

PEKING REVIEW

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November 18, 1966

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Chairman Mao Reviews Mighty Cultural Revolutionary Contingents for 7th Time

Centenary of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Birth Commemorated

Mass rally of 10,000 in Peking and speeches.

Another Deal Between the Two Nuclear Overlords, the U.S. and the Soviet Union

Commentary by *Renmin Ribao* Observer.

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IN THIS ISSUE

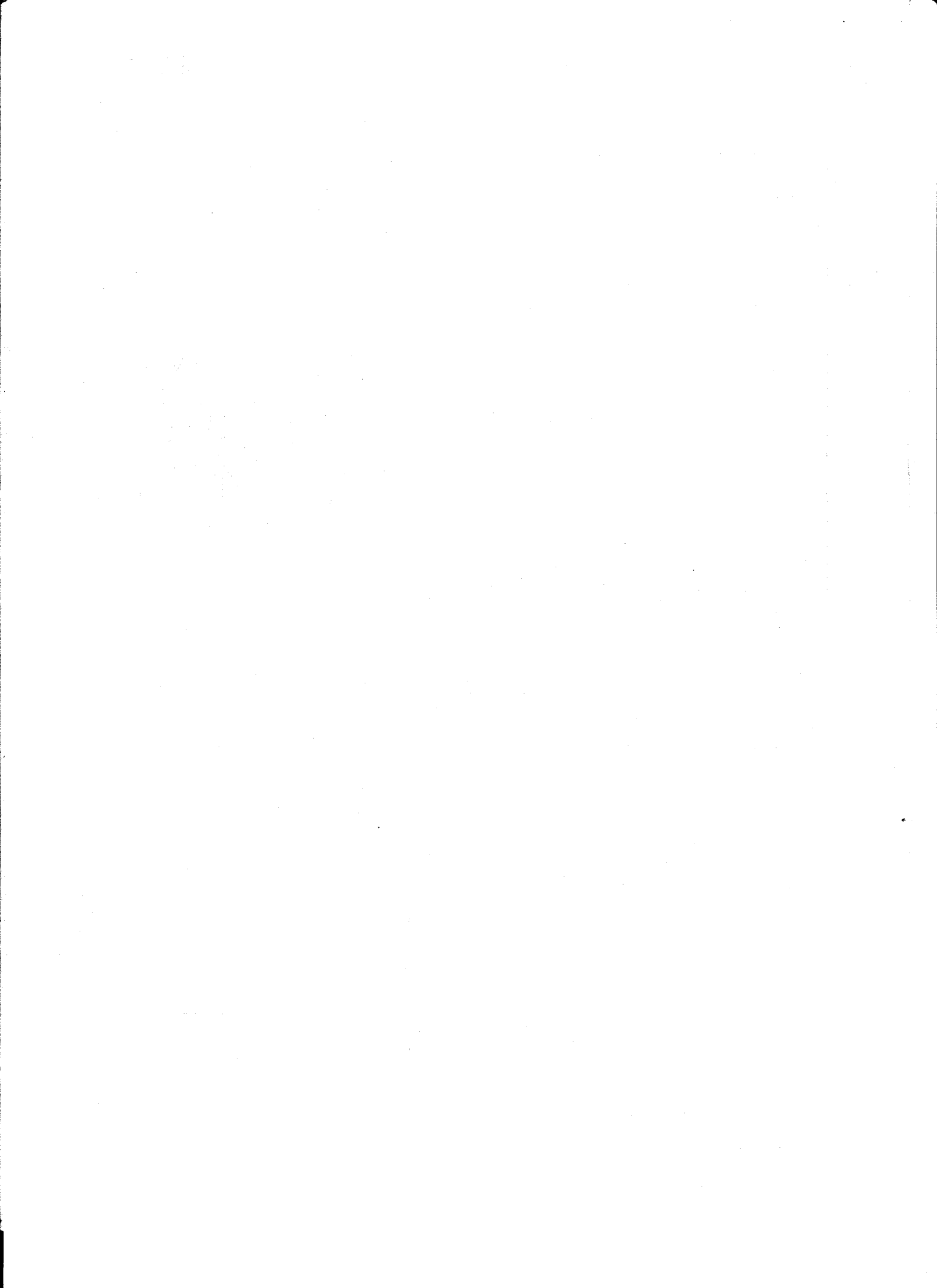
ARTICLES AND DOCUMENTS

Chairman Mao Reviews Mighty Cultural Revolutionary Contingents for the 7th Time	5
Centenary of the Birth of Dr. Sun Yat-sen	8
Vice-Chairman Tung Pi-wu's Opening Speech	9
Premier Chou En-lai's Speech	10
Sun Yat-sen: Resolute and Persistent Revolutionary — Soong Ching Ling	12
Speech by Ho Hsiang-ning	19
Report by Comrade Hoxha on the Work of the Party's Central Committee at the Fifth Congress of the Albanian Party of Labour	21
Speech by Comrade Kang Sheng, Head of the C.P.C. Delegation	31
The Great Beacon of Socialism in Europe — Renmin Ribao editorial	33
Another Deal Between the Two Nuclear Overlords, the U.S. and the Soviet Union — Observer	34
THE WEEK Celebrating the 13th Anniversary of Cambodia's Independence; Guinean Government Economic Delegation in Peking; Soviet Revisionist Plot for Afro-Asian Writers' Splittist Conference Condemned; 27th Anniversary of Dr. Bethune's Death Commemorated; P.L.A. Gunboat 588 Awarded Title of "Sea Tiger Vessel"	36
ROUND THE WORLD Guinea: A Slap in the Face for U.S. Imperialism; Anti-Government Demonstration: Indian People Rise Up in Resistance; The Philippines: Noose Around U.S. Neck; "Quotations From Mao Tse-tung" Published in Tokyo	38

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Chairman Mao Tse-tung, our great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman, on the Tien An Men rostrum while receiving revolutionary students and teachers and young Red Guard fighters for the seventh time in Peking





Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Comrade Lin Piao reviewing the mighty army of cultural revolution

Chairman Mao Reviews Mighty Cultural Revolutionary Contingents for the 7th Time

Chairman Mao said cordially to some leading comrades: "You should put politics in command, go to the masses and be one with them and carry on the great proletarian cultural revolution even better."

The young revolutionary fighters enthusiastically cheered: "Long live Chairman Mao!" and Chairman Mao replied: "Comrades, long life to you!"

CHAIRMAN MAO, our most respected and beloved great leader and the greatest proletarian revolutionary, on November 10 and 11 received and reviewed more than 2 million revolutionary students and teachers and Red Guards from all parts of the country. It was the seventh time since August 18 that he had done so.

On November 10, Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Comrade Lin Piao, wearing military uniforms and in high spirits, reviewed 600,000 revolutionary students and teachers and Red Guards, part of whom passed through the Tien An Men Square on 6,000 lorries while the remainder were assembled on the square itself. The review lasted more than six

hours. The young fighters kept on cheering "Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!" Chairman Mao waved to the cheering crowds from time to time and walked to the microphone to cheer loudly: "Comrades, long life to you!"

To some of the leading comrades on the rostrum, Chairman Mao said cordially: "You should put politics in command, go to the masses and be one with them and carry on the great proletarian cultural revolution even better."

At precisely 10 a.m., Chairman Mao, together with Comrade Lin Piao, his close comrade-in-arms, mounted

the Tien An Men rostrum to the music of *The East Is Red* which was played by a military band. They were followed by leading comrades of the Party Central Committee and from other fields—Chou En-lai, Tao Chu, Chen Po-ta, Teng Hsiao-ping, Liu Shao-chi, Chu Teh, Li Fu-chun, Soong Ching Ling, Chen Yi, Ho Lung, Tan Chen-lin, Hsu Hsiang-chien, Yeh Chien-ying, Li Hsueh-feng, Hsieh Fu-chih, Liu Ning-I, Hsiao Hua, Yang Cheng-wu, Liu Chih-chien, Chang Chun-chiao and Wu Teh. Comrade Chen Po-ta, Member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and leader of the cultural revolution group under the Party's Central Committee, declared the rally open and the review began.

To the strains of *Sailing the Seas Depends on the Helmsman*, lorries carrying young fighters slowly drove five abreast through Tien An Men Square which was a joyous ocean of red. Each lorry carried in front a coloured portrait of Chairman Mao, and was decorated with streamers inscribed with slogans. The columns of vehicles extended over 15 kilometres.

Among those on the lorries were several thousand revolutionary students and teachers and Red Guards from the various nationalities of Sinkiang. Before they came to Peking, students and teachers of the Urumchi Experimental Middle School had had several discussions and decided that the pines growing on the Tien-shan Mountains, which remain green in the bitterest cold or scorching heat, could best express the great love the people of Sinkiang's various nationalities have for Chairman Mao. Four representatives walked many kilometres to the Tien-shan Mountains to dig up two of the finest trees to be taken to Peking. Two red placards were tied to these pines, expressing the innermost feelings of their senders: "We present these to the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China!" "May our great leader Chairman Mao live a long, long life like the pines on the Tien-shan Mountains!"

The Chinese students, glorious anti-revisionist fighters who were unjustifiably ordered to return home by the Soviet Government not long ago, were all present at the reviewing stand to the east of the rostrum. They said that seeing Chairman Mao, the reddest red sun in their hearts, filled them with boundless happiness and the greatest warmth. Hung Kang, one of the students, said with great feeling: "Dear Chairman Mao, it was your great thought, your wise teachings that enabled us to achieve one victory after another in our struggle against Soviet modern revisionism. We will creatively study and apply your brilliant works still better, and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution and the struggle against revisionism through to the end." Hu Teh-pao, another returned student, wrote down his pledge on the front page of his *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*: "Dear Chairman Mao, I will study to grasp your great thought, follow you all my life to make revolution, and serve the Chi-

nese people and the people of the world wholeheartedly."

When Chairman Mao walked to the east and west ends of the rostrum, revolutionary young fighters both on and below the reviewing stands cheered with great joy: "Long live Chairman Mao!" "Long live the victory of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line!" They said: Chairman Mao understands and supports us best of all and lights a beacon to guide us when we need it. When we met with difficulties in struggle, we thought only of Chairman Mao. With Mao Tse-tung's thought, we fear neither heaven nor earth, still less ghosts and monsters. We are determined to make still better use of extensive democracy, this sharpest revolutionary weapon, to criticize and repudiate thoroughly the bourgeois reactionary line, eradicate the poison it has spread, and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

At three o'clock in the afternoon, when the lorries had passed, the young revolutionary fighters gathered on the square surged towards the rostrum. With all their hearts, they shouted "A long, long life to Chairman Mao!" When Chairman Mao waved his cap again and again to the crowds on the reviewing stands and on the square, the joy of the entire gathering was unrestrained. Everyone jumped and danced in happiness and the air was filled with resounding cheers.

On the following day, our most respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao continued with the review of the mighty contingents of the cultural revolution.

At 2:30 in the afternoon, to the strains of *The East Is Red*, Chairman Mao and other Party leaders drove slowly in open cars along the 13-kilometre thoroughfare which runs through Tien An Men Square. People excitedly looked up at Chairman Mao, waving copies of *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, cheering and leaping for joy.

Standing in his car, Chairman Mao kept waving greetings to the cheering crowd. The fact that he was full of energy and very happy when he received and reviewed the mighty army of the cultural revolution for two days in a row tremendously inspired the young revolutionary fighters.

As Chairman Mao's car drove slowly past hundreds of revolutionary students and teachers of minority nationalities, including Mongolians, Uighurs, Tibetans, Koreans and Kazakhs, the young fighters shouted in different languages: "Long live Chairman Mao!" "Long life, long life to Chairman Mao!" As soon as Chairman Mao's car drove past, young people of many nationalities surged to the middle of the avenue and sang and danced in the greatest happiness. Young Mongolian fighters sang: "People said that nothing is as bright as the sun in the sky, but it is not as bright as the brilliance of Mao Tse-tung's thought. Oh, Chairman Mao, people of all nationalities love you ardently; you are the red sun in our hearts!"



Chairman Mao waves to the revolutionary students and teachers and Red Guards from various parts of the country

When the more than 1,000 young revolutionary fighters from the Liuyang area in Hunan Province, where Chairman Mao staged the Autumn Harvest Uprising more than 30 years ago, saw Chairman Mao, they excitedly declared that they would certainly learn from our great leader, go deep among the masses, come face to face with reality and, in the great storms and waves of the revolution, steel themselves into staunch successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause.

Among those reviewed were many Red Guard long march groups which had come to Peking on foot from Inner Mongolia, Hopei, Shantung and Shansi. They had walked out of the small classrooms of their schools into the big classrooms of society and taken the worker and peasant masses for their teachers. They were enormously elated when they saw on their way moving scenes showing how Mao Tse-tung's thought was penetrating deep into people's hearts. The long march group of ten Red Guards of the No. 16 Middle School in Tsinan, Shantung Province, passed through 14 counties and cities. They visited poor peasants and asked old poor peasants and veteran cadres to tell their family and village histories. They said: "We get the most vivid and profound education by asking these

people who have themselves endured all the hardships of the old society to give us lessons in the class struggle." They added that Chairman Mao had shown the deepest concern for them by supporting their travelling through the country on foot to exchange revolutionary experience, that they would certainly steel themselves in great storms and waves, foster the communist world outlook of wholehearted dedication to the public interest and be Chairman Mao's good students.

As on the previous occasions, the good news that Chairman Mao had received and reviewed the mighty army of the cultural revolution for the seventh time spread throughout the country and gave rise to great rejoicing. The revolutionary masses and commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army enthusiastically held meetings and forums and staged performances to celebrate the great victory for the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and hail the excellent situation in the great cultural revolution and in production and construction. They pledged to follow Chairman Mao closely, carry out and defend the proletarian revolutionary line resolutely, criticize and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line thoroughly, and carry on the great proletarian cultural revolution even better.

Centenary of the Birth of Dr. Sun Yat-sen

Premier Chou En-lai in his commemorative speech pointed out: The great struggles waged by the Chinese people under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the great victory they have won have far exceeded Dr. Sun Yat-sen's ideals. In commemorating Dr. Sun Yat-sen today, we must for ever follow our great leader Chairman Mao, be always with the revolutionary people, strive to learn new things, constantly remould ourselves and always advance in the flames of the socialist revolution!

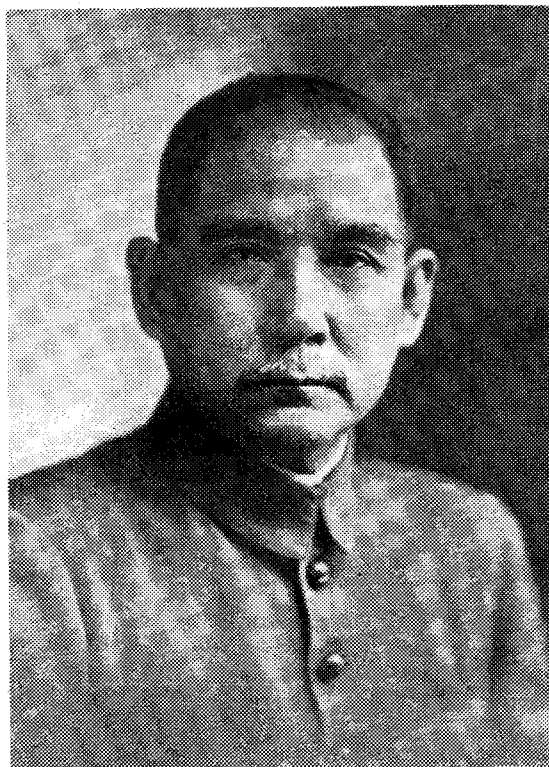
THE centenary of the birth of our great revolutionary predecessor, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, was solemnly commemorated in Peking on November 12 at a rally of more than 10,000 of the revolutionary people including the Red Guards.

Among those present at the rally were Chou En-lai, Soong Ching Ling, Tung Pi-wu, Tao Chu, Chen Po-ta, Teng Hsiao-ping, Liu Shao-chi, Chu Teh, Li Fu-chun, Chen Yi, Ho Lung, Tan Chen-lin, Yeh Chien-ying, Li Hsueh-feng, Hsieh Fu-chih, Liu Ning-I, Hsiao Hua, Yang Cheng-wu, Kuo Mo-jo, Ho Hsiang-ning, Yang Ming-hsuan, Cheng Chien, Chang Chih-chung, Ngapo Ngawang-Jigme, Chou Chien-jen, Hsu Ping, Kao Chung-min, Tsai Ting-kai, Teng Tzu-hui, Li Ssu-kuang, Hsieh Chueh-tsai, Shen Yen-ping, Hsu Teh-heng, Li Teh-chuan, Yang Hsiu-feng, Chang Ting-cheng, Teng Ying-chao, Liao Cheng-chih, Mu Hsin, Hsieh Hsueh-kung, Hsu Kuang-ping, Li Tsung-jen, Hsiung Ke-wu, Shao Li-tzu and Chang Shih-chao.

Before the rally began, Chou En-lai, Soong Ching Ling, Tung Pi-wu, Tao Chu, Chen Yi and Ho Hsiang-ning received a number of the foreign friends, well-known public figures from Hongkong and Macao, and representatives of overseas Chinese who had come to Peking for the occasion.

The rally was held in the majestic Great Hall of the People which was hung with huge banners bearing the words: "Long live our great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman Chairman Mao!" and "Commemorating the great revolutionary predecessor Dr. Sun Yat-sen." A large portrait of Dr. Sun Yat-sen flanked by ten red flags and the figures 1866-1966 in gold formed the central backdrop of the rostrum.

Before the meeting began workers, people's commune members, commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army, Red Guards and cadres of government organizations recited together the following quotation from the article *In Commemoration of Dr. Sun Yat-sen* written by Chairman Mao ten years ago: "Things develop ceaselessly. It is only 45 years since the Revolution of 1911, but the face of China today is completely changed. In another 45 years, that is, in the year 2001, the start of the 21st century, China will have undergone even greater changes. She will have become a powerful, socialist industrial



Dr. Sun Yat-sen, great revolutionary precursor

country. And that is as it should be; for China, a land with 9,600,000 square kilometres and 600 million people, ought to have made a greater contribution to humanity. . . ."

When the rally was declared open at 3:30 p.m. by Tung Pi-wu, Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of China, the whole hall rose to its feet for the National Anthem.

After Vice-Chairman Tung Pi-wu's opening speech (see p. 9 for full text), Premier Chou En-lai spoke (see p. 10 for full text).

He was followed by Soong Ching Ling, Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of China, who delivered the speech entitled: "Sun Yat-sen: Resolute and Persistent Revolutionary." (See p. 12 for full text.)

Ho Hsiang-ning, Chairman of the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang, also spoke at the rally. (See p. 19 for full text.)

Seimin Miyazaki, Director-General of the Japan-China Friendship Association, was invited to speak at the meeting. Seimin Miyazaki, whose father and uncle were close friends of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, said in his speech: Dr. Sun Yat-sen was a revolutionary struggling not only for the liberation of the Chinese people; he was also a revolutionary whose ideals included struggling for the liberation of the oppressed nations of Asia. He declared: "The great proletarian cultural revolution now being carried out in China is for the further consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and has already achieved tremendous success. This will give new confidence and inspiration to the revolutionary forces of the world."

Present at the rally were leading members of the various departments under the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the State Council, of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, people's organizations and the Peking Municipality, members of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and members of the Standing Committee of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference now in Peking, and Deputies to the National People's Congress, members of the National Committee of the C.P.P.C.C., and members of the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang.

Many foreign friends and diplomatic envoys in China were also present at the meeting. Foreign friends on the rostrum were S.E. Ismael Toure, head of the Guinean government economic delegation; Nguyen Minh Phuong, acting head of the permanent mis-

sion in China of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation; Djawoto, Secretary-General of the Afro-Asian Journalists' Association; the well-known Japanese public figure Takaji Nishizawa; Kinkazu Saionji, the Japanese peace champion in Peking; Takeo Ito and Taketo Makinouchi, respectively adviser and head of the Japanese delegation which came to China specially for the occasion of the Sun Yat-sen centenary; Madame Beata Kitsikis, Vice-President of the Union of the Friends of New China in Greece; Madame Marthe Huysmans, Secretary-General of the Belgium-China Friendship Association; and foreign experts in Peking Ricardo Samper, Rosina Smith and Hussein Abdullahi Liban.

Also present were representatives of overseas Chinese, and compatriots in Hongkong and Macao who had come to Peking specially for the occasion.

Morris Cohen, once Dr. Sun Yat-sen's aide-de-camp, and Ma Siang, his former adjutant, were also present.

Commemorative meetings attended by from 2,000 to 4,000 people were also held in Nanking, Shanghai, Kwangchow and Wuhan. Leading members of the Party and government in these cities spoke at the meetings.

In commemoration of the centenary of the birth of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the People's Publishing House published the *Selected Works of Dr. Sun Yat-sen* and the *Selected Works of Soong Ching Ling*. A new stamp carrying Dr. Sun Yat-sen's portrait was issued by the Ministry of Posts and Tele-Communications.

Vice-Chairman Tung Pi-wu's Opening Speech

THE rally in commemoration of the centenary of the birth of Dr. Sun Yat-sen is now declared open.

A whole hundred years have elapsed since the birth of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the great revolutionary forerunner. During these hundred years, earthshaking changes have taken place in China. From a corrupt, impotent semi-feudal and semi-colonial country bullied at will by others, China has changed into a self-reliant and powerful socialist country filled with pride and elation. The birth and growth of New China have immensely influenced the entire course of world history.

In the past hundred years, the Chinese people, advancing wave upon wave, have waged extremely arduous revolutionary struggles in order to oppose feudalism and imperialism. In these struggles, Dr. Sun Yat-sen performed immortal, meritorious deeds. As the standard-bearer of China's revolutionary democrats, Dr. Sun Yat-sen waged uncompromising strug-

gles against the reformists represented by Kang Yu-wei and Liang Chi-chao in the preparatory period of the democratic revolution. He led the 1911 Revolution which overthrew the feudal monarchy and founded a republic. In his late years, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, working in co-operation with the Chinese Communist Party, formulated the Three Great Policies of alliance with Russia, co-operation with the Communist Party and assistance to the peasants and workers, thus giving a new interpretation to the Three People's Principles and developing the old Three People's Principles into the new Three People's Principles.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen died before he could accomplish his revolutionary cause. Forty-one years have already passed since his death. In these 41 years, led by the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao, our great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman, the Chinese people have waged heroic and dauntless struggles, finally overthrown the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureau-

crat-capitalism, accomplished the democratic revolution left unfinished by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, developed it into a socialist revolution and scored great victories in socialist construction.

Today, under the direct leadership of our great leader Chairman Mao, the entire Chinese people are unfolding a great proletarian cultural revolution without parallel in history. No other revolutionary movement in history can compare with this great pro-

letarian cultural revolution, whether in its breadth or depth. What we have done and are doing has greatly surpassed our predecessors'. However, we are historical materialists; we have founded our own cause on the basis of the endeavours made by our predecessors, and we are the successors to the revolutionary cause of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. Therefore, we shall never forget the great contributions made by Dr. Sun Yat-sen to the cause of Chinese revolution. Dr. Sun Yat-sen is for ever worthy of our commemoration.

Premier Chou En-lai's Speech

TODAY is the centenary of the birth of Dr. Sun Yat-sen.

On the ninetieth anniversary of the birth of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, our great leader Chairman Mao wrote a well-known essay entitled "In Commemoration of Dr. Sun Yat-sen," in which he made a very high appraisal of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary and militant life. Chairman Mao wrote:

"Let us pay tribute to the memory of our great revolutionary predecessor, Dr. Sun Yat-sen!

"Let us pay tribute to his memory for his sharp struggle against the Chinese reformists in which he took a clear-cut stand as a Chinese revolutionary democrat in the preparatory period of the democratic revolution in China. In this struggle he was the standard-bearer of China's revolutionary democrats.

"Let us pay tribute to his memory for his great work in leading the people in overthrowing the monarchy and founding the republic in the Revolution of 1911.

"Let us pay tribute to his memory for his great work in developing the old Three People's Principles into the new Three People's Principles during the first period of Kuomintang-Communist co-operation.

"He bequeathed to us much that is useful in the sphere of political thought.

"Save for a handful of reactionaries, all the Chinese of our day are successors to the revolutionary cause for which Dr. Sun Yat-sen worked."

In the preparatory period of the Chinese democratic revolution, there was a struggle between two political lines, namely, the line of the revolutionary democrats represented by Dr. Sun Yat-sen and the line of the reformists represented by Kang Yu-wei and Liang Chi-chao.

Proceeding from the stand of a revolutionary democrat, Dr. Sun Yat-sen advocated the use of revolutionary means to overthrow the Ching government and establish a democratic republic. Kang Yu-wei was just the opposite. Proceeding from the stand of a reformist,

he held that the fundamental interests of the rule of the Ching emperor should not be touched, and he opposed and sabotaged the revolution. Under the leadership of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the revolutionaries took the reformists on in a great debate, which prepared ideologically for the 1911 Revolution.

The 1911 Revolution led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen was of great historic significance. It failed to accomplish the task of the democratic revolution, the task of opposing imperialism and feudalism, but it put an end to the feudal monarchy, which had existed in China for over two thousand years, and promoted the upsurge of the democratic spirit. The Chinese people will for ever commemorate Dr. Sun Yat-sen for the role he played in this revolution.

In the decade following the 1911 Revolution, Dr. Sun Yat-sen experienced a long period of despair, distress and probing. The fruits of the 1911 Revolution were usurped by the big landlord and big comprador forces represented by Yuan Shih-kai. The reactionary adverse current began to rise again and the situation in China worsened with each passing day. In the depths of his despair, Dr. Sun Yat-sen came across the Great October Revolution led by Lenin and the Chinese Communist Party founded and represented by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, and thereupon effected the greatest change in his life.

In defiance of the opposition of the diehards within the Kuomintang, Dr. Sun Yat-sen resolutely carried out the Three Great Policies of alliance with the Soviet Russia of Lenin and Stalin, co-operation with the Chinese Communist Party and assistance to the peasants and workers. He co-operated with the Chinese Communist Party and re-interpreted his Three People's Principles. Chairman Mao has said:

"Dr. Sun Yat-sen was a great man not only because he led the great Revolution of 1911 (although it was only a democratic revolution of the old period), but also because, 'adapting himself to the trends of the world and meeting the needs of the masses,' he had the capacity to bring forward the revolutionary Three Great Policies of alliance with Russia, co-opera-

tion with the Communist Party and assistance to the peasants and workers, give new meaning to the Three People's Principles and thus institute the new Three People's Principles with their Three Great Policies."

As a great revolutionary of the period of China's bourgeois-democratic revolution, Dr. Sun Yat-sen has devoted his whole life to hard struggle and bequeathed to us much that is useful.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen's whole life demonstrates that a true patriot, a genuine revolutionary democrat, must firmly and uncompromisingly oppose imperialism. From the very outset of his revolutionary activities Dr. Sun Yat-sen was resolved to free China from the oppression, enslavement and bullying by the imperialist powers. He did have some illusions in his earlier years. Many times he appealed to the capitalist countries for help but got nothing except heartless rebuffs. After learning the bitter lessons in practice and, particularly when he came under the influence of the October Revolution led by Lenin, he finally came to realize that imperialism was the sworn enemy of the Chinese people. He had the courage to respond to Lenin's call of opposing imperialism and openly held aloft the banner of rebellion against imperialism. This is a most valuable lesson which Dr. Sun Yat-sen and the Chinese people learnt in the practice of protracted revolutionary struggles.

Today, U.S. imperialism is the most ferocious common enemy of the Chinese people and the people of the whole world. U.S. imperialism is forcibly occupying China's territory of Taiwan and is hostile to the Chinese people, using as its lackey Chiang Kai-shek, who has betrayed Dr. Sun Yat-sen. It is committing aggression against Vietnam and continuously expanding its war of aggression against that country. U.S. imperialism and its lackeys are enslaving and suppressing the broad revolutionary masses in vast areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America. In commemorating Dr. Sun Yat-sen today, we must bring into fuller play his spirit of fighting against imperialism, strive for the liberation of Taiwan and the complete unification of the territory of our motherland, firmly support the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation and firmly support the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggles of the people of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the rest of the world.

In the October Revolution led by Lenin, Dr. Sun Yat-sen saw the hope of liberation for the oppressed nations and peoples. But today, the Soviet leading clique has completely betrayed the great Lenin and the road of the Great October Revolution. It is carrying out the Khrushchov revisionist line, selling out the revolutionary interests of the people of the world, safeguarding imperialist and colonialist domination in the capitalist world and restoring capitalism in the socialist world. It is uniting with U.S. imperialism against socialist China and is keen on U.S.-Soviet collaboration for world domination. It has already degenerated into an accomplice of U.S. imperialism. In commemorat-

ing Dr. Sun Yat-sen today, we must, together with the revolutionary people of the whole world, firmly oppose the revisionist clique of the C.P.S.U., which has betrayed Lenin and united with U.S. imperialism, and carry the struggle against modern revisionism through to the end.

Times are constantly on the march. In the 41 years since Dr. Sun Yat-sen's death, the Chinese people, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, have accomplished the democratic revolution left unfinished by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, developed it into a socialist revolution and have achieved great successes in the cause of socialist construction. The face of China has completely changed. At the beginning of this century, Dr. Sun Yat-sen predicted that by "striving with great resolve to build our country into a great nation," the Chinese people would surely break old conventions and catch up with and surpass the West "at an unusual speed" within several decades. We are now realizing Dr. Sun Yat-sen's ideal. The recent success of the guided missile nuclear weapon test by our country demonstrates once again that the Chinese proletariat is not only able to do what the Chinese bourgeois revolutionaries could not do, but will surely be able to build our country into a modern socialist power in not too long a historical period and catch up with and surpass the West.

We are now unfolding on a nationwide scale the great proletarian cultural revolution which is without parallel in history. It constitutes a new stage in the development of the socialist revolution in our country, a stage which is both deeper and broader. It is a great revolution to break the old ideas, culture, customs and habits of the exploiting classes and to foster the new ideas, culture, customs and habits of the proletariat, a revolution that touches people to their very souls. In this great revolution there is a struggle between two lines. We must thoroughly criticize and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line and resolutely apply the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and have faith in the masses, rely on them and respect their initiative. We must give full play to the thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit of the proletariat and never give up halfway. We must carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end. The victory of this great revolution will not only ensure that our socialist motherland will never change colour, but will also generate an enormous material force so that the cause of our socialist construction will advance with still bigger strides.

The great struggles waged by the Chinese people under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the great victory they have won have far exceeded Dr. Sun Yat-sen's ideals. Chairman Mao Tse-tung has inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism with genius, creatively and in an all-round way, and has raised Marxism-Leninism to a completely new stage. Mao Tse-tung's thought is the guiding principle for all our work. In commemorating Dr. Sun Yat-sen today,

we must for ever follow Chairman Mao, our great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman, be always with the revolutionary people, strive to learn new things, constantly remould ourselves and always advance in the flames of the socialist revolution!

Eternal glory to the great revolutionary predecessor Dr. Sun Yat-sen!

Long live the ever-victorious great thought of Mao Tse-tung!

Long live our great leader Chairman Mao!

Sun Yat-sen: Resolute and Persistent Revolutionary

Speech by SOONG CHING LING*

ON this special occasion to commemorate the one-hundredth anniversary of Sun Yat-sen's birth, I should like to share with you my thoughts about the life and activities of this great son of our people.

He was born before imperialism, before monopoly capital began to dominate the world. He came into the world when the dynastic power in our country had just been badly shaken by the Taiping Peasant Uprising, and our people had only recently come into contact with the capitalistic nations.

He died at the time when imperialist power was near its zenith. Not only were the European powers contemplating the division of our territory, but nearby Japanese militarism was already threatening our entire nation, which was then broken up into several parts ruled by warlords. Each of the warlords connived directly or indirectly with one imperialist power, and monopolized the import of arms and munitions into his area. A disunited country became an easy prey to the imperialist scramble.

What a great historical change has taken place today! Our people, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao, have removed the mountains of imperialist invasion, feudal rule and bureaucrat-capitalist monopoly. Not only have they triumphed in completing the new democratic revolution, they have gone on to brilliant achievements in socialist revolution and construction. Our people are solidly united. Our political system, social organization and economy are in their essence more advanced than those of Western capitalist nations. Meantime, imperialism begins to crumble and faces its inevitable political and economic crisis.

Why then should we still commemorate Sun Yat-sen, as we are doing? I think it is to preserve the memory of the resolute and persistent revolutionary in the period of China's democratic revolution, the great precursor of Chinese revolution.

* * *

*Madam Sun Yat-sen, Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of China.

First I would like to say something about the character of Sun Yat-sen.

He was a man of broad vision and penetrating foresight. This was why his life was that of a staunch revolutionist. From the beginning, he never had any faith in the monarch. And as the Chinese revolution unfolded itself, he increasingly reposed confidence in the people. He knew how corrupted the officialdom was, how oppressive to the people and subservient to the imperialists the ruling clique was. So he was determined to overthrow the Ching dynasty. By contrast some of his contemporaries, like Kang Yu-wei, Liang Chi-chao and Yen Fu, while fully aware of all the evils of the dynastic power, had no faith in the people and dared not make revolution and establish a republic. They were for a constitutional monarchy. Later, Kang Yu-wei even joined a group which attempted to restore the already dethroned Ching monarch.

It was more than sixty years ago, in July 1905, that Sun Yat-sen, in a speech before the Chinese residents and students in Tokyo, refuted the platform for a constitutional monarchy. "In the present world," he said, "the establishment of a constitution must be achieved through bloodshed, otherwise it cannot be a real and true constitution. Since bloodshed is unavoidable, why not have a republic immediately? Why should we take a constitution that is imperfect and incomplete?" He had the conviction and the courage to declare this thought because he firmly believed that our people could in a relatively short time surpass Japan and even the Western capitalist countries. Reformists like Liang Chi-chao argued that our people would have to imitate and follow the West, and would not have the capacity to surpass it. In the face of the West, Liang Chi-chao and all other reformists were simply cowards.

The conservatives and reformists, at the time, jeeringly called Sun Yat-sen "the big calibre gun." It only proved their lack of vision and prevision, their lack of courage and conviction, their lack of sympathy for the people who are always for the progressive and the good. Yet as we know so well, vision and prevision are necessary prerequisites to making a revolution.

Where there is no revolutionary theory, there can be no revolution.

A revolutionary man, a man who fights wholeheartedly for the interests of the people, is always indefatigable, always takes a bright view of the future. As early as 1913, long before he entered into correspondence with Sun Yat-sen (the letters were carried by Comrade Marlin, who is still living in Leningrad), Lenin had written of "backward Europe and advanced Asia," as regards revolutionary spirit and prospects (V.I. Lenin's *Collected Works*, English edition, Vol. 19, p. 99). To Sun Yat-sen Lenin was a great encouragement. And Lenin, too, had confidence in the success of the Chinese revolution of the time.

Sun Yat-sen was well acquainted with Chinese history. He had definite ideas concerning the exploiters and the exploited under the feudal system.

Ma Siang* writes of Sun Yat-sen in 1916: "Once when I accompanied him to Yu Yuan Road (in Shanghai) he pointed to the rows of buildings and said to me: 'Look at this place! In the old days there was a cemetery here, but standing here now are these foreign-style houses belonging to our country's warlords. Each of these warlords occupies a certain territory, exacts heavy taxes, tolerates opium and gambling, constructs this kind of building to house a concubine and enjoys a luxurious and wasteful life. This is why our workers and peasants have to suffer hunger and are deprived of adequate clothing. This is why our national strength is declining and we face the danger of being conquered by the imperialist powers. It is necessary to abolish warlordism.'"

In October 1921, an inspection tour took Sun Yat-sen to Nanning, Kwangsi province, where he spoke to a public meeting. He told his audience: "The aim of our revolution is to enable the workers, peasants and professional people to live a better life. . . . Remember, your provincial governor is your servant and you are the masters. A good servant, a good governor is one who satisfies his masters. Governor Ma Chunwu should first of all confiscate all the properties and bank deposits of the warlords in this province and distribute these among the people, so as to enable them to have adequate and decent clothing."

One day in 1923 in Canton, when Sun Yat-sen was approaching White Cloud Mountain, a group of peasants in torn and ragged clothes followed him. He said to them: "I just passed through your village at the foot of this hill, and noticed your mud huts with their thatched roofs. The reason for your poverty is to be found in the bad land system, whereby you are paying heavy and even exorbitant rents every year. I must settle this problem."

* Ma Siang, an overseas Chinese who had been a worker in North America, joined in revolutionary work and, from 1916 onward, was Sun Yat-sen's bodyguard, then chief of his personal guard and, until Dr. Sun's death, his adjutant.

In the frugality of Sun Yat-sen's personal life we see another dimension of his greatness. He never owned a house. During his stay in Shanghai he rented a house at 63 Route Vallon until he moved into 29 Rue Moliere, where the present memorial house, a cottage contributed by overseas Chinese members of his party, now stands.

Overseas Chinese from Australia had founded the big Wing On Department Store in Shanghai. Its manager, Kwok Piao, once sent a messenger to present Sun Yat-sen with a fur coat. Ma Siang, who reported its arrival to Sun Yat-sen, wrote in recollection: "In surprise he said to me—Shanghai is not too cold and Canton is even warmer. I am not going to the north. I don't need this fur overcoat. Ask the messenger to take it back to Kwok Piao." When Kwok Piao visited him two days later Sun Yat-sen thanked him for his good intention but said straight out that he had no reason to accept this gift of luxury.

In 1924 in Canton, Sun Yat-sen delivered many lectures on the Three People's Principles at the Kwangtung University. Each time he went there, he was accompanied by more than ten cadres. The tour began from the office of the generalissimo over a bridge crossing the river and continued by three automobiles. Sun Yat-sen made an inquiry and found that for the round trip of five *li*, the car transport cost fifteen yuan. After that he stopped using the cars. He and the cadres went to the university on foot.

Sun Yat-sen's lifelong studiousness was remarked, and admired, by all who knew him. From 1913 to 1916, he was in Tokyo. Chiu Ngao, an old member of the Tung Meng Hui, wrote of those days: "Sun Yat-sen's study was filled with bookshelves. There were standard sets of Chinese classics and of Chinese history, various works in Chinese and foreign languages on political and economic subjects, and maps of every conceivable kind. Diligent and industrious, Sun Yat-sen was a constant reader. He possessed vast knowledge and grasped all essential issues."

I myself remember that every free moment he found, he would spread huge charts on the floor of his library and, equipped with soft pencils and erasers, draw and map out railways, waterways, harbours, etc. He subscribed to a British naval annual and knew a great deal about tonnages, the draught of vessels and related matters. Once he went to inspect Haining on a cruiser. He told the pilot to steer further out as the channel was not deep enough. But the pilot thought he knew the sea better, with the result that the cruiser was grounded.

Finally, I should like to quote a testimony to Sun Yat-sen's grasp of the unity of Asia's revolutionary problems from the earliest days, by a Filipino writer, Mariano Ponce, who knew him in Japan in 1899-1900 when the Philippines, having liberated themselves from the Spanish colonialist yoke, were engaged in fierce armed struggle to repel usurping U.S. imperialism.

"Sun Yat-sen was familiar with Philippine events, following, step by step, their course and development with the keenest interest. He had studied with special zeal the histories and personalities of our greatest men, like Rizal and Del Pilar. . . . For Sun Yat-sen the problems posed by the various countries of the Far East were so interwoven that they had to be studied as a unit in general for the appreciation of each in particular. . . . Sun was therefore one of the most enthusiastic sponsors of the Association of Oriental Youth, which students from different countries had formed in Tokyo. This association included Koreans, Chinese, Japanese, Indians, Siamese and Filipinos. . . . Showing genuine concern in all problems relating to the Far East, Sun Yat-sen studied them and helped the interested parties to arrive at solutions." Ponce also cites correspondence between himself and Sun Yat-sen, in 1899, about finance and weapons for the anti-imperialist armed struggle.

Such contacts never stopped. I recall how, in 1915 and afterwards, our house in Tokyo was always full of revolutionaries from many parts of Asia and from other parts of the world.

* * *

Now I shall give some facts of Sun Yat-sen's life and how they moulded him.

He was born in a poor peasant family, which had to subsist on sweet potatoes when there was not enough grain. When a boy he was enthralled in the evenings by local story-tellers who recounted the exploits of the Tai Ping Tien Kuo and other peasant uprisings of Chinese history. His birth and life among the lower ranks of the oppressed people, and the stories of their attempts to throw off those sitting on their backs, made an indelible impression on his thinking. As later events proved these boyhood experiences were decisive in his determination to make revolution his life's path.

Sun Yat-sen could not afford to attend school in China. It was only because he had an elder brother farming in Hawaii that he was able to go abroad and obtain any education. But though long separated physically from his motherland, he was always devoted to it in mind and heart. Upon his return from Honolulu his thinking had progressed to the point where he felt the only solution for our country was the overthrow of the Ching monarchy. In conceiving a political platform to serve as a basis for the dissemination of revolutionary ideas, he raised his first slogan: "Divine right is not eternal."

While setting out to organize a following, Sun Yat-sen realized that, as a matter of survival, he must have a profession to cloak his revolutionary activities. He chose medicine, and simultaneously with his propaganda work, studied at the Po-tsai Medical School in Canton. There he met Cheng Sze-liang, who enthusiastically agreed with his ideas, and the two of them began to recruit more young people for the revolution and endlessly to discuss tactics for the struggle. A

year later, Sun Yat-sen moved to the Hong Kong Medical College, which offered a more complete course. There he enlisted additional comrades-in-arms such as Chen Shao-po, Yu Shao-wen, Yang Ho-lin and Lu Hao-tung.

After graduation, Sun Yat-sen opened a practice in Macao. True to his plans, his main purpose continued to be revolution. He founded a secret society known as the Hsing Chung Hui (Society for the Revival of China) which was formally proclaimed at Honolulu in 1894. At the same time he established the Chien Heng Company in Hong Kong and the Agricultural Science Society in Canton, both of which were in reality revolutionary headquarters.

When the ineffectiveness of the Ching dynasty government led to China's defeat by Japan in the war of 1894-95, Sun Yat-sen felt he could wait no longer, that revolution and only revolution would save the country. The time had come to deliver the first blow. In October 1895 he organized an armed attack against the Canton Yamen (a major government office in south China) but met with his first failure. Six hundred pistols intended for the revolutionaries were intercepted on board ship by the authorities. Two of his close comrades, Lu Hao-tung and Chu Kwei-chuan were executed, while seventy others were imprisoned. The dynasty ordered the arrest of Sun Yat-sen, but he escaped their clutches and went to Hawaii, then to the United States, England and the European continent.

Abroad, Sun Yat-sen immediately resumed his revolutionary work. He addressed and organized overseas Chinese residents and students whenever he could find them. Between 1896 and 1899, he visited all the European centres where Chinese were living and studying — London, Paris, Brussels, Geneva and Berlin. On the question of nationalism, he found a receptive audience. Although China had been ruled for more than two centuries by the Manchus, the Han national concept had been kept alive and handed down from generation to generation through secret societies started by scholars of the Ming dynasty, who had fled abroad at its fall in 1644. Among the overseas Chinese Sun Yat-sen found both moral support for his ideas, and much financial help for the task of overthrowing the Ching dynasty.

It was also during this period abroad that Sun Yat-sen formulated his principles of nationalism, democracy and people's livelihood, based on his understanding at that time. He knew of Marx and Engels. In time, he heard of Lenin and the workers' revolutionary movement in Russia. Already at that early period he was attracted by socialism, and he urged Chinese students to study Marx's *Capital*, the *Communist Manifesto*, and the socialist journals of that day.

In these activities Sun Yat-sen led a life of hardship and constant danger. But his faith in the revolution never wavered, and not for a moment did he let up in his pursuit of opportunities to strike at the

oppressors of the Chinese people. In October 1896, while in London on revolutionary business, he had one of his narrowest escapes from death. On October 11, 1896, while passing the Chinese legation, he was recognized and seized by its personnel. The Ching officials kept him securely locked up in the legation, waiting for a ship to take him back to China for beheading. His only visitor was an old charwoman who brought him water every day.

Fortunately, while walking in Honolulu some time previously, he had seen a carriage approaching him. To his surprise, it had contained Dr. James Cantlie, his old medical teacher in Hong Kong, and his wife who told him they were now retired and on their way home. and gave him their London address.

After many attempts he managed to win her consent to deliver a note to Dr. Cantlie, who immediately set the wheels turning to secure his release. It was with these British friends that he stayed after his release. The danger did not end, however. He was trailed wherever he went. Many times he had to wear disguise to throw the enemy off his track.

In 1899 he made his way to Japan, where he conducted preparations for a second armed uprising. This occurred at Hweichow, Kwangtung province, in 1900, soon after the Yi Ho Tuan (Boxer) Movement. Sun Yat-sen personally organized the assault. But because needed supplies did not show up at the appointed time and place, it was another failure.

Although he had failed twice, Sun Yat-sen remained undaunted. In the following years he led the polemics against the constitutional monarchist reformers, whose ideas were defeated. He also travelled widely abroad to replenish the funds of his movement and to enlist more support among the Chinese there. He wanted to enlarge his revolutionary organization. Going to Japan, in 1905 he formed the Tung Meng Hui (Revolutionary League) by merging the Hsing Chung Hui with the other two anti-Ching groups: the Hua Hsing Hui led by Huang Hsing and Sung Chiao-jen and the Kwang Fu Hui to which Hsu Hsi-ling and Chang Ping-ling belonged. Thus was created a united front of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois revolutionary groups, on a platform calling for the overthrow of the Ching dynasty, the establishment of a republic along bourgeois-democratic lines and equalization of land ownership.

In 1906, over six thousand coal miners took part in another uprising on the border of the three districts of Liu-yang, Li-ling and Pingsiang in Hunan and Kiangsi provinces. These miners had joined the Tung Meng Hui Society shortly before they took up arms. Liu Tao-i, one of the leaders, was arrested and killed.

In 1907, Sun Yat-sen organized a headquarters close to home, in Vietnam, then called Annam and a French colony. Four uprisings were launched, two in eastern Kwangtung province and one in southwestern Kwangtung. The last, led by Sun Yat-sen personally, was the attack on Chennan Pass in Kwangsi, near Vietnam,

which has now been renamed You-yi Pass. They captured three forts but reinforcements were late, and again the revolutionaries were forced to retreat.

In 1908, two further uprisings took place, one in southwestern Kwangtung and another in Hokow, Yunnan province. These also failed, because, as on so many other occasions, the political aspects of the revolution were completely neglected. Exclusive reliance on military means led inevitably to failure.

Sun Yat-sen had failed eight times to accomplish his mission. Driven out of Vietnam by the French on the insistence of the Ching government, he then went to Singapore. In 1909 he travelled to the United States again to secure more financial means. In 1910, while he was still in America, his comrades tried to storm Canton, but were routed. Sun Yat-sen hurried back to Singapore, only to find his followers sorely discouraged by the series of failures. He called a meeting at Penang in Malaya to rekindle their revolutionary spirit and courage so the struggle could be carried forward, and to discuss revolutionary tactics for the future.

Since the movement always lacked funds, Sun Yat-sen had to spend an inordinate amount of time and energy on finding them. Yet again he went to the United States to do propaganda work among the overseas Chinese and students, and to raise money. During his absence, his comrades made another attempt to capture Kwangtung province. This was on March 29, 1911 and later became known as the Huang Hua Kang Martyrdom. It seemed to be another failure. But actually this unrelenting harassment of the enemy shook the rule of the Ching dynasty more and more.

In 1911, the eleventh attempt by Sun Yat-sen and his comrades had a different result. It changed the course of Chinese history. On October 10, 1911, in the Wuchang Uprising, Wuhan was captured by the revolutionary-led armed forces. After that, province after province rallied to the support of the revolutionary cause. At long last, the hated Ching court was driven from power, and the whole 2,000-year-old feudal monarchic system was brought down. From his earliest days of revolutionary activity Sun Yat-sen had grasped the necessity of solving the then principal contradiction in China's conditions, i.e., the overthrowing of the dynastic rule by armed force.

Immediately after the capture of Wuhan, Sun Yat-sen returned to China. He was elected President of the first Chinese Republic. His position was short-lived, however, for the real power lay with the army, which was in the hands of the warlord bureaucrat Yuan Shih-kai, until the last moment a servant of the monarchy. With the support of conservative elements, and backed by the foreign imperialists, Yuan forced Sun Yat-sen out and took over the presidency himself. Later, when I asked Sun Yat-sen why he had resigned from the presidency in Nanking, he told me he had no revolutionary army, no revolutionary cadres, and that he regretted not having organized the Chinese seamen.

whom he found to be most patriotic and reliable. Even Wang Ching-wei, one of his close co-workers in the anti-dynastic revolution, had been bribed by Yuan Shih-kai.

Yuan Shih-kai used his presidency to set up a military dictatorship, then attempted to have himself installed as emperor. Sun Yat-sen's Kuomintang, successor of Tung Meng Hui, was outlawed. Parliament was dissolved. Many of Yuan's opponents were murdered. In 1913, Yuan's troops marched south and attacked the part of the army which had risen during the 1911 Revolution. Sun Yat-sen tried to get them to resist, but they fell to superior strength. Sun Yat-sen and many of his followers took refuge in Japan.

The initial victory of the 1911 Revolution was due to the fact that the bourgeoisie won the support of the peasants and workers and urban petty-bourgeoisie. Its failure was due to the irresoluteness of the leadership in the Kuomintang, attributable to its class composition, and mainly because it failed properly to handle the question of the peasantry. As Chairman Mao has pointed out: "The national revolution requires a great change in the countryside. The Revolution of 1911 did not bring about this change, hence its failure." (*Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. I, p. 27, "Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan") The revolution did not relieve in any way the oppressive conditions of the peasants. Instead, the state power that resulted from the revolution fell into the hands of those who intensified that oppression, and who operated at the whim of the feudal classes and foreign imperialists.

This meant that the fundamental problems of the country and the Chinese people — the necessity of overthrowing feudalism and imperialist control — were not solved. The revolutionary struggle had to go on. Sun Yat-sen saw this, and acted upon it. His persistence served as an example for all patriotic and revolutionary Chinese. It further awakened and aroused the people to recognize the humiliating conditions in which China and her people were suffering. It strengthened their resolve to exert every possible force to emancipate the country.

In 1914, in Japan, Sun Yat-sen founded the Chung Hua Ke Ming Tang (Chinese Revolutionary Party). This new body was separate from the Kuomintang, and was an expression of his dissatisfaction with the policy of compromise by which the old party had opened the way for Yuan Shih-kai. However, the new party was still an alliance of representatives of the bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie, with the difference that it was consistently against Yuan Shih-kai. Through it, Sun Yat-sen agitated for armed revolt. In 1914, one attempt was carried out in Shanghai, followed by another in 1916, which Sun Yat-sen himself secretly returned to head. Under his influence naval units in Shanghai made another revolutionary attempt. Just then, Yuan Shih-kai suddenly died, and there was a scramble among the other warlords for his place.

In 1917, Sun Yat-sen went from Shanghai to Canton at the head of the insurgent naval force. Here he made an alliance with the southern warlords, and succeeded in organizing a government in opposition to the Peking warlords. The parliament dissolved by Yuan Shih-kai was reconvened, and elected Sun Yat-sen President of the Constitutional Government at Canton. He immediately began planning and preparing an expedition against the Northern militarists. By 1921, his troops began to move through Kwangsi and Hunan, only to find their rear threatened by the treachery of the southern warlord Chen Chiung-ming, who colluded with the Northern warlords and revolted in 1922. In 1924, the "Merchant Volunteers" of Canton, actually a mercenary force led by comprador Chen Lim-pak, subsidized by the British-owned Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank, rose against the government in Canton. Sun Yat-sen led revolutionary troops in subduing these hostile forces.

When the Constitutional Government in Canton took over the Customs which was controlled by foreigners under unequal treaties, the British, the Americans and even the Portuguese sent warships to the city, threatening Sun Yat-sen with bombardment. Undaunted, he wrote a special appeal to the British and U.S. sailors in the Pearl River Harbour, informing them of the injustice of their governments, and reminding them of their own forefathers who had resisted despotic pressures. He appealed to the sailors' conscience. To the Americans he said that they should think back to the principle of no taxation without representation, think back to their ancestors who had thrown overboard in Boston harbour all the cargoes of Indian tea which the British forced upon them. As I remember, these were the first propaganda leaflets Sun Yat-sen himself drafted in English. When the British Consul called at the government house to protest the leaflets, Sun Yat-sen lectured him sharply.

Meantime, internecine war broke out in the north, between the rival Fengtien (Northeastern) and Chihli (Hopei) warlord cliques. Sun Yat-sen lost no time in mobilizing his forces for another Northern Expedition. When the warlord "President" Tsao Kun was overthrown by Feng Yu-hsiang, the latter invited Sun Yat-sen to Peking to hold a conference on how to solve the problems of the nation. Sun Yat-sen accepted. But it was on arrival in Tientsin that he became very ill. While sick in bed, he had to receive emissaries sent by Tuan Chi-jui, the warlord then in possession of Peking, who insisted that there should be no discussion of anti-imperialism at the round table conference in which the Northern warlords had invited that Sun Yat-sen should participate. Sun Yat-sen was so indignant that he said he would return to Canton, and not head such a conference for the "unification" of the country. He said that how to abolish the unequal treaties and how to resist further imperialist penetration should be the first subject on the agenda. This was in line with the stand he had made publicly and abundantly clear in an interview with the *Canton Ga-*

zette just before leaving for the north, saying: "Imperialism . . . is not only the chief obstacle on our way to independence and freedom, but it is the most powerful factor in our counter-revolution."

It was at this time that Sun Yat-sen's liver ailment grew worse. When he came to Peking, he could no longer walk. Incurable disease took its toll on March 12, 1925. But before passing away, Sun Yat-sen left a legacy for those succeeding him in the revolutionary struggle. This was the legacy which Chiang Kai-shek, leading the right wing and the imperialist agents in the Kuomintang, betrayed in 1927. By that act, these traitors wrote their criminal names into history as instigators of the further oppression and civil wars which robbed the Chinese people of their liberation for over twenty more years and invited the invasions of Japanese militarism and of U.S. imperialism, both of which cost incalculable sacrifices of our nation's wealth and precious millions of its sons and daughters. In recent years they have enabled U.S. imperialism to occupy China's province of Taiwan.

Sun Yat-sen's legacy was contained in his Three People's Principles and the Three Cardinal Policies, evolved by him in the process of striving to complete the bourgeois-democratic revolution in China against imperialism and feudalism. Chairman Mao Tse-tung has said that from the beginning of the hundred years of imperialist oppression the Chinese people fought back, but "it was only with Dr. Sun Yat-sen that a more or less clearly defined bourgeois-democratic revolution began." (*Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. II, p. 243, "The Orientation of the Youth Movement") He accurately assessed Sun Yat-sen's contribution, when he said that the 1911 Revolution had "both its successes and its failures." It succeeded in dislodging the emperor and the court system but it failed to dislodge imperialism and feudalism. Sun Yat-sen himself realized this, and demanded that the revolution be continued. In his last Testament he said: "The revolution is not yet completed, all my comrades must strive on!"

All his life, Sun Yat-sen sparked the drive for the revolution. This in itself is worthy of our study today. In a world in which two-thirds of the people have yet to achieve liberation, we must persist in revolutionary struggle against imperialism and persist in revolutionary struggle to build socialism and communism, making our country modern in every respect, and striving to scale the highest peaks of science. Sun Yat-sen's view of the revolution went beyond China. Particularly deep was his interest in anti-imperialist revolutions. From the early 1900's on, he was in close touch with national revolutionaries from other parts of Asia, Indians and Burmese fighting against British rule, Koreans against Japanese rule, Vietnamese against French rule, Indonesians against Dutch rule, and Aguinaldo and other patriots who fought U.S. imperialism in the Philippines. At the same time, he was in touch with Belgian and French socialists, including Jean Jaurés

who later fell victim to an assassin's bullet because he called on Europe's workers not to fight each other for imperialist aims in World War I. All these connections served the revolution, in China and abroad. Foreign friends assisted Sun Yat-sen's cause with loans, the carrying of messages, the purchase and transport of arms. And he in turn helped their causes, financially and in other ways. Of the friendship that grew up between him and Lenin, and of their fruitful correspondence and cooperation, I have already written.

Another aspect of Sun Yat-sen worthy of our study is his unremitting self-education as he sought to grow politically to the level of current tasks. Incessantly, he sought the correct theoretical and practical paths that would lead to success, to the liberation of China, to its equality with all nations and freedom for the Chinese people.

Perhaps we can say that Sun Yat-sen's political growth centered on one problem. In the process of a long and tortuous revolutionary practice, he became more and more deeply aware of the importance of possessing armed forces and that it was imperative first to integrate the armed force and the people and then to make it the armed force of the people. To us today this seems a simple question. But in evaluating Sun Yat-sen and his contributions to the Chinese revolution, we must start from the premise that the world and the practice of revolution have undergone immense changes in the hundred years since his birth, and especially in the last fifty. The knowledge we now have of why a revolution is necessary, what kind of revolution it should be and how it should be fought, stems from both the successes and the failures of those who fought before us. They conducted themselves according to the concepts of the laws of revolution which they had inherited; and it was only when those broke down, not bringing the desired results that they had to seek out new laws. They learned the hard way, but their objectives led towards ours, so we say they were glorious in failure.

All the greater the glory of those who finally recognized their errors and set out bravely and resolutely to correct them. This was exactly the nature of the latter part of Sun Yat-sen's life and revolutionary work. In June 1924, he told the staff and students of the Whampoa Military Academy: "In the course of the several decades of my revolutionary activities, I have learned lessons from both success and failure. We have been slow in achieving the revolution, and the cause is to be found in our lack of a revolutionary army and the lack of support among the vast majority of the people. For the sake of completing the revolution, I have decided to reorganize the Kuomintang and to establish our own revolutionary army. This is the aim of the founding of this Academy."

All learning is a step-by-step process. Learning to make a revolution is the same. Step by step, we come to understand what has to be done, and how to do it.

The China of Sun Yat-sen's time was extremely complicated. The class contradictions of a semi-feudal and semi-colonial society, particularly after the fall of the dynasty, were brought to the boiling point by warlordism and military satrapism. And each warlord and military satrap was backed by a different imperialist power—Japan, England, the United States, France, Belgium, Germany, all took a hand. Wanting to free the Chinese people from all these inflictions, but not yet understanding that they had to win freedom by their own hands, Sun Yat-sen first sought to play one warlord off against the other.

This was a road paved with bitter failures. But its final result was to teach Sun Yat-sen and the other Chinese revolutionaries an essential lesson. Relentlessly he searched for the reasons of the failures. He did not flinch from the recognition that the revolutionary parties he had started were built on sand. Delving into this question through critical self-study, and with the help of new-found friends, he began to see the light. He saw that he had to go Lenin's way, taking Russia as the teacher. He saw that he had to go the way of the Chinese Communist Party in arousing the masses and leading the national revolution. Reliance can only be placed on those who most need liberation, the masses of the oppressed people. Once this became clear, all the fancy trimmings of bourgeois democracy fell from his mind, exposed as a fraud. Today, the reactionaries try to deceive the people and particularly the youth of the world, telling them not to seek revolution, not to believe in Marxism-Leninism because these things "are outdated"; they try to dupe people into believing that revolutions can be accomplished without making revolution! But more than forty years ago Sun Yat-sen concluded that bourgeois-democracy itself had been outdated for a hundred years, and in fact had been discarded by the bourgeoisie itself. A revolution based on the masses was the only solution.

Thus it was that, in the last years of his life, Sun Yat-sen clearly discerned the truth concerning the Chinese revolution. And once he saw it, as always, he acted immediately. He welcomed the cooperation of the Chinese Communist Party and the assistance of the nascent Soviet Union. He strove with might and main to re-organize his own political party with the intention of arousing the masses to take revolutionary action. And when some in the Kuomintang refused to go along with him, in his principled way he gave them the alternative: either they must go the revolutionary way or get out; if they would not get out, he himself would, and if he did, he said, it would be to join the Chinese Communist Party, to join those who really wanted to see China free and equal in the world.

Sun Yat-sen acted with equal resolve on his political platform for the revolution. He re-interpreted his Three Principles of Nationalism, Democracy and People's Livelihood; and added to them the Three Cardinal Policies of cooperation with the Chinese Communist Party, cooperation with the Soviet Union and assistance

to the workers and peasants. He stated at the First National Congress of the Kuomintang in 1924 that the Three Principles and the Three Policies were inseparable and irrevocable as the basis for China's revolution. Forty years ago such a platform was highly radical, and to materialize it required a stern and sustained struggle.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung long ago pointed out that "The Three People's Principles comprising the Three Great Policies—in other words, the revolutionary, new and genuine Three People's Principles—are the Three People's Principles of New Democracy, a development of the old Three People's Principles, a great contribution of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's and a product of the era in which the Chinese revolution has become part of the world socialist revolution." ("On New Democracy" in *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. II, p. 367) While pointing out the differences between Sun Yat-sen's programme and that of the Chinese Communist Party, Chairman Mao stated that they were in basic agreement on the tasks of the democratic revolution. This made it possible to set up a united front between the Three People's Principles and communism, and to establish the first cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, winning the sympathy of the people of the whole country and carrying out the revolution of 1924-27. Then Chiang Kai-shek forsook the safeguarding of Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary legacy and betrayed the revolution, while under the leadership of Chairman Mao Tse-tung the Chinese Communist Party shouldered the heavy responsibility of carrying the new democratic revolution through to the end.

In his will, Sun Yat-sen urged all revolutionaries to continue the struggle until victory was won. The Chinese Communist Party led the Chinese people in fulfilling this bequest, and has since gone far beyond. If he were alive today, Sun Yat-sen would be proud of what the Chinese Communist Party has done in uniting the country and all our nationalities, in leading the people in achieving tremendous successes in socialist revolution and socialist construction and in taking a resolute stand to uphold the truth of Marxism-Leninism in today's world.

The goals for which Sun Yat-sen fought have been won and surpassed. But we keep his name and spirit alive in our hearts. We are proud of his selfless struggle over forty long years. Still ringing true for us are his last words: ". . . we must arouse the masses . . ." and ". . . we must unite with those nations of the world that treat us on the basis of equality. . . ."

Our people are united as never before, going all out in production and seeking new heights of scientific achievements, education and culture. With the unfolding of the great proletarian cultural revolution, China's socialist revolution has entered a still deeper and broader new stage. We are uniting ever more closely with the working people of the world, and with all its oppressed nations and peoples in a stern fight against imperialism—especially against the main

enemy of all the peoples, U.S. imperialism. An excellent revolutionary situation prevails in the world. Sun Yat-sen's resoluteness and persistence in revolutionary struggle are a constant beacon for us. With unwavering belief in our objectives, with staunch faith in Marxism-

Leninism-Mao Tse-tung's thought, with unbounded confidence in our ability to win, we join hands in struggle with all who strive for a world without exploitation of man by man, without national oppression and without racial discrimination.

Speech by Ho Hsiang-ning*

TODAY is the centenary of the birth of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the initiator and leader of the Revolution of 1911. He played a leading role in the movement for the overthrow of the Ching monarchy, and he opposed the doctrine of constitutional monarchy and put forward the idea of establishing a democratic republic in China. In his late years, he went a step forward and developed the old Three People's Principles of national independence, democracy and equalization of landownership into the new Three People's Principles of alliance with the Soviet Union of Lenin's times, alliance with the Chinese Communist Party and alliance with the workers and peasants. In the course of his long revolutionary practice, Dr. Sun Yat-sen became more and more explicit in advocating the use of armed struggle in co-ordination with the mass movements of the workers and peasants as the means of accomplishing China's democratic revolution with the spearhead of the revolution directing against imperialism and feudal warlords at home.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen was the first in China's history of the last hundred years to introduce the word "revolution." He first used the word "revolution" more than 70 years ago.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen was born of a peasant family in Tsuiheng village, Chungshan County, Kwangtung Province. While studying medicine in Hongkong and Macao and during his sojourns in Honolulu and various parts of Southeast Asia and Europe, he already began propagating among fellow students and friends the idea of opposing imperialism and the Ching monarchy, and set about organizing revolutionary bodies in preparation for revolution. While in Japan in 1903, he and Chu Chih-hsin, Li Chung-shih, Li Chang-ta, Ma Chun-wu and others often held meetings in our house. In 1905, the Chinese Revolutionary League (Tung Meng Hui) led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen was formed in Tokyo, Japan and many young Chinese students in Japan like us joined this revolutionary organization and played an active part in revolutionary activities against the

Ching dynasty. Firmly opposing the reformists who stood for constitutional monarchy, Dr. Sun Yat-sen advocated the overthrow of the Emperor and the establishment of a democratic republic by revolutionary military means. As a result of the Revolution of 1911, the Chinese people led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen finally put an end to the feudal monarchy which had lasted over two thousand years in China. This is a great historical merit of Dr. Sun Yat-sen.

Again, after the establishment of the republic, Dr. Sun Yat-sen led the struggles against Yuan Shih-kai, and against Lu Jung-ting, Chen Chiung-ming, Shen Hung-ying and Yang Hsi-min, and against other feudal warlords like Wu Pei-fu and Tuan Chi-jui. In the course of these struggles, and especially after the victory of the October proletarian revolution led by Lenin in Russia and the appearance of the Chinese proletariat on the stage of history, he gradually came to understand that in order to suit the new situation in China's revolution, it was imperative to develop the old Three People's Principles into the new Three People's Principles. With the help of the Chinese Communist Party, he reorganized the Kuomintang and put forward the well-known Three Great Policies of "alliance with Russia against imperialism, co-operation with the Communist Party and assistance to the peasants and workers." This provided the political basis for the first period of co-operation between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party. This is another great historical merit of Dr. Sun Yat-sen.

The fact that at that time Dr. Sun Yat-sen had the courage to raise the slogan of "Down with imperialism!", to ally himself with the world's first country under the dictatorship of the proletariat and to work in co-operation with the vanguard of the Chinese proletariat was precisely an expression of his great revolutionary spirit in being able to "adapt himself to the trends of the world and meet the needs of the masses" and in advancing with the times. Moreover, he put into practice the policy of assistance to the peasants and workers and put forward the proposition of "Land to the tiller," which was also progressive at

* Chairman of the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang.

the time. Dr. Sun Yat-sen was not a scientific socialist or a Marxist, but he dared to make revolution and oppose imperialism. This is something which the old-type revisionists and the Soviet modern revisionists can in no way measure up to.

The most striking feature of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's life was his constant progress and revolutionary resolve which became all the firmer towards the later years of his life. Dr. Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary integrity at his advanced age commands the respect and admiration of all.

After Dr. Sun Yat-sen's death, the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries completely betrayed his behests. Far from implementing Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Three Great Policies of alliance with Russia against imperialism, co-operation with the Communist Party and assistance to the peasants and workers, they betrayed the revolutionary new Three People's Principles and went to the length of sanguinarily suppressing the revolutionary movement and slaughtering millions of revolutionary fighters, thereby retarding the victory of the Chinese revolution for over twenty years.

Under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese people have not only fully completed the democratic revolution left unaccomplished by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, but have carried out the socialist revolution immediately after it. A series of miracles have emerged in China after the land reform, agricultural co-operation, the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce and the great leap forward. Illuminated by the general line of socialist construction, the Chinese people have scored great achievements in developing agriculture and building up industry. Only recently, we have successfully conducted a guided missile nuclear weapon test, which has won the unanimous acclamation of the people of the world who are against imperialism and made the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists who rely solely on nuclear blackmail for their living tremble with fear. Thanks to the wise leadership of Chairman Mao and the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese people have achieved within the short space of seventeen years what has taken an Asian capitalist country one hundred years and European capitalist countries two hundred years to accomplish. Under the leadership of our great Chairman Mao, the Chinese people have gone far beyond Dr. Sun Yat-sen's ideal of national construction. I am ninety now. How happy I am to be able to see with my own eyes and take a direct part in China's democratic revolution which has been accomplished and the socialist revolution which is being thoroughly carried out by the Chinese people under the leadership of Chairman Mao to lay the foundation for future communism, after seeing with my own eyes and taking a direct part in the two great revolutions, namely, the overthrow of the Ching government by the Chinese people under the leadership of Dr. Sun Yat-sen and the Northern Expedition which was launched on the basis of Kuomintang-Communist co-operation!

In commemorating the centenary of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's birth, what particularly inspires me is that Chairman Mao does not rest content with the daily strengthening of our motherland but personally leads the great cultural revolution unprecedented in history in order to ensure that our motherland will never change its colour and to set an example for the revolutionary people of the whole world. How fast the wheels of history are turning in China! While people are still praising and admiring at the great speed at which the Chinese people have mastered the technique of making atom bombs, another event, which is greater than the nuclear tests, is taking place in China, namely, the great cultural revolution! The Chinese people are appearing on the world stage with a completely new mental outlook, and this has shaken the whole world. The revolutionary people are rejoicing over this while the reactionaries who oppose revolution are scared out of their wits. Everyone sees more and more clearly what a profound influence the birth and growth of New China has been exerting on the course of world history. How vastly different is the China of today when one recalls the China of a century ago, the China of 55 years ago at the time of the 1911 Revolution or the China of 41 years ago at the time of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's death!

I am old. But I can console myself a little with the fact that I followed Dr. Sun Yat-sen in the period of democratic revolution and I have followed Chairman Mao in the period of socialist revolution. I am now learning from Dr. Sun Yat-sen and striving to keep revolutionary integrity in my late years. Now the great cultural revolution is here. It is a great revolution which is decisive for China's destiny and affects the future of the world. Although I am ninety years old, I have the resolve to exert myself in the great cultural revolution in order to meet what the times demand of me, and continue to keep revolutionary integrity in my late years in this great revolution. I call on all my comrades-in-arms who followed Dr. Sun Yat-sen not to lose heart, not to get self-conceited because of seniority and not to rest on the laurels of seniority and refuse to advance any further. We must make up our minds to follow Chairman Mao for the rest of our lives, continue to remould ourselves and continue to forge ahead. I think this is the only and best way for us to commemorate Dr. Sun Yat-sen and countless revolutionary martyrs and revolutionary forerunners.

CORRECTION: In Comrade Chen Po-ta's speech at the Lu Hsun commemorative meeting published in our No. 45 issue, the sentence "All their contemptible acceptance of bribes. . . ." (p. 11, top of col. 2, line 6) should read: "All their contemptible payment of ransom to the enemies and their traffic with them are now made out to be 'progressive,' 'glorious deeds.'"

Report by Comrade Hoxha On the Work Of the Party's Central Committee

—At the Fifth Congress of the Albanian Party of Labour



Enver Hoxha, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour, delivers the report on the work of the Central Committee at the Party's Fifth Congress

COMRADE ENVER HOXHA, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour, on November 1, made a speech at the Party's Fifth Congress on the work of the Party's Central Committee.

Comrade Hoxha said in the report: The period since the Fourth Congress up to the present has been the most difficult but also the most glorious period in the 25 years of the Party's life. In this period, fierce, principled and life-and-death struggle has been waged, which has been recorded in history as such, against the shameful betrayal of the revolution and the cause of socialism and against Khrushchov revisionism. In the struggle, our Party and people have won victory, whereas the modern revisionists who are the ferocious enemy of the Albanian people and communism have met with fatal defeat.

United as one, the Party and people have smashed the wanton attacks of the U.S. imperialists and Khrushchov and Tito revisionists, and their blockade and sinister designs. With a selfless spirit, the Party and

people have overcome all kinds of difficulties and obstacles created by them, valiantly safeguarded the revolutionary victory of the people, successfully fulfilled the basic tasks laid down by the Fourth Congress and pushed Albania's cause of socialist construction to a new stage of victory.

The Party hails its own congress by resolutely fulfilling the magnificent tasks of the new Five-Year Plan, steadily pushing forward Albania's cause of socialism, with pick in one hand and rifle in the other as before — this is the victorious, revolutionary symbol of our country.

(I) International Situation and Socialist Albania's Foreign Policy

The balance of international forces has already changed and will continue to do so unceasingly. These changes are favourable to the revolutionary forces struggling for national and social emancipation and for the establishment of a new world without capitalism and colonialism; they are unfavourable to imperialism, the reactionaries and modern revisionism. Imperialism, the reactionaries and modern revisionism are like the sun setting beyond the western hills, badly split, ridden with contradictions, nonplussed at home and abroad and besieged by the people of all lands, receiving their blows continuously. The waves of the struggles of the people of all lands are mounting higher day by day.

U.S. imperialism is the ferocious, scheming, dangerous, big and common enemy of the people of the whole world. To oppose this enemy is the lofty international task of all revolutionary forces in the present era. Without waging resolute struggle against U.S. imperialism and without smashing its schemes and plots for plundering it is impossible to win and safeguard peace, freedom and socialism. What attitude to take towards U.S. imperialism is the touchstone for all political forces of the world, the line of demarcation between Marxist-Leninists and revisionists.

The aggressive and bellicose nature of U.S. imperialism, its barbarous oppression and plunder of others, as well as its weakness and insoluble contradictions, have demonstrated the fact that the people of all countries can and must wage ruthless struggles against imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism, not fearing imperialism and its nuclear blackmail, daring to despise its strength, daring to stand up and fight, filled with unshakable confidence in the final victory of their just cause.

The struggle against imperialism and for the victory of the just cause of the people of all lands as well as the course of the progress of world revolution does not and cannot possibly develop along a straight road. The revolutionaries are not discouraged by temporary setbacks and therefore lay down their arms. On the contrary, they draw useful lessons from them, make preparations and work for future victory, continuously pushing forward the revolution and anti-imperialist struggle both at home and in the world at large. As long as capitalism and imperialism, which exploit and oppress the toilers and people of various countries, exist, the rise of a revolutionary high tide cannot be stemmed and victory for the revolution is inevitable. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said: "Make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again . . . till their doom; that is the logic of the imperialists and all reactionaries the world over in dealing with the people's cause, and they will never go against this logic. . . . Fight, fail, fight again, fail again, fight again . . . till their victory; that is the logic of the people, and they too will never go against this logic. This is another Marxist law."

Asia, Africa and Latin America are at present the centre of the great revolutionary storm. These regions deal imperialism heavy and direct blows. The Albanian people hail and give full support to the just struggle of the peoples in these regions against imperialist and colonialist enslavement; they also regard it as a struggle of great historic significance for the fate of world revolution and socialism.

The revisionist leaders of the Soviet Union have formed a "Holy Alliance" with U.S. imperialism, the biggest enemy of the people of the world. Soviet-U.S. friendship and all-round collaboration are one of the basic features of the current international situation. The Soviet leadership has sacrificed and is ready to sacrifice at any time the vital interests of the peoples and socialism. It has not only itself given up the various kinds of effective struggles against imperialism, but it is also playing the ignominious role of stamping out all struggles for people's liberation.

The revisionist renegade policy of not opposing imperialism and reactionaries and of capitulating to them and collaborating with them has helped the growth of the rabid ambitions of imperialism, enabled it to step up its activities of aggression, to band together pro-imperialist forces of reaction everywhere, thus aggravating the international situation in these years.

Comrade Hoxha then went on to expose and repudiate the Khrushchov revisionist policies of "peaceful coexistence," "general and complete disarmament" and "peaceful transition," showing up the deceptive and dangerous nature of these policies.

Comrade Hoxha said: Our Party and Government have exposed and will continue to make great efforts to expose the scheme plotted behind their endless disarmament talks by the imperialists and revisionists against the people of all lands and socialism. When the imperialists and revisionists not only have no wish for disarmament but on the contrary continue to arm themselves with the most up-to-date weapons, the freedom-loving people of all countries and socialist countries can have only one way out, that is, to get armed and not allow imperialism to tie them hand and foot while defending themselves against imperialist aggression. We congratulate the People's Republic of China on its nuclear explosions and its successful guided missile nuclear weapon test. It is a great victory. It makes the people the world over rejoice and has consolidated the cause of peace and thoroughly smashed the nuclear monopoly of imperialism and revisionism.

The struggle against imperialism headed by the United States is inseparable from the struggle against modern revisionism headed by the Soviet leaders. Without exposing and opposing the deceptive nature of and betrayal by revisionism, it is impossible to successfully fight against imperialism and push forward world revolution.

The war in Vietnam has become the focus of the present-day international situation. The Vietnamese people are waging a life-and-death struggle against the world people's common enemy. What attitude to take towards this struggle is the touchstone for all political forces and parties. The Soviet leaders are double-dealing the Vietnamese people: they pay lip-service to opposing U.S. aggression against Vietnam and make a great noise about their certain "aid" to Vietnam; on the other hand, they give the imperialist aggressors a free hand to constantly burn and kill the Vietnamese people and expand their barbarous aggression against the Vietnamese people.

In order to cover up their turncoat activities, the Khrushchov revisionists talk a lot about what they call unity and solidarity on the Vietnam question. But, when the Soviet leaders and U.S. imperialists take united action in opposing Vietnam and revolution, how can there be any talk of unity and solidarity on the Vietnam question between Marxist-Leninists and revisionists? What are the revisionists and those who echo the revisionist lies and work for "united action" on the Vietnam question after? Do they want us Marxist-Leninists and the socialist countries to take united action with the U.S. imperialists as the Khrushchov revisionists do and become their accomplices in their opposition to the Vietnamese people? No, this will never be done.

It is our firm belief that neither armed aggression, revisionist deception, nor the imperialist "olive branch" can conquer or deceive the fraternal Vietnamese people.

The Vietnamese people's heroic struggle is a great inspiration to the people of all lands and the international proletariat; it has set a brilliant example in hitting imperialism and fighting and defeating imperialism. The Albanian Party of Labour, the Albanian people and Government stand firmly at the side of the fraternal Vietnamese people and fully support them in their struggle against the savage U.S. aggressors.

The Party's Central Committee reports to the Congress that the Central Committee of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, in accordance with an agreement reached with the Government of the Albanian People's Republic, will set up a permanent representative's office in Tirana. Our Party and Government offer their congratulations on this important event, regarding this as a contribution to the further strengthening of friendship and militant unity between the Albanian people and the heroic people of south Vietnam.

Comrade Hoxha said: The development of the international situation in recent years convincingly shows that U.S. imperialism is directing its global strategy against the People's Republic of China—the strong socialist power which holds high the banner of revolution and anti-imperialism. U.S. imperialism attempts in a thousand and one ways to contain and isolate People's China, to undermine and obstruct its advance on the road of revolution and socialist construction, to put a cordon of fire around it and prepare to unleash "total" war against it. The U.S. strategic plan is to temporarily maintain peace in Europe and make war in Asia; to temporarily maintain peace with the Soviet Union while making war with China. The Khrushchov revisionists have not only completely catered to this strategy but have emulated their American partners in pushing ahead with this strategy.

But all these hostile activities by U.S. imperialism, the reactionary forces in all countries and the Khrushchov renegade clique against the great People's Republic of China have already suffered and will always suffer total defeat in the face of the indestructible economic, political, military and spiritual strength of the 700 million Chinese people who, with the hearts of millions beating as one, are rallying around the glorious Chinese Communist Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

Today, to support People's China and safeguard her against invasion by the imperialists and their lackeys, the revisionists, are the historical task and a matter of life and death for all revolutionary and freedom-loving forces and peoples. The people of our country, our Party and Government march on with the great people and Communist Party of China along the common revolutionary road and will stand shoulder to shoulder with them for ever in days of peace as well as in times of great storm, marching on together in the

struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism and for the victory of the revolution and socialism.

The People's Republic of China and the glorious Chinese Communist Party play a decisive role in the great, life-and-death struggle between the people of all countries and imperialism and all its flunkeys, a struggle which decides the destiny of mankind. Today, People's China is the impregnable bastion of socialism and world revolution and the powerful, devoted mainstay of all peoples, their liberation and their revolutionary struggle. It is the great and unbending fighter against U.S. imperialism, the insurmountable obstacle in the path of the imperialist and revisionist plan for world hegemony, the invincible standard-bearer of Marxism-Leninism opposing the revisionist betrayal.

Comrade Hoxha said: The Albanian People's Republic, under the leadership of the Party of Labour, has always unremittingly pursued and will always unremittingly pursue a revolutionary foreign policy based on Marxism-Leninism; it pursues the policy of friendship with the countries and peoples of the world, both big and small, according to the principle of equality and mutual benefit; it opposes imperialism headed by the United States, vigorously supports all countries and peoples fighting for freedom, democracy and social progress, and vigorously supports all peoples and all revolutionary forces fighting to defend peace and for the victory of socialism. Today, Albania is stronger than at any other time, has many loyal friends and enjoys great international prestige which it very much deserves.

In Albania's relations with the fraternal socialist countries, the Party and Government have consistently followed the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the only correct and inviolable basis for this kind of relationship. Its relations with the People's Republic of China serve as a brilliant example of the correctness and might of these principles. In recent years, there has been great and very effective development of close, revolutionary friendship and relations in all fields between Albania and China. The Albanian people feel honoured and are proud of themselves that, whether in days of happiness or days of difficulties, they have such a loyal and staunch friend as the fraternal Chinese people and the People's Republic of China. Our Party and Government warmly congratulate the People's Republic of China on its great victories won on both the home and international front and feel as happy as if these were their own victories; they firmly support its right to liberate Taiwan and China's other islands from U.S. occupation and support the principled, revolutionary foreign policy of the People's Republic of China. Our people and Party will continue to defend and strengthen the great, militant friendship between Albania and China so as to benefit our people and the great cause of communism. In future the Albanian Party of Labour will continue to hold high the banner of Marxism-Leninism and the banner of revolution and proletarian internationalism.

(II) Fulfilment of Third Five-Year Plan and Main Orientation for the Economic and Cultural Development in the Coming Five Years

In order to fulfil the tasks of the Third Five-Year Plan, the Party and people have carried out their work and struggle under the difficult conditions created by the Soviet revisionist renegade leadership and its lackeys. Thanks to the Party's wise, far-sighted and courageous leadership and the revolutionary drive and high degree of patriotism displayed by the working masses, socialist Albania has advanced. It has smashed the blockade, waged a tit-for-tat struggle against the revisionists and imperialists, and, as in the past, has been victorious.

Referring to the achievements made under the Third Five-Year Plan, Comrade Hoxha said:

Compared to the Second Five-Year Plan, capital investment has increased by 43 per cent, the amount of construction has increased by 67 per cent, and 430 new industrial, agricultural, social and cultural projects have been built and have gone into operation. Compared to 1960, the total value of industrial output has gone up by 39 per cent. In agriculture, total value of output has risen by 36 per cent as compared to that of 1960. National income has increased by 44 per cent as compared to that of the Second Five-Year Plan. There has been a marked and continuous development in culture, education and public health.

During the period of the Five-Year Plan, the achievements in economic and cultural development provided a most convincing proof of the correctness of the line followed by the Party in socialist construction.

During the years when we were fighting heroically for the fulfilment of the Third Five-Year Plan, our Party and people saw even more clearly who were our true friends and who were our enemies. During those years, our true ally, the true revolutionaries and our comrades-in-arms—the great Chinese people and the glorious Communist Party of China headed by Chairman Mao Tse-tung—were standing by the side of our people and Party. The People's Republic of China, which itself had difficulties and had to overcome serious natural calamities and the difficulties caused by the blockade of the Khrushchov revisionists, U.S. imperialism and all reactionaries, gave us internationalist, fraternal and selfless assistance. This was of great significance for completing the tasks set by the Third Five-Year Plan, smashing the economic blockade and strengthening national defence.

Please allow me, from this noble rostrum of the Congress, to extend our heartfelt thanks to the fraternal Chinese people, the glorious Communist Party of China and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, and to thank them for their immeasurable past and present aid to us in our socialist construction.

Referring to the main orientation and tasks of socialist construction in the new 1966-70 Five-Year Plan, Comrade Hoxha said:

The fundamental tasks of the general line of the Party in building up the socialist society were, and still are: to steadily develop productive forces, and on this basis to improve the welfare of the people; to perfect the socialist relations of production along the correct revolutionary road; to carry out a profound socialist revolution in the ideological and cultural fields; to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and the unity between the people and the Party; to wage a fierce and irreconcilable class struggle against internal and external enemies and all alien influences, and to strengthen national defence. At the same time, the Party pursues the line of, step by step, reducing the disparity between the working class and the peasants, between town and countryside, between industry and agriculture, and between physical and mental labour.

This general line should guarantee a further development of the productive forces of our country during the period of the Fourth Five-Year Plan so as to accelerate the building up of the material and technical basis of socialism.

In 1970 total industrial output value will be about 50 to 54 per cent more than in 1965.

During the period of the Fourth Five-Year Plan, total value of output in agriculture will be 41 to 46 per cent more than that of the Third Five-Year Plan. Agriculture's basic task in this period is first to increase output in grain, potatoes, rice, and edible oils.

Total capital investment in the Fourth Five-Year Plan will increase by about 34 per cent over that of the last Five-Year Plan.

In 1970 national income will increase by 45 to 50 per cent over that of 1965.

Comrade Hoxha referred to several main questions in economic development in the Fourth Five-Year Plan. They were: (1) to continue the industrialization of the country remains one of the urgent tasks in the building of socialism; (2) to develop agriculture is the most important link in fulfilling the main economic tasks under the Fourth Five-Year Plan; (3) to increase the accumulated fund and use it most effectively; (4) to improve the welfare of the people and integrate individual interests with the collective interests, and immediate interests with the long-term interests; (5) to further strengthen economic management on the basis of the system of democratic centralism.

Comrade Hoxha said: Our Party adheres to the principle that every socialist country must first of all rely on its own strength—rely on the country's riches and resources to build a developed economy with a powerful industry and an advanced agriculture so as to guarantee the country's independence and continuous development along the socialist road.

The line which our Party adheres to is: We should not only have a developed industry but should also have an advanced agriculture; in order that our national economy become a powerful independent economy, we

must walk on two legs and rely on both industry and agriculture. Without rapid development in agriculture, it is impossible to think of realizing a more rapid improvement in the national economy. During the period of the Fourth Five-Year Plan the chief place in the entire national economic development is taken by agriculture.

To increase output of food grains is the basic task of agriculture and the whole national economy. Therefore, the struggle for self-sufficiency in food grains has, both in the past and the present, always been the struggle for socialism. Encouraged by the slogan "Strive for self-sufficiency in food grains," the labouring peasants this year have achieved very good results. Although the planned output of food grains is higher than for any other year, the task has been successfully completed. The experiences gained this year are most encouraging and the tasks set in the Fourth Five-Year Plan for increasing output of food grains can certainly be completed.

During the period of the Fourth Five-Year Plan, the Party will, as always, firmly carry out the correct revolutionary policy of self-reliance in socialist construction.

To further implement the system of democratic centralism in giving leadership to economic work and ensure strict adherence to giving prominence to politics and the mass line, the Party has adopted important measures to expand the powers and role of the state organizations and economic organizations at various levels, to further strengthen democracy in economic management and to eradicate bureaucracy in economic management.

The Party has always been careful to see that both the forms of remuneration and the measures of remuneration must conform to the socialist principle of to each according to his work. It has always attached importance to raising the level of the working people's socialist consciousness and communist education; and to correctly integrating personal and collective interests, spiritual encouragement and material awards. Therefore, on this question, the measures adopted by the Party of lowering high salaries so as to prevent the appearance of extravagance in life and the forming of a privileged stratum are of great significance and have special meaning.

The first year's achievements of the new Five-Year Plan are most heartening. They are a reliable guarantee for the completion of the tasks set out in the Five-Year Plan in the following years. The people are unprecedentedly mobilized and an unprecedented labour enthusiasm has been shown everywhere.

The Central Committee is convinced that the Communists and the entire people of our country, united and inspired by the Party's great ideal and the brilliant prospects of the Fourth Five-Year Plan, will always advance along the correct Marxist-Leninist road of

building socialism and build our motherland into a stronger and richer country with a higher civilization.

(III) Strengthening the Party and Its Leading Role

Comrade Hoxha said: The historical experience of our Party has confirmed the Marxist-Leninist thinking that without a revolutionary party of the working class, a party loyal to Marxism-Leninism, an organized party which can lead and guide the toiling masses in struggle and labour, it is impossible for the proletariat to defeat the bourgeoisie and build socialism and communism.

Throughout its whole life, our Party has strictly and faithfully adhered to the basic ideas and political and organizational principles of Marxism-Leninism. Generally speaking, our Party has correctly and thoroughly implemented these principles in accordance with conditions and developing situations, and by adopting new and increasingly revolutionary methods and style of work. This has enabled our Party to become a vigorous and fighting Party and always to keep in close contact with the masses and act as leader in inspiring, guiding and educating the toiling masses to wage struggles and overcome difficulties to win victories. From now on, we should continue to pay the greatest possible attention to, and wholeheartedly lay stress on, incessantly tempering our Party, developing and strengthening its militant revolutionary spirit and reinforcing its leading role in every link of socialist construction.

Our Party's Central Committee has continuously adopted a series of measures of great historic significance to further revolutionize the entire life of the state; the aim is to push forward and deepen socialist revolution on the various fronts of politics, economics, ideology and culture, to thoroughly shatter any basis for spreading revisionism and restoring capitalism, to strengthen national defence and to ensure that socialist revolution and socialist construction will be victoriously carried on in the present generation and the generations to come and that our country will prosper and advance, and hold high the banner of socialism and Marxism-Leninism for ever.

These revolutionary measures have won the warm welcome and full support of all the labouring people — workers, peasants, soldiers, cadres and intellectuals — because from these measures they once more see the correctness of the Party's line and the Party's strength and its revolutionary firmness, and because they know that these measures are in the interest of the people, their motherland and the socialist cause.

These measures have received a very great response from all our friends — the Chinese Communist Party and the Marxist-Leninist Parties and forces, and revolutionaries of various countries. They regard these measures as a creative application of Marxism-Leninism to the conditions of our country and a contribution to the common revolutionary cause of the proletariat.

Comrade Hoxha then dealt with four questions: continuously improving the class composition and distribution of the Party organizations to safeguard the purity of the Party ranks; further enhancing the leading role of the Party's basic organizations and further enlivening inner Party life; improving the Party's work towards the mass organizations and further implementing the mass line in a deep-going way; and eradicating bureaucratism and strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Comrade Hoxha said: Our Party has 66,327 members, of whom 3,314 are probationary members. The total membership has increased by 12,668 as compared with the time of the Fourth Congress of the Party. This is an important gauge of the close ties between the Party and the masses and an indication of the warm support the toiling masses give to the Party's correct line.

The Party organizations should in future continue to thoroughly implement this cardinal principle: the majority of the members admitted into the Party should come from the productive branches, from the working class and the toiling peasants. At the same time, they should place greater stress on the work of recruiting Party members from among women and from the ranks of our country's heroic youth.

The Party needs new blood, but it is pure blood that is needed. What we need first of all is a qualitatively strong Party; hence it is improper to seek after quantity.

The revolution and socialism is the cause of the masses of the people themselves under the leadership of the Communists. The task of successfully fulfilling the Fourth Five-Year Plan and the further carrying out of all-round socialist construction; defence of the socialist motherland against invasion by foreign enemies; safeguarding our socialist system against degenerating into capitalism and revisionism and the emergence of a capitalist come-back — all this depends on the degree of political and ideological awakening of the masses of the people and on their socialist consciousness and their initiative in various fields of work.

Today as in the past, our Party has always persevered in the principle of "learning from the masses before educating them" in all its activities.

The task of the Party is to correctly and resolutely carry out the principle of "from the masses and to the masses," so that it becomes the working method of all Communist Party members and cadres working in the Party organizations, state organs, economic undertakings and mass organizations and on all socialist construction fronts.

One of the most important questions before us is to temper the younger generation in the revolutionary, class spirit and to strengthen the work of the Youth League. This is a tremendous question which concerns the future destiny of the revolutionary and socialist cause in our country. At no time should we

forget that communist education of the younger generation is undertaken in the sharp class struggles at home and abroad, and especially in complicated and large-scale ideological struggles. Nor should we neglect the fact that today's youth do not understand the ruthless class oppression and exploitation or the sacrifices made for the sake of bringing about the present order of things, and that they live in a comparatively peaceful environment without being tempered in the school of life and productive labour. In the meantime, the ideological influences of the bourgeoisie and revisionists infiltrate our country's youth by different means and often by the extremely cunning and indirect means of literature, films, music and fashion.

The Party must give the young people a good understanding of the past and help them to draw revolutionary lessons from this. It should help the youth to plunge into various important activities and let them steel themselves in the school of labour and life.

The question of the attitude to the dictatorship of the proletariat is one of the most vital questions in the development of socialism.

In order to avoid the danger of the people's state power of our country degenerating into revisionism and capitalism and to strengthen state power, the principal weapon for the Party and people to succeed in building socialism and communism, the Party has recently adopted a series of important measures. The purpose is, on one hand, to clear away the evil winds of bureaucratism in state organs and to effectively develop and expand socialist democracy among the broad masses of the people; on the other, it is to further consolidate the national defence of the socialist motherland and strengthen the organs in charge of the struggles against the enemy.

One of the principal questions which Party organs and organizations should grasp in their working methods when they give correct leadership to the state organs is: fundamentally improve the political and ideological work carried out by the Party among the people and explain the tasks to them so that they clearly see the future and the road of advance, and examine and help complete the tasks already set.

(IV) Further Deepening the Ideological Cultural Revolution

It is impossible to talk of further revolutionization in the life of the state without taking the ideological cultural revolution a step further. Revolutionization must be carried out on the basis of the ideological cultural revolution.

In regard to the question of fighting for the triumph of socialist ideology, which means fighting for the triumph of socialism and communism, Comrade Hoxha said:

Proletarian socialist ideology holds sway in our country. Nevertheless we realize that the struggle in this respect is protracted and difficult.

Unless the socialist revolution wins complete victory in the ideological cultural sphere there can be no guarantee for victory of the socialist revolution in the political and economic spheres. Therefore, the struggle to liquidate bourgeois and revisionist ideas on the ideological front is bound up fundamentally with the following question: either to build socialism and communism and prevent the restoration of capitalism or to open the floodgates to the dissemination of bourgeois and revisionist ideas and lapse into capitalism once again.

To recognize or to deny that there is class struggle in socialist society is a question of principle; it is the line of demarcation between Marxist-Leninists and revisionists, between revolutionaries and traitors to the revolution. Anything that suggests abandonment of the class struggle can bring fatal consequences to the fate of socialism. It therefore stands to reason that while we strive to increase production and develop culture and education, and while we carry on the struggle against external enemies, the imperialists and revisionists, we must not in any way relax or forget the class struggle at home. Otherwise, history will severely punish us.

Face to face with a question of so obvious a nature, it is not for the Party to turn a blind eye nor to dull the revolutionary vigilance of Party members and the masses but to make a big effort to press on unhesitatingly with the class struggle until victory is finally won. Without waging class struggle it is impossible to understand or indeed to give effect to social progress and revolutionary education for the working people of our country.

In practice, we often come across narrow points of view concerning the class struggle and class enemies which only regard exploiters of the past or the imperialists and Titoite and Khrushchovite revisionists abroad as class enemies and which only consider their anti-socialist activities as class struggle. For all time, it is the primary task of our Party, our country and our working people to fight these enemies. However, we ought to view class struggle in the broader sense. This is an all-embracing struggle, and at present first and foremost an ideological struggle, a struggle for taking a firm hold of people's minds and souls, a struggle against bourgeois and revisionist corruption and against the survivals and vestiges of such undesirable things which we, to a larger or smaller extent, still preserve or give expression to; it is for us the struggle for communist ideology and spirit to win the day.

The overriding task in the Party's entire ideological work is to inculcate in Party members and all the working people a correct approach to the class struggle in our country and to educate them in the spirit of waging implacable class struggle. This will provide them with the method of class analysis, the only method which enables them to understand and solve all problems correctly, and it will teach them not

just to pay lip-service to the need of class struggle but to carry it on every day in every sphere of life.

The Party's ideological work should be such as to make us quite clear about the nature of contradictions in socialist society and the way to resolve these contradictions correctly. As Comrade Mao Tse-tung said, socialist society is confronted by "two types of social contradictions — those between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people themselves. The two are totally different in their nature." "... the former are a matter of drawing a clear distinction between ourselves and the enemy, and the latter a matter of drawing a clear distinction between right and wrong."

Any confusion of these two types of contradictions will only lead to errors of opportunism or sectarianism.

Another extremely important aspect of the Party's ideological work is education in a new attitude towards socialist labour.

Cadres, Party members and all working people should order their lives like revolutionaries, living plainly and working hard, making sacrifices first and only thinking of comfort afterwards.

In regard to the question of fostering and heightening the revolutionary spirit in people's culture and education and the question of making thorough improvements in methods and styles of educational work, Comrade Hoxha said:

At present, there are new tasks for developing socialist culture. The tasks put forward by the Party are as follows: literature and art must become the Party's effective weapons for educating all working people in the spirit of socialism and communism; literature and art must strive to train youth to be sound ideologically and morally; creative works of art must have a high ideological level and must be imbued with the Party's revolutionary and militant spirit and a sound national spirit, the Party requiring as it does that literature and art must broadly reflect the struggle, labour and life of the working people, their ideals and desires, their lofty sentiments, their heroic personality, their simplicity and greatness and their revolutionary fervour; literature and art must realistically mirror the objective reality of our country and its revolutionary development; the heart of creative works must be the heroes of our times — workers, peasants, soldiers, people's intellectuals, revolutionary cadres and youth trained by the Party who selflessly and courageously work and strive to build socialism, defend and make the socialist motherland prosperous; cultural and art organizations must at all times be guided by the Party's political and ideological requirements and must oppose and expose bourgeois ideas, so that literature and art will produce an educational and revolutionary influence among the masses, so that literature and art originate from the people and in turn serve the people.

These tasks can be accomplished only when writers and artists strive to master Marxism-Leninism, study-

ing Marxism-Leninism not merely through books but through carrying out the Party line and reflecting the Party line in their creative work; only when in the struggle to oppose bourgeois and revisionist influence and views from abroad and defend the purity of ideology in all creative works they maintain a high degree of mental alertness; only when they establish close ties with the people, their labour, struggle and life and regard these close ties as a decisive factor in their creative work.

Our Party adheres firmly to the Leninist principle of the Party spirit of the proletariat in art and culture and indeed in the entire social sphere of spiritual life. As in other spheres, the class struggle is being fiercely waged in this sphere between Marxist-Leninist materialist ideology and feudal and bourgeois idealistic ideology. We oppose and cast away decadent bourgeois culture and art, which are incompatible with socialism. We attach importance to and make use of all that the critical eye of proletarian ideology judges to be progressive, democratic and revolutionary.

In order to do better in fulfilling our current important task of educating and training the younger generation, we must see that education and the schools are further revolutionized. This revolutionization must be comprehensive, touching on the educational system itself, the syllabus, content of educational work, and teaching and educational methods.

Comrade Hoxha said: The Party must go all out to invigorate creative thinking in the social science of Marxism-Leninism, in propaganda and in all ideological and cultural work.

The revolutionization of all ideological work, its content and approach, and the close ties of this work with life should first of all help Party members and all working people of our country in such a way as to enable them to grasp Marxism-Leninism still more profoundly and consciously. To grasp Marxist-Leninist ideology and turn it into a weapon to be wielded by the working people of our country for day-to-day struggle is the basic feature denoting the deepening process of the ideological cultural revolution in our country.

The historic task incumbent on the Party is to rely on the workers, peasants, soldiers, cadres and intellectuals and lead them forward to take an active part in creative, revolutionary activities and to constantly deepen and develop the ideological cultural revolution and carry it through to the end.

(V) The Struggle of the Albanian Party of Labour Against Modern Revisionism and in Defence Of the Purity of Marxism-Leninism

During the period from the Fourth Congress to the present Congress, our Party has waged resolute and principled struggle in defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism and tit-for-tat struggle against the Khrushchov and Tito revisionists and their followers.

1. Modern Revisionism — Offspring and Ally of The Bourgeoisie and Imperialism

The Albanian Party of Labour maintains that one of the main tasks of all Marxist-Leninists is to constantly carry on open struggle against modern revisionism, with the Soviet revisionist leadership as its centre, because modern revisionism is the principal enemy of the international communist movement, and its strategic objective is to preserve capitalist rule permanently where capitalism holds sway and to restore capitalist rule where it has been overthrown.

The history of the emergence, development and victory of Marxism-Leninism is the history of continuous struggle against all its ideological and political enemies, against the renegades and splitters and against the opportunists and revisionists of all descriptions. In the struggle between Marxism-Leninism on the one hand and opportunism and revisionism on the other, victory for ever belongs to Marxism-Leninism. After each struggle against opportunism and revisionism, the communist movement has scored historic great victories and Marxism-Leninism has been developed and elevated to a higher stage.

In the history of the international communist movement there has never been a revisionism which is so widespread and whose danger is so great as Khrushchov modern revisionism. Marxist-Leninists should not only be proficient at waging struggle against revisionism in power but should also be proficient at preventing a repetition of the tragedy of Soviet revisionism in countries which are now building socialism and in countries which in future will take the road of socialism.

2. Strategic Objectives of Khrushchov Revisionism

The revisionists direct the spearhead of their struggle mainly against Marxism-Leninism — the dependable theory concerning world revolution and the elimination of imperialism and capitalism — and replace it by the opportunist and counter-revolutionary theory which is in the service of the bourgeoisie and imperialism. The very aim of the revisionists is to disarm the Party and the working class ideologically so as to pave the way for the degeneration of socialism and the international communist movement.

The second objective of struggle on the part of the revisionists is to corrupt and eliminate Marxist-Leninist Parties, turn them into social democratic parties, so as to support counter-revolution, undermine socialism and uphold and restore capitalism.

Another objective of the Khrushchov revisionists is to make the socialist system degenerate, and abolish the dictatorship of the proletariat. Under the signboard of the "state of the whole people," the Khrushchov revisionists have abolished the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union and established their dictatorship of the new emerging bourgeois strata.

The Khrushchov revisionists have attempted in the past and are still attempting at present to eliminate

the socialist camp which is the greatest revolutionary product of the world's working class and all the toiling masses and to undermine the fraternal Marxist-Leninist relations among the socialist countries, which are replaced by relations of hegemony and big-nation chauvinism, and by blackmail, political, economic and military pressure exercised by big and strong nations against small and weaker ones.

Undermining internationalist unity among workers on a worldwide scale, sabotaging the international communist movement and subjugating the Communist Parties of various countries to the Soviet revisionist leadership — these also hold an important place in the strategy of the Khrushchov revisionists. Instead of directing the spearhead of the whole struggle against the bourgeoisie and the enemies of the working class, the Soviet leading clique has directed it against Marxist-Leninist Parties, first of all, the Chinese Communist Party and the Albanian Party of Labour.

The substance of the Khrushchov revisionists' line, their pipe dream and highest aspiration is Soviet-U.S. friendship and co-operation and the establishment of a new alliance between U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism for world domination by imperialism. The Khrushchov revisionists, with the Soviet leaders at the head, unite imperialism against socialism, unite with the United States against the peoples of all countries, unite with all reactionaries against the revolutionaries, unite with the Tito group and all renegades to the working class against Marxism-Leninism and against the Parties and forces loyal to Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary cause.

3. The Anti-Revisionist Struggle by the Albanian Party of Labour and All Marxist-Leninists and Its Results

In face of the great betrayal by Khrushchov revisionism, the glorious Communist Party of China, the Albanian Party of Labour and other Marxist-Leninist Parties and all genuine revolutionary Communists have risen to say: "Stop" to revisionism and started a fierce, principled and uncompromising struggle against revisionism.

This is a struggle in defence of Marxism-Leninism and Communism and the vital interests of the working class and the peoples of various countries.

Our Party has carried on fierce and continuous struggles against Khrushchov revisionism for more than six years. During these years, our Party's noble qualities and virtues — ideological clarity, monolithic unity of Party ranks and between the Party and the people, and the Party's courageous spirit — once again have been powerfully manifested. Our Party has persisted in a principled stand, resolutely combated modern revisionism, and so has aroused the hatred of the enemy — the revisionists — but has earned the ardent love and respect of our friends, the Marxist-Leninists and the revolutionaries throughout the world. We should greatly treasure this; we should always be

modest, unswervingly take the correct revolutionary stand and make our contributions to the present great struggle between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism.

In the past and at present, the struggle against revisionism and imperialism has been developing in a wave-like and zigzag way. Nevertheless, the general tendency of the development of this struggle has been and remains that the anti-revisionist tide and the Marxist-Leninist forces have been continuously rising while the revisionist and anti-Marxist forces have been continuously declining. Khrushchov revisionism is going downhill. Because of the open resistance and struggle against it, the revisionists have suffered heavy losses and plunged into a deep general crisis.

What are the chief results of this historic struggle between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism?

First, the struggle of the Marxist-Leninist Parties and forces has succeeded in tearing off all the masks of the Khrushchov revisionists and exposed their true renegade features.

Second, at present, the domestic and foreign policies of the revisionists have suffered complete failure. The Khrushchov revisionists have thrown themselves into the deep and uncompromising contradictions with the Soviet Communists and the Soviet people and into the general conflict with all the anti-imperialist forces in the world.

Third, the revisionist front has been shaken to its foundations. Like a pack of hungry wolves they may devour each other any time. The baton can no longer direct the whole revisionist orchestra.

Fourth, everybody now can see that the revisionist group is weak, unstable and in a shaky position. The weakness of the Soviet leading clique in all its aspects has been clearly manifested in the ignominious bankruptcy of its headman, its promoter, the No. 1 arch renegade Khrushchov. Khrushchov's successors have not only inherited Khrushchovism but they also inherited different kinds of problems left over by Khrushchov, which remain to be solved, and their revisionist policies have constantly produced various kinds of difficulties and contradictions, which are growing more and more serious.

Fifth, because the Marxist-Leninist Parties and forces have carried on struggles and counter-attacked the revisionist lines and methods, the various forces, domestically and internationally, are undergoing a process of big division towards Marxism-Leninism or modern revisionism. Scores of new Marxist-Leninist Parties and groups have been set up in the world, including certain socialist countries. We extend heartfelt greetings to these Marxist-Leninist Parties and groups, wishing them success in their just struggle for the great revolutionary ideals of the working class. The Albanian Party of Labour does not mind at all the vilification and charges levelled against us by the

revisionists about our engaging in "sectionalist and splittist activities"; in future, as in the past, it will do whatever is possible and in its power to support the newborn Marxist-Leninist forces and all those who oppose imperialism and revisionism and who want revolution. We regard this as our lofty internationalist duty because we hold that the growth and development of these newborn revolutionary forces constitute the only correct road for striving for the victory of Marxism-Leninism and smashing revisionism.

The above-mentioned results of the struggle waged up to now between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism clearly show that revisionism has sunk into a profound crisis from which there is no way out and the ultimate defeat of revisionism is unavoidable. The task of our Party, like that of all other genuine revolutionaries, is to strengthen still further the struggle in defence of the Marxist-Leninist position and to expose revisionism.

4. Strengthening the Struggle Against Khrushchov And Tito Modern Revisionism

Further development and strengthening of the anti-revisionist struggle is connected with the unhesitating refutation of such illusions as that the Soviet new leaders have undergone "changes" and "turn-round" and are "rectifying" N. Khrushchov's mistakes. These illusions are most harmful. Marxist-Leninists will not be deluded by superficial phenomena, nor will they be deluded by the deceptive propaganda the new Soviet leaders are carrying out at all costs. The present Soviet leaders have not changed at all and they do not want to change either; they are determined to go along the road of betrayal and so it must not be expected that the revisionist renegades will turn over a new leaf.

Have those people who harbour illusions about so-called "change" and "turn-round" on the part of the new Soviet leaders really seen such a "change" and "turn-round"? They could not have seen any such concrete "change" and "turn-round" if they had not fallen willy-nilly into the trap of Khrushchov-style demagogy. It must be admitted that the new Soviet leaders are more cunning than their teachers so far as deception is concerned and their tactics are even more dexterous. They pledged verbal loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and permitted a "more objective" appraisal of Stalin, and at the same time they avowed that they were loyal to the 20th, 21st and 22nd Congresses of the C.P.S.U. Can it be that this is the "turn-round"?

The new Soviet revisionist leaders have raised a hue and cry about the "unity" of the communist movement and of the "big family" of the socialist countries, and yet at the same time they have declared that on any principled question in foreign policy and the international communist movement they have no differences whatever with N. Khrushchov. Do these statements too signify the "turn-round"? Absolutely not.

The Soviet revisionists have done their utmost to publicize "united action" against imperialism, but many facts have shown that the Khrushchov revisionists oppose imperialism only in words while they are pro-imperialist in deeds.

The anti-imperialist front of the people throughout the world should be built on a sound basis. It should be a genuine anti-imperialist front. All the forces which effectively combat U.S.-led imperialism in one way or another should be united in this front. The Khrushchov revisionists have placed themselves outside the anti-imperialist front by all their policies and activities. Actually, co-operation with the revisionists and taking "united action" with them means that one gradually slips into the revisionist position and accepts their line of betrayal.

We hold that it is high time to draw a clear demarcation line with the modern revisionists and particularly with the Soviet leading clique and it is high time to carry out the fiercest struggle to completely isolate the Soviet leading clique among the Soviet people and the revolutionary Communists in the Soviet Union.

In the struggle against modern revisionism, as in any other question, the only correct stand is the principled stand. One must not barter away principles; the struggle to uphold principles must not stop half way and one must not adopt a wavering and opportunist stand. The struggle between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism is an expression of the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between socialism and capitalism. There cannot be a middle line in this struggle. Whoever adheres to this line on the attitude towards the renegades to Marxism-Leninism will be in danger of slipping into the position of the renegades sooner or later.

Our Party considers that the sharp realistic question which is prominently placed on the agenda today is not conciliation and unity with the revisionists, but complete separation and split from them. In face of the united front formed by imperialism and revisionism, their attacks, scheming activities and war threats, Marxist-Leninists should strengthen their unity domestically and internationally, and strengthen the struggle to resolutely oppose imperialism and revisionism.

The glorious Communist Party of China headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the outstanding Marxist-Leninist, and the great People's Republic of China staunchly and unswervingly stand in the forefront of the present struggle against imperialism headed by the United States and against modern revisionism headed by the Soviet leading clique. This is an undeniable historical event and the greatest blessing for the peoples of various countries and the international communist movement. The Chinese Communist Party and the People's Republic of China play a great role and make great contributions in the struggle for the revolutionary cause of the international proletariat and the people

throughout the world. The Chinese Communist Party and the People's Republic of China today are the impregnable bastion of socialism, the powerful revolutionary base, the standard-bearer of Marxism-Leninism, and the steel-like pillar and reliable backing for our common revolutionary cause.

The imperialists and revisionists attempt to overthrow the Chinese Communist Party and the People's Republic of China because the latter are their most formidable enemy and insurmountable obstacle to the realization of their attempts to rule and dominate the world. They attempt to separate the peoples of various countries, the revolutionaries and the Marxist-Leninists from the Chinese Communist Party so as to isolate it and then destroy us easily. World imperialism and Khrushchov revisionism are working together to attack People's China and slander China's proletarian cultural revolution. The enemies' attempts to castigate and vilify the great People's China are futile. Under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and guided by the thought of Mao Tse-tung, the great People's China is marching forward victoriously. The Albanian Party of Labour greets China's proletarian cultural revolution, which aims at relentlessly opposing the bourgeois and revisionist ideas in man's mind, in the cultural realm and in all aspects of national life, opposing the class enemies and all the revisionists, open or disguised, who attempt to drag People's China on to the road of capitalism,

and opposing U.S. imperialism, Khrushchov revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries.

The Albanian Party of Labour holds that all the Marxist-Leninist Parties and forces which are in a position of equality and independence should unite closely with the Chinese Communist Party and the People's Republic of China, and together with them, build a wall of bronze against which all our enemies will smash their heads.

The Albanian Party of Labour, as an active member of the world's Marxist-Leninist forces, is perfectly conscious of the fact that the communist movement today is facing the great historic task to defend Marxism-Leninism and push forward the revolution and the socialist cause. In future, as in the past, the Albanian Party of Labour will unite as one with Mao Tse-tung's great Communist Party of China and all the Marxist-Leninist Parties and forces of the world, and, standing shoulder to shoulder with them, devote all its efforts to opposing imperialism headed by the United States and modern revisionism headed by the Soviet leading clique, unreservedly supporting the just revolutionary struggles by the Marxist-Leninist Parties and forces and making tireless efforts to consolidate and strengthen the unity of the Marxist-Leninist movement in the anti-revisionist struggle and the unity of the world's people in the anti-imperialist struggle. The Albanian Party of Labour believes that victory will certainly belong to Marxism-Leninism, socialism and the peoples of all countries.

Speech by Comrade Kang Sheng, Head of the C.P.C. Delegation

At the mass rally celebrating the triumphant conclusion of the Fifth Congress of the Albanian Party of Labour and the 25th anniversary of the founding of the Party

Dear Comrade Enver Hoxha,

Dear Comrades,

The Albanian Party of Labour was born in the flames of the anti-fascist war on November 8, 25 years ago. The Chinese Communist Party delegation is immensely happy and full of joy to be able today to join the Albanian people in celebrating this festival.

We warmly greet the 25th anniversary of the founding of the glorious Albanian Party of Labour, the triumphant conclusion of its Fifth Congress and the new Central Committee of the Party headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, the long-tested leader of the Albanian people.

The Albanian Party of Labour founded and nurtured by Comrade Enver Hoxha has passed its 25

years in glory. The history of the Party is one of defeating the Italian and German fascist aggressors, winning the complete victory of the national-liberation war and establishing the people's rule, one of achieving great victories in socialist revolution and socialist construction, one of resolutely opposing imperialism and supporting the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of the world, one of firmly combating the Tito renegade clique and the Khrushchov revisionist clique and making great meritorious contributions to the international communist movement, one of forming close ties with the masses and serving the people heart and soul, one of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the revolutionary practice of Albania, and one of achieving the magnificent victory of Marxism-Leninism in Albania.

November 18, 1966

31

The 25-year history shows that the Albanian Party of Labour is a Party which sticks to the correct line of Marxism-Leninism, a proletarian revolutionary Party loyal to the people and a fearless revolutionary Party daring to fight powerful enemies and enormous difficulties. It is worthy of the name of the organizer, inspirer and leader of the Albanian people to win one victory after another and worthy of the name of a glorious shock brigade in the international communist movement.

The Fifth Congress of the Albanian Party of Labour carried on and developed the 25-year-old revolutionary tradition, held aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism and led the Albanian people triumphantly forward. It was a meeting of great historic significance, a meeting of international significance.

Comrade Enver Hoxha's report at the Congress makes a penetrating Marxist-Leninist analysis of the international and domestic situation and sets forward a grand programme of action for the Albanian Communists and working people.

The boundless love and deep respect for our great leader Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the enthusiastic praise for China's great proletarian cultural revolution initiated and led personally by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, and the warm support for the revolutionary cause of our Party and the Marxist-Leninists of various countries shown at the Congress are a full demonstration of the proletarian internationalist spirit of the Albanian Party of Labour.

The Congress adopted directives on the Fourth Five-Year Plan which is a magnificent plan for building socialism. Giving prominence to politics, holding a pick in one hand and a rifle in the other and persevering in the principle of self-reliance, the heroic Albanian people will beyond any doubt successfully realize this magnificent plan.

A red thread — class struggle — ran through the Congress. "To recognize or to deny that there is class struggle in socialist society is a question of principle; it is the line of demarcation between Marxist-Leninists and revisionists, between revolutionaries and traitors to the revolution." This important thesis by Comrade Enver Hoxha is of tremendous theoretical and practical significance for guiding the socialist revolution and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat in Albania.

The Congress stressed the leadership of the Party and the mass line. The Albanian Party of Labour trusts the masses and relies on the masses; it carries its ideological and political work deep into the organizations at the basic level and into all fields of mass life. This is bound to further strengthen the flesh-and-blood relations between the Party and the masses and greatly reinforce the Party's leading role in the entire life of the state.

The Congress called for further efforts to develop the ideological and cultural revolution in depth, to

energetically foster and establish proletarian ideology and eradicate completely bourgeois ideology. This is strong guarantee against the restoration of capitalism and for consolidating and developing the socialist system.

The Congress resolutely opposed imperialism headed by the United States and firmly supported the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, the Indonesian people's struggle against fascist military dictatorship, and the revolutionary struggle of the people of all countries. The resolution in support of the fraternal Vietnamese people's heroic struggle adopted at the Congress is a resolution encouraging the Vietnamese people and exposing the collaboration between the United States and the U.S.S.R.

On the Vietnam question, the Soviet revisionist leading group is actively serving as an accomplice of U.S. imperialism and following the policy of helping the United States in three respects. First, it helps the United States to peddle the peace talks fraud; second, it helps the United States to speed up the "escalation" of the war, "stabilize" Europe and send reinforcements to Vietnam; and third, it helps the United States to oppose China with a view to undermining the great rear area of the Vietnamese people in their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. This policy of the C.P.S.U. leading clique has laid bare their true features as renegades.

The Fifth Congress of the Albanian Party of Labour thoroughly exposed and repudiated modern revisionism with the C.P.S.U. leading clique as its centre and pointed out that the revisionist nature of this clique has not changed and never will. The Congress criticized and refuted those infatuated with the idea of "united action" with the C.P.S.U. leading clique. Obviously, whoever insists on taking "united action" with the C.P.S.U. leadership, which has betrayed the great Lenin and the road of the October Revolution, will inevitably make common cause with imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries against Marxism-Leninism, against socialist Albania, and against socialist China.

To oppose imperialism one must oppose revisionism and to oppose China one is bound to ally oneself with the United States. This is an indisputable truth which has been borne out by innumerable facts in the past and will continue to be borne out by future developments.

The firm support given by the Congress to the newborn Marxist-Leninist forces of the various countries speaks volumes for the Albanian Party of Labour's adherence to the Marxist-Leninist principle of daring to make revolution and daring to support other people's revolution.

Dear comrades, the friendship between the two Parties, countries and peoples of China and Albania is revolutionary friendship, militant friendship and pro-

letarian class friendship. Comrade Mao Tse-tung's message of greetings to the Congress and Comrade Enver Hoxha's warm praise and support at the Congress for the Chinese Party and the Chinese people have pushed the friendship and unity between the two Parties and countries of China and Albania to a still higher stage. We are convinced that this Marxist-Leninist friendship and unity between us will surely be handed down from generation to generation and remain ever-green.

人民日报
RENMIN RIBAO

The Great Beacon of Socialism in Europe

ALL Albania is jubilantly celebrating the 25th anniversary of the founding of the Albanian Party of Labour and the triumphant conclusion of the Party's Fifth Congress.

This is a great and happy event for the Albanian people. The Chinese people offer their warm congratulations to the glorious Albanian Party of Labour and the heroic Albanian people.

The Fifth Congress of the Albanian Party of Labour was a congress of victory, a congress of unity, a congress holding high the revolutionary red banner of Marxism-Leninism.

It reviewed the magnificent victories won by the Albanian people in the past several years in their valiant struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism; it formulated the Party's line and policy in its future domestic and international activities, adopted the grand Fourth Five-Year Plan for building socialism and outlined important tasks for further developing and deepening the ideological and cultural revolution. This historic congress will assuredly push the Albanian socialist revolution and socialist construction to a new high and make still greater contributions to the struggle of the peoples of the world against imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung in his message of greetings to the Congress said: "Heroic people's Albania has become a great beacon of socialism in Europe." He also said: "The revisionist leading clique of the Soviet Union, the Tito clique of Yugoslavia and all the other cliques of renegades and scabs of various shades are mere dust heaps in comparison, while you, a lofty mountain, tower to the skies."

The Albanian people are a heroic people. The Albanian Party of Labour is a glorious Marxist-Leninist Party. Comrade Enver Hoxha is a long-tested, outstanding Marxist-Leninist. Faced with a heavy encir-

Long live the heroic Albanian people!

Long live the glorious Albanian Party of Labour and Comrade Enver Hoxha, its respected and beloved leader and a close friend of the Chinese people!

Long live the militant friendship between the two Parties and peoples of China and Albania!

Long live Marxism-Leninism!

clement by imperialism and modern revisionism, the Albanian people, under the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labour headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, are defying brute force and overcoming difficulties, steadfastly keeping to the socialist road and upholding Marxism-Leninism. It is thus raising a shining red banner in Europe.

The Albanian Party of Labour is creatively applying Marxism-Leninism to the socialist revolution and socialist construction in Albania and adopting a whole series of measures of revolutionization in the political, economic, military and cultural fields to prevent the restoration of capitalism; thereby it is enriching the experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Albanian Party of Labour staunchly opposes U.S. imperialism, enemy number one of the people of the world; it resolutely supports the revolutionary struggles of the people of Vietnam and of the whole world; it persistently adheres to proletarian internationalism. It has thus become a strong shock brigade of world revolution.

The Albanian Party of Labour firmly rebuffs the adverse current of modern revisionism with the C.P.S.U. leading clique as its centre and deals telling blows against these renegades and scabs. It has made a great contribution to the struggle in defence of Marxism-Leninism.

U.S. imperialism and the Soviet revisionist leading clique bitterly hate China and Albania which raise high the banner of anti-imperialism and anti-modern revisionism. They are manoeuvring to take counter-revolutionary "united action" and are trying to stir up an ill wind against China, Albania, communism and the people. This only shows their awareness of the growing instability of their thrones and their increasing fear of the revolutionary forces.

How can revolutionary people take "united action" with renegades? As Comrade Enver Hoxha rightly

said, "In fact, to co-operate and take 'united action' with the revisionists means a gradual sliding down on to the revisionist stand and the acceptance of their line of betrayal." Some people are now actually flirting with the renegades. They will not come to any good end if they keep on doing so.

The two Parties and peoples of China and Albania are the most reliable companions in battle and the closest comrades. Theirs is the greatest friendship in the world. It is based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and can stand any test of

storm and stress. The Chinese people will for ever stand by the fraternal Albanian people, the Marxist-Leninists of the whole world and all oppressed nations and people, bear aloft the revolutionary red banner of Marxism-Leninism and march forward shoulder to shoulder and struggle together with them to carry on steadfastly the great cause of socialism and communism and defeat imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries.

("Renmin Ribao," November 10.)

Another Deal Between the Two Nuclear Overlords, the U.S. and the Soviet Union

by OBSERVER

U.S. imperialism and the Soviet revisionist leading group are stepping up their collaboration on the question of so-called nuclear non-proliferation and are making an eager bid to close the bargain.

In the United Nations, the U.S. and the Soviet Union have cooked up a joint resolution calling for the achievement "at the earliest possible time of the conclusion of a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons." Outside the United Nations, they are everywhere advocating such a treaty and advertising it noisily.

This is an important component part of a major ganging up between the U.S. and the Soviet Union on a global scale.

This is another gross betrayal by the Soviet revisionist leading group following their signing of the tripartite partial nuclear test ban treaty.

What is meant by nuclear non-proliferation? Why do the U.S. and the Soviet Union need such a treaty?

So-called nuclear non-proliferation means that the nuclear weapon should be regarded as something to be monopolized by the two nuclear overlords, the U.S. and the Soviet Union, and that only they and they alone are to possess such weapons, not anyone else. It means that others should recognize the hegemony of these two big nuclear powers and confer on U.S. imperialism the privilege of using nuclear blackmail for aggression, and that other countries should be deprived of their right to defence by developing nuclear weapons to combat U.S. nuclear blackmail.

The treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons jointly drawn up by the U.S. and the Soviet Union is absolutely unjust and unfair to the other

countries of the world. Whereas the U.S. and the Soviet Union may develop nuclear weapons on a big scale and go all out for nuclear monopoly, the non-nuclear countries are not allowed to have anything whatsoever to do with nuclear weapons, not even to think of them. Nor is this all. They should sign such a document on the dotted line, pledging that they will not do so, nor think about it. Is there anything more preposterous under the sun?

The treaty is a monstrous fraud. Who after all is bent on nuclear proliferation? U.S. imperialism. It is the worst nuclear proliferator in the world. It has set up numerous nuclear bases all over the globe. Its aircraft and submarines carrying nuclear warheads are prowling around continents and oceans. The treaty is in fact aimed at covering up U.S. imperialism's nuclear proliferation and hoodwinking the people of the world.

That the Soviet leading group want to conclude such a treaty with the U.S. is another big exposure of their renegade features.

In the past, the Soviet leading group used to feign opposition to the U.S. "multilateral nuclear force" (M.L.F.) plan, that is, opposition to the U.S. proliferation in a certain form of nuclear weapons to West Germany. The United States has in no way changed its policy now. It has only invented a new trick by substituting for the M.L.F. something like the NATO "Special Committee on Nuclear Planning" so that Bonn can still share in nuclear weapons. Not long ago, the U.S. State Department openly declared that the signing of a nuclear non-proliferation treaty will in no way affect West Germany's "nuclear sharing role" in NATO. And yet, the Soviet leading group have brazenly stated that there is now no longer any difficulty in the way of concluding such a treaty. This is tantamount to tacit

agreement that the United States may carry out proliferation of nuclear weapons to West Germany, while the Soviet Union itself undertakes the unilateral obligation of non-proliferation. This is a gross betrayal of the interests of the people of the Soviet Union, the socialist countries and the whole world.

The Soviet leading group argue that if there is no check now to nuclear proliferation, then more and more countries will get hold of nuclear weapons and the danger of a nuclear war will be appreciably greater.

From where, it may be asked, does the danger of nuclear war come after all? If not from U.S. imperialism, can it come from the non-nuclear countries? Clearly, to reduce and prevent the danger of nuclear war, it is imperative to oppose the U.S. preparations for nuclear war and its nuclear menace, and strive for the total prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons, and not to seek so-called nuclear non-proliferation.

The fact is that the U.S. did not agree to the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons when it had the monopoly of such weapons. Nor will it agree when only a few countries possess such weapons. Prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons is feasible only when more or all countries possess them and when the U.S. nuclear monopoly is completely broken. In the present situation, one will only help the U.S. maintain its nuclear monopoly if, instead of opposing the nuclear weapons in the hands of the United States, one makes no distinction between and confounds right with wrong and opposes the development of nuclear weapons by other countries. How can this in any way reduce the danger of a nuclear war?

The Soviet leading group have quibbled that the signing of a treaty to prevent nuclear proliferation would do good to non-nuclear countries. Showing their "regard" for non-nuclear countries, they alleged that it is impossible for many countries to produce atomic bombs because they will impoverish themselves by doing so. According to their viewpoint, it is best for the two major nuclear powers, the U.S. and the Soviet Union, to give the non-nuclear countries nuclear "protection."

What rubbish! It is the business of every country in the world to decide for itself whether to develop nuclear weapons or not. Before the realization of complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons, nobody is entitled to deprive another of the right to have nuclear weapons. No country should be treated as inferior to another even though it does not possess nuclear weapons. It is a typical manifestation of the big-nation doctrine and a typical advocacy of imperialist power politics to classify countries in the world as protectors or protectorates in accordance with having or not having nuclear weapons, and to regard those who possess the atom bomb as being privileged to lord it over others, while those without the bomb should humble themselves and pay homage to the haves. Moreover, if the so-called nuclear "protection"

comes from the United States, the result will be nothing but letting the wolf into the sheepfold; if such "protection" is provided by the Soviet leading group, the outcome for the receiving country will merely be to put itself under the control of big-nation chauvinism. In either case, such "protection" violates the sovereignty and interests of the non-nuclear countries and reduces their people to nuclear slaves.

The Soviet leading group have repeatedly asserted that the U.S. war of aggression in Vietnam impedes the co-operation between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. This is complete nonsense. Actually, not only have the Soviet leading group been all along collaborating with the United States on the Vietnam question and rendering it vigorous assistance, but they have also been making bigger and bigger political deals with the United States. The fact that the Soviet leading group are so anxious to conclude a treaty for the prevention of nuclear proliferation with the United States when the latter is unceasingly expanding its war of aggression in Vietnam further exposes the ignominy of their sham support and real betrayal of the Vietnamese people.

The sinister trafficking between the United States and the Soviet Union for a so-called nuclear non-proliferation treaty is also part of their monstrous conspiracy against China. Following China's successful guided missile nuclear weapon test, they have become more anxious than ever to clinch such a deal in order to limit the influence of China. But this will be of no avail. Our country's October 27 press communique points out: "China's purpose in developing nuclear weapons is precisely to oppose the nuclear monopoly and nuclear blackmail by the United States and the Soviet Union acting in collusion. The possession by the Chinese people of guided missiles and nuclear weapons is a great encouragement to the heroic Vietnamese people who are waging a war of resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salvation and to all the revolutionary peoples of the world who are now engaged in heroic struggles, as well as a new contribution to the defence of world peace." This influence of China's cannot be checked.

China is continuing the development of its own nuclear weapons. But we will never consider ourselves entitled to any privilege on account of our possession of such weapons. Resolutely have we opposed, are opposing and will continue to oppose the big-nation doctrine. We have always firmly advocated and will continue to advocate that all countries in the world, big or small, nuclear or non-nuclear, are equal. We will never be party to the so-called nuclear non-proliferation treaty to deprive the non-nuclear countries of their rights and injure the interests of the people of the world. We will firmly work together with the people of the world to oppose U.S. imperialism's nuclear blackmail and nuclear menace and to achieve the total prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons.

(*"Renmin Ribao," November 15.*)

Celebrating the 13th Anniversary of Cambodia's Independence

NOVEMBER 9 marked the 13th anniversary of the complete independence of the Kingdom of Cambodia. China's state leaders sent a message of greetings to Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, and the China-Cambodia Friendship Association gave a reception to warmly celebrate this anniversary. In their message, the Chinese state leaders said that the 700 million Chinese people would always be the most faithful and reliable friends of the Cambodian people.

Speaking at the China-Cambodia Friendship Association's reception on November 8, Vice-Premier Chen Yi said: "At present, a nation exists in the world which dares to sever diplomatic relations with the United States, dares to reject U.S. aid, and dares to build its country in the spirit of self-reliance and is not dependent on foreign aid that has political conditions — this nation is heroic Cambodia. The state leader who adopted this firm, wise and courageous action is Samdech Norodom Sihanouk. This has fully expressed the wishes of the Cambodian people who ardently love independence and freedom, and has also fully expressed the unique statesmanship of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk."

On November 9, Cambodian Ambassador to China Truong Cang gave a reception which was attended by Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premiers Ho Lung and Chen Yi. Speaking at the reception, the Ambassador said: "U.S. imperialism and its flunkies considered that we could not develop or make any progress without the 'U.S. aid' which we rejected three years ago. But we have made achievements even without this aid."

The Ambassador spoke of Cambodia's foreign policy in following the road of neutrality. He sternly denounced the expansionists in the

United States, Saigon and Bangkok for their hostile policy towards Cambodia. He said that if U.S. imperialism and its flunkies forced the people of Cambodia to rise in battle, then, like the Vietnamese people, they would resist to the end, no matter what such resistance would cost.

Ambassador Truong Cang also spoke of the friendly relations between the Cambodian and Chinese peoples and congratulated China on its successes in various fields. With particular warmth, he wished China's cultural revolution complete success. He said that this great cultural revolution was indispensable in that it would train people who would help in national construction, build up a strong national defence force and support Southeast Asian countries, including Vietnam and Cambodia, which are suffering U.S. imperialist aggression.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi, in his speech, reiterated: "In the Cambodian people's struggle against aggression and intervention by U.S. imperialism and its vassals, the 700 million Chinese people always stand on the side of the Cambodian people. This stand of ours will never change."

On November 4, the China-Cambodia friendship delegation led by Chang Chien, Vice-Chairman of the China-Cambodia Friendship Association, went to Cambodia on a friendly visit. It received a warm welcome there.

Guinean Government Economic Delegation in Peking

The Guinean Government Economic Delegation, led by Minister of Economic Development Ismael Toure, arrived in Peking on November 10 on a friendly visit at the

invitation of the Chinese Government.

On the evening of the next day, Vice-Premier Chen Yi gave a banquet in honour of the delegation. In their speeches, Chen Yi and Ismael Toure praised the mutual support and close co-operation of the Chinese and Guinean peoples in the anti-imperialist struggle.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi condemned the recent kidnapping of Guinean Foreign Minister Louis Lansana Beavogui and all the members of the Guinean delegation he led by U.S. imperialism in collusion with the Ghanaian reactionary authorities. He said: "This is a serious provocation against the Guinean people and the entire African people." The Vice-Premier pointed out that the just struggle of the entire nation of Guinea against the U.S. imperialist provocation had won the sympathy and support of public opinion in Africa and the rest of the world. He added: "Once more U.S. imperialism has revealed its hideous features as a despot bent on committing evil. President Sekou Toure has rightly said that 'U.S. imperialism is the sworn enemy of the people.'"

Vice-Premier Chen Yi said that President Toure was absolutely right to order the expulsion of the U.S. "Peace Corps," forbid Pan-American Airways to use Conakry Airport, and to declare that Guinea had no need for "U.S. aid." "This," he said, "reflects the revolutionary heroism of the Guinean and African people. The Guinean people are not to be bullied. The African people are not to be bullied." On behalf of the Chinese Government and people, Vice-Premier Chen Yi expressed firm support for the Guinean people's just struggle against U.S. imperialism and its flunkies.

The Vice-Premier strongly condemned the Ghanaian reactionary authorities who recently arbitrarily announced the suspension of rela-

tions between China and Ghana. He pointed out that it was part of the anti-China adverse current now being stirred up by U.S. imperialism and other international reactionary forces and a new proof that the Ghanaian reactionary authorities were tailing after the United States.

Soviet Revisionist Plot for Afro-Asian Writers' Splittist Conference Condemned

Chairman of the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles Kuo Mo-jo held a reception on November 14 to give a warm send-off to R.D. Senanayake, Secretary-General of the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau, who is leading a friendship delegation of the Bureau on a visit to some Afro-Asian countries.

In his speech, Kuo Mo-jo denounced U.S. imperialism for expanding its aggression against various countries and he condemned the Soviet revisionists for plotting to hold a bogus 3rd Afro-Asian writers' conference to sabotage the Afro-Asian writers' movement and serve U.S. imperialism. He said that to defeat imperialism it was imperative at the same time to defeat revisionism.

Kuo Mo-jo praised the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau, headed by Secretary-General Senanayake, for recently issuing a series of statements on some important international questions, waging a tit-for-tat struggle against the Soviet splittists, and scathingly exposing all kinds of crimes committed by U.S. imperialism and its lackeys and accomplices. He said that this demonstrated that the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau was the true leading core which gave expression to the anti-imperialist and revolutionary demands of the Afro-Asian writers and peoples, and that the Afro-Asian writers' movement for solidarity against imperialism, which had developed in its struggle against the counter-revolutionary line advocated by the Soviet modern revisionist leading clique, was stronger than ever.

Senanayake, in his speech, quoted Chairman Mao's words upon receiv-

ing some foreign friends: **"There are true friends and false friends, but one can see in practice clearly who are true friends and who are false ones."** He said that the delegation's mission during its visit to Afro-Asian countries was to consolidate understanding and solidarity among real friends and to promote the militant solidarity of the Afro-Asian writers and peoples against imperialism headed by the United States and colonialism, old and new. This solidarity, he said, was genuine solidarity against imperialism and colonialism.

Senanayake said that the struggle between the militant progressive line of the Afro-Asian writers and peoples on the one hand and the capitulationist counter-revolutionary line of the Soviet revisionists on the other had entered a new stage. He added that it had become a bounden duty to rally the writers and masses of Asia and Africa to thoroughly expose, isolate and smash the capitulationist line of the Soviet revisionists.

He denounced the Soviet revisionists for engineering a bogus 3rd Afro-Asian writers' conference — a splittist meeting whose preparatory work is now under way in Cairo. He said that to hold this meeting was in contravention of the decisions and resolutions adopted at the meetings and conferences of Afro-Asian writers. "Therefore," he said, "we declare this meeting illegal, and that deliberations at such a meeting are null and void."

27th Anniversary of Dr. Bethune's Death Commemorated

With deep class sentiments, the Chinese people commemorated the 27th anniversary of the death of Dr. Norman Bethune, a great internationalist fighter.

A member of the Canadian Communist Party, Dr. Bethune was a distinguished surgeon. He came to China at the head of a medical team early in 1938 to help the Chinese people resist Japanese aggression and arrived in Yen-an that spring. Soon afterwards, he went to the

Shansi-Chahar-Hopei border area. With ardent internationalism and selfless devotion to his work, he served the army and the people of the Liberated Areas. He contracted blood poisoning while operating on wounded soldiers and died on November 12, 1939 in Huangshihkou Village, Tanghsien County, Hopei Province. In his "In Memory of Norman Bethune," Chairman Mao said: **"Comrade Bethune's spirit, his utter devotion to others without any thought of self, was shown in his great sense of responsibility in his work and his great warm-heartedness towards all comrades and the people. Every Communist must learn from him."**

When Comrade Bethune was in the Shansi-Chahar-Hopei border area, he worked mostly in the villages of Tanghsien County. Many people there still vividly remember his internationalist spirit and his selfless devotion to his work. On November 7, more than 1,000 people in Tanghsien County, including commune members, revolutionary teachers and students, troops stationed in the area and government workers held a meeting before Dr. Bethune's tomb to pay tribute to this great internationalist fighter. Many commune members, who had lived with Comrade Bethune or been treated by him, told all present about his exploits and what they had learnt through the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's "In Memory of Norman Bethune." They pledged that they would always remember Chairman Mao's teachings, follow Bethune's example, remould their ideology and realize the revolutionization of their thinking, carry the great proletarian cultural revolution to the end, and bring about a new upsurge in production so as to contribute to the world revolution.

P.L.A. Gunboat 588 Awarded Title of "Sea Tiger Vessel"

The Ministry of National Defence has issued an order awarding the honoured title "Sea Tiger Vessel" to

(Continued on p. 39)

ROUND THE WORLD

GUINEA

A Slap in the Face for U.S. Imperialism

U.S. imperialism has tried to subdue Guinea by provocation and pressure, but all it has got is a slap in the face.

Before the rising tide of African public opinion, U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, the Ghanaian coup authorities, were forced to release on November 5 the Guinean delegation headed by Foreign Minister Lansana Beavogui which they had kidnapped in Accra. U.S. imperialism, however, was not reconciled to this defeat. It tried to exert pressure on Guinea by reducing its economic "aid" and through other measures. In this situation Guinea struck back. It ordered all U.S. "Peace Corps" members to quit Guinea before November 15, cancelled the right of the U.S. Pan-American Airways to use Conakry airport and ruled that those Americans living in Guinea who had adopted a provocative attitude concerning the kidnapping event must leave.

On November 8, when announcing the above measures at a Conakry mass rally, President Toure declared: "The kidnapping of the Guinean delegation was a premeditated plot. The puppets in Accra are only agents who carried out the plot. The real culprit which insulted the Guinean nation is the United States. U.S. imperialism is the sworn enemy of the people." He added, "The Guinean people must speak the truth which is that the policy of the United States is an imperialist policy."

President Toure also exposed the United States' shameless blackmail in reducing its "aid." He told the U.S. Government, "Keep your money. All we need is our liberty and dignity." In truth, the "aid" of the United States has always been an instrument of U.S. imperialist

aggression against, and enslavement of, the countries to which it is "given."

The U.S. "Peace Corps" is an instrument of aggression newly fashioned by U.S. imperialism to cope with the situation in which the national-liberation movement is sweeping Asia, Africa and Latin America. **Chairman Mao has pointed out that "for a very long period, U.S. imperialism laid greater stress than other imperialist countries on activities in the sphere of spiritual aggression, extending from religious to 'philanthropic' and cultural undertakings."** By expelling the U.S. "Peace Corps," Guinea has removed a cancer which threatened its national independence and has dealt U.S. imperialist cultural aggression a severe blow.

ANTI-GOVERNMENT DEMONSTRATION

Indian People Rise Up in Resistance

With 700,000 people taking part, the November 7 anti-government mass demonstration in New Delhi showed the sharpening of class contradictions in India. This is an inevitable outcome of the reactionary policies pursued by the Congress Government. Kowtowing to U.S. imperialism and the Soviet revisionist leading clique abroad, it has at home followed an anti-popular policy of stepped-up exploitation and repression, with the result that the national economy has been pushed to the brink of bankruptcy and the people plunged into deep misery.

Wave after wave of anti-government struggles by students have recently broken out. In south India, anti-government uprisings have erupted in four cities. In Andhra Pradesh, students refused to attend classes, workers struck and hartals were observed in almost all cities. Although the direct cause of the New Delhi demonstration was the demand of the Hindus that the gov-

ernment ban the slaughter of cows which they consider "sacred," it was in fact an explosion of the Indian people's pent-up anger against the government and part of the violent storm of popular opposition now sweeping the country. This is clear from the fact that the angry crowd set fire to the buildings of All-India Radio, the Transport Ministry, the Press Information Bureau, and other government departments, and attacked the residences of President of the Congress Party Kamaraj and the Supply Minister, as well as the offices of the Power and Labour Ministers.

In face of popular opposition, the Indian Government resorted to the course common to all reactionaries: armed repression. On this occasion more than 500 people were killed or wounded. Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi screamed that her government was determined to put down the opposition whatever the cost. This has further revealed the ferocious nature of the reactionary Congress Government.

Chairman Mao has pointed out that "in the final analysis, their [the reactionaries in all countries] persecution of the revolutionary people only serves to accelerate the people's revolution on a broader and more intense scale." The more brutally the Indian Government suppresses the people, the more intense is the people's opposition to it. This is an objective law which operates independently of man's will.

THE PHILIPPINES

Noose Around U.S. Neck

The student demonstrations which took place in the Philippines during and after the recent Manila conference reflect the country's growing popular struggle against U.S. imperialism and against the Marcos government's role as an accomplice to U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

Although the Philippines gained formal independence in 1946, it has remained under U.S. control as a result of the unequal treaties imposed by the United States. Ameri-

"Quotations From Mao Tse-tung" Published in Tokyo

The Japanese edition of the *Quotations From Mao Tse-tung*, which recently came off the press in Tokyo, has received a very warm welcome from Japanese readers.

The book was translated and published by the Society for Study of the Quotations from Mao Tse-tung which was formed by friends in the Japanese Socialist Party. It is designed to meet the enthusiastic demand of the masses of the Japanese people who want to study Chairman Mao's works.

A publisher's note pointed out that **Mao Tse-tung's thought today shines like a resplendent star over the whole world.**

The first edition — 50,000 copies — was snapped up by bookstores a few days after publication. Tokyo's biggest bookstore sent in two orders for the books in three days, and all copies were sold immediately.

Some readers who had just bought the book said that **they would always carry it with them and study it hard every day as the revolutionary masses in China are doing.**

wounded in south Vietnam are brought back to the Philippines for treatment. Also, many U.S. aircraft which raid Vietnam and the liberated areas in Laos are Philippines-based.

The Philippine reactionaries are playing a very unsavoury role in the Vietnam war. Despite opposition from the people, they decided early this year to send 2,000 men to south Vietnam as cannon-fodder. This has deepened the contradictions between the Philippine people on the one hand and U.S. imperialism and the Marcos government on the other. Hence the repeated mass demonstrations against U.S. imperialism.

Chairman Mao has pointed out that **the Western bourgeoisie created two categories of people in the East: "a small minority, the flunkies of imperialism, and a majority which is opposed to imperialism and consists of the working class, the peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie, the national bourgeoisie and the intellectuals coming from these classes. Those in the majority group are all grave-diggers of imperialism, who were created by imperialism itself, and the revolution originates from them."** The Philippines is just another noose around the neck of U.S. imperialism. This will be tightened as the anti-U.S. struggle of the people there mounts.

cans continue to dominate the country's foreign trade and major sectors of the economy, while national capital suffers blows and discrimination. This has caused unemployment to large numbers of workers.

Moreover, the United States still maintains many military bases in the Philippines. The 100,000 U.S. troops stationed there ride rough-

shod over the people without being subject to the sanctions of the law of the land.

In recent years, the Philippines has become a major base for U.S. imperialist encirclement of China and aggression against Vietnam. Most of the U.S. troops and munitions sent to south Vietnam pass through there. U.S. aggressor troops

(Continued from p. 37.)

Gunboat 588 of a unit of the Chinese Navy.

The order said: "The officers and crew of Gunboat 588, holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's works and giving prominence to politics, have over a long period done excellent work in fulfilling the tasks of being prepared for war and escorting fishing vessels and shipping. They have repeatedly rendered meritorious services in battle and their gunboat has been commended as a 'four-good gunboat' for four years in succession. In particular, on November 14 last year,

in the sea battle during which the Chiang Kai-shek clique's frigate *Yungchang* was sunk and the submarine chaser *Yungtai* damaged, the men of Gunboat 588 gave full play to the fighting style characteristic of our army — courageous, persevering, flexible in action and proficient in close-range and night operations. They hit hard, accurately and relentlessly, and played an important role in accomplishing the tasks of that battle."

On November 13, a meeting was held in Foochow to confer the title "Sea Tiger Vessel" on Gunboat 588 in accordance with the order of the Ministry of National Defence. When the meeting began, all the comrades

from the gunboat read aloud the following quotation from Chairman Mao Tse-tung: "This army has an indomitable spirit and is determined to vanquish all enemies and never to yield."

Addressing the meeting, Yeh Fei, Member of the Secretariat of the East China Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, congratulated all of them. He said: "The heroic feats of the *Sea Tiger Vessel* are further evidence of the absolute correctness of the brilliant conclusion drawn by Comrade Lin Piao: the best weapon is Mao Tse-tung's thought and the greatest fighting power is men armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought."

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