesmen" (for instance, you will not make the slightest progress in the investigation of new economic phenomena without making use of the works of these salesmen) and to be able to lop off their reactionary tendency, to pursue your own line and to combat the whole line of the forces and classes hostile to us.

His statement tells us how to study modern bourgeois academic theories.

There are Communists as well as non-Communists among our workers in philosophy and social science; some are Marxists and some have not yet become Marxists. Party and non-Party Marxist-Leninists should form the strong backbone and nucleus of our ranks in philosophy and social science. Marxist workers in philosophy and social science should unite with all non-Marxist scholars who can be united with, help them to come over to Marxism gradually and consciously and, at the same time, modestly learn from them. In study it is harmful to show even the slightest self-complacency or conceit.

Just as the great socialist era has produced a host of people's heroes, it should also produce a galaxy of brilliant scholars. Both bourgeois and feudal societies had their flourishing periods in the intellectual field, periods which gave birth to many outstanding thinkers and writers. In Germany before Marx, there were Kant and Hegel in philosophy and Lessing and Goethe in literature. In Russia before Lenin, there were such outstanding revolutionary thinkers and men of letters as Pushkin, Herzen, Belinsky, Chernyshevsky and Tolstoy. In the past hundred years and more, China produced such figures as Kung Ting-an, Kang Yu-wei, Tan Sze-tung, Tsou Jung, Chang Tai-yen and Li Ta-chao, the great revolutionary Sun Yat-sen and the great writer Lu Hsun. Historical figures have generally emerged in the course of radical social changes and acute class struggles. In the period of the Spring and Autumn Annals and of the Warring States, in the classical age of ancient Greece and in the period of the European Renaissance, radical social changes and fierce class struggles pushed many outstanding thinkers, writers and artists to the foreground on the historical stage. Their splendid activities and magnificent achievements still command our admiration. Engels said in praise of the Renaissance:

It was the greatest progressive revolution that mankind had so far experienced, a time which called for giants and produced giants — giants in power of thought, passion, and character, in universality and learning. (*Dialectics of Nature*, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1954, p.30.)

We are now in the midst of a new, great socialist era which calls for new giants, not by the scores but by the thousands. With their heroic labour and struggle and their boundless strength, the great liberated Chinese people have created the necessary conditions for our work, stimulated our intellectual capacities and inspired us to advance. We have also before us the great example of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's creative development of Marxism-Leninism. Should we not achieve results in the

academic field far surpassing those of our predecessors? In the early days of liberation, Comrade Mao Tse-tung said, "The great, victorious Chinese People's War of Liberation and the great people's revolution have rejuvenated and are rejuvenating the great culture of the Chinese people." ("The Bankruptcy of the Idealist Conception of History," *Selected Works*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1961, Vol. IV, p.458.) A new great Renaissance, a socialist Renaissance, is approaching. We should live up to the challenge of our era, and greet it with new efforts, new achievements and new creations. Let us work and march forward together!

* * *

NOTES

¹ "Left of Common Sense," *Pravda*, August 16, 1963.

² P.N. Fedoseyev, "The 22nd Congress of the C.P.S.U. and the Tasks of Scientific Research Work in the Field of Philosophy," *Voprosy Filosofii* (Problems of Philosophy), 1962, No. 3.

³ M.B. Mitin, "The 22nd Congress of the C.P.S.U. and the Tasks of Scientific Work in the Field of Marxist-Leninist Philosophy," *Voprosy Filosofii*, 1962, No. 4.

⁴ Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, adopted at the 22nd Congress of the C.P.S.U.

⁵ *Foundations of Marxist Philosophy* (in Russian), edited by the Institute of Philosophy of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., Moscow, 1962, p.548.

⁶ O.V. Kuusinen and others, *Foundations of Marxism-Leninism* (in Russian), Moscow, 1959, p.751.

⁷ Tito's toast at a luncheon given in his honour by the People's Council of Zrenjanin on November 19, 1958.

⁸ Charles P. McVicker, *Titoism, Pattern for International Communism*, F.P. Martin's, New York, 1957, pp. xii & 296.

⁹ P. Franitsky, "Notes on Humanism," *Nasha Stvarnost* (Yugoslav), Nos. 7-8, 1961, p.68.

¹⁰ Programme of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

¹¹ Constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

¹² N.S. Khrushchov, "Control Figures for the Economic Development of the U.S.S.R. for 1959-1965," report to the 21st Extraordinary Congress of the C.P.S.U.

¹³ Edvard Kardelj's interview with the Italian Communist Party delegation, October 14, 1956.

¹⁴ Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, adopted at the 22nd Congress of the C.P.S.U.

¹⁵ N.S. Khrushchov, Speech at the Third Congress of the Rumanian Workers' Party, June 21, 1960.

¹⁶ *Political Economy* (in Russian), edited by the Institute of Economics of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., Moscow, third revised edition, 1962, p.499.

¹⁷ "Planning, an Important Link in Running a Socialist Economy," *Pravda*, February 7, 1963.

¹⁸ N.S. Khrushchov, Speech at a Meeting of Advanced Agricultural Workers of the States of the Central Black-Soil Zone of the Russian Federation in the City of Voronezh, February 11, 1961.

Premier Chou En-lai's Visit to Algeria And Morocco

by OUR CORRESPONDENT

In Algeria

ALGIERS at the dawn of its regained freedom is proud and happy to welcome the messengers of those who took part in the Long March. . . . Algeria, prizing the action of peoples fighting for peace, freedom and emancipation, is happy to welcome you. It salutes you as worthy representatives of the builders of a new world."

These words of President Ben Bella prefaced the impressive welcome the Algerian people accorded Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi. The two Chinese government leaders came to the young Algerian Democratic and People's Republic at the invitation of President Ben Bella and Foreign Minister Abdel Aziz Bouteflika on December 21. Their six-day visit, which ended on December 27, has helped write a new page in the history of the friendship between the two nations.

"Welcome to China's Representatives!"

Some 300,000 Algiers citizens turned out to greet the Chinese leaders. The city was gaily dressed for the occasion. Countless Chinese and Algerian national flags fluttered in the wind. Portraits of Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi were placed on walls and at road intersections. Attractive streamers spread across the streets proclaimed in Arabic, French and Chinese: "Welcome to the Distinguished Representatives of



Premier Chou En-lai visiting Algerian martyrs' children's home

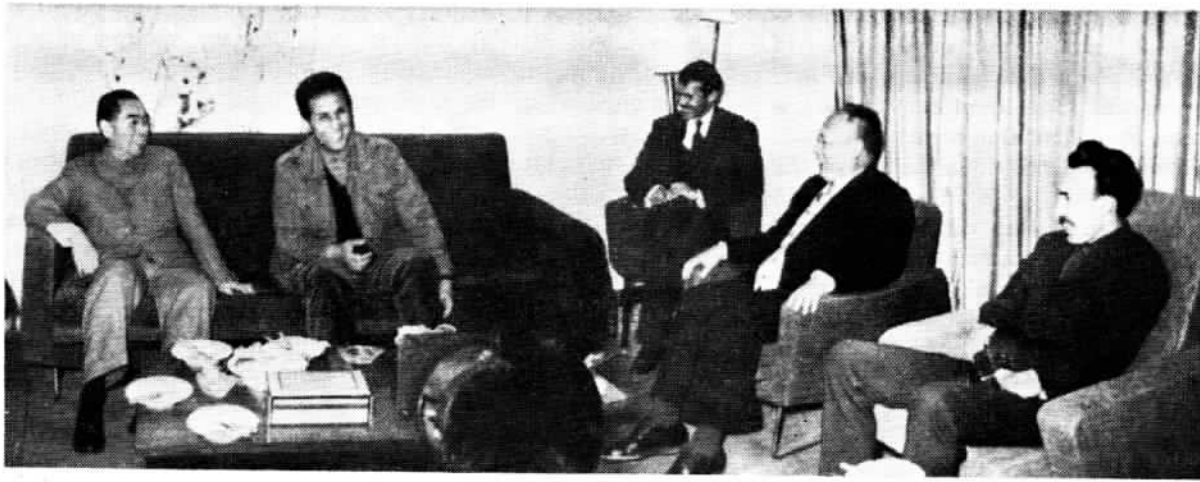
Friendly, Great China!" "Long Live the Sincere Friendship and Fruitful Mutual Aid Between Our Two Countries!" "Socialist Algeria Salutes People's China!" and "The National Liberation Front Welcomes You!"

When Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi rode into the city from the airport accompanied by President Ben Bella, First Vice-Premier and Defence Minister Houari Boumedienne, Foreign Minister Bouteflika and other high officials of the Algerian Government, crowds in the streets, and thousands more crowded windows, on verandas and roofs, cheered them and waved to them. Women greeted them with the traditional chant of welcome "Yu! Yu! Yu!" Veteran guerrilla fighters and children shouted: "China!" and "Chou En-lai!" There were cheerful shouts of "Premier Chou!" in Chinese.

In other places they visited the Chinese guests were welcomed with similar enthusiasm. In Oran, second largest city in Algeria, over 200,000 were on hand to greet the Chinese Premier and his party. At the construction site of the Arzew complex where the Algerians are building a giant plant for producing liquefied natural gas, maidens presented them with milk and dates, and brightly dressed women sprayed perfumes on their cars—both traditional ways of greeting distinguished guests.

There were other gestures of friendship with a meaning deeper than they first suggested. In Algiers, Premier Chou and Vice-Premier Chen were invited to attend the ceremony at which a main street was re-named Peking Avenue. This street was originally named after Jonnart, a former French Governor during the days of colonial rule. Independent Algeria demanded that this vestige of colonialism be removed, and what could be more fitting than to name it after the capital of a brotherly nation? That thought sounded in the thunderous cheers that accompanied Premier Chou's unveiling of the new white name plate.

Algiers' Mayor Balamane conferred the title of "honorary citizen of Algiers" on the two Chinese leaders. At the meeting called specially for this occasion he said, "At the moment when our heroic Algerian people were fighting French imperialism, the glorious Chinese people aided us morally and materially. It gives us pleasure, Mr. Premier, to extend this evening a warm tribute to your people and Government for this action. The Algerian people have not forgotten and will never forget the disinterested aid given them by your Government."



Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi with Algeria's President Ben Bella and First Vice-Premier Houari Boumedienne

In reply Premier Chou said, "In their struggle against imperialism, as in their socialist construction, the Chinese people have received great support and encouragement from the Algerian people." "Our Algerian friends," he added, "will continue to enjoy the wholehearted and unrestrained support and assistance of the Chinese people, who have always been and will ever remain the faithful friends of the Algerian people."

Profound Comradeship-in-Arms

Premier Chou En-lai termed the friendship between the Chinese and Algerian peoples "a profound comradeship-in-arms." "Although China and Algeria are thousands of miles apart and separated by vast oceans," he said, "common experiences and destiny have long bound our two peoples closely together. They have always sympathized with and supported each other and formed a profound comradeship-in-arms in the protracted struggle against imperialism and colonialism. . . . The people of our two countries now face the common task of opposing imperialism and old and new colonialism, consolidating national independence and defending world peace."

And President Ben Bella said, "During the dark hours of an unequal but glorious struggle, Algeria realized a solidarity arising from the awareness of being engaged in a common fight and belonging to the same world—the community of the peoples of Africa and Asia who are determined to take their destinies into their own hands.

"Every victory of Africa concerns Algeria and is also a victory for Asia. Every victory of Asia concerns China and is also a victory for Africa."

Herein lie the roots of this militant friendship.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the heroic exploits of the Chinese revolution such as the Long March are widely admired in Algeria; that Chairman Mao Tse-tung's works enjoy such popularity, and that China's determined struggles against imperialism and her progress in construction are so warmly cheered by the Algerian people. It also helps explain why ever since those stirring days of 1954 when the Algerian partisans with their outmoded shotguns rose in the Aures Mountains to fight the French colonialists, the Chinese people have followed the struggles of the Algerian National Liberation Army with the

deepest sympathy and fellow-feeling, why they felt the same disappointment for every little setback and rejoiced over every victory of the Algerian people, the same as they would for their own struggles in their own land, and why they were always ready to give aid to their Algerian brothers in their

hour of need both in the liberation war or in their pursuit of socialism.

The Chinese people have great admiration for the victory of the revolutionary struggle of the Algerian people. They regard the Algerian revolution as a great event in Africa's national-liberation movement, and a great event in the history of the world in the 1960s. In his speech delivered at the meeting of cadres of the Algerian National Liberation Front on December 25, Premier Chou En-lai praised the achievements of the revolutionary struggles of the Algerian people and pledged the Chinese people's support for the Algerian people's efforts to carry forward their revolution and advance along the socialist road. The Chinese Premier said among other things:

"The independence of Algeria is a great event in the African national-liberation movement of our era. For the other African peoples it has set a brilliant example of daring to wage an armed struggle and daring to seize victory, and indicates to the oppressed nations throughout the world the correct road to win independence and freedom. . . . The great victory of the revolutionary struggle of the Algerian people shows that faced with imperialist armed suppression the oppressed nations can win independence and liberation only by fighting the counter-revolutionary armed forces with revolutionary armed forces."

Purpose of Visit

The visit of Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi and the talks between the Chinese and Algerian government leaders have added immensely to the solidarity and comradeship-in-arms between the two nations. As shown by the joint communique (see p. 31) the two Governments reiterated their resolute support for the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism, old and new colonialism, and for national independence. They agreed that the national-liberation movement is a mighty force for the maintenance of world peace. They are determined to maintain the Bandung spirit and enhance Asian and African solidarity. Both sides held that in the defence of world peace

it is an important task to realize general disarmament and the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. They are pledged to develop still further Sino-Algerian co-operation. President Ben Bella has also accepted an invitation to visit China which, too, will further contribute to cementing relations between the two peoples.

At his press conference in Algiers on December 26 Premier Chou En-lai said that the purpose of his visit to Africa was to seek friendship and co-operation, to familiarize himself with those African states that had established diplomatic relations with China, to acquire more knowledge and to learn all that is useful from the people of these countries. In Algeria, he added, the purpose of his visit had been accomplished.

In Morocco

AFTER leaving Algeria, Premier Chou En-lai visited Morocco at the invitation of King Hassan the Second. As the King remarked, this visit which started on December 27 marks the beginning of a new era in the friendly relations between China and Morocco.

During their 4-day visit in this North African country with its ancient culture and rich natural resources, Premier Chou En-lai, Vice-Premier Chen Yi and their party received a warm welcome from the Moroccan Government and people. On their arrival in Rabat, the capital, Moroccan newspapers gave the news frontpage treatment and also published editorials and articles for the occasion. *Al Anbaa*, the official organ of the Government, said that Morocco welcomed Premier Chou En-lai, a man who had always expressed sympathy towards the African continent and its peoples.

At the Rabat airport, the Chinese guests were greeted by Prince Moulay Abdallah on behalf of the Moroccan King; Prime Minister Ahmed Bahnini; Foreign Minister

Ahmed Reda Guedira; and many other high-ranking government officials. When the Chinese visitors passed along the main boulevard of the gaily decorated city, they were cheered by the huge crowds lining both sides of the route.

At the state banquet given in honour of the Chinese Premier, the Moroccan King said that the youth and leaders of Morocco followed with interest the progress of China and its activities in the spheres of construction and production. The Moroccan people, he went on, were happy to see the strengthening of the ties which bound them to the great Chinese people with whom they co-operated in preserving peace and defending the noble human values.

In his speech, Premier Chou En-lai paid tribute to the Moroccan people "who have a glorious tradition of opposing imperialism and colonialism." To win independence and freedom for their country, he added, they had waged a protracted and heroic struggle and since their independence, they had been working tirelessly to safeguard it, recover foreign military bases, build up the country and develop their national economy. "The Chinese people rejoice from the bottom of their hearts over the successes of the Moroccan people," he declared.

Sino-Moroccan friendship dates back many centuries. Although the friendly contacts between China and Morocco were for a time disrupted by colonialist aggression, the two peoples always sympathized with and supported each other in their struggles to fight colonialism and imperialism and win their national independence. Since China and Morocco threw off the fetters of imperialism, the traditional friendship between them has developed successfully on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the ten principles of the Bandung Conference. With the establishment of diplomatic relations in 1958, there have been frequent friendly contacts between the two peoples and a steady increase in their economic and cultural exchanges. The two countries have also always supported each other in inter-

national affairs. China supports Morocco in its struggle against imperialism and colonialism, to complete its national unification, and safeguard its national independence. Morocco has always supported the restoration of China's legitimate rights in the U.N. In this context it is easy to understand the satisfaction with which the Chinese Premier declared in his speech: "The constant growth of friendship between the Chinese and Moroccan peoples accords with their common interests and the interests of Asian-African solidarity and world peace."

Identical Views

During their stay in Morocco, Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi exchanged views with the Moroccan King on the international situation and especially on developments in Africa and Asia. They also held talks with the Moroccan Prime Minister and Foreign Minister. A joint communique was issued on December 31.

The joint communique shows that the two Governments are satisfied with the fruitful development of friendship and co-operation be-



At Premier Chou En-lai's reception honouring Moroccan King Hassan the Second

tween their two countries since the establishment of diplomatic relations and desire to extend this co-operation to other fields where concrete and practical results can be produced. China also supports the policy of peace, neutrality and non-alignment followed by the Moroccan Government. Both parties favour peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems as well as extensive international co-operation based on equality and mutual benefit. They also support the realization of general disarmament and the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. They consider that the common struggle against under-development is inseparable from their struggle against neo-colonialism, for only when the economic independence and prosperity of the peoples are ensured can they have their genuine independence and freedom.

The two Governments acclaim the birth of the Charter of the Organization of African Unity, which falls within the framework of the principles of the Bandung Conference. They also reaffirm their endorsement of the

principle of non-interference in other countries' internal affairs, of the peaceful settlement of international disputes by means of negotiation, of the settlement of questions between Asian and African countries left over by history by the same means and in the spirit of justice and equity, and of the liquidation of all vestiges of colonialism. Finally, both parties support the Arab people of Palestine. King Hassan the Second also accepts the invitation of Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai to visit China. (For full text of the communique see page 33.)

The identity of views reached by the Chinese and Moroccan Governments on many major international issues will have far-reaching and favourable influences on Sino-Moroccan relations, Asian-African solidarity and world peace.

On December 30, Premier Chou En-lai concluded his goodwill visit to Morocco. The advent of the new year will bring a further steady growth of Sino-Moroccan friendship and co-operation.

Sino-Algerian Joint Communique

Following is the full text of the joint communique of the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the Democratic and People's Republic of Algeria signed in Algiers on December 27, 1963. Boldfaced emphases are ours. — Ed.

AT the invitation of Ahmed Ben Bella, President of the Democratic and People's Republic of Algeria, and Abdel Aziz Bouteflika, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, and Marshal Chen Yi, Vice-Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs, made an official visit to Algeria from December 21 to 27, 1963.

During their visit, they were accompanied by: Kung Yuan, Deputy Director of the Office in Charge of Foreign Affairs of the State Council, Huang Chen, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, Tung Hsiao-peng, Chief of the Secretariat of the Premier of the State Council, Chiao Kuan-hua, Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs, Wang Yu-tien, Director of the West Asian and African Affairs Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Kung Peng, Director of the Information Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Yu Pei-wen, Director of the Protocol Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Liu Hsi-wen, Departmental Director of the Ministry of Foreign Trade, Wang Ning, Deputy Director of the General Office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Li Shu-huai, Deputy Departmental Director of the Ministry of Public Security.

In the course of their sojourn, Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi and their party toured Algiers and Oran and saw some economic, social and cultural establishments. They were accorded warm welcome in their contacts with the people of all circles.

Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi extended congratulations on the victory of the Algerian people in their struggle for national liberation which is a positive factor in the acceleration of the national-liberation movement in Africa.

Since independence, the Algerian people, under the firm leadership of the F.L.N. headed by President Ben Bella, have persisted in carrying forward their revolution and have determined to take the road of socialism.

Since its proclamation, the Democratic and People's Republic of Algeria has made efforts which have proved fruitful in consolidating independence, strengthening the people's sovereignty, liquidating the colonial forces and developing national economy and culture. In these construction tasks, the Algerian Government has achieved many successes by relying on its people and counting mainly on its own forces.

Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi rejoiced in these achievements and wished the Algerian people new successes in their revolution and in the building of their country.

During his visit, Premier Chou En-lai held talks with President Ben Bella.

The talks were attended on the Chinese side by: Chen Yi, Vice-Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs; Kung Yuan, Deputy Director of the Office in Charge of Foreign Affairs of the State Council; Huang Chen, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs; Tung Hsiao-peng, Chief of the Secretariat of the Premier of the State Council; Chiao Kuan-hua, Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs; Wang Yu-tien, Director of the West Asian and African Affairs Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and Tseng Tao, Chinese Ambassador to Algeria.

On the Algerian side were: Houari Boumediene, First Vice-Premier and Minister of National Defence; Abdel Aziz Bouteflika, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Bachir Boumaza, Minister of National Economy; Ali Mahsas, Minister of Agriculture and Land Reform; Amar Ouze-gane, Minister of State; and Omar Ben Madjoub, Deputy to the National Assembly and member of the Party.

During the talks, which proceeded in a cordial atmosphere, the two parties exchanged views fully on the development of relations of friendship and co-operation between the two countries and on international issues of

common interest. The results of these talks show that the two parties have identity of views on the questions discussed.

The two parties consider that the present situation is favourable to the peoples fighting against colonialism and neo-colonialism.

They noted with satisfaction that since the historic Bandung Conference the countries of Africa and Asia have won numerous successes in their actions for emancipation. In countries still under colonial domination, struggle in all forms for national liberation is continuing.

However, colonialism and neo-colonialism, resorting to political and economic pressure, are still a menace to the newly liberated countries. The attempt of certain colonial circles to maintain their direct or indirect domination makes necessary a struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism and for the safeguarding and strengthening of national independence, which remains the essential objective of all the peoples.

The two parties reaffirm their resolute support for the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and for safeguarding of national independence. They agree that the liberation movements are a mighty force for the maintenance of world peace.

They extend warm congratulations to the peoples of Kenya and Zanzibar who have just won their independence.

The two parties are aware that the struggle of the peoples of Angola, "Portuguese" Guinea, South Africa, "French" Somaliland, Bechuanaland, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Basutoland, Swaziland, Zambia and Southwest Africa is a force for the liberation of all Africa. They consider that **the Afro-Asian community is mutually concerned and that, therefore, the solidarity of the Afro-Asian countries requires effective support for the fighting forces whose unity is a guarantee of success. This effective support will be necessary for the destruction of the degrading apartheid regimes and of colonialism seeking a comeback. The two parties salute the valiant fighting peoples of Africa and express confidence in their final victory.**

The two parties firmly support the desire of the peoples to win their liberation. The Chinese and Algerian Governments reaffirm their support without reservation for the people of Palestine for the restoration of their legitimate rights, and pledge themselves to support the struggle of the South Arab peoples.

The two parties support the desire of the peoples of Viet Nam and Korea to see their countries reunited by peaceful means and on the basis of non-interference from abroad.

They express their support and sympathy for the valiant Cuban people who are fighting to defend their country and safeguard their revolutionary gains.

The two parties are of the opinion that for the consolidation of their independence the Afro-Asian countries must rid themselves of the poverty brought about by colonial domination. By relying on the forces of the people and making use of their own resources, the Afro-Asian countries will successfully carry out their task of construction.

The gravity of the problems left over by colonialist exploitation makes necessary international support which

will contribute to the liquidation of the accumulated backwardness in economic and social fields. In this connection, the two parties stress that foreign aid must in no case have any conditions attached to it.

The two parties hold that solidarity, co-operation and mutual assistance among the Asian and African nations are important factors in the realization of these objectives.

They note with satisfaction that, since the Bandung Conference, the cause of Afro-Asian solidarity has developed tremendously and that the Addis Ababa Conference of African Heads of State contributed positively to the reinforcement of the unity of the African peoples. The People's Republic of China and the Democratic and People's Republic of Algeria are determined to increase their efforts to develop the Bandung spirit and reinforce Afro-Asian solidarity. **They affirm that in their common interest, all differences between Afro-Asian countries should be resolved through negotiation on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the ten principles of Bandung.**

Both parties consider general disarmament, the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons as an important task in the struggle for the defence of world peace. They reaffirm their support for the resolution on general disarmament adopted at the Conference of African Heads of State. They call upon the countries and peoples concerned to make concerted efforts with a view to creating denuclearized zones in various regions of the world, while the countries possessing nuclear weapons should assume due obligations towards each of these zones.

Premier Chou En-lai solemnly indicated that in accordance with the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the ten principles of the Bandung Conference, China has consistently taken the following stand in its relations with African countries:

- 1, It supports the African peoples in their fight against imperialism and old and new colonialism and for the winning and safeguarding of national independence;
- 2, It supports the governments of the African countries in their pursuance of a policy of peace, neutrality and non-alignment;
- 3, It supports the African peoples in their desire to realize solidarity and unity in the form of their choice;
- 4, It supports the African countries in their efforts to settle their differences through peaceful consultations.
- 5, It maintains that the sovereignty of the African countries must be respected by all other countries and that all encroachment and interference from whatever quarter should be opposed.

The Chinese and Algerian peoples have formed an indestructible friendship in their common struggle for liberation. The two parties have noted with satisfaction that since the founding of the Democratic and People's Republic of Algeria, relations of friendship and co-operation between China and Algeria have developed considerably. They hold that the continued consolidation and development of their co-operation are in the interests of the two peoples, of the strengthening of Afro-Asian solidarity, and contribute to the maintenance of world peace and the promotion of human progress.

The two parties have the firm conviction that the present visit of Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier

Chen Yi has made an important contribution to the strengthening of the friendship of the Chinese and Algerian peoples and to the further development of relations of friendly co-operation between the two countries.

On behalf of Chairman Liu Shao-chi and in his own name, Premier Chou En-lai invited President Ben Bella to visit the People's Republic of China at a date to be fixed later. President Ben Bella accepted the invitation with pleasure.

Sino-Moroccan Joint Communiqué

Following is the full text of the joint communiqué of the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of His Majesty the King of Morocco issued in Rabat on December 31, 1963.—Ed.

AT the invitation of His Majesty Hassan II, His Excellency Mr. Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, accompanied by His Excellency Marshal Chen Yi, Vice-Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs and other high-ranking officials, paid an official visit to Morocco from December 27 to 30, 1963.

During their visit, Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi were received by His Majesty the King. They had an extensive exchange of views with His Majesty on the international situation in general and on developments in Africa and Asia in particular.

They also held talks with His Excellency Mr. Hadj Ahmed Bahnini, Premier, and His Excellency Mr. Ahmed Reda Guedira, Minister of Foreign Affairs of His Majesty's Government. These extremely cordial talks covered problems of common interest and the prospects of the friendly co-operation existing between the two countries in the economic, technical and cultural fields.

The two parties reviewed with satisfaction the fruitful development of the relations of friendship and co-operation between the two countries since the establishment of diplomatic relations, and consider that this co-operation is of benefit to both parties. They expressed the desire that for the interest of the two countries this co-operation should be extended to other fields where concrete and practical results can be produced.

In the international field, the Chinese side supports the policy of peace, neutrality and non-alignment followed by the Government of His Majesty the King of Morocco. Both parties expressed themselves in favour of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems and of extensive international co-operation based on equality and mutual benefit. The Chinese side thanked the Government of His Majesty the King of Morocco for its support for the restoration of China's legitimate rights in the United Nations.

Both parties affirm their support for the realization of general disarmament and the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons, and they express their willingness to work indefatigably for that end, in concert with all peace-loving countries and peoples the world over.

The struggle of the peoples of Africa and Asia against colonialism and racism is a combat in which both countries are engaged; independence and dignity are still among the principal objectives of all the African peoples remaining under foreign domination.

Both parties consider that the common struggle against under-development is inseparable from their struggle against neo-colonialism, for only when the economic independence and prosperity of the peoples are ensured can they have their genuine independence and freedom.

The two Governments acclaim the birth of the Charter of the Organization of African Unity and consider that the creation of this organization is an event of considerable importance for the unity of Africa and the progress of that continent. The creation of this organization falls within the framework of the principles of the historic Bandung Conference which has never ceased to inspire the action of the African and Asian peoples for their complete liberation.

Likewise, the two parties reaffirm their endorsement of the principle of non-interference in other countries' internal affairs, of the peaceful settlement of international disputes by means of negotiation, of the settlement of questions between Asian and African countries left over by history by the same means and in the spirit of justice and equity, as well as of the liquidation of all vestiges of colonialism.

The two parties affirm their support for the Arab people of Palestine whose tragic situation has placed the peace and security of this part of the world in constant danger.

Premier Chou En-lai praised the successes achieved by His Majesty's Government and the Moroccan people in their efforts to consolidate national independence and develop the national economy and for the evacuation of foreign military bases, as well as their support to the African peoples in their struggle for national independence.

In the name of all the Chinese envoys of friendship, Premier Chou En-lai expressed his sincere thanks to His Majesty Hassan II, to His Majesty's Government and the people of Morocco for the magnificent welcome and warm hospitality accorded to them during their sojourn in Morocco.

The two parties affirm their conviction that Premier Chou En-lai's present visit to Morocco has made an important contribution to the strengthening of friendship between the Chinese and Moroccan peoples and to the continued development of the relations of friendship and co-operation between the two countries.

On behalf of Chairman Liu Shao-chi and in his own name, Premier Chou En-lai invited His Majesty Hassan II to visit the People's Republic of China at a date convenient to him. His Majesty Hassan II accepted this invitation.

African People's Example of Daring to Wage Armed Struggle and Seize Victory

Premier Chou En-lai Addresses the Algerian F.L.N. Cadres Meeting

Following is the full text of the speech delivered by Premier Chou En-lai on the evening of December 25, 1963, at the meeting of cadres of the Algerian National Liberation Front. Boldfaced emphases are ours. — Ed.

**Your Excellency Esteemed President Ben Bella,
Dear Friends and Brothers,**

I thank President Ben Bella for giving me the opportunity to speak at this meeting.

The Algerian National Liberation Front [F.L.N.] is the core of unity of all patriotic forces in Algeria and the shock force of the Algerian people's national construction. My colleagues and I are very glad of the opportunity to meet you here today. On behalf of the Communist Party and Government of China, and on behalf of Chinese revolutionary cadres and all the Chinese people, I extend my fraternal greetings and high esteem to you and your leader President Ben Bella.

Although we have been in Algeria only a few days, we have been deeply impressed and greatly inspired by the fighting spirit you have displayed in advancing your revolution while smashing the diverse schemes of the enemy and by the heroism which you have shown in defending and building your country in defiance of violence and difficulties.

The Algerian people are a people with a glorious revolutionary tradition. The Democratic and People's Republic of Algeria is a country born in the flames of struggle against imperialism and colonialism. For more than a century, the Algerian people carried on a heroic and indomitable struggle against French colonialism to cast off their colonial yoke and achieve independence and freedom.

When the torch of armed struggle was kindled in November 1954 in the Aures Mountains, a glorious page in Algerian history was opened, ushering in a new epoch in the Algerian revolution.

At the beginning, the Algerian National Liberation Army numbered only 3,000 partisans with no more than 500 outmoded shotguns at its disposal. But it persevered in the struggle, undaunted by the hundreds of thousands of colonial troops with modern equipment. After seven years' bloody war of resistance, the Algerian people finally succeeded in defeating the colonial rulers and founded the Democratic and People's Republic of Algeria.

The independence of Algeria in our era is a great event in the African national-liberation movement. For the other African peoples, it has set a brilliant example of daring to wage an armed struggle and daring to seize victory, and indicates to the oppressed nations throughout the world the correct road to win independence and freedom.

The great victory of the revolutionary struggle of the Algerian people shows that **the newborn revolutionary forces, though seemingly weak at first, can ultimately defeat the outwardly strong but decadent counter-revolutionary forces.** The Algerian revolutionaries have been able to overcome obstacle after obstacle and carry the national-liberation struggle from victory to victory because they have correct leadership, have confidence in the strength of the people while scorning the strength of the enemy, and uphold the anti-imperialist revolutionary line while combating the capitulationist line which does not oppose imperialism but is opposed to revolution.

The great victory of the revolutionary struggle of the Algerian people shows that **the masses of the people are an inexhaustible source of strength.** The Algerian revolutionaries have been able to persist in struggle and win victory under extremely difficult conditions because they go deep into, and arouse the masses and they have formed the broadest possible anti-imperialist national united front by uniting the workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals and all forces that can be united.

The great victory of the Algerian people's revolutionary struggle shows that **confronted with imperialist armed suppression, the oppressed nations can win independence and liberation only by fighting the counter-revolutionary armed forces with revolutionary armed forces.** The Algerian revolutionaries have defeated colonialism precisely because they firmly relied on the peasants and all revolutionary people, launched and persisted in armed struggle with the countryside as their base, and combined the other forms of struggle with armed struggle.

A correct revolutionary leadership, a broad united front and a revolutionary army are important not only to the struggle for the victory of the national-democratic revolution, but, undoubtedly, also to the further advance of the revolution.

The Algerian people, long tested in revolutionary struggle, know that **the winning of independence is not**

the end of the revolution but the beginning of new struggles. Having won independence, Algeria is still confronted with the great and arduous tasks of safeguarding and consolidating its political independence,¹ liquidating the colonial forces, carrying out land and other social reforms and developing its national economy and national culture.

We are glad to see that in order to realize these glorious, historic tasks, **the Algerian people, under the leadership of President Ben Bella and the F.L.N., are united in a resolute struggle against all kinds of disruptive schemes of the colonialists, are successfully pushing ahead the revolutionary cause and are determined to take the socialist road.**

In their efforts to safeguard and consolidate their political independence, the Algerian people have set up and strengthened a nationwide revolutionary regime to take the place of the old colonial ruling apparatus and, holding the revolutionary arms firmly in their grip, are vigilantly defending their newborn state.

In liquidating the colonial forces and realizing social reforms, the Algerian Government already has nationalized all the land seized by the colonialists and has declared that the task of land reform would be further carried out. It has taken over large numbers of colonialist-owned enterprises, recovered the right to issue currency and begun to control foreign trade.

In economic rehabilitation and development, the Algerian people, relying on their own strength, have successfully surmounted the difficulties deliberately created by the colonialists who thought that the Algerian people could not live without them. Contrary to their wish, Algeria's national economy has, in a little more than a year's time, started to move on the road of normal development.

All these correct measures show that the Algerian revolution is irresistibly developing in depth. This gives joy and encouragement to the Chinese people. **We firmly support the Algerian people in all their efforts to push ahead their revolution and to take the socialist road. We wholeheartedly wish them new and greater successes.**

In revolution or construction, it is of major significance whether the cadres can consistently preserve the revolutionary spirit and the revolutionary working style. During our visit of the last few days, we have found that **the Algerian cadres, who have long been tempered in the flames of the revolution, are carrying on and giving new force to the glorious tradition of working hard and living simply; they are working conscientiously and with vigour and maintaining close contacts with the masses of the people. Such a cadre force is a treasure to Algeria's revolutionary cause.**

The Chinese revolution also has traversed a long, hard road. In their revolutionary practice, the Chinese people have accumulated their own experience. Chairman Mao Tse-tung said in 1949: "We have had much valuable experience. A well-disciplined Party armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, using the method of self-criticism and linked with the masses of the people; an army under the leadership of such a Party; a united front of all revolutionary classes and all revolutionary

groups under the leadership of such a Party — these are the three main weapons with which we have defeated the enemy." By relying on these three main weapons the Chinese people won the great victory of the people's democratic revolution.

After this victory, we continue to push it forward, advancing the people's democratic revolution to the stage of socialist revolution. We unite with all the anti-imperialist forces of the world and carry forward a tit-for-tat struggle against imperialism. We resolutely suppress the remnants of counter-revolution at home to consolidate the people's democratic dictatorship. Among our people, we carry on a campaign for class education and self-remoulding. We have learnt how to manage economic affairs, to build socialism in a planned way, and step by step to establish an independent, comprehensive and modern, socialist national economic system. We educate all the cadres of our Party and of our country to carry on and develop our revolutionary tradition of working hard and living simply, of being modest and prudent, and to serve the people faithfully and attentively, sharing their weal and woe. Every few years, we start a nationwide rectification campaign to help our large number of cadres, by means of criticism and self-criticism, unceasingly to raise their class consciousness, to protect themselves from corrosion by bourgeois ideology. For, according to our experience, there are always some people who will vacillate and even fall out, whenever the revolution develops in depth. Nevertheless, if we carry out a correct policy, it is possible to unite more than 90 per cent of the population and lead them forward in the triumphant march along the road of revolution.

The truths of revolution cannot be monopolized. The revolutionaries of all countries will find the way for revolution suitable to the realities of their own country, and earn the support and respect of the popular masses so long as they rely on the masses and persevere in the revolution. Otherwise, they will be renounced, sooner or later, by the masses of the people. In all events, revolution, the locomotive of history, will break all barriers and speed onward.

Dear friends and brothers:

Today the victory and continuous development of the Algerian revolution is exercising an increasingly great, far-reaching influence on the anti-imperialist, revolutionary struggles of all the oppressed nations and oppressed people of the world, and on the African national-liberation movement in particular. As the banner of the Cuban revolution is flying over Latin America, so the banner of the Algerian revolution has risen high over the African continent.

Since the Algerian people rose in arms in 1954, enormous changes have taken place on the African continent where the national-liberation struggle is spreading like a prairie fire. Of the more than 50 countries and regions in Africa, already there have emerged more than 30 independent countries, comprising more than 80 per cent of the total population and occupying four-fifths of Africa's total area. In the countries and regions which are still under colonial domination, the struggle for national independence is gaining momentum. **The people of Africa want revolution, want to be the master of**

Africa; they want no imperialism and colonialism, old and new. Africa is bound to become an independent and free Africa. This is the mighty current of history which no reactionary force on earth can resist.

The awakening of the 300 million Africans and the moving of imperialism's colonial system in Africa towards its inevitable collapse are events of great historic importance in our time. The revolutionary African peoples, together with the revolutionary peoples of Asia and Latin America, are playing an increasingly important role in the development of the world situation; they are becoming a mighty force in the struggle against imperialism for the defence of world peace.

While fully appraising the significance of the great victories of the national-liberation movement, one must see that **imperialism is after all imperialism and that it will never withdraw from the stage of history of its own accord.** At present, the old colonialists are still kicking on their deathbeds. They are either trying their best to preserve their colonial rule by means of armed suppression or are adopting deceptive tactics in an attempt to make the independence of the new emerging countries more in name than in fact, or even in name only. While supporting the old colonialists in putting down the national-independence movement, the new colonialists dress themselves up as "friends" of the oppressed nations to intensify their penetration and expansion into the newly independent countries. Consequently, **opposition to imperialism and old and new colonialism remains a pressing task of paramount importance for the African, Asian and Latin American peoples.**

The Asian and African peoples realize from their own revolutionary practice that the achievement, safeguarding and consolidation of national independence depend mainly on the struggle of the peoples. The revolution of the people of different countries at all times can only be conducted by the peoples themselves and cannot be done for them by any other people and no interference from outside is permissible. Foreign aid is important, but it is only the people themselves who can make the decisive contribution to the victory of their own revolution.

Imperialism is the common enemy of the people throughout the world. The people of all countries need mutual support and help in order to win common victories in their common cause. The countries which have won victories in their revolutions in particular have the sacred duty to support and help the fraternal peoples who are carrying on heroic struggles for their independence and liberation. President Ben Bella has said: "So long as his brothers in Angola, Mozambique and South Africa and the African patriots are still subject to the colonialist suppression, no Algerian will think that he has achieved complete freedom." President Ben Bella's words have expressed the firm resolve of the revolutionary peoples of the whole world to close their ranks to deal with their common enemy.

Dear friends and brothers:

The present international situation is excellent. It is favourable to the intensive development of the Algerian revolution and to the revolutionary struggles of the people of all countries. The revolutionary forces of the peoples all over the world are growing rapidly. The

strength of the socialist countries is increasing continuously. The anti-imperialist revolutionary waves are surging over vast regions of Asia, Africa and Latin America. In the developed capitalist countries in Western Europe and North America, the broad masses of the working people are in the thick of vigorous mass struggles. All these forces converge and form a powerful irresistible torrent against imperialism and in defence of world peace. Imperialism is beset with ever greater difficulties. Its internal contradictions have sharpened. The imperialist countries are locked in open and covert strife and day by day are heading for disintegration. It can be seen clearly that **it is not the decaying forces of imperialism and old and new colonialism but the awakened revolutionary forces of the peoples which are truly powerful in the world today.** U.S. imperialism, which is armed to the teeth, cannot prevent the south Vietnamese people from winning victory after victory in their revolutionary armed struggle, nor can it prevent the growth of the Cuban people's revolution. More and more facts have proved that so long as the Asian, African and Latin American peoples unite and persist in their struggle, they will assuredly be able to defeat imperialism and old and new colonialism and advance triumphantly on the revolutionary road they have chosen for themselves.

There is a profound comradeship-in-arms between the Chinese and Algerian peoples. In the dark years when our two peoples were subjected to imperialist aggression and enslavement, in their bitter revolutionary struggles and in the magnificent cause of building their own countries after their victories, they have always sympathized with, felt concerned about, encouraged and supported each other. Our friendship and solidarity have been tested and are indestructible.

Our Algerian friends have often mentioned the Chinese people's assistance to Algeria. In our opinion, **to give assistance to the fighting Algerian people is our bounden international duty. Assistance is always mutual.** In fact, primarily, the Algerian people's struggle has helped us. **Our assistance to the Algerian people has been limited. The struggle and victory of the Algerian people are a great support and assistance to the people of China, the other socialist countries and all oppressed nations and peoples of the world.**

Our Algerian friends may rest assured that in the common cause of safeguarding national independence, strengthening Afro-Asian solidarity, opposing imperialism and defending world peace, the Chinese people will always remain united with the Algerian people and march forward with them hand in hand.

Long live the heroic Algerian people!

Long live the Democratic and People's Republic of Algeria!

Long live the Algerian National Liberation Front headed by President Ben Bella!

Long live the militant friendship of the Chinese and Algerian peoples!

Long live the victory of the great cause of the people of the whole world of uniting against imperialism!

Long live world peace!

Premier Chou En-lai's Press Conference

On December 26, 1963, Premier Chou En-lai held a press conference in Algiers attended by the reporters of the Algerian press and a Cuban correspondent. Following are his answers to questions put to him by the newsmen. Subheads are ours.—Ed.

PREMIER Chou En-lai first dealt with the purpose of his current African tour. He said: We come to Africa in order to seek friendship and co-operation, and take this opportunity to familiarize ourselves well with those African states which have established diplomatic relations with China, to gain more knowledge and to learn all that is useful from the peoples of those countries. Our purpose has been successfully fulfilled during our visits to the United Arab Republic and Algeria.

Sino-Algerian Friendly Relations Will Grow

Speaking of the future development of Sino-Algerian friendly relations, Premier Chou En-lai said: The friendly relations between China and Algeria will certainly be developed still further on the basis of the militant friendship built in the past. Revolutionary China and revolutionary Algeria can enter into friendly co-operation in all fields.

In reply to questions put by the newsmen, Premier Chou En-lai said: China's experience in socialist revolution and socialist construction after its liberation can only serve as a kind of reference for the Algerian people who are carrying their revolution forward and have taken the path of socialism under the leadership of the National Liberation Front and President Ben Bella. Conditions in China and in Algeria are not quite the same. The advance of the Algerian revolution depends mainly on the Algerian people drawing their own experience from their revolutionary practice in accordance with revolutionary principles. This is most dependable and most useful.

Chinese and Cuban Peoples Stand Together

Answering a question put by the Cuban correspondent, the Chinese Premier said: We wholeheartedly support the two Havana Declarations, and in particular the views and propositions concerning the national-liberation struggle in Latin America contained in the Second Havana Declaration.

He went on to say: the Cuban people, holding high the revolutionary banner and triumphant in their revolution, have pointed out for the peoples of other Latin American countries the path of armed struggle to break away from imperialist control and attain national liberation. With the emergence of revolutionary Cuba, there

will appear in Latin America a second and third Cuba, just as with the emergence of revolutionary Algeria, there will appear in Africa a second and third Algeria. The African peoples are awakening, and so are the Latin American peoples. The bonfire of revolution has been lit in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and the imperialists and old and new colonialists cannot possibly snuff it out.

Premier Chou En-lai said: We have great admiration for the spirit of the revolutionary people of Cuba who under the leadership of Premier Fidel Castro persevere in opposing U.S. imperialism and refuse to submit. During the Caribbean crisis last year, Premier Castro proclaimed that Cuba would not knuckle under to U.S. imperialism even if it had to fight to the last man. This call of justice forced the ringleaders of U.S. imperialism to think twice, and the Cuban people eventually emerged victorious in rejecting intervention by U.S. imperialism. Now the chieftains of U.S. imperialism are again clamouring for intervention in and attack on Cuba, but the Cuban people, with their indomitable fighting spirit and under the leadership of Premier Castro, will surely win new victories.

He said: The Cuban people are not alone. They have the support of other Latin American peoples and the people all over the world. The Chinese people will for ever range themselves with the Cuban people in the fight against U.S. imperialism.

Premier Chou En-lai said: I wish to avail myself of the opportunity in faraway Africa to pay my highest tribute to the revolutionary Cuban people.

Second Afro-Asian Conference Supported

Referring to the question of convening a Second Afro-Asian Conference, Premier Chou En-lai said: China supports President Sukarno's proposal for the convocation of a Second Afro-Asian Conference. The ten principles laid down at the First Afro-Asian Conference have had a great influence on the national-liberation movement in Asia and Africa. In our opinion, the Second Afro-Asian Conference, should it take place, would render the ten principles of the First Afro-Asian Conference more specific, enabling them to play a still bigger role in the task of accelerating the end of colonial rule, of further liquidating the colonial forces in the Asian and African countries, and of promoting economic co-operation among them.

Referring to the question of a second conference of non-aligned countries, Premier Chou said: being a committed country, China obviously will not participate in a conference of non-aligned countries. We support the results of the first conference of non-aligned countries in opposing imperialism, defending world peace, combating

colonialism and supporting the national-independence movement. I believe that the second conference of non-aligned countries, should it take place, would follow the policy of the previous conference; otherwise, it would fail to play the progressive role of arousing the people of the world to struggle.

Self-Reliant Development of National Economies

Speaking about development of the national economy in Asian and African countries, Premier Chou said: The Asian and African countries, in liquidating the colonial forces and developing their own national economies, should mainly rely on the efforts of their peoples, that is, "rely on oneself," a phrase we often use. On the other hand, we should also rely on the mutual support of friendly countries and mutual assistance with no political conditions attached. Only in this way can relations of genuine equality be established among the Asian and African countries, relations which are different from those relations of inequality existing between the colonial powers and the colonies and semi-colonies. With our efforts in these two respects, we, the Asian and African countries, can certainly free ourselves from economic backwardness and develop independently. It is my belief that with their abundant manpower and rich resources, the Asian and African countries, once developed, not only can catch up with but can also surpass the Western industrialized countries.

Revolutionary People Can Overcome All Difficulties

Speaking on the question of the revolutionary peoples overcoming economic difficulties, Premier Chou En-lai said: Unlike the difficulties of the decadent imperialist countries, which are unsurmountable, the difficulties confronting the revolutionary countries can be overcome.

In the revolutionary countries, the role of man is decisive in overcoming difficulties. Take China for instance. For three consecutive years we suffered from serious natural calamities. However, we have overcome the resulting difficulties by relying on the collective efforts of the rural people's communes and on the combined efforts of the people throughout the country. Last year's harvest was better than that of the year before and this year's is better than that of last year. This shows that the revolutionary people can overcome any difficulties by relying on their collective efforts.

Premier Chou said: In Algeria, we have seen that although it made heavy sacrifices and suffered severely during the seven odd years of war against colonial rule, the country, by relying on the strength of the people, is successfully healing its war wounds only a little more than one year after independence.

He said: With confidence in the strength of the people, especially the working people, one can work great wonders under correct leadership. This is beyond the expectations of the imperialists and reactionaries.

China's Legitimate Rights in U.N.

Referring to China's legitimate rights in the United Nations, Premier Chou said: The United Nations must restore to China its legitimate seat and drive out the representative of the Chiang Kai-shek clique which can in no way represent the Chinese people. By keeping the representative of the Chiang clique in its Security Council and other organs the United Nations can only harm itself, and prevent itself from playing its proper role whereas China loses nothing by it. China has existed and grown in the past 14 years and it will continue to grow.

The press conference lasted more than one hour.

Premier Chou En-lai on the Growing Friendship Between the Chinese And African Peoples

Interview Given to the Correspondent of Middle East News

Premier Chou En-lai answered a number of questions put to him by the correspondent of the Middle East News in Cairo on December 20, 1963. Below we print the full text of questions and answers. Boldfaced emphases are ours. — Ed.

Question 1:

Your Excellency, what is your opinion about the future of relations between the U.A.R. and People's China? By what means can these relations be consolidated, and

in what respects do you think these relations can be strengthened?

Answer: China and the U.A.R. have built up good relations of co-operation between themselves on the basis of the ten principles of the Bandung Conference and the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. There is a very broad future for the development of these relations of friendship and co-operation between the two countries.

China and the U.A.R. have before them the common task of combating imperialism and old and new colonial-

ism, upholding national independence, strengthening Afro-Asian solidarity and safeguarding world peace. In this respect our two countries should further strengthen our co-operation and support each other. Our two peoples are building up their own countries, developing their independent national economies and national cultures. In this regard, too, our two countries should learn from each other and help each other. It is my belief that the traditional friendship between the Chinese and U.A.R. peoples will grow each day.

Question 2:

Your Excellency, what is your opinion about the future of relations between People's China and the independent African countries? Is China ready to establish economic and technical relations with the African countries?

Answer: The Chinese and African peoples have gone through the same experience of being subjected to aggression and enslavement by imperialism and colonialism. They are carrying on the common struggle against imperialism and old and new colonialism and for safeguarding world peace. They share the same desire to strengthen unity and build up their own countries. As the national-liberation movement in Africa is winning one victory after another, it is most natural that the relations of friendship and co-operation between China and the African countries have developed and will continue to develop speedily.

China has established diplomatic relations with many African countries, and concluded with them agreements on economic and technical co-operation as well as trade and cultural agreements. Furthermore, China has concluded treaties of friendship with a number of African countries. China and the African countries have been co-operating closely in international affairs.

China is ready to strengthen further its co-operative relations with the African countries in the economic, technical, cultural and other fields and to learn from and support each other in building up their own countries. I am convinced that the great friendship between the Chinese and African peoples will develop and shine with growing radiance.

Question 3:

Would Your Excellency tell us briefly about China's progress in carrying out its industrialization and development plans? What is China's new development plan for the coming few years?

Answer: To realize socialist industrialization is a great, historical task of the Chinese people in the building of socialism after the victory of the revolution.

Prolonged imperialist and colonial oppression and plundering made old China a poor and backward country. At that time, industry accounted for a very small proportion of the whole national economy; its foundation was very weak and heavy industry was insignificant. Moreover, more than 70 per cent of its industry was concentrated at a few coastal cities. The industry of old China bore a markedly colonial and semi-colonial character.

In the short span of 14 post-liberation years, the Chinese people, relying on their own efforts and rising in ever greater vigour, have achieved tremendous successes in the building of socialism. Starting from 1953 and through two Five-Year Plans of construction, China's industry has grown tremendously. We have laid the preliminary, solid foundation for an independent industry.

In the past we had no metallurgical industry capable of turning out a great variety of products, no large-scale petroleum industry or synthetic chemical industry, nor did we have tractor and automobile manufacturing, aeronautic, heavy machine-building, precision machine tools and precision meters and instruments industries. Now, we have begun setting up all these new branches of industry. Many big, modern industrial enterprises can now be built mainly by relying on our own strength; this includes designing and equipping them with installations made by ourselves.

To a much greater extent now we can produce by ourselves the equipment and materials needed for our socialist construction. In the First Five-Year Plan period about 55 per cent of such equipment was produced by ourselves and this increased to about 85 per cent in the Second Five-Year Plan period. At present about 90 per cent of our rolled steel is produced by ourselves.

At the same time, there has been a marked change in the distribution of our industries. Now, industry has grown in varying degrees in various regions in our vast and multinational country.

We have consistently followed the policy of relying on our own efforts in our construction. According to our experience, an independent, comprehensive and modern national economic system, can be set up only by mainly relying on the industriousness of the people, by making full use of the rich resources of the country and by tapping all its potentialities.

We have always pursued in our construction the policy of taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor. According to our experience, only when agriculture is developed will there be adequate food grain for the industrial cities and abundant raw materials, ample manpower and an extensive domestic market for industry, thus bringing about a steady development of the latter. Likewise will the problems of clothing, food and other daily necessities of the people be solved gradually and the standard of living be raised step by step.

Of course, the level of China's industry is at present behind the advanced level of the world. The task of construction confronting us remains an arduous one. But the liberated Chinese people are fully confident that an independent, comprehensive, modern and socialist national economic system will be created in our country in not too long a historical period, thus enabling it to have a modern agriculture, a modern industry, a modern national defence and modern science and techniques. We shall continue to forge ahead towards this goal.

Question 4:

Your Excellency, is there any special plan to meet and deal with the problem of the ever growing Chinese population?

Answer: The Chinese population increases at an average annual rate of about 2 per cent, that is, more than 10 million. This is not a small figure. However, the Chinese population is not too big compared with the country's physical conditions—its vast territory and rich natural resources, and with the gigantic task confronting our people in building up their country. It comes to an average of 70 odd persons per square kilometre, which is lower than Britain, the Netherlands, Belgium and France.

We are now promoting family planning. We believe that it will help in raising gradually the living standards of our people and will be conducive to the health of mothers and to the physical constitution of the coming generations and their education.

We Asian and African countries are poor and backward not because our populations grow at too fast a rate, but because we were subjected for a long period to exploitation and plunder by the imperialists and colonialists. Once we have freed ourselves from the colonial fetters of imperialism, and endeavour to develop an independent national economy, our countries will become strong and prosperous day by day.

Question 5:

Sir, when do you expect China to be admitted into the United Nations?

Answer: China is one of the founding members of the United Nations. Therefore, the question is not about admitting China into the United Nations, but restoring to it its legitimate rights in the United Nations. The United States keeps the United Nations under its thumb, and arbitrarily plants the representative of the Chiang Kai-shek gang which was disowned by the Chinese people long ago, in China's seat in the United Nations. This is utterly unjustifiable and most unpopular. In doing so, the United States cannot prevent in the least the People's Republic of China from playing an ever more prominent role in international affairs, but instead, will seriously jeopardize the prestige of the United Nations. If the United Nations still hopes to maintain its original aims and gain the confidence of the peoples of the world, it must get rid of the representative of the Chiang Kai-shek gang and restore to the People's Republic of China its legitimate rights.

Question 6:

What, in Your Excellency's opinion, is the prospect of the military treaties, especially on the continent of Asia?

Answer: The military treaties of an aggressive character imposed by the imperialists on some Asian countries gravely menace peace in Asia and the world, and flagrantly encroach upon the sovereignty of the Asian member states of these treaties. These military treaties have encountered ever stronger opposition among the Asian peoples and suffered increasingly heavy reverses. It is certain that these military treaties of an aggressive character will eventually go completely bankrupt in Asia.

Question 7:

What are Your Excellency's views on the role of the non-aligned nations in the international sphere? Is China, a big power, willing to help the non-aligned states, there-

by helping them to maintain their policy of neutrality and non-alignment?

Answer: A true non-alignment policy means non-participation in military blocs of an aggressive character in any form, and opposition to the imperialist policies of aggression. Many Asian and African countries follow such a policy and are thus playing a great positive role in strengthening Afro-Asian solidarity, combating aggression and intervention by old and new colonialists and safeguarding world peace.

The imperialists energetically oppose Asian and African countries following a true non-alignment policy of peace and neutrality. An obvious example is the recent intensified U.S. intervention in and pressure on Cambodia.

The Chinese Government and people have all along fully respected the non-alignment policy of peace and neutrality pursued by Asian and African countries. They support and help those countries in their just struggle against imperialist aggression and intervention.

Question 8:

Your Excellency is certainly aware of the fact that all member states, governments and peoples of the Afro-Asian group take much interest and pin great hopes not only on the settlement of the Sino-Indian dispute, but also on developing the relations between the two countries—two major powers in the peace-loving Afro-Asian family. Would Your Excellency care to comment on that?

Answer: China is very grateful to the Asian and African countries, particularly the six Colombo Conference nations, for their mediatory efforts in the Sino-Indian boundary dispute and their efforts to bring about a reconciliation between China and India. I am convinced that these efforts will yield positive results.

The Sino-Indian boundary question is an issue left over by history. The Sino-Indian boundary has never been formally delimited. The Chinese Government has always held that China and India should settle their boundary question peacefully through negotiations in a spirit of equality, mutual understanding and mutual accommodation, and pending a settlement of the question, the status quo of the boundary should be maintained and not be altered by force. China is not to blame for the armed conflict that took place in the Sino-Indian border areas.

As a result of the series of efforts made by China on its own initiative, such as the ceasefire and withdrawal of frontier guards, the situation has been eased in the Sino-Indian border areas and favourable conditions have been created for re-opening Sino-Indian negotiations.

The Chinese Government has repeatedly proposed that negotiations be re-opened, and has accepted in principle the Colombo proposals as a basis for negotiations. In its opinion, neither side should make its own interpretation of the Colombo proposals a precondition for the opening of negotiations. It is regrettable, however, that so far no corresponding response has been made to our conciliatory efforts and reasonable views.

No matter how the situation may develop, the Chinese Government will not waver in its stand for a peaceful and negotiated settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question. I am convinced that no matter how long the issue may drag out, it will eventually be settled in a fair and reasonable manner by peaceful means. The great friendship between the Chinese and Indian peoples will certainly be maintained and developed.

Question 9:

Sir, what do you think of the regional federations such as the Malaysia Federation?

Answer: The Malaysia Federation is a federation in form while in reality it is a product of the British colonialists with the backing of the United States. It fails to reflect the will of the local people for self-determination and independence. It is only natural that in the spirit of the Bandung Conference, the Indonesian Government and people should oppose the Malaysia Federation which poses a direct threat to the independence and security of Indonesia. The Chinese Government and people support this just struggle of the Indonesian Government and people.

Question 10:

Would Your Excellency suggest any new meeting among Asian countries?

Answer: Indonesian President Sukarno has proposed the convening of a Second Asian-African Conference. China actively supports this proposal. In our opinion, the convocation of such a conference will play an important role in the Asian and African countries' effort to win and safeguard their national independence, strengthen their unity and co-operation, oppose imperialism and defend world peace. We are glad to see that this proposal of President Sukarno's has won the approval of quite a number of Asian and African countries. China is ready to work seriously for the realization of this proposal together with all the other Asian and African countries.

In order to strengthen Asian-African solidarity, it is useful for the leaders of Asian and African countries to hold bilateral or multilateral contacts. Prince Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, has proposed to hold a meeting of heads of Asian states. China actively supports this proposal.

Question 11:

What is Your Excellency's opinion of the idea of preventing the non-nuclear countries from joining the atomic club as a step towards a complete ban on nuclear weapons? What is your view on the denuclearization of some continents and the establishment of a nuclear weapon-free zone in Central Europe?

Answer: The Chinese Government and people have consistently advocated complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. At present, the threat to world peace lies in the U.S. imperialist policy of nuclear war preparations and nuclear blackmail, and not in the possession by non-nuclear countries of the necessary means of self-defence. Therefore, the first and foremost step for the realization of the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons should be for the

nuclear powers to undertake explicit obligations not to use, export, manufacture or test nuclear weapons. Failure to do so and efforts to prevent non-nuclear countries from possessing the necessary means of self-defence can only help U.S. imperialism in its policy of nuclear war preparations and nuclear blackmail and can in no way eliminate the danger of a nuclear war.

Back in 1960 the Chinese Government proposed the establishment of a nuclear weapon-free zone in the Asian and Pacific regions, including the United States. We have always supported the proposals for establishing nuclear weapon-free zones in Central Europe, Africa and Latin America. In order to realize these proposals, the countries possessing nuclear weapons should of course undertake due obligations with regard to each of the nuclear weapon-free zones.

Question 12:

Your Excellency, what are your views in regard to the role of American policy in world politics and in the endeavour to realize world peace? When do you think will there be fundamental changes in American policy and how will it change?

Answer: One must mainly examine the actual deeds of a country in order to judge the role of its policy in international affairs. Today, the United States is stationing about one million troops in dozens of countries, U.S. military bases are spread over a greater part of the world, U.S. nuclear submarines ply the oceans, and U.S. nuclear planes fly over all the continents. In Asia, the United States is occupying south Korea and China's territory of Taiwan, it is carrying out aggression and intervention in Laos and even waging inhuman "special warfare" in south Viet Nam. The U.S. policies of aggression and war have seriously endangered world peace.

There is no indication whatsoever that the United States will change its policies of aggression and war. However, I believe that so long as the peace-loving countries and peoples of the world become more united and wage a resolute struggle, the U.S. policies of aggression and war can be frustrated and world peace can be preserved.

Question 13:

According to all reports so far, the differences between China and the Soviet Union are purely ideological. Is it so, Your Excellency? Or, are there other causes or motives? Are there any immediate, or expected, prospects of a rapprochement of views and restoration of co-operative relations between the two major Eastern powers?

Answer: The differences between us and the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union involve the understanding of and approach to the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism. We are convinced that these differences will eventually be settled on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. Both China and the Soviet Union are socialist countries. The fundamental interest of the Chinese and Soviet peoples are in accord. In the circumstances in which the imperialists remain hostile to the socialist countries, the Chinese and Soviet peoples are bound to unite in a common struggle against the enemy.

ACROSS THE LAND

1963 Industrial Gains

AS 1963 drew to a close, production targets on the nation's industrial front were fulfilled ahead of schedule. In factories and mines quality has been improved and the range of products widened while production costs were cut.

Petroleum. China is now basically self-sufficient in petroleum products.

In the crucial area of crude oil the annual plan was exceeded 20 days before the end of the year. Petrol, diesel oil, kerosene and lubricants hit the state targets 35 days in advance. Trebling its 1957 figure, the petroleum industry now turns out several hundred products. Many high-grade items which formerly came from abroad have been trial produced and put on the market.

Capital construction in the petroleum industry was carried out last year on a scale larger than in any previous year. Processing capacity of new refining installations constructed in 1963 is more than five times that of 1962. It now takes less investments and time (almost one year less) to build a big refinery. Such a plant, designed by

Chinese experts, makes full use of China's latest technical achievements in oil refining.

Coal. Mid-December found the national coal production goal reached; per diem output climbed above the state plan by 20,000-30,000 tons nearly every day. The consumption of timber props was cut down and the quality of coal was improved as the percentage of ash and impurities in coal were reduced in all 66 major mining administrations.

Iron and Steel. China's major iron and steel centres have announced pre-schedule fulfilment of their output targets. The Anshan Iron and Steel Company, the nation's leading steel centre, overshot its targets in rolled steel, pig iron and other items ahead of time. It produced 36 more new steel products than in 1962, almost half of them needed for tractors, tractor-drawn implements, combine harvesters and drainage and irrigation equipment. Most of these had to be imported previously. Also being turned out in Anshan are large amounts of alloy steel plates and stainless seamless steel tubes which are vital for equipping synthetic ammonia plants.

The steel centres in Wuhan (central China), Shihchingshan (Peking), Pao-tow (north China) and Chungking (southwest China) also reached many of their year's targets ahead of time.

Tractor. The Loyang Tractor Plant, China's largest, completed its plan a month in advance. It was expected that the plant would round off the year by turning out one-fifth more tractors than in 1962.

Chemicals. By November chemical factories had produced 23 per cent more nitrogenous and 45 per cent more phosphate fertilizers than the state plan called for. Other agricultural chemicals also topped the plan, by 5 per cent, one month ahead of schedule, an increase of 13.3 per cent over 1962.

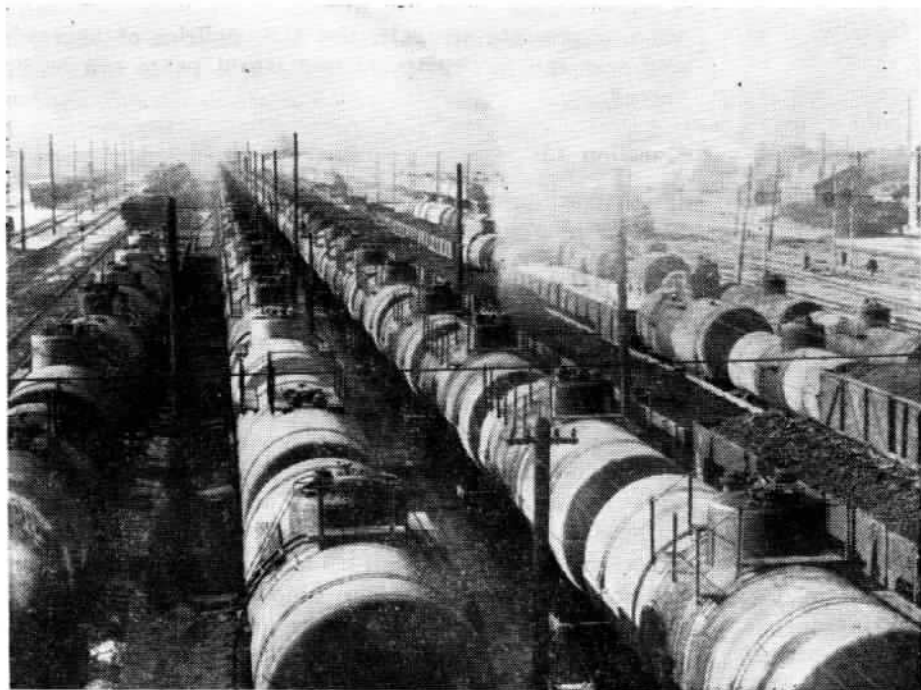
Timber. China's timber production targets have been exceeded one month ahead of schedule. Timber centres in the northeast and Inner Mongolia, which supply two-thirds of the country's timber, met their targets by mid-December.

Those profits from the nation's industrial and mining enterprises, turned over to the state in the first ten months of the year, equalled the amount set for the whole year. Profits turned over by the petroleum and chemical industries alone were enough to build six bridges the size of the 1,100-metre bridge spanning the Yangtse River at Wuhan.

Wage increases for 40 per cent of China's workers and employees were received in 1963. At the same time, production costs were down. Thus, industry and mining shaved the cost of products by some 8 per cent. Large savings in coal and electric power helped accomplish this. Up to December 10, the country had saved 12 million tons of coal and 2,100 million kwh. of electric power, enough to smelt 6 million tons of pig iron and spin 10 million bales of cotton yarn.

Yi People on Socialist Road

FROM mountainous southwest Szechuan Province the Liangshan Yi Autonomous *Chou* reports an 8 per cent grain increase in 1963. The region grows more than enough grain now to feed its population of 850,000. Grain crops in the *chou* have increased steadily since 1958 following the organization of cc-op farms among the 700,000



Trains of oil tankers

Yi minority people. Last year's figures also show 16 per cent more livestock than in 1962.

Until 1958, seven out of ten Yi families were underfed slaves. Farming was primitive and crude, unable to raise enough to feed the population properly. Not knowing the use of manure, the Yis reaped only one crop a year, buckwheat. Iron ploughshares were a rarity, slave owners used what iron they had to make swords and chains to curb their slaves.

Liangshan was liberated in 1950 and the autonomous *chou* founded two years later. In compliance with the demands of the slaves and with the agreement of a part of the upper social strata among the Yi people, the local government between 1956 and 1958 carried out democratic reforms—abolition of the slave system, emancipation of slaves and distribution of land. Since then the region has taken the socialist road.

Now land is being tilled by free peasants, members of farm co-ops, using metal tools and natural and chemical fertilizer to grow wheat, rice, maize, rape and other crops. Paddyrice is widely cultivated and double cropping by rotating winter wheat with an autumn crop has become common practice. Since 1958, more than a thousand larger irrigation channels have been constructed, thereby bringing almost all the ricefields under irrigation.

Cut off from the outside by surrounding mountains, the area was once practically isolated from the rest of the country. Today it has more than 1,100 kilometres of roads and 3,500 kilometres of caravan trails. This road network has given the region new prospects, opening up markets for local produce and bringing in an influx of manufactured goods.

A variety of consumer goods are found in the 220 state shops and stores scattered about the eight counties of this sprawling autonomous *chou*. Pre-liberation Liangshan did not have a single shop. Schools for Yi children were unheard of in the past. Now they have 700 primary and middle schools. At the same time, modern medicine and hospitals are ringing down the curtain for good on the superstitious practices which were pre-

viously the Yi people's main reliance in time of sickness or injury.

Winter Fruit and Vegetables In Heilungkiang

ABUNDANT fruit and vegetable supplies are in evidence in the cities and mining districts of China's northernmost province, Heilungkiang, despite subzero temperatures. The newly developed winter vegetable growing areas in the suburbs account for a large part of the available green beans, cucumbers, egg plants and celery.

In addition to an ample selection of oranges, pears, apples and persimmons, bananas and pineapples from subtropical Kwangtung Province are brought in by rail and road. With an eye to the New Year celebrations, stores also stocked up on preserved fruit, sweet lotus-roots, raisins and walnuts. Heilungkiang's fruit supply last year doubled that of 1962.

Pork, mutton, poultry and fish are on sale throughout the province. Compared with 1962, sales of pork (China's most common meat fare) quadrupled in the first 11 months of 1963.

More Improved Farm Seed

THE growth and use of improved and purer seed by the people's communes is one factor in higher crop yields in recent years. More land was sown to improved strains last year than previous years. Crops of improved strains of grain in Shantung, Kiangsu, Chekiang and other provinces covered an area exceeding 54 million *mu*; the area under new and regenerated strains of improved cotton was 5.2 million *mu*, nearly quadrupling that of 1962. Areas where propagation of improved cotton strains have been better utilized—Kiangsu Province and around Shanghai—plan to sow all this year's crop with such strains as part of a drive to grow more cotton.

A large supply of improved strains of seed has been made possible by the help of 1,600 model seed farms. Seed stations for the propagation of improved strains have been set up in more than four-fifths of China's counties. Major cotton areas have 118 cotton seed farms growing improved

strains for communes. Last year, 1,700,000 *mu* using such strains were cultivated specially for seed.

With more commune members trained and mobilized to identify and select superior seed in 1963, the quality of grain and cotton seed is up over past years. Propagation of improved strains of oil-bearing crops, tobacco, tea and fruit also has been carried out in many areas.

No More Beggars in Lhasa

FOR the first time the streets of centuries-old Lhasa, capital of Tibet, are free of roaming beggars and vagabonds.

In the past five years the municipal people's government has helped more than 3,700 Lhasa beggars and vagrants to find jobs and decent housing. Many are now employed as handicraftsmen and building workers, and their school-age children are in school. A welfare institute has been set up for the aged and handicapped, providing them with a roof over their heads, food, clothing and free medical service. Others have been settled in the suburbs or in their native villages from which they had fled as victims of feudal serfdom before the democratic reforms.

One of the capital's worst eye-sores, a notorious slum of ramshackle sheds and tattered tents, has been done away with. The residents of this onetime squalor, two-thirds of whom were full-time alms seekers, have moved into government housing.

Briefs

China's first heavy-duty vertical lathe capable of processing workpieces 6.3 m. in diameter was recently produced by a plant in Wuhan. Nine-metre high and more than 200 tons in weight, it is operated by a remote control system and allows a tolerance of less than 0.03 mm.

* * *

Cancer was a major topic of discussion at a recent meeting of the Society of Pathology of the Chinese Medical Association. More than 40 per cent of the 318 papers submitted dealt with its problems. Other papers summed up findings on diseases of the liver and blood vessels of the heart, endemic and parasitic diseases.

Crop From the Countryside

Painters, graphic artists and sculptors who have been out to live and work in the countryside raised a triple harvest. Not to speak of the crops which they helped the peasants cultivate, they themselves gained politically in training and transforming themselves, and artistically, too, they were inspired to produce a fine crop of paintings, drawings, new designs and compositions.

In the last few months a number of exhibitions have been held to show the art work that has resulted from these country stays. The exhibition of "New Scenes From the Countryside" recently held in Beihai Park was just a part of these new works brought back by these Peking artists.

It was a colourful collection of 131 oils, traditional-style paintings, woodcuts, watercolours, cartoons, posters and sculptures, all on the theme of the people's communes, the peasants' new life, collective farm work and the nationwide drive to help agriculture. . . . There was a big range of styles and moods, Chou Ling-chao's *Transporting Manure* is a fresh, decorative little panel in rich, pure colours. A bevy of Tung girls from Kwangsi are shown sitting in a boat with a dozen buckets of precious fertilizer, while a young man rows them vigorously, singing lustily the while. The veteran Kuo Wei-chu in *Vegetables* contributed a vertical scroll of baskets of tomatoes and other vegetables. A corner of a storehouse or of a village market stall? . . . No matter, it is a lyrical reminder of the abundance and beauty being created by our farming collectives.



Thinning Out the Plants

Oil painting by Chang Wen-hsin

Such paintings have meant great gains to artists. When they first went to the countryside some of them were looking out for accustomed themes: were the peasants "good looking"? Was the scenery "picturesque"? . . . But after months of living and working together with the peasants such ideas began to change. Those weatherbeaten faces that had hardly seemed ideal for painting now offered new interest and beauty. Artists became eager to record in paint or in black and white their sincerity, honesty of purpose and diligence.

But the impulse to paint is one thing and the actual execution another. The artists found themselves faced with a hundred intriguing problems of artistic creation: of the relation between form and content, the need to seek out new, meaningful artistic images, how to depict the new textures of the countryside. . . . One artist eager to show the peasants at work doubted, when he had made his sketches, whether the stoop or bent back of the toilers had the necessary aesthetic grace. He had evidently found his own solution, as his oil painting *Thinning Out the Plants* showed a happily apt and attractive treatment of this theme.

The exhibition left viewers eager for a sight of the next crop of art works from the villages.

SHORT NOTES

Peking is enjoying a rich programme of cultural entertainment over the New Year. Here are a few highlights.

The Museum of Chinese Art features three large exhibitions:

* Exhibition of paintings commemorating the 100th anniversary of

Stamps Honouring Cuba. The first set of Chinese stamps issued in 1964 (on January 1) commemorates the 5th anniversary of Cuba's liberation (1959-64). Designed by Wan Weisheng, two stamps, both in the 8-fen denomination, make up the set.



the birth of the late great painter Chi Pai-shih.

* Fifth National Graphic Arts Exhibition showing 371 new works since 1959.

* Seventh National Photography Exhibition showing 327 prints. Pictures of the people's communes are a special feature.

* * *

New films now showing include *On the Road of the People's Commune*, a documentary which traces the development of Wukung Village, Hopei Province, from one of the earliest land-pooling farming groups 20 years ago to the partially mechanized, electrified people's commune it is today. There are also quite a number of new feature films both Chinese and foreign.

* * *

Peking's many stages offer a varied programme of new operas and plays portraying contemporary life. *By the Chienkan River* and *The Fen River Flows On*, two modern plays, and *Chaoyang Ditch*, a Honan opera, about the countryside; *Hung Hsia*, a Kunqu opera about a girl revolutionary; *Xiangyang Department Store* and *Girl Accountant*, about city workers; are some to look out for.

ROUND THE WORLD

U.S. Imperialism

Nineteen-sixtythree saw decadent U.S. imperialism slide further down the slippery slope leading to disintegration. At home—heavy unemployment, resurgence of the popular movement against Negro oppression, and deadly in-fighting among the ruling monopoly groups. Abroad—the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America hitting hard at the intruding Yankees and, in the imperialist camp itself, the junior partners elbowing their way to the forefront.

Ailing Colossus

The economic and social ills which the Democrats three years ago promised to cure still persist. The patient's condition has, however, changed—for the worse. The problems of 1964 can hardly be any different from those of 1960 and 1963, only they will be more acute.

Economic Malady: When the Kennedy Administration took over, it pledged itself to end the economic lethargy which had held back the nation for eight years under the Republicans. It promised to achieve an annual growth rate of 4.5 per cent. It talked of reducing the unemployment rate to 4 per cent by mid-1963. In December the machine-building industry was operating at 79 per cent of capacity and the steel industry at 67.5 per cent. The 3 per cent annual growth rate between January 1961 and June 1963 was lower than any comparable period in the postwar economic cycles of boom and recession.

And unemployment still remains a big problem. Even according to conservative figures, the monthly average of jobless stood at 4,150,000 for the first three quarters of 1963. They were joined by another half a million in November. If to this army of unemployed are added the 1,500,000 who need work but have given up looking for it, then the total is 6 million and the unemployment rate 8 per cent!

Social Problems: While big business has continued to rake in super profits, 38 million people remained poor by official standards. This and

the chronic persistence of a huge army of able-bodied unemployed have sharpened class antagonisms, bringing all kinds of social problems in their wake. The mass anti-Jim Crow demonstrations of 1963 were powered by deep-going economic and social forces. The Negroes, always first fired as well as underpaid, have been the hardest hit by the current economic troubles. That is why alarmed bourgeois pundits are saying that the unemployment situation is "the most explosive social problem" in the United States which "might erupt some day like a sleeping volcano."

Financial Troubles: The rulers of the United States have no solutions for these pressing problems. To fend off the spectre of depression which haunts the country, the Administration has tried to stimulate the economy with increased spending, especially astronomical military expenditure. In the past two fiscal years, more than 100 billion dollars have been spent directly for military purposes. In the 1964 budget, cash spending has soared past the 100 billion mark and military spending will set a peacetime record.

This policy of reviving the economy by artificial blood transfusions has simply made the patient more feverish. In fiscal 1962 and 1963, the Kennedy Administration incurred budget deficits totalling 12.5 billion dollars. For fiscal 1964 there will be a whopping 9 billion deficit. Such dare-devil spending has created huge national debts and added more to the people's back-breaking taxes. The Democrats proposed to cut taxes but the opposition to this is strong. The *U.S. News and World Report* comments, "... cut taxes and spend still more, to spur economic growth and 'full employment.' It's a theory that promises still bigger deficits in the future."

International Deficits: The once almighty dollar has become a suspect currency, weakened by the chronic balance of payments deficit and the consequent drain on gold. In five years from 1958 to 1962, these deficits totalled 15.8 billion dollars and gold holdings were reduced by one third. Desperate measures were taken in mid-1963 when the deficit was accumulating at an annual rate of 4.48

billion dollars. At the year's end the estimated deficit was still 3 billion.

Today the country's gold stocks have dropped to 15.51 billion dollars against the 12.2 billion required by law to back the U.S. dollar. This leaves only 3.31 billion dollars while U.S. short-term overseas dollar debts alone exceed 25 billion dollars.

Answers Remain Unknown: With 1964 an election year, the Republicans are naturally taking advantage of the troubled condition of the national economy to assail the Democrats for not fulfilling 1960 election promises. But, as James Reston of the *New York Times* has pointed out, both parties "concede that they don't know all the answers but they go on pretending that they do." And Lippmann, writing after Kennedy's death (*New York Herald Tribune*, Dec. 4 and 6), noted, "Johnson has suddenly become President at a time of deadlock and standstill at home and abroad. . . . We must begin with the brutal fact that the big hopes and promises of the New Frontier are at a standstill." What a comedown for the world's leading capitalist power!

Western Europe

Transient Hegemony

The economic decline of the United States means a weakening of its hegemony in the imperialist camp. The changing relationship of forces in the capitalist world makes it still more difficult for Washington to lord it over its junior partners.

Freely discussed in the European press, this important trend was conceded by Lippmann. He writes: "Our position in relation to Europe is no longer that of guardian and tutor. . . . We are emerging from a two-power world and entering one where there are many powers."

The "grand design" for Europe, which Johnson inherited from Kennedy, is on the rocks. Stripped of its frills, the U.S. scheme for a "multilateral nuclear force" was intended to preserve U.S. nuclear monopoly. But France has simply ignored it. She is developing nuclear arms and reducing conventional forces while the U.S. strategy of "flexible response" requires her to reverse these policies. Britain has stressed again and again that it, too, must have a finger on the trigger.

The recent British proposal for a "tactical nuclear force" was, according to the *London Daily Telegraph*, "a red herring to avoid a British commitment to the mixed-manned force."

In the economic field, the U.S. design to get a Trojan horse into the Common Market was foiled when de Gaulle blackballed London's application. Despite the fanfare, preparations for the so-called Kennedy round of tariff negotiations made little headway. The tariff war between the United States and the Common Market countries continues. The U.S. plan to channel the "aid" and export capital of the West European countries through the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (O.E.C.D.) has fallen flat. Though Britain, France and West Germany are keen to invest in the "underdeveloped countries," they have no intention of allowing the United States to tell them how to do it.

It is these hard military and economic facts which made observers like Lippmann say that, already before Kennedy's death, his projects were "all in disarray." When Johnson took over, he was "going to have to do what President Kennedy would have had to do—which is to review and revise" these U.S. plans and policies.

But Johnson, weighed down by his domestic worries, is in no position "to review and revise." This is why U.S. policy towards the Western Alliance has entered "a period of at least marking time" (*London Times*). This is why the U.S. hurriedly swept all problems under the rug at the NATO Council meeting last month.

The West European countries are taking advantage of Johnson's advent to clip U.S. wings. Soon after Kennedy's death, the British and French press talked vociferously about sharing leadership. The British *Time and Tide* was more than frank when it commented: "the assassination of President Kennedy has left vacant the leadership of the Western world. . . Britain and the British empire have had centuries of experience leading the world. . . It is our duty to share with the Americans the leadership of the world."

In the coming months, wrote *Le Monde*, "Atlantic world leadership will continue to be assumed by no one — a situation which has never existed before." Under the present

circumstances, said *La Nation*, it would be strange if de Gaulle's hand did not play a greater guiding role. De Gaulle, affirmed Jacques Baumel, Secretary of the General's Union for the New Republic, is "the last great man in the West."

Latin America

"Backyard" Ablaze

Of outstanding importance for all Latin America in 1963 was that while Cuba advanced the "Alliance for Progress" fell to pieces.

Not that there was any let-up in Yankee attempts to subvert revolutionary Cuba. Quite the reverse. Intrusions and armed attacks by U.S. agents continued unabated. The economic blockade was tightened. At the Conference of Central American Presidents last March, the deceased Kennedy even called for a "wall around Cuba." In December, obeying its master's voice in Washington, the Betancourt regime asked for a meeting of the O.A.S. to discuss the trumped-up charge of arms shipment by Cuba to Venezuelan guerrillas.

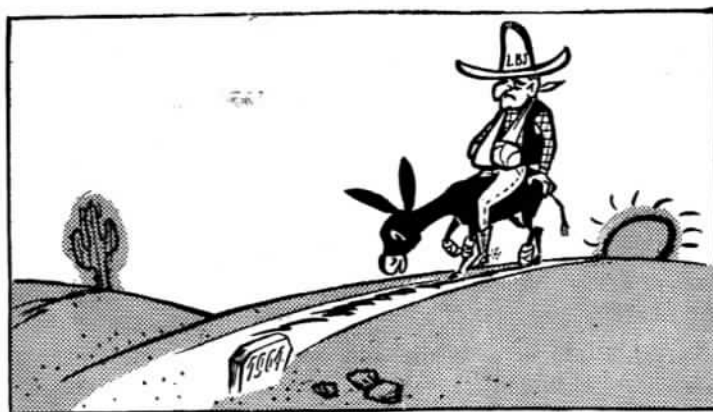
But all to no avail. Despite the many handicaps—including a disastrous hurricane—the island republic stood rock-firm in the Caribbean, meeting every aggressive Yankee move with tit-for-tat countermove. The second land reform initiated in October wiped out the biggest class base for U.S.-inspired counter-revolutionary activities in the country. And the work of organizing the United Party of the Socialist Revolution—the leading force of the revolution—is growing apace.

The "Alliance for Progress," on the other hand, has lost whatever false aura it had when it was announced two years ago. Instead of bringing any progress, this neo-colonialist programme aggravated the contradictions between the Latin Americans and the "Gringos." South of Rio Bravo, the rate of per capita income dipped low-

er. Two out of three people do not have enough to eat. Eleven of the countries suffer from galloping inflation and their national debts have climbed to unprecedented heights. Even in its second year, it has become clear that the Alliance is simply a scheme to deceive the Latin American people and to provide much needed markets for U.S. goods. With payment for old debts to the U.S. and the loss of foreign currency through the artificial depression of export prices, the Latin Americans find that they are still filling the pockets of the U.S. multi-millionaires instead of receiving "aid" from Washington.

Under such conditions, a powerful anti-U.S. nationalist current is sweeping the continent. The Argentine and Peruvian Governments as a result of popular pressure and despite Washington's opposition, have abolished contracts with U.S. oil monopolies. The Brazilian President has signed a decree withdrawing poorly administered mineral concessions. In November, the Sao Paulo Conference of the Inter-American Economic and Social Council, held to discuss implementation of the "Alliance for Progress" programme, turned out to be "a rebellion" against it. "The Alliance was born in Punta del Este and died in Sao Paulo," moaned *Newsweek*.

Today, the U.S. is having to rely more and more on military intervention in Latin America, either in the form of assistance to local stooges to "fight communism" or by dispatch of special units to take part in armed suppression. The Caribbean Command has been expanded into the U.S. Southern Command and, in the Panama Canal Zone, Pentagon officers are feverishly training local police and commandos.



L.B.J.'s New Frontier Blues

Cartoon by Lan Chien-an

Also there have been more frequent changes in the forms of government. In 1963, "representative democracy" alternated with dictatorships established through military coups. In some countries, like Ecuador, Guatemala, the Dominican Republic and Honduras, where the people's revolutionary movement was mounting, the U.S. engineered military take-overs to introduce outright fascist dictatorships. In other countries, like Peru and Argentina, where the military dictatorships were threatening to provoke explosive popular reactions, Washington was forced to replace rule by stick and gun with "constitutional governments." This is a sign of U.S. weakness, not strength. It shows that the sharp class and national contradictions besetting Latin America are making it increasingly difficult for the United States to maintain its overlordship.

Iron-fisted measures have merely educated the Latin Americans by negative examples. On this tinder-dry continent, new fires have been lighted. The Venezuelan national liberation armed forces have already set up four guerrilla fronts in the mountain areas. In the cities, other combat units are striking at U.S. military and economic strongholds. In Guatemala and Nicaragua, the guerrillas are consolidating and enlarging their ranks. At the end of 1963, anti-government armed activities were reported in Honduras and the Dominican Republic.

Latin America, once regarded by the U.S. as its "backyard," is giving Washington the jumps. Johnson has appointed a new Special Assistant to the President to "co-ordinate U.S. policies" for the hemisphere. And AP's year-end forecast says gloomily that it is hard to name a single Latin American country "that is not a potential crisis spot in 1964."

Asia

Falling Dominoes

Nor are the prospects in Asia any more reassuring. The Johnson Administration, as it surveyed the Asian scene at the close of 1963, found the U.S. position there had never before been "quite so bleak as it is today." The "dominoes," sedulously propped up by Washington, are threatening to tumble. The American "theory of falling dominoes" now sounds real enough.

At every turn, the Johnson Administration is confronted with critical dangers, its new frontiers ready to split at the seams. Cambodia, determined to resist fresh U.S. attempts to trample upon its sovereignty, has thrown U.S. "aid" back in its teeth and has all but severed its remaining tenuous diplomatic ties with Washington. Pakistan, though still a member of the U.S.-controlled SEATO and CENTO, protests vigorously against the increased military build-up in India and against U.S. interference in Pakistan's foreign policy. Laos, where American cash and violence failed ignominiously in 1963, enters the new year with the people's forces more strongly ranged than ever against Washington's stooges. Thailand is in ferment and there are even articulated demands for the withdrawal of American forces.

But of all the "trouble spots" in Asia the one that gives the United States the biggest headache is south Viet Nam. Only last October Defence Secretary McNamara, after a tour of the country, reported to President Kennedy that the "need for major American involvement in south Viet Nam's anti-communist guerrilla war would be ended by December 1965." Within three months he had to think again; after another investigation tour he returned home shortly before Christmas to acquaint Kennedy's successor with a "depressing set of facts" and a "hard, grass-roots appraisal of the deteriorating situation." The target date of 1965 is now considered "unrealistic." Any new target date will be equally unrealistic.

For the forces led by the National Liberation Front are winning, while the United States and its mercenaries are losing. By the end of the year the people of south Viet Nam had already liberated three-quarters of their territory, seizing enemy weapons of various description at the rate of 450 a week. Because of the way things are going the voice of gloom is frequently



The Twist in South Viet Nam Cartoon by Jack Chen

heard in Western circles. For the situation in south Viet Nam, already described as depressing, "may be much worse from the West's point of view than it appears to be on the surface," AP reported on December 21.

Like the people of south Viet Nam, the people in other parts of Asia, menaced by the U.S. policy of war and aggression, also demand that U.S. imperialism quit Asia. For the second time in a week President Sukarno of Indonesia warned the United States not to entertain any illusions that its 7th Fleet could intimidate the Indonesian people. Feelings ran so high that on Christmas Eve crowds in the Indonesian capital demonstrated before the U.S. Embassy with placards reading "Down with Yankee imperialism!" "Death to the American running dogs!"

From Djakarta to Karachi the people are making it quite plain that U.S. war moves, typified by the extension of the operational scope of the 7th Fleet, will be challenged. This opposition is spreading far and wide. So much so that an American journal *U.S. News and World Report* (December 23) laments that "the tumble of events in Southeast Asia is confronting President Johnson with a major foreign crisis almost before he can settle into office." There is a Chinese saying to describe a man in such a fix. It is "Night has fallen without any sign of a way ahead." That seems a fitting description of President Johnson, running into troubles at home and abroad, as he bid 1963 goodbye and tried to "settle into office."

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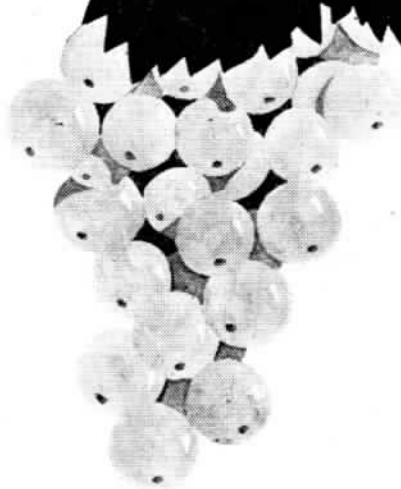
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