

PEKING REVIEW

October 6, 1959

40

PEOPLE'S CHINA CELEBRATES 10TH ANNIVERSARY

**The People's Liberation Army and
Mao Tse-tung's Military Thinking**

by LIN PIAO

**Ten Years of Struggle for
World Peace and Human Progress**

by CHEN YI

**Chairman Khrushchov's Speeches
in Peking**

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

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報



AT THE JUBILEE BANQUET



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北京周报

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

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People's China Has Friends Everywhere

DISTINGUISHED guests from eighty-seven countries throughout the world joined the Chinese people in marking the tenth anniversary of the birth of the People's Republic of China. On the reviewing stands to inspect the imposing and colourful mass parade in the capital on National Day were found leaders of the Party and government delegations of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, leaders of fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties, government delegates of friendly countries of Asia and Africa, representatives from international people's organizations and friends from various countries of Asia, Africa, Europe, North and South America and Australasia. The presence of so large a group of foreign guests on this historic occasion signifies the grand unity of the socialist camp, the grand unity of the international communist movement and the grand unity of the peoples of all lands. For the Chinese people it is a great encouragement and support.

From its inception People's China has set great store by co-operation and mutual support among the peoples of the world in their common battle for peace, people's democracy and socialism. On the eve of the official proclamation of the founding of the Chinese People's Republic, Mao Tse-tung taught the Chinese people that "in an era when imperialism still exists, it is impossible for a genuine people's revolution in any country to win victory without various forms of help from the international revolutionary forces. Even should victory be won, it could not be consolidated."

The brilliant victories of the people's revolution and the triumphant carrying through of socialist construction in China have been inseparable from the enormous assistance of the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries, from the sympathy and support of the peoples of the world.

On the other hand, the victories of the Chinese revolution and the successful building of socialism are of tremendous significance for world peace and for the common cause of progressive mankind. The victorious conclusion of China's anti-imperialist and anti-feudal people's revolution and the birth of the new people's republic with a population of 650 million people broke one of the central links in the chains of imperialist colonial rule. The inspiring example set by People's China has greatly strengthened the hopes and confidence of the peoples in the backward countries, who, sharing the fate of old China, are fighting to achieve their independence. New China's joining the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union further tilted the scales in favour of world socialism and peace against imperialism. People's China has fought determinedly for peace and has given every possible support to the struggles for national liberation and people's democracy in every part of the world.

We Chinese people feel highly pleased to have been able to contribute to the cause of world peace and the progress of mankind and feel deeply grateful for the sympathy and support we have received from all our friends the world over. Chairman Liu Shao-chi voiced the true sentiments of the Chinese people when he stated that the Chinese people would certainly live up to the expectations and support of the foreign guests and would certainly succeed in building up China within not too long a period of time into a great socialist state with modern industry, modern agriculture and modern science and culture.



On the Tien An Men rostrum reviewing the parade: (left to right) H. Matern, Teng Tse-hui, E. Bodnars, D. Ganev, A. Zawadzki, Teng Hsiao-ping, Lin Piao, Kim Il Sung, Chou En-lai, M. A. Suslov, Ho Chi Minh, Mao Tse-tung, N. S. Khrushchev, Liu Shao-chi, A. Novotny, Chu Teh, U. Tsedenbal, Soong Ching Ling, Dobi Istvan, Tung Pi-wu, M. Shehu, Lin Po-chu

Round the Week

NATIONAL DAY, 1959

Even before the first rays of dawn, the capital was astir. October 1, the long-awaited day, had arrived. Rains the day before had cleared the air to usher in a beautiful morning, crisp and sunny, just right for the greatest National Day parade. Ten years ago, on this day, Chairman Mao Tse-tung had proclaimed the birth of the Chinese People's Republic from the rostrum of Tien An Men. On this October 1 Tien An Men Square which faces the rostrum was a symphony of red flags and flowers as workers, government cadres, students and Young Pioneers took their places to form a huge emblem of the People's Republic flanked by enormous numerals — 1949 and 1959. An olive-uniformed band, one-thousand-strong, with polished brass instruments glittering in the sunshine, stood in the front rows. At five minutes to ten, it struck up the popular tune *The East Is Red* as Chairman Mao Tse-tung, Chairman Liu Shao-chi and N. S. Khrushchov, Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers and First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, mounted the rostrum amidst thunderous applause. They were followed by Chou En-lai, Chu Teh, Soong Ching Ling, Tung Pi-wu, Lin Piao, Teng Hsiao-ping and other leaders of the Chinese Communist Party and Chinese Government, the leaders of Party and government delegations from eleven fraternal socialist countries, the leaders of delegations of fraternal Parties and the heads of government

delegations and government representatives of friendly Asian and African countries.

At ten sharp Peng Chen, Mayor of Peking, declared the ceremony open. The band played the national anthem amidst the thunder of ceremonial salves. Then four hundred Young Pioneers laid flowers at the Monument to the People's Heroes.

After a short speech by Peng Chen, the military review began to the accompaniment of stirring marches. Two cars, one from the east side of Changanchieh Boulevard and the other from the west, slowly drove to a stop in the centre of the Square. General Yang Yung, commanding officer of the military review, in one car, reported to Marshal Lin Piao, Vice-Premier and Minister of National Defence, who was in the other and was asked to take the salutes of the three services. The two new open cars — Hongqi (Red Flag) limousines — made by the No. 1 Motor Car Works at Changchun, northeast China, gave a foretaste of some of the major, top-notch products made in China which would be in the parade for Chairman Mao and his close comrades-in-arms to inspect. The Marshal reviewed the troops massed smartly on either side of the Square and then returned to the rostrum to read the order of the day.

In the past ten years, Marshal Lin Piao said, our country has consistently defended the unity of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union, vigorously supported the national-democratic move-

ments in Asia, Africa and Latin America and resolutely opposed the policy of war and aggression pursued by imperialism headed by the United States. We have persistently carried out a peaceful foreign policy, always held fast to the five principles of peaceful coexistence and done much to safeguard peace in the Far East and the world. The armed forces of the Chinese People's Republic, he went on, are being moulded into a fine, modern, revolutionary army, a mighty force standing guard over peace. We will never encroach upon others, he said, nor will we tolerate encroachment by others. The Marshal reaffirmed the determination of the Chinese people to liberate their territory Taiwan and the offshore islands to complete the unification of the motherland and warned against any foreign interference. His words were punctuated with salves of loud applause.

Then the parade began. All three services were represented, smartly armed and uniformed, infantry men, sailors, tank crews, paratroopers, marching briskly and powerfully. Then the heavy artillery rumbled through the Square and the roar of jet planes filled the air. One and all, the crowds looked to the skies and, sure enough, there were China's silvery jets in formations of five, in the fly-past. They streaked through the skies above the Square in a style that testified eloquently to the fact that China's air force has come of age.

Ten years ago today, the officers and men of the People's Liberation Army

had come to Peking to be reviewed by the Communist Party and Chairman Mao. The arms and equipment they brought with them were mostly captured from Chiang Kai-shek's army. But today, from rifles and carbines to tanks and heavy artillery pieces, from ack-ack guns to some of the jet aircraft, most of the military equipment is now the proud product of the Chinese workers, proof not only of the growth of the country's national defence but also of the advances made in her socialist industrialization.

After the military procession, the workers, peasants, students, artists and athletes — 700,000 strong — were led off by a guard of honour contingent of 15,000 workers and students, with quite a few national minority students among them. The paraders, 150 abreast, strode across the Square, many with bobbing paper flowers in their hands, and waved to the rostrum, to Chairman Mao, to Chairman Liu Shao-chi, to the other Party and government leaders, and the many foreign guests on the reviewing stand, who waved back in acknowledgment.

As in past parades there were many attractive floats, charts and diagrams spelling out the progress made in industry, but there was a difference this year. The models and illustrations were more varied and greater in scope, in the spirit of the continued leap forward. Steel, of course, had pride of place, for in the ten years since 1949 the steel-workers of the country have advanced China from 26th to seventh place in world steel production. The coal-workers who marched in the parade also showed with models and charts how they upped the country's coal production to 270 million tons last year, already surpassing the annual production of Britain, and how they were going to hit the target of 335 million tons this year.

The peasants from the suburban communes turned out in force with floats and models of grain, fruits, cattle, poultry and vegetables. There were quite a number of charts, too, demonstrating the progress in agricultural production. With increasing income from ever-rising production, the peasants are now living better materially and spiritually thanks to the road charted by the Communist Party which they have travelled: from poverty to gradual prosperity, from exploitation under feudal landlords to the great epoch of the people's communes.

They were followed by large numbers of government cadres, scientific workers, ordinary Peking residents, students and teachers.

Then came the "Capital's Division of the People's Militia." The magnificent march-past of the 13,000 armed workers, peasants, government cadres and students was a stirring spectacle. Equipped with rifles, machine guns, mortars and other small and heavy arms, the militia has become a powerful auxiliary force to the People's Liberation Army in defence of the fruits of the Chinese people's peaceful labour.

The cultural workers always presented a colourful spectacle in previous parades, but this year their performance surpassed anything they had done in the past. From the very first moment when pink-clad girls — singers and actresses — gracefully walked past with various kinds of flowers in their hands, to the tableaux of current theatrical performances which concluded the cultural section of the parade, the crowds were enchanted by the beauty of colour, song and movement. There was the colourful *Peacock Dance*. This was followed by the mammoth *yangko* dance, the thrilling *Lion Dance* and the traditional *Dragon Dance*, which combined the grace of dance with the vigour of sport. There were also the dances of the national minorities.

Last but not least came the contingents of sportsmen and sportswomen from all parts of the country, including many who had just broken national and world records at the First National Sports Meet held in the capital in conjunction with the tenth anniversary celebrations. They brought to the Square breathtaking gymnastic exhibitions and colourful displays to bring the parade to its close at 12:30 p.m.

Throughout the country the same festive spirit prevailed. In Shanghai, Tientsin, Shenyang, Wuhan, Sian, Canton and Chungking, hundreds of thousands paraded.

Banquet on the Eve

One day earlier, on the eve of National Day, Chairman Mao Tse-tung, Chairman Liu Shao-chi, Vice-Chairmen Soong Ching Ling and Tung Pi-wu, Chu Teh, Chairman of the N.P.C. Standing Committee, and Premier Chou En-lai gave a banquet in honour of the tenth jubilee. More than 5,000 people were present at the new banquet hall of the Renmin Dahuitang — The Great Hall of the People.

At the tables were friends of the Chinese people from more than 80 countries and representatives of the Chinese people themselves. There were the honourable members of the Party and government delegations from the eleven other socialist countries, and the delegations from the fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties of various countries. There were also government delegations, representatives of various international organizations, the diplomatic corps in Peking, experts from the Soviet Union and other countries who are helping the Chinese people build socialism. There were generals and soldiers in bemedalled uniforms, plainly dressed model workers and peasants, the many national minorities in their colourful national costumes, and priests in sober dark robes.

The vast banquet hall was a fitting place for the festive event. Its cream-



The National Day parade

coloured walls are interspersed harmoniously with dark green window curtains and white Chinese laces. The gilded designs on the white columns on the sides glistened in the hall illuminated by a galaxy of lights on the ceiling laid out in traditional Chinese floral designs, admiringly referred to by some of the guests as the "milky way." Against the beige backdrop at the rear of the flower-decked platform the national emblem in red and gold, flanked by the golden numerals "1949" and "1959," stood out sharply. On the balcony the orchestra played gay, light music.

At 7:10, amidst a thunderous ovation, Chairman Mao Tse-tung and Chairman N. S. Khrushchov and other Chinese leaders and honoured foreign guests entered the hall.

Chairman Khrushchov, who came to Peking from Moscow immediately after his visit to the United States, arrived in Peking to attend the tenth anniversary celebrations with two more members of the Soviet Party and Government Delegation, Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko and the famous plane designer Andrei Tupolev, in a special TU-114 earlier in the day. At the airport he was warmly welcomed by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, Chairman Liu Shao-chi and other leaders of the Chinese Communist Party and Government.

At the banquet Premier Chou En-lai made a speech on behalf of the Chinese people, the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Government, thanking the guests for their participation in the celebrations.

"We are particularly happy," he said, "that Comrade Khrushchov, who has just returned from a visit to the United States, is also with us in Peking today at this banquet. We congratulate him on the success of his visit to the United States as an envoy of peace. We welcome the communique on the talks he had with President Eisenhower of the United States." Thunderous applause broke out signifying general endorsement of the Premier's words.

The Premier then went on to say that great changes had taken place in China in the past ten years and that the Chinese people had scored great victories both in the socialist revolution and socialist construction.

"We are sure," Premier Chou continued, "that under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, it will not take us too long a time to build China into a prosperous, rich and strong socialist country and together with the other

socialist countries we shall triumph over capitalism in peaceful competition."

Applause after burst of applause greeted his speech. (See full text on p. 7.)

Joy filled the hall. The guests, seated ten to a traditional Chinese round table, in practically every language of the world toasted the achievements of the Chinese people, the Chinese Communist Party that made these achievements possible, the unity of the socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union, the unity of the peoples of the world and peace. To add to the spirit of internationalism, the orchestra on the balcony played musical selections from various countries.

After a few rounds of toasts, Chairman Khrushchov walked up to the microphones on the platform. He was greeted by a prolonged ovation. He warmly congratulated the Chinese people. He said, "This is a great and joyous festival not only for you but for all the friends of your great country."

Chairman Khrushchov continued: "The victory of the Chinese revolution was a new triumph for the revolutionary, world-transforming and life-creating forces of Marxist-Leninist ideas," and "since the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution that opened a new epoch in human history, the people's revolution in China is the most outstanding event in world history."

Prolonged applause greeted his speech again and again. (For full text of his speech see p. 7.)

Shortly after nine, Premier Chou En-lai raised his glass. He thanked Chairman Khrushchov for his warm speech, toasted the health of all the guests present and thanked them in Russian, English, French, Spanish and Japanese.

The Two-day Celebration Meeting

On September 28 and 29, as we reported last week, a gala rally to celebrate the tenth anniversary was held in the magnificent auditorium of the Great Hall of the People. On the platform with Chairman Mao Tse-tung, Chairman Liu Shao-chi and other Chinese leaders and representatives of the Chinese people from various walks of life were the leaders of the Party and government delegations from the fraternal countries, the heads of the delegations from the fraternal Parties, military delegations, government delegations from the Asian and African countries, and representatives from various international organizations.

Speaking before an audience of more than 10,000 people—Chinese of all nationalities, from various fields of en-

deavour, and friends from many countries, 60 distinguished guests including M. A. Suslov, Ho Chi Minh, Antonin Novotny, Kim Il Sung, Umjagin Tsedendbal, Aleksander Zawadzki, Dobi Istvan, Dimiter Ganev, Mehmet Shehu, Hermann Matern and Emil Bodnarus greeted People's China. Bringing with them the friendship of the peoples they represented, these friends of China praised the victories of the Chinese people in their revolution, their achievements in building socialism and their contribution to the defence of peace. Their speeches were greeted enthusiastically by the Chinese people and their friends. The spirit of international solidarity permeated the two-day meeting.

Chairman of the People's Republic Liu Shao-chi, in his concluding speech, thanked the distinguished guests for their greetings, which, he said, were a tremendous support for the Chinese people.

"Many of our esteemed guests spoke at this meeting, giving us warm encouragement and expressing sincere expectations.

"The Chinese people will certainly not fail to live up to the support and expectations of our friends from many countries. I am sure all the comrades who are here attending this meeting—comrades from various parts of the country, and from various nationalities, and the representatives of the patriotic overseas Chinese who have returned from abroad—will share the same feeling, that we have before us the greatest task in the history of China. We shall meet with many difficulties. But under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, and by relying on the great solidarity of the nation, by relying on the great solidarity with the peoples of the world, we will be able to overcome any difficulty, whatever it is, and achieve our great aim: to build China, in not too long a period of time, into a great socialist country with modern industry, modern agriculture and modern science and culture."

The meeting concluded with the resounding notes of the *Internationale* and prolonged applause.

* * *

During the past week the Chinese Communist Party, the State Council and the various organizations of the Chinese people have received numerous greetings and telegrams from friends all over the world. In many countries special meetings and other activities were organized to celebrate the tenth birthday of the Chinese People's Republic.

SPEECHES AT THE JUBILEE BANQUET

Here are the two speeches delivered at the jubilee banquet which we described on p. 5. — Ed.

Premier Chou En-lai's Speech

Comrades and Friends,

A DECADE has passed since the founding of the People's Republic of China.

We are very happy that the leading comrades of our great ally, the Soviet Union, and of the other brother countries, the leading comrades of our fraternal Parties, government representatives of friendly Asian and African countries, and comrades and friends from various countries are here with us celebrating the tenth anniversary of the founding of our People's Republic. They have come from afar, bringing with them profound friendship. They are good friends of the Chinese people. Let me, on behalf of the Chinese people, the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Government, give them a hearty welcome.

We are particularly happy that Comrade Khrushchov, who has just returned from a visit to the United States, is also with us in Peking today at this banquet. We congratulate him on the success of his visit to the United States as an envoy of peace. We welcome the communique of the talks he had with President Eisenhower of the United States.

During these ten years, our country has undergone gigantic changes. We have won great victories in the socialist revolution. We have achieved great successes in socialist construction. We have begun to change the face of China.

In the course of the revolution and of construction we have received enormous support and assistance from all the socialist countries, especially from the Soviet Union, and broad sympathy and support from the peoples of the world. All our achievements are inseparable from the help and support they have given us. On behalf of the Chinese people, I wish to express our heartfelt gratitude to them.

The construction which we have started is only a beginning. We are still lacking in experience and there are still not a few shortcomings and difficulties in our work. The great thing is, however, that after several years of searching we have, in the light of the common principles of Marxism-Leninism regarding socialist construction, begun to work out a general line for building socialism suited to the conditions of China. We have already brought about a situation of big leaps forward and set up in the countryside people's communes, a new form of organization favourable to the development of the productive forces. We are sure that, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, it will not take us too long a time to build China into a prosperous, rich and strong socialist country and together with the other socialist countries we shall triumph over capitalism in peaceful competition.

The present situation is very favourable to the people of the world. The socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union has become stronger and more consolidated. The solidarity of the socialist countries is as firm as a rock. The struggle for national independence, for democracy and freedom of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples, and the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism of the people in various countries in the world continue to forge ahead. No force on earth can prevent the just cause of the people from attaining victory.

Long live the People's Republic of China!

Long live the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union!

Long live friendship among the peoples of the world!

Long live world peace!

Chairman N. S. Khrushchov's Speech

Dear Comrade Mao Tse-tung,

Dear Comrade Liu Shao-chi,

Dear Comrade Chu Teh,

Dear Comrade Chou En-lai,

Respected Comrades and Friends!

PERMIT me first of all to thank Comrade Chou En-lai for the warm words which he spoke about our Soviet Union and about our Communist Party; and to thank you, dear comrades, for the hospitality you have extended to us.

Permit me to express my heartfelt congratulations to you, to the whole fraternal Chinese people on the tenth anniversary of the People's Republic of China. This is a

great and joyous festival not only for you but for all the friends of your great country.

This year, 1959, is rich in outstanding and, as is said, "red-letter" days. This year the Polish, Rumanian, Bulgarian and Albanian peoples are marking the fifteenth anniversaries of the establishment of the people's democratic power in their countries and in a week our German friends will celebrate the tenth anniversary of the proclamation of the German Democratic Republic.

We are happy to be here together with you in festive Peking, celebrating the glorious victory of the Chinese people which opened a new epoch in the history of China. Each such outstanding date is an historic milestone on

the path of the tumultuous development of socialism and communism.

TEN years ago when the Chinese people took power into their hands the whole world saw that the Chinese revolution was an event of immense historic importance. Both the friends of the Chinese people and their enemies understood that the victory of the people's revolution in a country with a population of more than 500 million substantially changes the relation of forces on the world arena in favour of socialism. It strengthens still further the forces of the national liberation movement throughout the world.

The victory of the Chinese revolution was a new triumph for the revolutionary, world-transforming and life-creating forces of Marxist-Leninist ideas.

The enemies of People's China, beaten in open combat, comforted themselves with the hope that the Chinese people would not be able to cope with the innumerable difficulties and obstacles that arose in their path. So far as we, the loyal friends of People's China, were concerned, we well understood of course from our own experience that the building of socialism in such a huge and formerly backward country would be beset with no small difficulties. At the same time we saw what a mighty upsurge of revolutionary enthusiasm was evoked by the victory of the people's revolution and how the inexhaustible powers of the Chinese people were developing. All honest people were deeply confident that the Chinese people, having taken their destiny into their own hands, would be able to defend their homeland and establish a new, socialist order in it.

From the experience of our own people we know that when the working people take power into their hands, when they are firmly led by a Marxist-Leninist party that knows how to unite the people and where to lead them, then there is no force that can stop the advance of the people.

In a short speech it is not possible to deal in detail with the successes achieved by the Chinese people as they deserve. Since the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution that opened a new epoch in human history, the people's revolution in China is the most outstanding event in world history.

The heroic and hardworking people of China under the leadership of the glorious Communist Party has demonstrated what the people are capable of when they take power into their own hands. In our time many countries have freed themselves from colonial dependence and having inherited a backward economy, the peoples of these countries are seeking ways to pull their countries out of their backwardness and on to the wide road of independent development, and the promotion of their economy and culture. Two roads lie before them—the road of capitalist development and the road of socialist development.

The enemies of communism, who are trying to cure the rotting capitalist system, are fond of saying that so-called "free enterprise" gives people better opportunities of developing themselves and produces the best results. However a simple comparison between the tempo of development of those countries taking the capitalist path and the tempo of development of the socialist countries, shows

convincingly where the people display their creative abilities better — under the socialist system or the capitalist system. And this doesn't require any deep explanations. Life itself confirms the great advantages of socialism. Now the tumultuous growth of the socialist countries has become an inescapable fact and scares the capitalist bosses. They admit that the example of the successful advance of great People's China—in the spheres of the development of industry, agriculture, and culture—is exerting an immense influence on the countries of Asia and Africa. This example can inspire other peoples with the desire to follow suit, in order to score equally great successes, but among the foes of socialism this example arouses fear and apprehension as to capitalism's fate.

EVERYONE now acknowledges the achievements of the Chinese people and of the Communist Party of China. The peoples of Asia and Africa see along what path, under what system, the talents and creative forces of the peoples can really burst forth enabling them to show their mighty creative power in its full breadth and depth.

In one of my speeches in the United States, in Pittsburgh, a major industrial centre, I said that we have challenged the capitalist countries to peaceful competition. As honourable contestants sure of our victory, I told my American audience, we warn you—look out, we are sure to win. Why are we certain of this? Because we have taken the right road; we are riding a new, fresh socialist steed, and you the old capitalist horse. It still carries you, but this is already a horse that is disabled and crippled and goes staggering along, so that the rider has to keep his eye wide open, or he will fall off. Our socialist steed is fast and full of vitality. Just as capitalism mounted a new steed after feudal times and left feudalism far behind, so socialism and communism, born of the new age, will leave capitalism far behind, and inevitably replace it on the arena of history.

Dear friends! I could cite many instances of the outstanding success of the Chinese people in all fields of socialist construction. But it is not for me, a guest come to People's China, but better for you, my friends, to talk of your successes, because it was you who laboured for them and have every right to be proud of the fruits of your work. As for us, your friends and guests, we sincerely rejoice at your remarkable achievements and victories.

That China is an ancient country with a big population has been known for a long time. But only during the past ten years have the world's people really come to understand what giant forces lie hidden in the Chinese people. The fight for freedom and national independence, and the building of socialism, have enabled the Chinese people to display all their riches of spirit. As little brooks converge into great rivers in full flow, so the labour of millions of workers, peasants and intellectuals forms the ocean of the people's creativeness.

Now it is particularly clear how rotten a libel were the colonialist assertions aimed to present the people of the East as slow, inert, and supposedly incapable of vigorous creative work. The colonialists did all this to justify their colonial pillage and robbery, to stress the superiority of the so-called "dynamic Western civilization." The reality of People's China, and of other Eastern countries, fully disproves such cooked-up slanders.

Comrades! We are all proud of the successes of the Chinese people. We rejoice at them all the more because they are the result of the leadership of our brother Communist Party of China, and of its Central Committee headed by that great son of the Chinese people, Comrade Mao Tse-tung. It is the historic service of the Communist Party of China that, guiding itself by the victorious teachings of Marxism-Leninism, it has aroused the many-millioned masses of workers and peasants to fight for socialism. It is the good fortune of the Chinese people to have a Communist Party so militant and so steeled in battle.

DEAR friends! Today, at this festival, I recall the tenth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Then, in 1927, the Soviet Union was the only country building socialism. It was much harder for us. Our country was ringed by capitalist encirclement. Capitalism then enjoyed complete superiority in material resources. Now things are different. The times are different, and we have become different.

Here, at this reception by our cordial hosts, representatives of many countries are gathered. It is pleasant to realize that the Chinese people have many true friends, who have taken the path of building socialism as China has. Each friend of China, moreover, has just as many friends as she. China's friends are the friends of each socialist land whose representatives are present here at the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the Chinese People's Republic. Now there is a big family of socialist countries with a population of nearly 1,000 million.

The new world system is going confidently forward, it is developing at a fast pace, gathering strength like a good plant in spring weather. Just as a mighty tree which has sunk its roots deep and strong fears neither wind nor drought, so the new socialist world fears no storm or misfortune. The socialist camp has become just such an invincible force, exerting a decisive influence on the fate of mankind. A case in point: the socialist countries have sent their congratulatory pennant to the moon, which has obligingly embraced it.

Yet the socialist world is still so young—in fact, that the mighty forces latent in it have only just begun to unfold themselves properly. The socialist countries possess everything needed to overtake and surpass the capitalist countries in the development of productive forces and in the production of goods, both by volume and per capita.

The peoples of our countries will live better and better each year, they will amaze the world with many many attainments and they will undoubtedly win the peaceful competition with capitalism. Then new hundreds of millions of people in the capitalist countries, having convinced themselves that socialism and communism mean a better life, will travel our road. They will acquire, in socialism, not only material benefits but also genuine freedom, richness of spiritual life, and peace for themselves and the future generations.

We must defeat the capitalist countries in peaceful competition, and we will. Our confidence is based not only on our desires. It has already been confirmed by life itself, by experience in construction of socialism in several countries in Europe and Asia. The experience of

socialist construction in the Soviet Union is an obvious example, an open book that tells of how our people, during 42 years of which almost 20 were taken up by wars imposed upon us and by post-war economic rehabilitation, changed their country into the world's second strongest economic power.

Now, when we have such a vast socialist camp, with so many millions of people, comprising many European and Asian states, we naturally have immeasurably greater possibilities for a fast advance along the road of building socialism and communism. Each new success of the lands of socialism clearly demonstrates the advantages of the socialist system. And even those who, under the influence of capitalist propaganda, are still afraid of communism will understand in time its high, and humane ideals. The higher the level of production, the better will be the people's livelihood, and the more clearly will the great and vital power of Marxist-Leninist theory display itself.

COMRADES! Socialism brings to the people peace—that greatest blessing. The greater the strength of the camp of socialism grows, the greater will be its possibilities for successfully defending the cause of peace on this earth. The forces of socialism are already so great that real possibilities are being created for excluding war as a means of solving international disputes.

In our time the leaders of governments in some capitalist countries have begun to show a certain tendency towards a realistic understanding of the situation that has emerged in the world.

When I spoke with President Eisenhower—and I have just returned from the United States of America—I got the impression that the President of the U.S.A.—and not a few people support him—understands the need to relax international tension.

Perhaps not every bourgeois leader can pronounce the words "peaceful coexistence" well, but they cannot deny that two systems exist in the world—the socialist and the capitalist. The recognition of this fact ran like a red thread through all the talks; this was repeatedly spoken about by the President and other leaders. Therefore we on our part must do all we can to exclude war as a means of settling disputed questions, and settle these questions by negotiations.

The leaders of the capitalist countries cannot but take account of such a decisive factor of modern times as the existence of the powerful world camp of socialism. There is only one way of preserving peace—that is the road of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. The question stands thus: either peaceful coexistence or war with its catastrophic consequences. Now, with the present relation of forces between socialism and capitalism being in favour of socialism, he who would continue the "cold war" is moving towards his own destruction. The "cold war" warriors are pushing the world towards a new world war in the fires of which those who light it will be the first to get burned.

Already in the first years of the Soviet power the great Lenin defined the general line of our foreign policy as being directed towards the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. For a long time, the ruling circles of the Western powers rejected these truly humane principles. Nevertheless the principles of peaceful co-

existence made their way into the hearts of the vast majority of mankind.

The leaders of many capitalist states are being forced more and more to take account of realities, and to recast their international relations because in our century it is impossible to resolve questions of relations between two systems successfully other than on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence. There is no other way.

We are convinced that the peaceful foreign policy of the socialist states, defending peace on earth, will continue to gain new victories. No small efforts will have to be exerted to achieve this. But it is well worth fighting for such a high aim with unsparing efforts.

COMRADES! The socialist countries have achieved great successes in developing their economies and as a consequence have created mighty potential forces on the basis of which they can successfully continue their advance. They have the means to defend themselves from the attacks of the imperialist aggressors if these should attempt by interference in our countries' affairs to force them to leave the socialist path and return to capitalism. That old time has gone never to return.

But we must think realistically and understand the contemporary situation correctly. This, of course, does not by any means signify that if we are so strong, then we must test by force the stability of the capitalist system. This would be wrong: the peoples would not understand and would never support those who would think of acting in this way. We have always been against wars of conquest. Marxists have recognized, and recognize, only liberating, just wars; they have always condemned, and condemn, wars of conquest, imperialist wars. This is one of the characteristic features of Marxist-Leninist theory.

It is not at all because capitalism is still strong that the socialist countries speak out against war, and for peaceful coexistence. No, we have no need of war at all.

If the people do not want it, even such a noble and progressive system as socialism cannot be imposed by force of arms. The socialist countries, therefore, while carrying through a consistently peace-loving policy, concentrate their efforts on peaceful construction, they fire the hearts of men by the force of their example in building socialism, and thus lead them to follow in their footsteps. The question of when this or that country will take the path to socialism is decided by its own people. This, for us, is the holy of holies.

COMRADES! Filled with inexhaustible energy, our peoples have come out on the broad, bright road. No tasks are beyond the strength of 1,000 million people who have cast off the shackles of capitalist slavery. We are going to our cherished goal filled with deep faith in the justice of our common cause, in close solidarity, and with our ranks united. This unity, illuminated by the unfailing light of Marxism-Leninism, is our great achievement, which we will guard as the apple of our eye.

The brotherly alliance of socialist countries, the international solidarity of the proletariat, the unity of the world communist and workers' movements—these constitute the unshakable foundation of our future victories in the battle for communism.

I propose a toast to the great Chinese people,

To the Communist Party of China and its Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung,

To the Government of the People's Republic of China,

To the eternal and unbreakable friendship of the Soviet and Chinese peoples,

To the unity of all countries of the socialist camp,

To peace and friendship among the peoples of the entire world,

To your health, dear comrades and friends!

Chairman Khrushchov's Speech at Peking Airport

Following is the speech delivered by Chairman N. S. Khrushchov on his arrival at the Peking airport on September 30. — Ed.

Dear Comrade Mao Tse-tung!

Dear Comrades Liu Shao-chi, Chu Teh and Chou En-lai!

Dear Comrades and Friends!

I AM glad to be invited to take part as your guest in the celebrations of the tenth anniversary of the Chinese People's Republic.

The Communist Party of China, under the leadership of the Central Committee, with Comrade Mao Tse-tung at its head, inspiring and organizing the struggle of its people for the victory of the revolution, for the upsurge in economy and the transformation of the country's economy along new socialist principles, has achieved tremendous successes. Your successes make us happy and we wish you further advances to complete socialist construction and build communism.

Our two Parties stood together in the most difficult times in the past; now we are marching together, towards the great goal and together we shall complete the building of communist society, which will crown the peoples' common efforts in the revolutionary transformation of society.

I came to China immediately after my return to Moscow from my visit to the United States of America, literally speaking, by changing from one plane to another. In the United States I met and had talks with leading figures of the U.S.A., mainly with President Dwight Eisenhower. During these meetings and talks we exchanged views most frankly on all questions that have to be solved, so that an atmosphere of co-operation, peaceful coexistence and ensurance of world peace could be created.

My visit to the U.S.A. and the talks that took place there were useful. They, without doubt, should lead to

the improvement of the relations between our two countries and to the relaxation of international tension. Everything must be done in order really to clear the atmosphere and create conditions for friendship among nations. We must exert all our efforts to achieve such a state of affairs, in order to secure world peace.

At the General Assembly of the United Nations we have put forward proposals for general and complete disarmament with effective controls. These proposals can bring about a fundamental change in the relationships among nations, if they will receive response, understanding and support from all the states. The Soviet Union, as it can be seen from our proposals, is ready for a most comprehensive solution of the disarmament question in order really to create conditions for the security of all nations. Then no one, neither small nor big nations, will feel uneasy that they may be subjected to attack, for then no states will have any means of attack. That would be a great achievement for all nations, for ensuring peace and creating an atmosphere of friendly relations. This would be a concrete guarantee for peaceful coexistence, the development of friendly relations among countries, the expansion of economic, cultural and other ties, which are needed by all nations.

The Soviet Government had repeatedly stated, and in my speech before the U.N. General Assembly I reiterated our point of view, that the United Nations cannot be a

really universal organ of international co-operation, a really effective international instrument for the settlement of all international questions, if such a great power as the Chinese People's Republic is not there. I stated at the General Assembly that it was high time to chase out from the U.N. the corpse of Chinese reaction — the Chiang Kai-shek clique. In the United Nations the great socialist China should occupy its lawful place. No matter how the reactionary forces may resist, this will be done. Justice will certainly triumph.

Friends, on my arrival in Peking, the capital of the Chinese People's Republic, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, the Government and all the people of the Soviet Union, and in my own name, I extend heartfelt friendly greetings to the Central Committee of the fraternal Communist Party of China, to the Government of People's China, to the great Chinese people as a whole.

Long live the Chinese People's Republic which is confidently marching under the banner of Marxism-Leninism towards the victory of socialism!

Long live the eternal and unbreakable friendship of the great peoples of the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic!

Long live the mighty camp of socialism — the indestructible bulwark of world peace!

Guests of Honour Present at the Banquet

Among the guests of honour present at the Jubilee Banquet on the eve of National Day (see p. 5) were:

The Party and Government Delegation of the Soviet Union headed by **Comrade N. S. Khrushchov**;

The Party and Government Delegation of the Democratic Republic of Viet-nam, headed by **Comrade Ho Chi Minh**;

The Party and Government Delegation of the Republic of Czechoslovakia headed by **Comrade Antonin Novotny**;

The Party and Government Delegation of the Korean Democratic People's Republic headed by **Comrade Kim Il Sung**;

The Party and Government Delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic headed by **Comrade Umjagin Tsendenbal**;

The Party and Government Delegation of the People's Republic of Poland headed by **Comrade Aleksander Zawadzki**;

The Party and Government Delegation of the People's Republic of Hungary headed by **Comrade Dobi Istvan**;

The Party and Government Delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria headed by **Comrade Dimitar Ganev**;

The Party and Government Delegation of the People's Republic of Albania headed by **Comrade Mehmet Shehu**;

The Party and Government Delegation of the German Democratic Republic headed by **Comrade Hermann Matern**; and

The Party and Government Delegation of the People's Republic of Rumania headed by **Comrade Emil Bodnaras**.

Present also were:

The Japanese Communist Party Delegation headed by **Comrade Sanzo Nozaka**;

The French Communist Party Delegation headed by **Comrade Waldeck Rochet**;

The Indian Communist Party Delegation headed by **Comrade Ajoy Kumar Ghosh**;

The Italian Communist Party Delegation headed by **Comrade Girolamo Li Causi**;

The Indonesian Communist Party Delegation headed by **Comrade Njoto**;

The Brazilian Communist Party Delegation headed by **Comrade Luiz Carlos Prestes**;

The Spanish Communist Party Delegation headed by **Comrade Dolores Ibarruri**;

The British Communist Party Delegation headed by **Comrade Harry Pollitt**;

The Argentine Communist Party Delegation headed by **Comrade Victorio Codovilla**;

The Cuban People's Socialist Party Delegation headed by **Comrade Anibal Escalante**;

The Delegation of the Iraqi Communist Party, including **Comrade Mohammed Hussein Abu al-Iss**;

The Finnish Communist Party Delegation headed by **Comrade Aimo Aaltonen**;

The Algerian Communist Party Delegation headed by **Comrade Larbi Bouhali**;

The Delegation of the Communist Party of Venezuela headed by **Comrade Jesus Faria**;

The German Communist Party Delegation headed by **Comrade Karl**;

The Australian Communist Party Delegation headed by **Comrade Lance Louis Sharkey**;

The Austrian Communist Party Delegation headed by **Comrade Johann Koplenig**;

The Swedish Communist Party Delegation headed by **Comrade Hilding Hagberg**;

The Syrian Communist Party Delegation headed by **Comrade Khaled Baghdash**;

The Canadian Labour Progressive Party Delegation headed by **Comrade Nelson Clarke**;

The Belgian Communist Party Delegation headed by **Comrade Frans van den Branden**;

The Chilean Communist Party Delegation headed by **Comrade Jose Gonzalez**;

The Greek Communist Party Delegation headed by **Comrade Apostolos Grozos**;

The Delegation of the Mexican Communist Party;

The Communist Party of Colombia Delegation headed by **Comrade Victor J. Merchan**;

The Delegation of the Communist Party of the Netherlands headed by **Comrade G. Pothoven**;

The Communist Party Delegation of Ceylon headed by **Comrade K. P. de Silva**;

The Iranian People's Party Delegation headed by **Comrade Tubali**;

The Communist Party of Uruguay Delegation headed by **Comrade Enrique Rodriguez**;

The Swiss Labour Party Delegation headed by **Comrade Guido Cavagna**;

The Delegation of the Communist Party of Paraguay headed by **Comrade Rogelio Espindola**;

The Danish Communist Party Delegation headed by **Comrade Robert Sartori**;

The Delegation of the Communist Party of Nepal headed by **Comrade Keshar Jung Raymajhi**;

The Jordanian Communist Party Delegation headed by **Comrade Fuad Nassar**;

The Delegation of the Communist Party of New Zealand headed by **Comrade V. G. Wilcox**;

The Norwegian Communist Party Delegation headed by **Comrade Jorgen Vogt**;

The Delegation of the Communist Party of Portugal;

The Delegation of the Communist Party of Luxemburg headed by **Comrade Dominique Urbany**;

The Delegation of the Communist Party of Lebanon headed by **Comrade Hassan Koraytem**;

The Delegation of the Communist Party of Ecuador headed by **Comrade Alejandro Idrovo**;

The Turkish Communist Party Delegation;

The Delegation of the Communist Party of Bolivia headed by **Comrade Jesus Lara**;

The Delegation of the Labour Party of Guatemala;

Comrade Tzvi Breitstein, Representative of the Israeli Communist Party;

The Nicaragua Socialist Party Delegation;

The Delegation of the Socialist Unity Party of Iceland headed by **Comrade Eggert Thorbjarnarson**;

The Delegation of People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica headed by **Comrade Arnaldo Ferreto**;

Comrade Umberto Barulli, Representative of the Communist Party of San Marino.

Present also were:

The Military Delegation of the Democratic Republic of Viet-nam headed by **Comrade Vo Nguyen Giap**;

The Military Delegation of the Korean Democratic People's Republic headed by **Comrade Kim Kwang Hyup**.

Other guests of honour who attended the banquet included:

The Government Delegation of the Kingdom of Afghanistan headed by **His Excellency Ghulam Mohammed Sherzad**, the Afghan Minister of Commerce;

The Delegation of the Algerian Provisional Government headed by **His Excellency Ben Youssef Ben Khedda**, Minister of Social Welfare;

His Excellency U Chit Thaug, Representative of the Burmese Government and Minister of Culture;

His Excellency Barry Diawandon, Representative of the Government of the Republic of Guinea, Minister of Education;

The Government Delegation of Iraq headed by **His Excellency Ahmad Muhammed Yahia**, Minister for Internal Affairs;

The Government Delegation of the Kingdom of Nepal headed by **His Excellency Dr. Tulshi Giri**, Minister for Village Development;

The Sudanese Cultural Delegation headed by **Mr. A. M. Gubara**, Registrar of the University of Khartoum; and

The Government Delegation of the Kingdom of Yemen headed by **His Excellency Sayed Ali Al-Muyyad**, Minister of State.

Present also were:

The Delegation of the World Federation of Trade Unions headed by **Mr. Sugiri**, member of the Secretariat of WFTU;

The Delegation of the World Peace Council headed by **Professor John D. Bernal**, Executive President of the Presidential Committee of the World Peace Council;

The Delegation of the Women's International Democratic Federation headed by **Madame Marie-Claude Vaillant-Couturier**, Vice-President of the WIDF;

The Delegation of the World Federation of Democratic Youth headed by **Mr. Christian Echard**, General Secretary of the WFDY;

The Delegation of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Council headed by **Mr. Youssef El-Sebai**, General Secretary of the Permanent Secretariat of the Council;

The Delegation of the International Union of Students headed by **Mr. Jiri Pelikan**, President of the IUS; and

The Delegation of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers headed by **Mr. D. N. Pritt**, President of the Association.

March Ahead Under the Red Flag of the General Line and Mao Tse-tung's Military Thinking

by LIN PIAO

The following article by Lin Piao, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Vice-Premier and Minister of National Defence, is translated from "Hongqi" (Red Flag), theoretical fortnightly of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, No. 19, Oct. 1, 1959. It was published there under the title "Take Giant Strides, Holding High the Red Flag of the Party's General Line and the Military Thinking of Mao Tse-tung." — Ed.

I

TEN years have passed since the founding of the People's Republic of China, our great motherland. All the officers and men of the Chinese People's Liberation Army join with the people throughout the land in joyful celebration of this great, historic festival of the entire nation.

Ten years are only a brief moment in the span of history. Yet in these ten years our country has achieved the great victory of the socialist revolution immediately after the victory of the new-democratic revolution. In the struggle between the two roads of socialism and capitalism, socialism has essentially defeated capitalism in all fields. The history of class exploitation of thousands of years has been ended in the main. The 650 million Chinese people, one-fourth of the world's population, have entered socialist society.

Following three years of economic rehabilitation, our country fulfilled the First Five-Year Plan for the Development of the National Economy (1953-1957) and thus laid the preliminary foundation for socialist industrialization. In 1958, on the recommendation of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the Communist Party formulated the general line for building socialism—go all out, aim high and achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results. Under the guiding light of this general line, industry and agriculture, culture and education, began their great leap forward, making it possible for our country to fulfil the major targets of the Second Five-Year Plan three years ahead of schedule. Last autumn, in less than two months, people's communes were swiftly set up throughout our countryside. In less than a year they have consolidated themselves and embarked on the road of sound development and they are displaying their superiority with ever increasing clarity.

China's unparalleled speed in building socialism and her brilliant achievements testify eloquently to the inexhaustible power and wisdom of the industrious and courageous Chinese people in creating history, under the leadership of the great Chinese Communist Party and the great people's leader, Comrade Mao Tse-tung. Imperialism, however, has not stopped its sabotage against

us for a moment and is still dreaming of overthrowing us. Not long after the founding of our Republic, U.S. imperialism launched the war of aggression in Korea and, at the same time, seized our Taiwan in a vain attempt to occupy Korea first and then strangle the new-born People's Republic of China. This attempt ended in ignominious defeat. Now China's great leap forward and the people's communes have thrown the imperialists into great fright and confusion and they have unleashed the most vicious smear campaign and attack against China. But again they have failed miserably. Despite all the obstruction and sabotage of imperialism and reaction, China's wheel of history is rolling forward at the speed of "twenty years concentrated in a day." The Chinese people have now grown strong!

GREAT achievements have been made on the national defence front, as on other fronts of socialist construction, in the past ten years. After the founding of the People's Republic of China, the Chinese People's Liberation Army rapidly mopped up the remnants of the Kuomintang reactionary forces and liberated the entire Chinese mainland. Together with the Korean People's Army, the Chinese People's Volunteers defeated the armed forces of the No. 1 imperialism of the world. U.S. imperialism was exposed before the peoples of the world as a paper tiger. In liberating the offshore islands, guarding the country's frontiers and its territorial waters and air, punishing Chiang Kai-shek's forces on Quemoy, preparing for the liberation of Taiwan and putting down the rebellion of Tibetan reaction, our army has been successfully discharging what is entrusted to it by the people of the country. Along the national defence frontiers and at strategic points in depth, modern, large-scale national defence projects have been undertaken, so that our country has begun to have a relatively complete network of modern defence installations. Guided by the correct line laid down by the Central Committee of the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung for building our army into a fine, modernized, revolutionary army, and with the assistance of the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries, the army itself has undergone a new major change in the history of its development. The technical equipment of the army has been improved and a series of reforms concerning the command, organization, training and other systems of the army has been effected. Now our army has developed from a single arm into a combined force of different arms. The major technical branches of the land forces have been strengthened markedly. A powerful air force has been built and the navy has grown correspondingly.

In the course of the modernization of the army, the Party's absolute leadership in the army has been consolidated, the glorious tradition of the unity between the army and the civilian population, between officers and men, has been developed and the mass line has been carried out in the various fields of work. Following the great rectification campaign, inspired by the Party's general line for building socialism and the nationwide big leap forward, the army has also taken an all-out, comprehensive big leap forward in its work. As part of our national defence forces, we have, in addition to a politically firm and technically modern standing army, built up a militia force of several hundred million people. With this militia force, the entire population can be turned into a military force whenever imperialism dares to attack our country. In co-ordination with the standing army, this militia force can engulf the enemy in the flames of an all-out people's war. In addition to building itself up, our army has at all times taken a great part in national construction and social reforms. In the political report to the Second Session of the Eighth National Congress of the Party, delivered on behalf of the Central Committee, Comrade Liu Shao-chi pointed out that "the People's Liberation Army is the defender as well as the builder of the cause of socialism." Our army has in the past ten years faithfully carried out this honourable task.

In the past ten years our country has been undergoing a great change—the transition from the thorough victory of the democratic revolution to the carrying out of the socialist revolution and socialist construction. Militarily, our army has advanced from a single arm to a modern combined force of different arms; this is also a big leap forward. In these circumstances, we are confronted with a series of vital problems concerning the building up of the army. The main problem is: Is it still important for politics to be in command in the stage of the modernization of the army? Concretely speaking, what place has political and ideological work? What attitude should the members of the armed forces adopt towards the country's economic construction and the mass movements? What is the correct way to handle intra-army relations and to strengthen still further the Party's leadership in the army? All these questions must be settled in the new stage of the building up of the army. In the past ten years, we have achieved the successes and victories mentioned above because we have dealt with these vital problems quite correctly. Today, on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the founding of our Republic, we would like to dwell mainly on some of our experiences relating to this.

II

THE realization of socialism and communism is the lofty ideal for which the officers and men of our army have struggled heroically for many years. Even in the stage of the democratic revolution, the Party never relaxed in educating its armed forces in the ideals of socialism and communism. The great majority of the comrades of our army displayed resolution and courage in the period of the democratic revolution and, in the period of the socialist revolution, exerted their efforts heroically for socialism and showed themselves undaunted fighters in the cause. However, quite a number of comrades lack a high degree of socialist consciousness though they have

certain aspirations for socialism and wish to see its fruition. Consequently, the thinking of some of them often remained at the stage of the democratic revolution while the socialist revolution had already begun. It is in the very course of the socialist revolution that quite a few of them gradually prepare themselves mentally for the socialist revolution. The socialist revolution is much broader and deeper than the democratic revolution. Its aim is to liquidate all systems of exploitation and the private ownership of the means of production. Each step in this revolution has a powerful impact on the life and thinking of the several hundred million people of our country, and the various ideological trends in society are inevitably reflected, directly or indirectly, in the army. If adequate mental preparation for the socialist revolution and serious self-remoulding are lacking, the revolutionary army man cannot possibly maintain a firm stand in the socialist revolution and, consequently, cannot possibly carry through the Party's general line for building socialism in a conscious, resolute manner. When socialism actually comes and private ownership of the means of production by the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie is actually coming to an end, he will therefore be taken by surprise and even lose his bearings. Thus the germ of bourgeois ideology would spread in that section of our Party and army where resistance is weak and exercise a corrosive and splitting influence on our Party and army. Consequently, we would encounter internal resistance in the struggle for the realization of socialism.

WITHIN our army, the two opposing classes, the bourgeoisie and the working class, do not exist, but the struggle between bourgeois and working-class ideology does exist. This ideological struggle is a reflection of the struggle between the two roads, socialist and capitalist, in the transition period. As the situation now stands, the transformation of the old economic system of society has been completed in the main, but not fully; the economic system of society has been changed, but remnant bourgeois ideological and political activities still remain and the social base for this, though shrinking, is still there to a certain extent. The force of habit of the bourgeoisie and small producers is a kind of social base of bourgeois ideology which still finds a place among a section of the people and would become active and cause trouble when the opportunity arises. Either socialist or capitalist ideology must predominate in the minds of the people. Therefore, in the transition period, the struggle to enhance proletarian ideology and liquidate bourgeois ideology remains vital at all times in building up the army.

None of the work of our army, including its modernization, can be divorced from this ideological struggle. This political and ideological struggle between the working class and the bourgeoisie rises and ebbs, rises again and ebbs again, like the tides; it is far from over to this day and will not be over until classes are finally and completely liquidated. Consequently, our work of socialist ideological education cannot be completed all at once. With the rise and ebb of the class struggle, it will necessarily be carried on sometimes steadily and evenly, in the form of long-term theoretical and policy education, and at other times in the form of large-scale rectification and ideological remoulding campaigns. Socialist ideology assumes its position and expands step by step through education and struggle. Every revolutionary must go

through uninterrupted revolution ideologically. The *san fan* movement (against corruption, waste and bureaucracy), the movement to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea, the movement to study the Party's general line for the transition period, the movement to clean out the counter-revolutionaries, the rectification campaign, the anti-rightist struggle, the great debate on socialism around the central question of agricultural co-operation, and the study of the Party's general line for building socialism with the people's communes and the great leap forward as its main content—all these things which we carried out during the past ten years represent highly successful political and ideological work. Of course we do not rest content with these successes and do not believe that the future tasks on the political and ideological fronts will be any lighter because of these successes.

IN waging the struggle on the political and ideological fronts, we always maintain that as far as the overwhelming majority of comrades are concerned this is mainly a question of education and raising their level. The officers and men of our army ardently love socialism, fight for it resolutely and can withstand tests of great stress. Those who insist on taking the road of capitalism and are deliberately against socialism are merely a handful of individuals from alien classes who have sneaked into the army. However, since the overwhelming majority of the officers and men of our army come from the peasantry, unavoidably some comrades sometimes consider questions from the temporary, partial interests of small producers and do not clearly understand certain questions of socialist change; unavoidably, too, a small number of comrades are affected, in the great stress of socialist revolution, by bourgeois and petty-bourgeois, and especially well-to-do middle peasant, ideological influences and reveal an insufficiently resolute standpoint. This is the situation and, if allowed to develop, bourgeois ideology would spread in our army. Therefore, we must not slacken ideological work for a moment. These ideological questions belong to the category of contradictions among the people and cannot be solved by methods which are proper for contradictions between ourselves and the enemy or by coercive, high-handed methods; they can only be solved by democratic methods, the method of discussion, criticism, persuasion and education.

During the new historical period, political and ideological work in the army is very important and must never be slackened. "Political work is the life-blood of our army"—this is a truth which has been proved by decades of revolutionary practice of our army. Comrade Mao Tse-tung in one of his editor's notes in the book *Socialist Uprising in China's Countryside* pointed out: "Political work is the life-blood of all economic work. This is particularly true at a time when the economic system of a society is undergoing a fundamental change." This statement, of course, applies equally to the army. In building up our army into a modernized army, we pay very much attention, of course, to improving equipment and mastering technique. But we must at the same time pay attention to the other side, which is indeed the predominant side, that is, we must not forget politics, we must emphasize politics. Our army is an army in the service of politics, in the service of socialism, and we must guide the military and day-to-day work with politics. Politics is the most fundamental thing; if political and ideological work is not



Helping the people

Painting in Chinese ink and colour by Liu Tan-che

done well, everything else is out of the question. The great achievements in the varied work of our army in the past ten years represent, first and foremost, the blossoming and fruition of socialist ideology. Henceforth it will still be a fundamental task in the building of our army to strengthen theoretical education in Marxism-Leninism, to strengthen education in socialism and the general line of the Party and to link this closely with the practice of the contemporary revolutionary struggle and the change in the thinking of the members of the army—so as continuously to eliminate from people's minds the vestiges of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology and enhance their socialist consciousness.

III

THE Chinese People's Liberation Army, which was born and grew up in the midst of the people's revolutionary struggles, has always regarded the revolutionary mass movement as its own affair. When the masses rise up and wage hard, bitter struggles against the old system and for the transformation of society and of nature, the People's Liberation Army always stands as one with the people and gives them wholehearted, powerful support; it participates directly in the seething, stirring mass movements in which, at the same time, it receives the greatest and best training. And whenever hostile forces attempt to obstruct and undermine the mass revolutionary movements, the People's Liberation Army always stands behind the masses. At the same time, the vast, surging mass movements, in turn, always inspire and educate the army

greatly, serving as a revolutionary crucible in which the political consciousness of the army is tempered and raised. The reason why the People's Liberation Army, under extremely difficult conditions, has been able to defeat an enemy far superior both in equipment and numbers is precisely the fact that it is an armed force that has flesh and blood ties with the masses who, when fully mobilized, "create a vast sea and drown the enemy in it, remedy our shortage in arms and other things, and secure the prerequisites to overcome every difficulty in the war" (Mao Tse-tung: *On the Protracted War*). This relationship between the People's Liberation Army and the masses of the people is determined by the very nature of the People's Liberation Army and the very purpose for which it was founded. This was so in the period of democratic revolution and remains so in the period of socialist revolution. In March 1949, when the democratic revolution was attaining decisive victory and the new stage of socialist revolution was about to begin, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, at the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, again issued a timely, great call to us—that the People's Liberation Army shall for ever be a fighting force and at the same time a working force.

AFTER the liberation of the mainland, the major task of our army shifted from fighting to training; instead of living scattered in villages as before, it moved into regular barracks and had less opportunity for direct contact with the masses. At that time some comrades held that since there was a division of labour between economic construction and the building up of national defence and that since army training was very heavy work, it appeared as if there were no need for the army to take part in the revolutionary struggles of the masses of the people or in national economic construction, no need to take part in "civilian" business. We criticized this wrong view and firmly corrected it in time. We have continued to develop our army's long-standing, glorious tradition of simultaneously carrying out the three great tasks of fighting, mass work and production and we have launched various activities in support of the mass movements in line with the requirements of different stages of socialist transformation and socialist construction. During the past ten years, the People's Liberation Army has vigorously supported and enthusiastically joined in every major social reform and mass movement. The spokesmen of the imperialists who are violently hostile to our socialist cause describe our army's participation in the people's revolutionary movements as "armed suppression." Nothing, indeed, is more absurd. In fact, the imperialist bosses are accustomed to employing their reactionary armed forces in brutal suppression of the people of their own countries and of the national and democratic movements of the colonial peoples. Their slanders and calumnies against our army only show their mortal fear of the close unity between our powerful People's Liberation Army and the more than 600 million people, and their frantic attempts to cover up their own nefarious deeds with lies and fabrications.

The big leap forward in our national economy that began in 1958 along with the great upsurge to form the people's communes has shown the boundless vitality of our Party's general line for socialist construction. This line, which was readily grasped by the masses, has become

a tremendous material force and brought about a vast mass movement unprecedented in history. What should be our attitude to this mighty mass movement? Should we plunge into it and support the masses with all our hearts? Or should we stand outside the movement and pick fault with the masses here and there, or even stand in opposition to the movement and against the masses? In sharp contrast to the right opportunists, the People's Liberation Army, long brought up on the teachings of the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung and standing as one with the people, resolutely supports this great mass movement.

THE officers and men of the People's Liberation Army fully understand from their personal experience that the big leap forward and the people's communes have their objective material base and are the inevitable products of China's historical development. The Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung concentrated the will and creative energy of the masses and pushed this mighty movement forward. The mighty upsurge of revolutionary fervour and socialist consciousness manifested by the broad masses of the labouring people during the big leap forward and the people's commune movement is due precisely to their determination to change our backward economic situation as quickly as possible, to put an end to our state of being "poor and blank" and to build our country into a great socialist state with highly developed modern industry, agriculture, science and culture. All officers and men of the People's Liberation Army fully understand this lofty aspiration and burning enthusiasm of the people; they see eye to eye with the people and are deeply moved by their great determination. Our comrades in the People's Liberation Army know only too well that the imperialists and their henchmen are eyeing our socialist construction with hostility and will never miss a single chance to sabotage. This makes it all the more necessary for us to maintain constant vigilance and firmly carry through and defend our Party's general line for building socialism so as to develop our national economy at high speed. Only with our national economy developing at a rapid tempo can the modernization of our national defence be attained, and the happiness and tranquillity of our people be safeguarded.

Our comrades of the People's Liberation Army all realize that fear of the mass movement is in the ingrained nature of right opportunists and bourgeois revolutionaries. Confronted by the mass movement, they are only interested in picking faults and exaggerating them so as to spread slackness, despondency, dissatisfaction and pessimism, to negate our achievements and the Party's general line. We, on the other hand, are firmly for the full mobilization of the masses to carry the socialist revolution to its completion and to build socialism with great vigour and vitality. To reject the mass movement and oppose it by seizing upon some isolated, local and temporary shortcomings which have been quickly overcome, is to turn one's back upon progress, upon the revolutionary cause. Participating directly in the mass movement, the officers and men of the People's Liberation Army see, above all, the tremendous endeavours and magnificent successes of hundreds of millions of people. This is the main current, the essence of the mass movement. In the people's communes, for example, we see

not only the powerful vitality and unparalleled superiority of this new-born social organization and the important role it plays in developing the national economy and culture and in raising the living standards of the people; we also come to realize that in the event of a war of aggression launched by imperialism against our country, the people's communes, in which township administration and commune management are merged into one and industry, agriculture, trade, education and military affairs are integrated into one, are the mighty prop for the task of turning the whole population into fighting men, of supporting the front, of defending the country and overwhelming the aggressors. Seeing this revolutionary creation of the masses of people which can accelerate the advance of the socialist cause and at the same time promote the building of national defence, what else can anyone who genuinely desires a prosperous and powerful motherland do but support it wholeheartedly and praise it with deep emotion? Of course, it was inevitable that in the course of such a vast, rapidly growing, mass revolutionary movement as the establishment of the people's communes, lack of experience would result in some shortcomings. But what merits extraordinary attention is not at all that some shortcoming or another occurred but the fact that the shortcomings were so few and far between compared with the achievements, that the shortcomings were overcome so rapidly and that the skill with which our Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung led the mass movement is so superb and so worthy of admiration and study.

As we have said, the People's Liberation Army is an instrument of political struggle and instead of standing aloof from politics, a revolutionary soldier must attach importance to politics and work hard at political study. And the practice of the mass movement and of social struggle is itself a rich political experience. We should at all times keep in touch with the masses and raise our own level by absorbing nourishment from the revolutionary mass movements. By vigorously and actively taking part in national construction and the mass movements, officers and men of the army can widen their breadth of vision, enrich their minds and fortify their own mass point of view and their love of labour, raise their theoretical level and deepen their understanding of policy through integration with rich practice. Furthermore, they can learn from the civilian cadres the methods of class analysis and the lively working methods of the mass line. Time and again, experience has shown that as far as the masses of officers and the rank and file are concerned, participation by the army in mass movements is a most vivid, fruitful and profound political schooling. Faster political and ideological progress is invariably achieved by the cadres and soldiers of any unit that pays attention to this: while the cadres and soldiers of any unit that neglects this become politically uninformed and narrow-sighted and their thinking lags behind events. Some years ago there were comrades who regarded it as an extra burden for the army to participate in mass movements and assist the people in production. They held that only drilling and lectures constituted training while participation in practical socialist struggles was not training but an obstruction to training which would bring "more loss than gain." Such a viewpoint is utterly wrong.

IV

IN building a modernized army, when the technical equipment of our army is being constantly improved and the mastery of technique and the raising of the technical level of our army are more important than ever before, is man still the decisive factor? Some comrades take the view that modern warfare differs from warfare in the past, that since the weapons and equipment available to our army in the past were inferior we had to emphasize dependence on man, on his bravery and wisdom, in order to win victories. They say that modern warfare is a war of technique, of steel and machinery, and that in the face of these things, man's role has to be relegated to a secondary place. They attach importance only to machinery and want to turn revolutionary soldiers into robots without revolutionary initiative. Contrary to these people, we believe that although equipment and technique are important, the human factor is even more important. Technique also has to be mastered by man. Men and materiel must form a unity and men must be made the leading factor. What we have to consider constantly is how to mobilize all positive factors still better and bring the initiative of the mass of officers and men into full play. That is why in building up the army during the past ten years, we have paid special attention to creating close relations between the officers and men and between the men at the higher and lower echelons, and to applying the mass line thoroughly in all work.

The Chinese People's Liberation Army is an entirely new type of people's army. It began its work of building itself up by destroying the warlord system of the feudal, mercenary army and establishing the system of democratic unity. Our army has the most authoritative system of command but also the close relations of a great revolutionary family, with unity between the officers and men and between the higher and lower echelons. Our army is a fighting organization of the greatest centralism and the strongest discipline yet also an army with the richest democratic life. The members of our army work under a unified command from top to bottom yet are accustomed to applying the mass line in all spheres of work. Officers and men, centralism and democracy, unified command and the mass line, these seem to be diametrically contradictory yet they have been integrated excellently in our army. This is a Marxist-Leninist tradition which the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung have long established in the Chinese People's Liberation Army. In the past ten years, regardless of the changes in our army's weapons and equipment and in its organizational systems, we have held fast to this glorious tradition and developed it incessantly.

COMRADE Mao Tse-tung has long since pointed out that whether the relations between the officers and men are good or bad is not a question of technique or method but of attitude, it is a question of basic attitude as to whether or not the personality of the ordinary soldier is respected. We have always held that the only difference between the officers and men is one of division of labour within the revolutionary ranks and, politically speaking and as far as personality is concerned, there is no distinction of high and low. Officers are not special figures above the rank and file. Only when the officers have affection and

solicitude for the rank and file, when the rank and file respect the officers and when they respect each other, can relations of equality and brotherhood be established and the aim of unity between the officers and men be attained. Such unity brings forth unlimited fighting strength. In 1958, our army responded to the call of Comrade Mao Tse-tung and began to put into practice the system of officers going down to the companies and serving as rank and file soldiers for a period of a month each year. Our comrade generals who are commanding officers and political commissars of the various military areas, services and arms, took the lead in putting this into effect. The officers who join the companies as ordinary soldiers drill, do manual labour, live and spend their recreation time together with the rank and file. They do whatever the squad leaders order; what they do not know they learn from the squad leaders and the rank and file like pupils in school. Very soon they are united with the soldiers as one and become their bosom friends. The reports from the various units show that in companies which officers have joined as ordinary soldiers, political enthusiasm and morale is especially high. With the officers themselves setting examples, the rank and file show every possible concern for the officers. They pay great attention to their health and help them as much as they can so as to lighten their strain of physical labour. Serving as ordinary soldiers is also of great help to the officers themselves. In working and living with the rank and file, they are able to establish the communist style of treating others on an equal footing, guard against bureaucratic airs and raise the level of their mass outlook; they can examine the directives and decisions of the leading organizations and the style of work of the leadership from the angle of an ordinary soldier. Although only a year has passed since the introduction of the officers-serving-as-soldiers system, one can already see that it will enable the officers and the rank and file of our army to merge more closely into an integral body whose pulse and heart beat in unison, and to become an invincible force.

COMRADE Mao Tse-tung has always attached great importance to the development of democratic life. He has instructed us many times on this. He has said that the army should practise a certain degree of democracy. This is the way to achieve unity between the officers and the men and hence increase the fighting strength of the army. He has said that every unit of the army should carry out campaigns to support the cadres and love the soldiers, calling on the cadres to have affection for the rank and file and at the same time calling on the rank and file to support the cadres. They should frankly explain their shortcomings and mistakes to each other and correct them quickly. This is the way the goal of internal unity can be properly achieved. He has also said that what is called the question of the correct handling of contradictions among the people is precisely one of the mass line, which our Party has often talked about. This democratic working method, the working method of the mass line which Comrade Mao Tse-tung taught us, was first carried out in the army and has provided us with rich experiences. In the Chinese People's Liberation Army, the rank and file are the ones to be governed and led, yet at the same time they are entitled to take part in the conduct of affairs, contribute their ideas and recommend

ways and means in the course of the work. The cadres are the ones who govern and lead, yet at the same time they are subject to the supervision of the masses, depend on the masses and mobilize them in work. Where contradictions arise, the democratic method of persuasion and education is used to adjust them according to the unity-criticism-unity formula. In this way unity is strengthened, morale is raised, discipline is consolidated and the initiative and creative energy of the mass of officers and rank and file are developed. During the past ten years we have made great progress in all this. The Chinese People's Volunteers, too, scored outstanding achievements in applying democracy to the highly modern war of resisting U.S. aggression and aiding Korea. The "underground Great Wall," that is, the tunnel fortifications which played a very important role in this war, was the collective product of the wisdom of the masses gained through the joint efforts of the officers and the rank and file. We have also applied democracy to modern military training. The results prove that units which carry out the mass line well invariably score excellent achievements in training. In 1958, the mass campaign to master military technique under the slogan of "mastering many skills while specializing in one, every soldier capable of many uses" came into prominence. A technical innovation campaign that centred on improving technical equipment also developed on a large scale, resulting in many rationalization proposals and many valuable innovations and inventions. In addition, the democratic method of airing one's views, contending and debating to the fullest extent and publicizing one's views in *dazibao** — the method adopted throughout the country since the rectification campaign — has also been introduced in the army. This method is most suitable for mobilizing the masses for self-education, solving internal contradictions, bringing into full play mass initiative and increasing their sense of responsibility.

The democracy which we practise is democracy under centralized guidance and it is carried out under leadership. We are at all times opposed to anarchism and equalitarianism. While carrying forward democratic life in the army, we also consider and take into account the special features of an army at all times and places. We take democracy as a means whereas our end is to increase the army's unity, strengthen its discipline and raise its fighting strength. The officers and the rank and file of our army have the common political purpose and the common ideological basis of unity among themselves to defeat the enemy. Therefore, democratic life in our army has all along gone forward on a sound footing. We should firmly trust the majority of the masses. Should any people with ulterior motives try to use democracy to undermine our army, neither would the leadership at all levels tolerate them, nor would the mass of officers and men ever let them get away with it.

V

THE Party's absolute leadership in the armed forces and the staunch Party character of the host of cadres of our army are the best guarantee for victory in the field of national defence in our country's socialist construction.

*Opinions written in bold characters and posted on walls for everybody to see.—Tr.

We know full well that in the past ten years, as in the years of war before that, whenever we were confronted with crucial problems in the building of national defence and in military struggles, we always received our correct orientation from the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung and the problems were solved successfully. For example, the laying down of the policy for building a modernized revolutionary army, the correct handling of the relations between the building up of national defence and national economic construction, the wise policy decision on resisting U.S. aggression and aiding Korea and the correct strategic guidance, the decisions on the policies regarding the struggle for the liberation of Taiwan and the operations on the Fukien front, the introduction of the policy of combining the powerful regular forces, the special technical units and the armed militia in preparation for turning the whole population into fighting men, and so on—all these, without exception, are the result of leadership by the Party and by Comrade Mao Tse-tung personally.

IN his article on "Problems of War and Strategy," Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "According to the Marxist theory of the state, the army is the chief component of the political power of a state. Whoever wants to seize the political power of the state and to maintain it must have a strong army." He added in the same article: "Communists do not contend for personal military power (they should never do that, and let no one follow the example of Chang Kuo-tao), but they must contend for military power for the Party and for the people. . . . Our principle is that the Party commands the gun, and the gun will never be allowed to command the Party." The Chinese People's Liberation Army, in the ten years since the founding of the Republic, as in the time of war, has always resolutely supported the leadership of the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, serving as a most faithful and dependable instrument in carrying through the line and policies laid down by the Party, as the staunchest defender of the people's democratic dictatorship under the Party's leadership and of the socialist cause. As a result, the masses of the people have always lavished great honours and love on the People's Liberation Army, whereas imperialism and all the reactionaries have invariably regarded the unmeasured loyalty of the People's Liberation Army to the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung as something that works to their greatest disadvantage. We cadres and Communists working in the army must be on the alert at all times against the intrigues of the enemy—both against invasion by the enemy with arms and against "sugar-coated shells" of all kinds and sabotage from within. The cadres and Communists in the army have an especially important duty in defending meticulously the interests of the people, the socialist cause and the leadership of the Party from assault and sabotage by any enemy whatsoever. This is a duty which, first and foremost, calls for conscientious study by the cadres and Communists in the army, for their self-remoulding so as to acquire a high degree of political consciousness and a staunch Party character.

Party character is not an abstract thing. The staunch Party character of a Communist and a cadre in the army should find expression, at all times and in all circumstances, in upholding the unity of the Party unswervingly and in

wholehearted struggle for the programme and line of the Party. It is therefore constantly necessary for a Communist and a cadre to take interest in, and pay attention to, the political situation and to the policies, line and other issues concerning the direction to pursue, to maintain a firm stand, distinguish right from wrong and avoid wavering and loss of bearings when confronted with important problems of right and wrong. The position of the individual in relation to the Party must be placed correctly. The Party should be obeyed absolutely; no personal ambitions are permissible. Discipline should be strictly observed; in all circumstances importance should be attached to the unity of the Party and nothing should be done behind the back of the Party; one should be just, selfless and honest, and not chase fame hypocritically; modest and not conceited; courageous in accepting criticism and advice and active in combating all wrong tendencies, not rejecting criticism and persisting in mistakes. In short, individualism is the source of all evils. As soon as it sprouts, it must be criticized to the full and overcome by every effort, not a single bit of it must be allowed to get by. The Party character of the great majority of the cadres in our army has grown steadily stronger under the constant instruction of the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung. It is precisely because we have large numbers of cadres who are imbued with a staunch Party spirit that the Party's leadership in the army has been carried through and such great achievements have been made.

It has been pointed out time and again by the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung that in strengthening Party character, the basic question lies in using the proletarian world outlook of dialectical materialism to replace the bourgeois world outlook of idealism that exists in people's minds. This calls for stern effort over a long period of time. A Communist will inevitably commit mistakes so long as he does not thoroughly change his world outlook but observes things and handles problems with a bourgeois world outlook. A man cannot be very fully tempered and attain a high Party character without changing his world outlook. To study Marxist-Leninist theory and the writings of Comrade Mao Tse-tung conscientiously and to establish a proletarian world outlook firmly are the incumbent duty of every cadre and Communist in our army.

WHILE we are celebrating our decade of brilliant achievements in the building of the country and the army, our socialist construction is continuing its leap forward at high speed and the international situation is developing in a direction all the more favourable to peace, democracy and socialism. The great Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries are flourishing in prosperity; the anti-colonialist liberation struggles are growing tempestuously all over the world; while the imperialist camp is ridden with internal contradictions and shrouded in grim shadows. The wise conclusions of Comrade Mao Tse-tung that "the East wind is prevailing over the West wind" and "the enemy rots with every passing day, while for us things are getting better day by day" are borne out by a growing volume of facts. The possibilities for the relaxation of international tension and the consolidation of world peace are increasing with each passing day. We should

fight for peace resolutely. Though a handful of bellicose elements in the United States are still trying hard to continue to intensify the cold war, are repeatedly creating incidents to provoke the socialist camp and the national independence movements, and certain imperialist elements are unceasingly engaging in vicious instigations against the People's Republic of China—and we have to maintain full vigilance against all this—yet we are firm in our belief that the forces of the new are bound to defeat the forces of decay. The cause of world peace, democracy and socialism will continue to leap forward in mighty strides. All the circumstances are bright, both internally and internationally. Inspired by the brilliant achievements of our country during the past ten years and by the militant call of the Eighth Plenary Session of the

Eighth Central Committee of the Party, and led by the great Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of all the nationalities of China, the 650 million Chinese people will certainly achieve new and still more brilliant successes in building socialism! In the years of the triumphant march to socialism, the Chinese People's Liberation Army, manning its battle stations, will resolutely carry out every mission entrusted to it by the Party and will fully live up to the expectations of the people throughout the country. Let us continue to hold high the red banner of the Party's general line and the military thinking of Mao Tse-tung, go all out, aim high and march forward courageously to consolidate our national defence, liberate Taiwan, uphold peace and build our motherland!

Ten Years of Struggle for World Peace and Human Progress

Written for *Izvestia* of the Soviet Union

by CHEN YI

Vice-Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs

TEN years have elapsed since the founding of the People's Republic of China. During the past ten years, under the inspiring leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese people have won brilliant victories on various home fronts. Tremendous achievements, too, have been gained in international affairs. The ten years since the founding of the People's Republic of China are a decade of resolute and unswerving struggle of the Chinese people for world peace and human progress.

The victory of the Chinese revolution and the founding of the People's Republic of China is another event of great significance in human history following the Great October Socialist Revolution. As Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out: "After the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution of the Soviet Union, the conditions for the victory of the peoples of the world were assured. These conditions are now developed and consolidated with the founding of the People's Republic of China and the other People's Democracies." The victory of the Chinese revolution is a heavy blow to imperialism. It has greatly strengthened the world socialist system, powerfully inspired the liberation struggles of all oppressed nations and further changed the face of the world.

During the past ten years further changes favourable to world peace and human progress have again taken place in the relation of forces in the international struggle. The socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union is prospering and growing on an unprecedented scale day by day. The national and democratic movements in various countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America which have the support of the socialist forces are surging forward like roaring waves. The imperialist forces, on the other hand,

have suffered successive failures in the face of the opposition of the peoples of the world, including the peoples in their own countries; like the setting sun in the west, their decline is becoming more and more obvious.

The People's Republic of China is a socialist state and this has determined the essential nature of New China's foreign policy. The foreign policy worked out for our country by the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung in the light of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and the concrete conditions in China is as follows: to strengthen the unity of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union, to support the national and democratic movements in various countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, to establish and develop friendly relations with all peace-loving countries and peoples of the world, to oppose the imperialist policy of war and aggression and to uphold China's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. We have strong faith in the superiority of the socialist system and the justness of our cause. We firmly believe that socialism will inevitably replace capitalism. Like all other socialist countries, China stands for the realization of peaceful coexistence between nations of different social systems and the waging of peaceful competition. At the same time, we are ready at any moment to hit back firmly at imperialist aggression and intervention.

THE Chinese people always regard their revolution as part of the world socialist revolution. In the course of the protracted revolution, the Chinese people received support from the Soviet Union and the revolutionary forces throughout the world. After the founding of the People's Republic of China, it immediately established an entirely new type of diplomatic relations of unity and friendship,

of mutual help and co-operation, with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. "To consolidate the unity with the Soviet Union," Comrade Mao Tse-tung said, "and to consolidate the unity with all socialist countries is our fundamental principle and this is where our fundamental interests lie." Soon after the founding of the People's Republic of China, the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance was concluded. As Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out, "the unity of the peoples of the two great countries, China and the Soviet Union, sealed by the treaty, will be lasting and indestructible and no one can split it. This unity will inevitably contribute not only to the prosperity of the two great countries — China and the Soviet Union — but also to the future of all mankind and the victory of peace and justice throughout the world." China has also successively concluded a series of treaties and agreements with other socialist countries aimed at strengthening friendship and unity and developing economic and cultural ties and co-operation with them. During the past ten years, our friendly relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have made rapid progress.

Common ideals and common interests have closely united the countries of our socialist camp. In the struggle against imperialist aggression and in defence of peace, in the cause of socialist and communist construction, we are united as one, share one another's difficulties, inspire one another, support one another, closely co-operate with one another, forge ahead together and have won a series of great victories and achievements. The imperialists have always hoped to split the unity of the socialist camp and defeat the socialist countries one by one. But through its repeated struggles against imperialism the entire socialist camp has become more consolidated and more united than ever.

The Moscow Conference of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties in November 1957 marked a new stage in the unity of the socialist camp, headed by the Soviet Union, and the international communist movement, with the Soviet Communist Party as the core. Even our enemies are compelled to admit, though gradually, that the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union has become even more consolidated and is stronger than before, that aggression against any socialist country will encounter a resolute rebuff from the entire socialist camp.

But imperialism is still trying to undermine this unity from within. Yugoslav modern revisionism is a product of this policy of U.S. imperialism. Its emergence fits in with this need. Hence, in order to defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism and safeguard the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement, it is necessary to expose Yugoslav revisionism thoroughly and to wage a determined struggle against it. We have already won significant victories in this struggle and our unity has been further strengthened.

THE friendly relations between our country and the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries also express themselves in mutual assistance and co-operation in socialist and communist construction. In the interests of a common economic and cultural upsurge, these countries give tremendous help to one another in the spirit of internationalism: they are co-operating economically and cul-

turally on an ever widening scale and are learning from one another and exchanging experience in various fields more intensively. With the further upsurge of the economy and culture in our countries, these relations of mutual assistance and co-operation will undoubtedly grow even faster and on a still larger scale.

The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have provided help and support to the Chinese people both in revolution and construction. They have given us powerful support in the struggle against U.S. imperialist occupation of our country's Taiwan and the plot to create "two Chinas," and in many other international struggles. They have also given vast and many-sided assistance to our country's socialist construction. The Soviet Union has been helping our country build as many as 291 major projects in accordance with the agreements successively signed by the Chinese and Soviet Governments. The Chinese people express their heartfelt thanks for this fraternal help.

We shall continue to study seriously the advanced experiences of the socialist countries, particularly those of the Soviet Union. The Chinese people will always look upon the strengthening of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union as their sacred internationalist duty. The plot of the imperialists and their henchmen to undermine this great unity of ours will never succeed.

THE founding of the Chinese People's Republic was warmly acclaimed by oppressed nations and peoples the world over. The complete liberation of the 650 million Chinese people and their great achievements in socialist construction are a tremendous encouragement to all the oppressed nations and peoples of the world fighting for their liberation. In the Chinese people they see their own tomorrow. They feel that everything the Chinese people accomplished they too should be able to accomplish. They draw unlimited confidence and courage from the victory of the Chinese people.

The Chinese people see their yesterday in all the oppressed nations. They have great sympathy for the struggles of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America fighting against imperialism and colonialism, against aggression and intervention. During the past ten years, the Chinese people, together with the peoples of the other countries of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union, have given all the help and support they could to each and every struggle of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples to win and preserve their national independence, democracy and freedom. At the same time, the peoples of these countries have also extended powerful support to the struggles of our people to oppose U.S. aggression and uphold our sovereignty and territorial integrity. This mutual support has further developed and consolidated the friendship and unity between the Chinese people and the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

During the past ten years, we have established and developed diplomatic relations with a number of nationalist countries that have emerged from the national independence movements in Asia and Africa. The great majority of these countries oppose war and refuse to be dragged into aggressive military blocs; they pursue the policy of peace and neutrality. Despite the fact that their social system differs from that of our socialist countries, they

are on common ground with us in upholding independence and peace and in opposing the imperialist policy of aggression and war. On this common basis it is entirely possible for us to develop extensive relations of friendly co-operation with the Asian and African nationalist countries. The five principles for peaceful coexistence initiated jointly by China, India and Burma in 1954 and the ten principles adopted at the Asian-African Conference in Bandung in 1955 reflected this common aspiration and set forth sound principles for friendly co-operation between countries. These principles have exercised great influence in Asia and Africa as well as in other parts of the world. China treasures her friendship with the nationalist countries in Asia and Africa highly, and resolutely supports the policy of peace and neutrality which they pursue. On the basis of the five principles, China has established and developed friendly relations with these countries. Our mutual understanding deepens steadily as a result of the friendly contacts between governments and people, particularly the exchange of visits and direct contacts between the government leaders. We have also forged increasingly closer ties of mutual assistance and co-operation through trade, cultural exchanges and the economic and technical aid provided by our country to a number of Asian and African countries. These relations have developed extensively and will develop still further in the future.

The imperialists have always made use of the right-wing forces in the nationalist countries to sow discord between these countries and China, to undermine the friendship cherished by the peoples of these countries for the Chinese people. Sometimes they did bring about a counter-current in the friendly relations between these countries and China. But China has consistently followed the five principles in establishing and developing relations with the nationalist countries. Such friendly relations are in the interests of China as well as in the interests of the nationalist countries concerned. Moreover, the five principles have already won the firm backing of the broad masses of people in the nationalist countries. Therefore, in the long run the imperialists and their agents in the nationalist countries will never achieve the goal of their disruptive activities.

THE People's Republic of China has grown up in persistent struggles against U.S. imperialism. During the past ten years, the U.S. imperialists have carried out a series of aggressive acts and war threats against New China which fully demonstrate that they are the enemy of the Chinese people. The Chinese people ardently love peace, but they will never tolerate aggression, nor are they afraid of war threats. Together with the Korean people, the Chinese people beat back the U.S. onslaught on the Korean battlefields. In the Taiwan Straits, the Chinese people have been carrying on resolute struggles against U.S. imperialism, and have dealt severe blows to its aggressive plans and provocative activities. We demand resolutely that the U.S. troops withdraw from the Taiwan area. Taiwan is Chinese territory. The Chinese people are determined to liberate Taiwan. No force in the world can prevent the Chinese people from achieving the complete unity of their great homeland.

The U.S. imperialists encounter more and more difficulties as a result of their hostile policy towards New

China. To find a way out of this dilemma and at the same time to perpetuate their occupation of Taiwan, the U.S. imperialists have been plotting actively for the creation of "two Chinas." The Chinese people exposed this intrigue in good time and made public to the people throughout the world their solemn stand. The Chinese people firmly oppose "two Chinas" and will never allow the appearance of "two Chinas" on the international scene. This solemn stand of the Chinese people has won the support of an ever-increasing number of countries throughout the world. Britain and Japan, tailing behind the United States, have joined in the scheme to create "two Chinas." This will only bring about consequences disadvantageous to them.

New China cannot be isolated. The tremendous influence of China's revolutionary victory and her great achievements in construction are attracting ever more powerfully the peoples of various countries. They demand contacts with the Chinese people. They want to understand New China, to study and examine the various experiences of New China. During the past ten years, the friendly contacts between the peoples of the various countries and the Chinese people have developed greatly. People of varied political attitudes have come to visit China from many different countries. Our people have also paid friendly visits to many other countries. We have made contacts and entered into exchanges with the peoples of many countries in the economic, cultural, scientific and technological fields. We have friends all over the world. The U.S. imperialists try to isolate us, but eventually they are the ones who become isolated.

THE present international situation is favourable to us. As Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out, the characteristic of the present situation is that the enemy rots with every passing day, while for us things are getting better day by day. Now the Soviet Union has entered the historical period of the all-out building of communism. The Chinese people are continuing to leap forward on the basis of the big leap in 1958. They are continuing to consolidate and develop the people's communes and are striving for the fulfilment and overfulfilment of the major targets of the Second Five-Year Plan this year. All the other socialist countries are in the midst of an upsurge of economic construction. The successful landing of the Soviet cosmic rocket on the moon once more demonstrates the incomparable superiority of the socialist system. The socialist camp is growing unprecedentedly strong. The national and democratic movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America are continuously growing in strength. The people the world over are getting into the movement to defend peace with increasing resolution. On the other hand, crises and upsets overhang the capitalist economy. The people's revolutionary struggles in the Western capitalist countries are making advances with every passing day, and the imperialist system of colonialism is hopelessly heading for collapse. The open and hidden clashes among the imperialist countries are increasingly aggravated. The U.S. imperialist plot to launch a new world war is beset with difficulties.

The series of steps taken by the Soviet Union to ease international tension, particularly Comrade Khrushchov's visit to the United States and the proposal put forward recently by the Soviet Government for general and com-

plete disarmament, have received enthusiastic approval and support from all the socialist countries and all the peace-loving countries and peoples. A joint communique was issued after the talks between Comrade Khrushchov and President Eisenhower of the United States. The communique mentioned, among other things, that both sides agreed that outstanding international questions should be settled not by the use of force but by peaceful means of negotiation. The United States has persisted in the display of military force, and has carried out its so-called "position of strength" policy. Now it, too, has to agree that international disputes should not be settled by force. This undoubtedly deserves to be welcomed. But to date the United States has not yet abandoned its policy of war and aggression. It still conducts the cold war, rejects disarmament and continues to set up military bases the world over. It persists in reviving West German militarism, actively arms Japan and continues its occupation of Taiwan. Recently the United States in a frantic effort to create tension instigated Laos to violate the Geneva and Vientiane agreements and to start civil war in that

country. All this shows that the peoples throughout the world must conduct long-term and repeated struggles against U.S. imperialism in order to realize the easing of international tension.

During the past ten years we have achieved great successes in the sphere of foreign relations. This is the victory of our peaceful foreign policy. This victory has ensured the smooth progress of our socialist construction and has made important contributions to the lofty cause of world peace and human progress. As in the past, the Chinese people will make resolute and unremitting efforts to defeat thoroughly the imperialist policy of aggression and war and to realize the cause of lasting peace and progress of mankind together with the various countries of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union, with the peoples of the various countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America who are striving for national independence, democracy and freedom and with all the peace-loving countries and peoples of the world. We have already achieved great victories. We will achieve still greater victories in the future.

On the Big Leap Forward in China's Socialist Construction

by LI FU-CHUN

Following is a translation of an article by Li Fu-chun, Vice-Premier of the State Council and Chairman of the State Planning Commission, that appeared in "Hongqi" (Red Flag), No. 19, 1959. Subheads are ours. — Ed.

I

THE question of how to integrate the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with China's actual practice is one that our Party has to solve both in revolution and in construction. The complete victory of the democratic revolution and the all-round victory of the socialist revolution prove that our Party has creatively solved this question in revolution. Can it be said, then, that we have solved this question in construction?

The Question of Speed

The most important question in socialist construction is that of speed. Having achieved during the First Five-Year Plan a rate of growth unprecedented in China's history and seldom witnessed in the history of the capitalist countries, the question of whether China's socialist construction could advance further at still higher speed became the central and most important question demanding solution in order to uphold resolutely the basic principle of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the actual practice of China's construction.

In the winter of 1955, when the socialist revolution in the ownership of the means of production was about to be completed in our country, Comrade Mao Tse-tung scientifically foresaw the possibility for the national economy to develop at still higher speed and put forward, in time, the slogan of achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in developing socialist construction. Afterwards, he put forward a series of programmatic proposals for the realization of this objective possibility, including the draft 12-Year National Programme for Agricultural Development (1956—1967) and the report on the "ten sets of relationships." On the basis of the practical experience in socialist construction in 1956 and 1957 and the development of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's thinking, the Second Session of our Party's Eighth National Congress formally laid down the general line—go all out, aim high and achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results to build socialism, and the set of policies of "simultaneous development." Thus, we have found a road which suits China's specific conditions to develop socialist construction at still higher speed.

Those who have right opportunist ideas, including the empiricists and dogmatists, fail to see the strong desire and firm will of the people throughout the country to get rid of poverty and backwardness rapidly, the great power and rich fund of wisdom of the hundreds of millions of labouring people who have liberated themselves from the old system and have established the new system of social-

ism, and the role of the material and technical conditions created during the First Five-Year Plan. Bound by old ideas and old experiences, they are of the opinion that the speed achieved in the First Five-Year Plan was already very high, that the larger the base, the slower the rate of growth must be and that the tempo of the Second Five-Year Plan can only be slower, and not faster, than the First Five-Year Plan. Even when the general line, which embodies the will of more than 600 million people, has already been grasped by the broad masses and is displaying tremendous power, when socialist construction has already achieved vigorous growth, the right opportunists are still sceptical of the general line, and try to find an opportunity to settle accounts with us and launch attacks against the general line.

Practice is the only criterion for judging truth. Is truth really on our side, or on theirs? Can the rate of growth in the Second Five-Year Plan exceed that of the First Five-Year Plan, or must it necessarily be slower? The big leap forward and the people's communes that have appeared since last year under the guidance of the general line have already definitely and unequivocally answered these questions. The facts show that we have essentially solved the question of developing socialist construction at a still higher speed not only in theory but also in practice.

II

The big leap forward in 1958 enabled the rate of growth of our industrial and agricultural production and capital construction to exceed greatly the average annual rate of growth during the First Five-Year Plan and surpass the fastest annual rate of growth in that period.

During the First Five-Year Plan, the total value of industrial and agricultural production registered an average annual rate of growth of 10.9 per cent. The rate of growth of the total value of industrial production (including the output value of the handicrafts, as elsewhere) was 18 per cent, and that of the total value of agricultural production was 4.5 per cent. Whereas in 1958, the total value of industrial and agricultural production rose by 48 per cent compared with 1957, the rate of growth of the total value of industrial production was 66 per cent and that of the total value of agricultural production was 25 per cent. In terms of absolute figures, the increase in the total value of industrial and agricultural production during the First Five-Year Plan was 56,000 million yuan, whereas the increase in the single year of 1958 was 60,000 million yuan.*

*The absolute figure for the increase during the First Five-Year Plan is calculated in 1952 constant prices and that for 1958, in 1957 constant prices. Since the prices of heavy industrial products were gradually reduced during the First Five-Year Plan, the 1957 constant prices are generally lower than the 1952 constant prices. If we calculate in the same prices, the absolute increase in 1958 would be even more than 60,000 million yuan.



In a rolling-stock works

Woodcut by Cheng Tsu-teh

During the First Five-Year Plan, total investments in capital construction amounted to 55,000 million yuan, 537 above-norm industrial projects* were completed or partially completed and commissioned and more than 218 million *mu* of land were brought under irrigation. In 1958, total investments in capital construction amounted to 26,700 million yuan, 700 above-norm industrial projects were completed or partially completed and went into production, and irrigation was brought to an additional 480 million *mu* of land.

Together with the big leap forward in industrial and agricultural production and in capital construction, other branches of the national economy also developed rapidly. Compared with 1957, total freight carried by modern means of transport increased by 220 million tons in 1958, 91 per cent of the total increase of 240 million tons during the previous five years; the total value of retail sales increased by 7,400 million yuan, 37 per cent of the total increase of 19,700 million yuan during the previous five years. In the field of culture and education, the colleges and universities in 1958 admitted 320,000 new students, 56 per cent of the total of 560,000 in the previous five years. The big leap forward in 1958 was not just a big leap in individual branches or individual fields. It was an all-round big leap forward of the national economy as

*The norm of investment in capital construction for heavy industry ranges from 5 million to 10 million yuan and that for light industry from 3 million to 5 million yuan. — Tr.

a whole, an all-round big leap forward in socialist economic and cultural construction.

Special Features of the Big Leap

What were the special features of the all-round big leap forward in our national economy in 1958 compared with previous years?

First, during the First Five-Year Plan, industrial production registered an average annual increase of 18 per cent while agricultural production averaged an annual increase of 4.5 per cent. The rate of increase of industry was four times that of agriculture. In 1958, industrial production increased by 66 per cent and agricultural production by 25 per cent. The rate of increase of industry was 2.6 times that of agriculture. From this it is clear that an obvious change has begun to take place in the conditions that prevailed during the previous five years when the rate of agricultural development lagged behind the rate of industrial development. While industry forges ahead rapidly, our agriculture, with its productive forces greatly emancipated, is racing to catch up.

Secondly, during the First Five-Year Plan, production in heavy industry registered an average annual increase of 25.4 per cent and light industry 12.8 per cent. In 1958, production in heavy industry increased by 103 per cent and in light industry by 34 per cent. The rates of increase in heavy and light industries in 1958 were four times and 2.7 times respectively compared with the average annual rates of increase during the First Five-Year Plan. Production in heavy industry grew particularly rapidly in 1958, thus providing more means of production for the various branches of heavy industry and also for light industry and agriculture. This not only ensured the rapid development of light industry and agriculture in 1958, but will also guarantee their quick growth in the years to come. With the rapid development of heavy industry and agriculture and with the steady increase in the supply of machinery and raw materials needed by light industry, it will be possible for light industry to continue to develop rapidly and at a rate corresponding more to the growth of heavy industry and agriculture. This trend has now become clearer.

Thirdly, the various branches of heavy industry developed greatly during the First Five-Year Plan. Among those branches with a higher speed of advance, steel, for example, had an average annual rate of increase of 31.7 per cent and the machine-building industry, 34.6 per cent. Among those with a lower speed of advance, coal had an average annual rate of increase of 14.4 per cent, electricity, 21.6 per cent and crude oil, 27.3 per cent. In 1958, the various branches of heavy industry developed at a still higher speed with the steel industry as the key lever. While steel produced by modern methods increased by 49.5 per cent and the output value of the machine-building industry increased by 204 per cent, the output of coal, electricity and crude oil, all of which increased relatively slowly in the past, rose 108 per cent, 42 per cent and 55 per cent respectively. Some originally weaker branches have radically changed for the better while others are changing gradually.

Fourthly, thanks to the great development of heavy industry in 1958, especially the iron and steel and ma-

chine-building industries, the rate of self-sufficiency in steel products rose from an average of around 75 per cent during the First Five-Year Plan to over 80 per cent. in machinery and equipment, from around 55 per cent to about 80 per cent. During the First Five-Year Plan, most of our important, large enterprises, either newly established or expanded on an old basis, were designed with the help of the Soviet Union which also supplied them with complete sets of equipment. They were built with the assistance of the experts of the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries. Thanks to the strenuous efforts of the masses of workers and employees to learn, we can now design many important enterprises ourselves and our achievements in this respect were most notable in 1958.

Comprehensive Industrial System

Fifthly, under the First Five-Year Plan, we built a series of large, modern enterprises which serve as the backbone of our socialist industrialization; we also began to build new industrial bases in north China, central China, the southwest and northwest areas. In 1958, besides continuing the construction of close to 500 above-norm factories and mines started earlier, construction was started on more than 1,000 new, above-norm factories and mines; at the same time, we set up large numbers of small industrial units in medium-sized and small cities, in towns and in the countryside, totalling hundreds of thousands. In 1957, many provinces and autonomous regions did not produce a single ton of steel, including Inner Mongolia, Kiangsi, Chekiang, Fukien, Honan, Kwangsi, Kweichow, Kansu, Ninghsia, and Tibet. With the big leap forward in 1958, however, all the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions in the country, excepting Tibet, began to produce steel. In that year, we not only expanded the existing 18 key iron and steel enterprises, but also established more than 20 new medium-sized iron and steel works and more than 300 small iron-smelting centres. In the machine-building industry, 220 large factories were either newly built or expanded and, in addition, tens of thousands of small and medium-sized ones were set up.

In 1958, those special administrative regions and counties which had no machine-building industry before and some of the districts and townships set up varying numbers of machine-building and repair shops of varying sizes. The great majority of the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions can now produce some sort of metallurgical equipment, electrical motors, machine tools, engines, and agricultural machinery. All this shows that a nationwide, comprehensive industrial system, with iron and steel and machine-building as the key links, integrating large, medium-sized and small enterprises, more rationally distributed geographically, is being rapidly set up. In this way, the conditions are being created at the same time for the various economic areas,* many provinces and autonomous regions to build up their own in-

*An economic area consists of several neighbouring provinces. It is not an administrative unit. Its function is to co-ordinate and accelerate the economic development of the provinces in the given area. There are seven such areas in China. — Tr.

dustrial systems of different standards in the future, each with its own special features.

Sixthly, tempered in practice in the First Five-Year Plan and trained by the universities and specialized schools, the ranks of our technical personnel have greatly expanded. In 1958, thanks to the slogan put forward by the Party of "breaking down superstitions, emancipating the mind, promoting the Communist style of thinking, speaking and acting boldly," the spectacular scene of "a hundred flowers blooming" has become manifest in the technical innovations and in some fields of the technical revolution. New products trial-produced in 1958 equalled the total number manufactured during the First Five-Year Plan. In the agricultural field, typical examples of high yields were found in various farm crops. On the basis of summing up and developing the rich experiences accumulated by the broad masses of peasants over a long period of time, the "Eight-Point Charter for Agriculture," which has proved its effectiveness, was created.

Seventhly, inspired by the Party's general line and as a result of the tremendous development in rural production and construction, people's communes were set up in the countryside on the basis of the advanced agricultural producers' co-operatives. The people's commune, which merges township administration with commune management, combines industry, agriculture, trade, education and military affairs, and integrates farming, forestry, animal husbandry, side-occupations and fisheries, has displayed still greater superiority over the advanced agricultural producers' co-operative in the following respects: in bringing into fuller play the initiative of the masses for production, in more effective utilization of labour power and raising labour productivity, in expanding agricultural and water conservancy construction, in developing industries in the countryside, in carrying out technical reforms in agriculture and the rural cultural revolution, and in developing public welfare services, etc.

Eighthly, the big development in the various branches of our national economy has completely ended the unemployment in the cities, a legacy inherited from old China. The newly added labour power in the cities can no longer meet the needs of industrial production and the development of construction; in the countryside, a shortage of labour power is still felt although large numbers of women have been freed from household chores and have taken part in the production and construction in the rural areas since the establishment of the people's communes. That a shortage of labour power has begun to be felt in such a big country as ours with a population of more than 600 million is of course not a small event but a big one, not a bad thing but a good one. It shows that our socialist construction is expanding daily and flourishing in all fields. At the same time it also poses before us the task of speeding up technical innovation and technical revolution so as to steadily increase our labour productivity.

Rising National Income

Ninthly, on the basis of the big leap forward in industry and agriculture and the increase in social labour productivity, the national income for 1958 exceeded that of 1957 by 32,300 million yuan, an increase of 34 per cent.

Whereas during the First Five-Year Plan, total national income only increased by 32,200 million yuan; the average annual increase was 6,440 million yuan, a rate of increase of 8.9 per cent. Reactionaries at home and abroad and their mouthpieces — the right opportunists — say that our mass campaigns last year to produce iron and steel, to build water conservancy projects, to cultivate high-yield fields and to undertake industrial capital construction resulted in "more loss than gain." But the increase in the national income for the single year of 1958 alone was even greater than the total increase in the First Five-Year Plan. Isn't this single fact enough to tear all their slanders to pieces?

Tenthly, as a result of the increase in the national income, the accumulation in 1958 exceeded that of 1957 by 97 per cent, and was more than six times the average annual increase of 15 per cent for the First Five-Year Plan. The rapid increase in the accumulation makes possible a rapid expansion in the scale of capital construction, thereby creating extremely favourable conditions for expanded socialist reproduction in the future. The investment in capital construction in 1958 increased by 93 per cent as compared with 1957; this speed was unheard of in our country before. Owing to the fact that in 1958 the output of heavy industry increased by 103 per cent, capital construction is assured not only of funds but also of materials.

While the accumulation greatly increased, the proportion of consumption in the 1958 national income also increased at a rate faster than any year in the past. Though the amount of consumer goods that the peasants supplied themselves was much greater than in the past, the total retail sales of commodities in 1958 still registered an increase of 16 per cent as compared with 1957; and of this amount the increase for the countryside exceeded 20 per cent. The scale of city construction, including the building of housing for the workers and employees and public utilities in the cities, also exceeded any year in the past. With regard to cultural life in 1958, about 30 million school-age children entered the schools, and about 7 million pupils enrolled in the middle schools. At the same time, undertakings for public health and hygiene also developed accordingly. The imperialists slander us by saying that our big leap forward was obtained at the "expense" of the people's welfare. But the facts have completely exposed their lies. The big leap forward in our industrial and agricultural production has not lowered the standard of living of our people, but has rapidly raised the level of our people's material well-being and cultural life. The great increase in our accumulation was not obtained by reducing our consumption; it was realized on the basis of the tremendous increase in the national income, and under the circumstance of rapidly raising the standards of the people's consumption. Since 1953, in spite of the rapid increase in the production of consumer goods, the even more rapid increase in social purchasing power caused a temporary shortage in the supply of certain non-staple foods and a very few kinds of articles of daily use. There is nothing strange about this. This phenomenon does not show any lowering of the standard of living of our people, but, on the contrary, shows the rapid rise in their living standards.

All the above-mentioned features show that a new situation has come about in the development of our national economy, a new situation of both high-speed and balanced development. After the big leap forward in 1958 and under the conditions of greater harmony in the basic proportions between the various branches of the national economy, the proportion of industry in the total output value of industry and agriculture increased from 56.5 per cent in 1957 to 63.6 per cent in 1958, while the proportion of agriculture decreased from 43.5 per cent to 36.4 per cent; in the total output value of industry, the proportion of heavy industry rose from 48.4 per cent in 1957 to 57.3 per cent in 1958, while the proportion of light industry decreased from 51.6 per cent to 42.7 per cent. This shows that socialist industrialization took a great stride forward in 1958.

III

It is, of course, not fortuitous that a big leap forward took place on all fronts in 1958. It came inevitably as a result of the growth of our economy. It was the natural outcome of combining the subjective activity of the more than 600 million people of our country with the objective possibility of high-speed economic development under the guidance of our Party.

Our socialist construction was able to advance in 1958 at a still higher speed than during the First Five-Year Plan period because we had still more favourable conditions and factors.

Firstly, as soon as we had carried through the democratic revolution, we pressed the socialist revolution to completion; after we had completed the socialist revolution in the ownership of the means of production, we also won a decisive victory in the socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts. Moreover, during the big leap forward last year, people's communes were set up throughout the country on the basis of the agricultural co-operatives. These and other such factors have toppled all outdated systems without exception; they dealt telling blows to the timeworn ideas and conceptions which reflected these systems. This revitalized the social productive forces which had lain dormant for thousands of years.

Secondly, ours is a big country with a big population. Man is society's most precious asset. With the elimination of the system of exploitation and the roots of this system, it becomes possible to bring into full play the strength of more than 600 million people.

Thirdly, with the liberation of more than 600 million people from the old system and the consequent rapid growth of its industry and agriculture, our country has come to possess a bigger domestic market than any other country in the world. This domestic market offers enormous possibilities for an economic leap forward.

Fourthly, ours is a country with a vast territory and a good climate, a country with rich natural resources left untapped for centuries. Having become the masters of society, our people are gradually becoming the masters of nature. This has turned these rich natural resources into

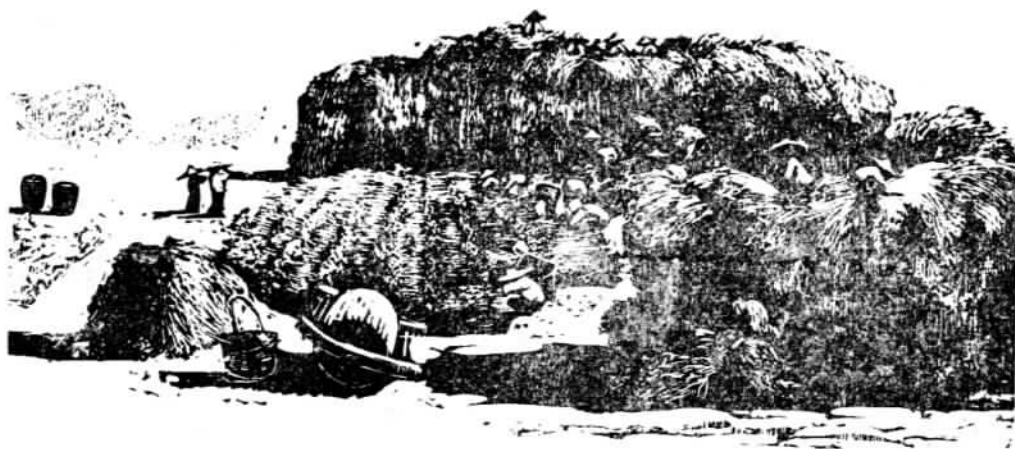
an important factor for a still more rapid development of our socialist construction.

Fifthly, the overfulfilment of the First Five-Year Plan and the setting up of a preliminary basis for socialist industrialization have prepared even better modern material and technical conditions for the further development of the national economy.

Sixthly, the international help given by the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union was an important factor contributing to the success of our socialist construction. Now that the Soviet Union has embarked on its great seven-year construction plan, the other fraternal countries are all in the midst of an economic upsurge and all the socialist countries are gaining richer experience in socialist construction, it is possible for us to receive continued international help and to learn even better from the experience accumulated by the fraternal countries in their construction.

Those who have right opportunist ideas look on China's big population with its vast numbers of peasants as a heavy burden and advance it as a reason why our country's socialist construction cannot advance at a rapid speed, although, with the victory of the socialist revolution on all fronts, they have also perceived some of the favourable factors in a vague and superficial way. In contrast to the pessimistic views of these people, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has told us with the greatest militant fervour and revolutionary optimism: "The decisive factor, apart from leadership by the Party, is our six hundred million people. The more people, the more views and suggestions, the more intense the fervour and the greater the energy. . . . Apart from their other characteristics, China's six hundred million people are first of all, poor, and secondly, 'blank.' That may seem like a bad thing, but it is really a good thing. Poor people want a change, want to do things, want revolution. A clean sheet of paper has no blotches and so the newest and most beautiful words can be written on it, the newest and most beautiful pictures can be painted on it." He pointed out to us that the more than five hundred million peasants constitute a most powerful force both in revolution and in construction. The crux of the matter is that the working class and its vanguard — the Chinese Communist Party — should adopt a correct policy and suitable ways of bringing into fullest play the initiative and creative ability of our more than six hundred million people, of whom more than five hundred million are peasants.

It is with a firm understanding of these characteristics and by creatively applying the universal truth of Marxist-Leninist theories on socialist construction, that Comrade Mao Tse-tung put forward the Party's general line of going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results to build socialism. To go all out and aim high is to place political leadership in command and give full play to human initiative on the basis of the objective laws of socialist economic development. To achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results means increasing the speed of production and construction as much as possible, reaping economic benefits from them to the full and continuously strengthening



Harvest

Woodcut by Chia Ying

the material and technical basis. In other words, it means integrating politics with economics.

Basic Points of the General Line

Here are some explanations of certain basic points of the Party's general line.

Simultaneous development of industry and agriculture on the basis of giving priority to heavy industry is one of the important fundamentals of the general line. This includes the simultaneous development of heavy and light industries. Since heavy industry chiefly produces capital goods while agriculture and light industry chiefly produce consumer goods, this policy conforms to the objective law governing relations between the two major departments of production on the basis of priority for the development of the production of capital goods. It embodies the integration of the Marxist-Leninist principle of expanded reproduction with concrete practice in China. This policy makes it possible for us to avoid a one-sided emphasis on industry to the neglect of agriculture, and on heavy industry to the neglect of light industry. Thus we can bring into play at the same time the initiative of our tens of millions of workers and employees and of our more than five hundred million peasants, and at the same time the initiative of workers and employees in heavy industry and in light industry. Guided by this policy, we have broken away from the old idea that the cities should develop only industries and the rural areas should develop only agriculture. On the one hand, while the cities are devoting their efforts mainly to developing industries, they also develop agricultural production in their vicinities to meet their own needs. On the other hand, while the rural areas are devoting their efforts mainly to agriculture, within the limit of their capacity they also develop industries which serve the needs of agriculture. What should be stressed here is that we have found in the people's commune a form of social organization which is best suited for developing industry and agriculture in the countryside simultaneously. Thus, it is by no means fortuitous that there should be a simultaneous leap forward of industry and agriculture, and of heavy and light industries both in the cities and in the countryside.

Simultaneous development of large, small and medium-sized enterprises, simultaneous employment of modern and indigenous methods of production with large modern enter-

prises as the key lever — this is another important fundamental of the general line. The need to modernize industry and equip agriculture and other branches of the national economy with modern techniques is a universal law in socialist construction. The historical course of the development of capitalism shows that one of the important methods for less advanced countries to catch up with the more advanced is to hurry forward with the introduction of advanced techniques. The advantages of the socialist system

make it all the more necessary and possible for a socialist country to use this method if it is to catch up with and surpass the well-developed capitalist countries. In order to change our condition of technical backwardness, we must build up a number of giant, modern, key enterprises and strive to make use of all the advanced techniques; this is a firm principle which we should stick to at all times. But the building of such big, modern enterprises needs large funds and takes time; it involves techniques not easily acquired all at once, and equipment whose supply is subjected to certain limitations; if we confined ourselves to developing only such enterprises, we would not be able to meet the needs of society fully, we could not make full use of the various resources at our disposal and would reduce the tempo of socialist construction. Thanks to the policy of simultaneous development of large, small and medium-sized enterprises, and of simultaneous employment of modern and indigenous methods of production, we have avoided one-sidedness in paying attention only to large enterprises to the neglect of small and medium-sized ones, and in paying attention only to modern methods of production to the neglect of indigenous methods. We have thus been able to mobilize not only the initiative of workers and employees with a relatively high technical level but also that of workers and employees with a relatively low technical level. We have thus not only inspired those who know how to run industry to run it still better, but also those who formerly did not know how to run industry to have the courage to run it. What is noteworthy here is that hundreds of thousands of small industrial units have already been established in the country's 24,000-odd people's communes. Though they are small in scale and are of a relatively low technical level, these industrial units actually form an important starting point for changing the poverty-stricken and backward face of China's vast countryside.

These commune-run industries have many outstanding advantages:

1. Built in the countryside, they directly serve the needs in production and in livelihood of the peasants who can see the advantages of such industries themselves; relatively small funds are needed to set them up; these factors help stir the initiative of the peasants in accumulating funds for the running of industry.

2. They can easily make use of China's fairly widely scattered local mineral and agricultural resources and get

production to cater more satisfactorily to the concrete needs of the local peasants.

3. They help carry out technical transformation in the countryside and raise labour productivity in agriculture.

4. They can make full use of the old equipment of large and medium-sized enterprises that have been replaced by new equipment and thus prolong the service life of such equipment and save funds for society.

5. They can help provide reserves of technical forces for socialist industrialization and the modernization of agriculture.

Some people looked down upon these enterprises because in their initial stages, the quality of their products was fairly low, production costs were rather high and their rate of increase in labour productivity was relatively slow. They compared these industries built up in the early days of the communes only with modern large enterprises and not with the backward farming techniques in the nation's vast countryside. Their mistake lies in the fact that they know nothing about mobilizing the initiative of the more than 500 million peasants, that they are ignorant of the fact that the building of industry by the communes is the most suitable way of mobilizing this great force to take part in the socialist industrialization of the country; nor do they understand that the process of growth of things is always from small to large, from the elementary to the advanced stage. They slight new-born things. But new-born things have the greatest vitality and the most promising future. In 1958, it was exactly because we implemented the policy of integrating large enterprises with small and medium-sized ones, and of getting the whole population to run industry that we got that magnificent scene of small factories and mines using indigenous methods or modern methods spreading all over the country like stars in the sky. Isn't that a most powerful proof of the truth of this conception?

National and Local Industries

Another important fundamental of the general line is the simultaneous development of national and local industries under the principle of centralized leadership, overall planning, division of work and co-ordination. The principle of management at different levels under central and local authorities must be applied not only in industry but also in other economic, cultural and educational undertakings. Without centralized leadership under the central authorities and without overall planning, it is of course impossible to carry out planned socialist construction in such a large country as ours and to turn it in a relatively short time into a socialist state with a modern industry, agriculture, science and culture. Similarly, it also wouldn't do if there were only centralized leadership under the central authorities without proper decentralized leadership under the local authorities. The central authorities must pay attention to bringing the initiative of the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions into play; the authorities of the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions must

also pay attention to bringing the initiative of the special administrative regions and counties into play; the authorities of the special administrative regions and counties must pay attention to bringing the initiative of the communes and enterprises into play; communes must also pay attention to bringing the initiative of production brigades and teams into play; enterprises must also pay attention to bringing the initiative of the workshops, shifts and teams into play. The practice of such a principle brings more people to share responsibilities in the work of the leadership, providing more ideas and ways and means of doing things. This enables the central authorities to concentrate their strength on administering matters of the greatest importance and what concerns the whole country; it also enables local authorities at all levels to do things that can and must be done by making adaptations to local conditions, in the light of specific conditions and circumstances, thereby raising efficiency and avoiding bureaucracy and different kinds of one-sidedness. Only in this way can we achieve an all-round and rapid development of our cause and get a general economic and cultural upsurge going in every part of the country.

All these basic points and the principles of effecting an all-round leap forward with steel as the key lever, of combining centralized leadership with the vigorous development of mass movements, of placing political leadership in command and combining political work with economic work and combining the political education for the masses with material encouragements, of leading production while making arrangements for the masses to live well, etc., have enabled us to mobilize the broad masses of people at the various fronts and posts of socialist construction, to mobilize all positive factors and useful forces and to get the people to keep up their labour enthusiasm and boundless energy.

IV

Some people admitted that the occurrence of the all-round big leap forward in 1958 was inevitable but they believed that such a big leap forward could only be temporary, that it could not last long. We take an opposite view; we believe that it is not temporary and that it will last. The big leap forward in 1958 marked the beginning of the leap-forward stage of our socialist construction. This is because the Party's general line for socialist construction which reflects objective economic laws and the aspirations of over 600 million people will play its role for a long period and will show its strength in a more and more marked way; all the above-mentioned favourable conditions and factors which provide the possibility for our socialist construction to develop at a still higher speed will also make themselves increasingly felt. The all-round big leap forward in 1958 has not created difficulties for a future leap forward as the right opportunists allege but, on the contrary, prepared better material conditions for a continued leap forward in the days to come and given us a great deal of fresh experience.

Such are the facts. On the basis of the all-round big leap forward in 1958, new victories have been won in the continued big leap forward of the national economy in

1959. Between January and August this year, compared with the corresponding period of last year, the total value of industrial output increased by 48.5 per cent. Steel output increased by 66.6 per cent, coal 78.5 per cent, electric power 51 per cent, machine tools 49 per cent, cotton yarn 31.7 per cent. There was also a considerable growth in the production of other heavy and light industrial goods. In agriculture, despite serious natural calamities, the summer crops brought in this year were 2,500 million *jin* more than the extraordinarily rich harvest of last year. Railway freight increased by 46.8 per cent. The total volume of retail sales increased by 18 per cent. Following the directive of the Eighth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee to oppose the right deviation and make an all-out effort, a new upsurge, a more vigorous development of the campaign to increase production and practise economy has appeared on various fronts of the national economy. Take the average daily steel output as an example. In the first ten days of August, it was 33,000 tons; in the second ten days, it was 37,000 tons; in the last ten days, it was 38,000 tons. In the first ten days of September, it was 41,000 tons, in the second ten days, it was 45,000 tons. That is, the daily output in the second ten days of September was 36 per cent greater than that in the first ten days of August. From this fact and facts in other fields, people can see and be confident that we shall be able to fulfil and overfulfil the goals set in this year's national economic plan and, thus, within this year, fulfil ahead of time the main targets of the Second Five-Year Plan. Accordingly, we shall be able to win three years and so carry on construction under the Second Five-Year Plan on a still larger scale and at still higher speed.

Higher Rate of Economic Growth Achieved

The successive big leap forward in the two years of 1958 and 1959 is proof positive that there is every possibility of developing the national economy at a still higher rate on the basis of the enormous progress made during the First Five-Year Plan. It also proves that it is wrong to imagine that the rate of national economic growth during the Second Five-Year Plan can only equal or even be less than that during the First Five-Year Plan. Of course, when the base figure grows, there is a certain limit to the continued increase of the rate of development. But, so far as the present situation of our country is concerned, there is still incalculable and powerful latent strength in raising labour productivity, tapping natural resources, carrying out the technical revolution, etc. Moreover, the more industrial and agricultural production grows, the bigger the material and technical basis gets and the more powerful is this latent strength. As long as we firmly and thoroughly implement the Party's general line and its several policies of simultaneous development, there is no doubt that our industrial and agricultural production will be able to maintain the rate of the leap forward over a long period.

When we say that our national economy will continue its leap forward, this does not imply an equal rate of development every year. Agricultural production which accounts for a considerable proportion of our national economy is still to a very large extent subject to the influence of natural conditions; sometimes harvests may be

good while at other times they may be bad. The amount of new productive capacity cannot always be the same every year; it may be a little more in some years and a little less in others. There is also the possibility of some other factors emerging in national economic development which it is difficult to know fully about in advance. For these and other reasons, the national economy will inevitably advance in a wave-like manner; its rate of growth may be a bit higher at one time and a bit slower at another. This should be considered normal. But, taken as a whole, our economy has been growing steadily every year and construction has been going ahead at high speed. There is every possibility that we will be able to catch up with and surpass Britain in the output of major industrial products in about ten years.

The big leap forward is something new for us, and, of course, we have not yet acquired sufficient experience. To ensure continuous and uninterrupted leap forward in the national economy, we must on the one hand overcome all sorts of rightist sentiments and ideas in good time and wage a resolute struggle against right opportunism, and, on the other hand, constantly gather and sum up experience, pay constant attention to the maintenance of the proper proportions between various branches of the national economy, and integrate subjective activity and objective possibilities to the best advantage, so that our economic planning can really embody the demands put forward by the Party's general line.

The Resolution on Developing the Campaign for Increasing Production and Practising Economy adopted by the Eighth Plenary Session of the Party's Eighth Central Committee pointed out: "The general line, the great leap forward and the people's communes—these embody the great determination and wisdom of the 650 million industrious and brave people of our country; they are the products of the creative integration of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the practical situation in China achieved by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, great leader of our Party and of the people of all nationalities in our country." In the periods of democratic revolution and socialist revolution, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, by taking into consideration the actual situation in China and using Marxist-Leninist principles in a flexible way, solved a series of problems arising out of the revolutionary process and further developed and enriched Marxism-Leninism in China. In the period of socialist construction, Comrade Mao Tse-tung made a timely summing up of the experience gained in construction, made great theoretical contributions, ideologically armed the whole Party and the people of the whole country and enabled us to gain continuous victories in our socialist construction. Numerous facts prove that the teachings of Mao Tse-tung are our invincible ideological weapon. Therefore, we must seriously study the works of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, and do our work and solve problems seriously and always according to Comrade Mao Tse-tung's principles for the correct handling of contradictions among the people. As long as we diligently study Marxism-Leninism and the teachings of Mao Tse-tung, we will be able to maintain a continuous and uninterrupted big leap forward in our national economy under the guiding light of the general line.

Ten Years of New China

This is the third and last instalment of the chronology. The first and the second parts appeared in the two previous issues of "Peking Review" (Nos. 38 and 39, 1959).—Ed.

1956

June 21 An agreement on economic aid between China and Cambodia signed in Peking.

June 28 Premier and Foreign Minister Chou En-lai reports to the N.P.C. on the present international situation, China's foreign policy and the liberation of Taiwan.

August 10 Diplomatic relations established between China and Syria.

August 15 The Chinese Government issues a statement supporting the Egyptian declaration of July 26 on nationalization of the Suez Canal Company.

August 20 Prince Souvanna Phouma, Prime Minister of Laos, arrives in Peking for a visit.

August 25 Premier Chou En-lai and Prince Souvanna Phouma, Prime Minister of Laos, issue a joint statement to the effect that the two governments agree to observe the five principles of peaceful coexistence.

August 29 An agreement on Chinese economic and technical aid to the People's Republic of Mongolia signed in Ulan Bator.

September 14 A joint communique on the establishment of diplomatic relations and the development of economic and cultural co-operation between China and Ceylon signed in Peking.

September 15 The Eighth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party opens in Peking. Chairman Mao Tse-tung delivers the opening speech. Liu Shao-chi makes the political report on behalf of the Central Committee. The congress is attended by 1,021 delegates representing 10,730,000 members.

September 20 China and Nepal sign an agreement in Kathmandu to maintain friendly relations between the two countries and on trade and intercourse between the Tibet region of China and Nepal.

October 6, 1959

September 24 China and Yemen decide to establish diplomatic relations.

September 26 The Eighth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party unanimously adopts the revised Constitution of the Party and elects the Eighth Central Committee.

September 27 The Eighth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party closes after adopting a resolution on the political report of the Central Committee and approving the proposals for the Second Five-Year Plan.

September 30 Indonesian President Sukarno arrives in Peking for a visit.

October 7 Premier Chou En-lai and Prime Minister Acharya of Nepal issue a joint statement in Peking. China and Nepal sign an agreement on economic aid.

October 18 Prime Minister Suhrawardy of Pakistan arrives in Peking.

October 23 Premier Chou En-lai and Prime Minister Suhrawardy issue a joint statement in Peking.

November 1 The Chinese Government issues a statement supporting the Soviet declaration of October 30 on the principles for developing and further strengthening the foundations of friendship and co-operation between the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

The Chinese Government issues a statement protesting against British and French attacks on Egypt on October 31.

November 6 Premier Chou En-lai congratulates Janos Kadar, Prime Minister of Hungary, on the establishment of the Hungarian Worker-Peasant Revolutionary Government and announces China's grant of material and financial aid to Hungary.

November 9 China and Burma issue a joint press communique on the border question.

November 10 Premier Chou En-lai, in a message to President Nasser of Egypt, pledges support for the Egyptian people's struggle against aggression and informs him of the Chinese Government's decision to make a present of 20 million Swiss francs to Egypt.

China-Egypt Friendship Association formed in Peking.

November 15 The Eighth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party ends its Second Plenary Session which began on November 10 and which heard Liu Shao-chi's report on the current situation. The session also heard a report by Chou En-lai on the plan for development of the national economy in 1957 and the control figures for the 1957 budget. Chairman Mao Tse-tung in his concluding speech calls on all functionaries to combat all tendencies to subjectivism, sectarianism and bureaucracy.

November 22 Premier Chou En-lai and Premier Pham Van Dong of the Democratic Republic of Viet-nam issue a communique after their talks in Hanoi.

Premier Chou En-lai arrives in Phnom Penh for a visit.

November 27 A joint statement issued in Phnom Penh by Premier Chou En-lai and San Yon, Premier of the Kingdom of Cambodia, declaring that the two countries are determined to adhere fully to the five principles in their relations.

November 28 Premier Chou En-lai arrives in New Delhi for a visit.

December 10 Premier Chou En-lai arrives in Rangoon for a visit.

December 20 Premier Chou En-lai and Prime Minister U Ba Swe issue a joint statement in Rangoon.

Premier Chou En-lai arrives in Karachi for a visit.

December 24 Premier Chou En-lai and Prime Minister Suhrawardy of Pakistan issue a joint statement in Karachi, reaffirming their desire to strengthen the friendly relations between the two countries, to reduce international tension and to promote the cause of world peace.

December 29 *Renmin Ribao* publishes an article entitled "More on the Historical Experience of Proletarian Dictatorship."

1957

January 7 A Chinese government delegation headed by Premier Chou En-lai arrives in Moscow.

January 11 Delegates of the Communist Parties and Governments of Hungary, China and the Soviet Union issue a communique in Moscow on their talks to

expand political, economic and cultural co-operation, develop ties among the fraternal countries and resolutely curb the attempt to weaken the solidarity of the socialist camp and its role as a bulwark of peace.

The Chinese Government Delegation led by Premier Chou En-lai arrives in Warsaw.

January 16 The Government Delegations of China and Poland issue a joint statement on the development of Sino-Polish friendly relations and strengthening the solidarity of the socialist countries.

Premier Chou En-lai arrives in Budapest.

January 17 The Government Delegations of China and Hungary issue a joint statement expressing complete unanimity of views on the Hungarian situation.

January 19 Premier Chou En-lai arrives in Kabul, capital of Afghanistan.

January 22 Premier Chou En-lai and the Afghan Prime Minister Daud issue a joint communique.

January 24 Premier Chou En-lai arrives in New Delhi and holds talks with Prime Minister Nehru.

January 25 Premier Chou En-lai arrives in Kathmandu, capital of Nepal.

January 29 Premier Chou En-lai and Prime Minister Acharya of Nepal issue a joint communique.

January 31 Premier Chou En-lai arrives in Colombo, capital of Ceylon.

February 5 Premier Chou En-lai and Prime Minister Bandaranaike of Ceylon issue a joint statement.

February 27 Chairman Mao Tse-tung gives an address at the 11th enlarged session of the Supreme State Conference entitled "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People."

March 9 The Czechoslovak Government Delegation headed by Prime Minister Siroky arrives in Peking.

March 27 A Sino-Czechoslovak treaty of friendship and co-operation signed in Peking.

April 7 A Polish government delegation headed by Jozef Cyrankiewicz, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, arrives in Peking.

April 15 K. E. Voroshilov, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union, arrives in Peking.

April 27 The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party issues the directive on the launching of a rectifica-

tion campaign against bureaucracy, sectarianism and subjectivism throughout the Party.

May 10 The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party issues a directive on the participation of leading personnel at all levels in physical labour.

May 24 A big anti-U.S. demonstration breaks out in Taipei; five thousand people raid the U.S. Embassy.

July 9 Premier and Foreign Minister Chou En-lai makes a report to the N.P.C. session on the question of Sino-Burmese boundaries.

July 15 The Fourth Session of the N.P.C. closes. It approves the reports on the 1957 national economic plan and the question of Sino-Burmese boundaries.

August 2 Foreign Minister Chou En-lai sends a cable to the Tunisian Foreign Minister, officially extending China's recognition to the Tunisian Republic.

August 30 Chairman Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai, Premier and Foreign Minister, send messages to congratulate the Federation of Malaya on its independence and convey China's recognition of the new state.

September 14 A Bulgarian government delegation, headed by Anton Yugov, Chairman of the Bulgarian Council of Ministers, arrives in Peking.

September 18 The Indian Vice-President Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan arrives in Peking.

September 20 The Government Delegation of the German Democratic Republic headed by Fred Oelssner, Deputy-Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the G.D.R., arrives in Peking.

September 27 The Hungarian Government Delegation headed by Premier Janos Kadar arrives in Peking.

A Czechoslovak National Assembly delegation led by Zdenek Fierlinger, Chairman of the National Assembly, arrives in Peking.

September 29 A delegation from the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. headed by A. B. Aristov arrives in Peking.

October 15 The Yangtze Bridge in Wuhan is opened to traffic.

October 23 Sardar Mohammed Daud, the Afghan Prime Minister, arrives in Peking.

October 26 A joint communique issued by Premiers Chou En-lai and Daud.

November 2 Chairman Mao Tse-tung arrives in Moscow.

November 6 Mao Tse-tung, leader of the Chinese delegation, gives a speech

of greetings at the meeting of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union in celebration of the 40th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

November 17 In Moscow, Chairman Mao Tse-tung, in meeting the Chinese students and trainees studying in the Soviet Union, says that the current international situation is one of the East wind prevailing over the West wind.

1958

January 1 The Second Five-Year Plan starts operation.

January 12 The Sino-Yemeni Treaty of Friendship signed in Peking.

January 18 A Sino-Soviet protocol signed in Moscow providing for joint research on major scientific and technological questions by the two countries, and Soviet help to China in carrying out other research projects.

February 14 A Chinese government delegation led by Premier Chou En-lai arrives in Pyongyang, Korea.

February 19 A joint statement issued by the Chinese and Korean Governments announcing that the Chinese People's Volunteers will completely withdraw from Korea within 1958.

March 5 The Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region founded.

March 20 A Polish government delegation led by P. Jaroszewicz, Vice-Chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, arrives in Peking.

March 30 A mass rally held in Peking in support of the struggle of the Algerian people for independence.

April 2 A Rumanian government delegation headed by Chivu Stoica, Chairman of the Rumanian Council of Ministers, arrives in Peking.

April 7 A joint statement of the Chinese and Rumanian Governments issued.

The Chinese and Polish Government Delegations issue a communique on their talks; both parties agree to conclude the Sino-Polish long-term trade agreement for 1959-1962.

April 21 Sino-Hungarian long-term trade agreement (1959-1962) signed in Peking.

April 23 Sino-Soviet treaty of commerce and navigation signed in Peking.

May 15 The Chinese Government in a statement warns the U.S. imperialists not to interfere in the internal affairs of Indonesia.

May 23 The Second Session of the Eighth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party which opened on May 5 closes after drawing up the general line of "going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results to build socialism."

July 16 The Chinese Government issues a statement opposing U.S. armed intervention in Lebanon.

Foreign Minister Chen Yi sends a telegram to the Iraqi Foreign Minister announcing China's recognition of the Government of the Iraqi Republic.

July 18 The Chinese Government protests to the British Government against its dispatch of troops to Jordan and threats against the Iraqi Republic.

July 21 A Sino-Rumanian long-term trade agreement (1959-1962) signed in Peking.

July 24 China and Cambodia establish diplomatic relations.

July 31 N. S. Khrushchov, First Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, arrives in Peking.

August 3 The Communiqué on Talks Between Mao Tse-tung and N. S. Khrushchov issued. The two parties to the talks held all-round discussions on urgent and important questions of the present international situation and reached complete unity of views on the necessary measures to oppose aggression and preserve peace.

A government delegation of the Korean Democratic People's Republic led by Vice-Premier Li Joo Yun arrives in Peking.

August 8 China and the Soviet Union conclude an agreement in Moscow under which the Soviet Union will give technical assistance to China in building and expanding 47 metallurgical, chemical and other industrial enterprises.

August 15 A Cambodian state delegation headed by Premier Sihanouk arrives in Peking.

August 24 Premier Chou En-lai and Prime Minister Sihanouk issue a joint statement which declares, *inter alia*, that the two parties desire to develop economic and political relations between the two countries on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence for the mutual benefit of the two peoples and of the peace of Southeast Asia and the world.

August 25 Diplomatic relations established between China and the Iraqi Republic.

August 30 The Peitaiho meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party which began on the 17th closes today. It puts forward the policy of making an "all-round leap forward with steel as the key lever." On August 29, it adopted the resolution on the question of establishing people's communes in the countryside.

September 4 The Chinese Government declares that the breadth of the territorial sea of the People's Republic of China shall be twelve nautical miles.

September 6 Premier Chou En-lai issues a statement on the situation in the Taiwan Straits area.

September 22 The Chinese Government recognizes the Provisional Government of Algeria.

September 27 China's first experimental atomic reactor and cyclotron officially commissioned.

A long-term trade agreement (1959-1962) concluded between China and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

September 29 A China-Iraq Friendship Association founded in Peking.

September 30 Ten new friendship associations formed in Peking, linking China and Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, the Democratic Republic of Viet-nam, the German Democratic Republic, Korean Democratic People's Republic, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania and Czechoslovakia.

October 6 The Ministry of National Defence issues a message to compatriots in Taiwan suggesting that talks be held to secure a peaceful settlement.

October 7 China recognizes the Republic of Guinea.

October 13 The Ministry of National Defence issues an order to suspend the shelling of Quemoy for another two weeks.

October 20 The Ministry of National Defence issues an order: Because the Taiwan authorities used U.S. naval forces to escort vessels into the Quemoy area, shelling will be resumed as a punitive measure.

October 25 The Defence Ministry releases another message to compatriots in Taiwan.

The Ninghsia Hui Autonomous Region founded.

October 26 All units of the Chinese People's Volunteers have withdrawn from Korea and returned home. The last units to withdraw are the General Headquarters of the C.P.V., three divisions and logistical services units.

November 1 China and the Kingdom of Morocco establish diplomatic relations.

November 22 Premier Kim Il Sung arrives in Peking with a Korean government delegation.

December 1 China establishes diplomatic relations with the Republic of Sudan.

December 3 A delegation of the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic arrives in Peking on a visit to China.

December 8 A joint statement of the Chinese and Korean Governments signed in Peking. The two parties express their determination to continue to do all they can to develop friendship and co-operation so as to promote the common economic upsurge in the two countries.

December 10 The Sixth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party closes in Wuchang (it opened on November 28). It adopted a resolution on certain theoretical and policy questions concerning the people's communes.

December 20 China establishes diplomatic relations with the Algerian Republic.

December 23 A Mongolian government delegation headed by D. Molomzhams, Vice-Chairman of its Council of Ministers, arrives in Peking.

December 29 A Sino-Mongolian agreement on economic and technical assistance signed in Peking.

1959

January 3 The first trade and payments agreements signed between China and Iraq in Bagdad.

January 16 Sino-Albanian long-term trade agreement, 1961-1965, signed in Peking.

January 22 A government delegation of the German Democratic Republic led by Prime Minister Grotewohl arrives in Peking. A China-G.D.R. joint statement issued on January 27, expressing their determination in the future to further develop their relations in all fields.

January 25 Over 100,000 people in Peking take part in rallies in support of the anti-imperialist struggles of the peoples of Cuba and Congo.

January 29 Prince Saleh Ben Issa el Harithy, the Deputy Imam of Oman, arrives in Peking.

February 18 Foreign Minister Chen Yi issues a statement on the Laotian Gov-

ernment's refusal to implement the Geneva agreements.

Seven documents signed between China and the Democratic Republic of Viet-nam in Peking, arranging for trade on a long-term basis and further Chinese economic and technical aid to Viet-nam.

A mass rally held in Peking to support the struggle of the Kamerun people for independence.

February 27 China's Foreign Ministry issues a statement on south Viet-nam's violation of China's territorial integrity and sovereignty over the Hsisha Islands.

March 28 State Council orders the dissolution of the Tibet local government and the transfer of its functions and powers to the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region.

Hsinhua News Agency publishes a communique on the rebellion in Tibet.

March 29 A military delegation of the Algerian Provisional Government arrives in Peking.

April 5 The Seventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party ends its four-day session in Shanghai. It discusses and adopts the draft plan for development of the national economy in 1959, reviews progress of the check-up in the rural people's communes.

An "Algeria Week" starts in Peking and other major cities to express the Chinese people's support to the Algerian people in their struggle for national independence.

China's Foreign Ministry issues another statement protesting against south Viet-nam's violation of China's sovereignty over the Hsisha Islands.

April 11 Sino-Czechoslovak long-term trade agreement, 1960-1962, signed in Prague.

April 17 The First Plenary Session of the Third National Committee of the C.P.P.C.C. opens and it closes on April 29.

April 18 The First Session of the Second National People's Congress opens. Chairman Mao Tse-tung presides the opening meeting and Premier Chou En-lai delivers a report on the work of the government.

April 27 The National People's Congress elects Liu Shao-chi Chairman of the People's Republic of China; Soong Ching Ling and Tung Pi-wu, Vice-Chairmen of the People's Republic of China. It elects Chu Teh Chairman of its Standing Committee and approves Chairman

Liu Shao-chi's nomination of Chou En-lai as Premier of the State Council.

Chairman Liu Shao-chi appoints Chou En-lai Premier of the State Council.

April 28 The N.P.C. closes after adopting a resolution on Premier Chou's report and a resolution on the question of Tibet.

April 29 A Hungarian Party and government delegation led by Dr. Ferenc Muennich arrives in Peking.

April 30 A parliamentary delegation from the German Democratic Republic headed by Chairman Johannes Dieckmann and First Vice-Chairman Hermann Matern of the Presidium of the People's Chamber arrives in Peking.

May 6 Sino-Hungarian Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation signed in Peking.

Renmin Ribao publishes "The Revolution in Tibet and Nehru's Philosophy" written by its editorial department.

May 17 The Eight-Power (Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Rumania, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia) Council of Mutual Economic Aid closes its eleventh meeting in Tirana. China participates as an observer.

May 18 China's Foreign Ministry in a statement protests against the serious actions of the Laotian Government in completely repudiating the Geneva agreements and endangering peace in Indo-China.

May 25 Foreign Minister Chen Yi writes to the Co-Chairmen of the 1954 Geneva Conference on Indo-China concerning the situation in Laos.

June 25 The State Council issues an order on a unified system of weights and measures, adopting the international metric system.

July 7 Thirty-three members of a mixed men's and women's expedition reach the top of Muztagh Ata in the Pamirs, 7,546 metres above sea level—the first time in the world so large a group has scaled such a height.

August 12 A Foreign Ministry spokesman comments on the creation of tension by the United States in Laos.

August 16 The Eighth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party convenes at Lushan, Kiangsi Province, from August 2 to 16, adopts a resolution on developing the campaign for increasing production and practising economy.

August 26 The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress holds an enlarged session and adopts a resolution to readjust the major targets of the 1959

national economic plan and extend the campaign to increase production and practise economy.

September 5 Afghan Deputy-Premier Sardar Mohammed Naim arrives in Peking.

September 8 Premier Chou En-lai sends a letter of reply to Indian Prime Minister Nehru, defining China's stand on the question of the Sino-Indian border.

September 9 A Sino-Afghan joint communique signed in Peking.

September 11 In a report to an enlarged session of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress to discuss the Sino-Indian boundary question, Premier Chou En-lai defines the stand, attitude and policy of the Chinese Government on this question.

September 13 After adopting a resolution on the Sino-Indian boundary question, the N.P.C. Standing Committee closes its three-day session.

The First National Sports Meet opens in Peking.

September 15 The Chinese Government issues a statement on the Laotian situation.

Premier Chou En-lai sends a message of greetings to N. S. Khrushchov, Chairman of the Soviet Council of Ministers, on the Soviet cosmic rocket which has reached the moon.

September 17 Chairman Liu Shao-chi issues an order on granting pardons.

September 20 Premier Chou En-lai and former Japanese Prime Minister Tanzan Ishibashi sign a communique on their talks in Peking.

September 28 A grand two-day rally celebrating the tenth anniversary of the People's Republic of China opens in Peking. Chairman Liu Shao-chi presides. Guests from 83 countries attend. Among the 60 speakers are leading comrades of the Party and government delegations of the fraternal countries and leading comrades of fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties, leaders of government delegations and government delegates from friendly Afro-Asian countries, leaders of delegations from world organizations.

September 30 N. S. Khrushchov, leader of the Party and Government Delegation of the Soviet Union, arrives in Peking.

A banquet to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the Chinese People's Republic given by China's leaders held in Peking. Attending it are guests from over 80 countries and from all walks of life in China. Speeches by Premier Chou En-lai and N. S. Khrushchov.

CHINESE PRESS OPINION

The Great Unity

"Long Live the Great Unity Among the Socialist Countries Headed by the Soviet Union!" is the title of the *Renmin Ribao* editorial of October 3 saluting the tenth anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and other socialist countries.

The editorial recalls that on the day following the birth of New China the Soviet Union took the lead in recognizing our country and establishing diplomatic relations with her. It was soon followed by other socialist countries. This was a great support for the revolutionary cause of our people and for our new-born People's Republic, a powerful inspiration to the striving of the 650 million Chinese for peace and their aspirations for socialism. It was also most convincing proof of the international solidarity of the proletariat.

The editorial stresses that the victory of the Chinese revolution is inseparable from the assistance and support of the world revolutionary forces, first of all from those of the socialist camp headed by the great Soviet Union.

During the past ten years, it continues, the co-operation between China and other socialist countries has developed day by day, while the strength of the socialist camp has become ever stronger and its unity has been strengthened. This was extremely important to promote the construction of all the socialist countries, to uphold world peace and promote human progress.

The editorial goes on to discuss in detail how during the past ten years the great unity of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union has contributed to safeguarding world peace and the cause of socialism: in quenching the flames of the U.S. aggressive war in Korea, in restoring peace to Indo-China, in putting down the counter-revolution in Hungary, and in other struggles. China and the Soviet Union, together with the other socialist countries, have extended powerful support to the peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America in their struggles against imperialist intervention and aggression.

Expressing heartfelt thanks for the assistance rendered China by the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries in her socialist construction, the editorial says that such assistance has been a very important condition for attaining the great achievements of the past ten years.

The Chinese people always view it as their sacred internationalist obligation to

consolidate and develop the solidarity of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union. To safeguard the purity of Marxism-Leninism and the fraternal unity of the socialist camp, the Chinese Communist Party, together with the Communist Parties of various countries, has waged a resolute struggle against modern revisionism as represented by the Yugoslav ruling clique. Imperialism and the reactionaries of various countries are always hostile towards the socialist countries. They consistently seek to undermine the unity of the socialist camp. "But," the editorial declares, "no force on earth can sabotage the unity of the socialist camp and block the victory of the socialist cause."

The editorial pays special tribute to the great unity between China and the Soviet Union, calling it "an important guarantee for the prosperity and well-being of our country." The paper adds that the Chinese people will continue to study the advanced experience of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, so as to accelerate their socialist construction. "They will also redouble their efforts to promote the solidarity of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union and, together with the fraternal peoples of other socialist countries, make still more, greater contributions to the lofty cause of peace and socialism," the editorial concludes.

Khrushchov's Successful U.S. Visit

Renmin Ribao and *Da Gong Bao* in their editorials of September 29 express "immense pleasure" over the success achieved by Comrade Khrushchov on his state visit to the United States. There is no doubt, *Renmin Ribao* writes, that this visit will have a positive and far-reaching effect on the relaxation of international tension and on the cause of world peace. The Chinese people rejoice in Khrushchov's success.

The paper says that the visit "enhances mutual understanding among the two big powers, the Soviet Union and the United States. This is the indispensable prerequisite for peaceful coexistence."

Referring to the points made in the joint communique, the editorial says that all these steps which are conducive to the easing of world tension and improvement of Soviet-U.S. relations are in keeping with the consistent Soviet efforts.

The President of the United States also expressed a desire for peace in the

talks, the paper notes. This desire is at variance with the policies actually pursued so far by the United States Government. However, he has expressed this desire, so it is as Comrade Khrushchov has pointed out: "Where there is a will, there is a way." In view of the cold war record of the U.S. and its aggressive line of action in the past, impartial public opinion has justly stressed that the question lies in whether the deeds of the United States square with this desire.

The general and complete disarmament proposal put forward by Comrade Khrushchov at the United Nations General Assembly most vividly illustrated the strong confidence and determination of the Soviet Union in maintaining peace, the paper continues. Comrade Khrushchov sharply hit back at the deliberate provocations from certain American quarters; he successfully safeguarded the honour of the Soviet Government and people and the principles of Marxism-Leninism cherished by hundreds of millions of working people in the world.

Noting the very warm welcome accorded to Comrade Khrushchov by the broad masses of the ordinary American people despite the various ridiculous pretexts used by the U.S. authorities to prevent Comrade Khrushchov from meeting the men in the street in the U.S., the editorial says that this was a true manifestation of the American people's longing for peace, their disgust with the cold war and their desire for friendship with the Soviet people. Influential circles in the U.S. attempted by every conceivable means to limit or at least weaken the influence of Comrade Khrushchov's visit. But the facts show that their schemes have once more met with failure, the paper stresses.

"The first visit in history of the head of government of the great U.S.S.R. to the U.S. has already had a deep-going influence on the American people and people in the rest of the world. It will burst into blossom and bear fruit," *Renmin Ribao* concludes.

Warmly welcoming the results of Khrushchov's visit, the *Da Gong Bao* editorial says that the people of the world will be gratified if the U.S. will abandon the use of force and stop its war threats not only in words but in deeds as well. People hope to see the U.S. withdraw its forces from foreign countries, abolish its overseas military bases and halt its armed intervention against other countries. Only this can prove that the U.S. Government sincerely desires peace.

The paper also expresses the hope that speedy progress will be made in the settlement of the disarmament question as a result of the talks between Khrushchov and Eisenhower.

BALLET

Bolshoi Ballet in Peking

The Bolshoi Ballet opened its eagerly awaited visit to China on September 29, with a "Highlights" programme at Peking's Capital Theatre.

Later it will go to Shanghai, Wuhan and Canton on a tour that will last forty days and that will be a brilliant part of the celebrations for New China's tenth anniversary.

There was a distinguished audience. Premier Chou En-lai and other leaders of the People's Government and the Communist Party and Soviet diplomatic personnel occupied centre rows. Mei Lan-fang, Yu Chen-fei, Ma Shih-tseng, Hung Hsien Nu and other leading actors, actresses and dancers, writers and other cultural workers were guests. The press was fully represented. Many artists were sketching. Thousands more in Peking watched the whole performance on television.

The company will perform four full-length ballets: the classical *Giselle* with Ulanova and *Swan Lake* with Plisetskaya; the new *Stone Flower* also with Plisetskaya and *Path of Thunder*, composed specially for the tour in China, with Lepeshinskaya; and finally *Highlights*, a concert programme of separate numbers and *divertissements*. Chinese audiences are particularly fortunate in that for the first time on its foreign tours the ballet is accompanied by its own orchestra under the direction of its own inimitable conductor, Yuri Faier.

Highlights, on the opening night, brought all the dancers of the troupe into view. The performance was at once always a brilliant exhibition of technical virtuosity and impeccably presented as to settings, curtains, costumes, music and it had its highlights of artistry that are unexampled in the modern ballet world.

It opened with the traditional *Les Sylphides*. Ulanova and Fetlova, partnered by Fadeychev and with a perfectly supporting *corps de ballet*, recreated this quintessence of the romantic Chopin mood. Nineteen-year-old Maximova, representing the younger generation of ballerinas, made one of the loveliest young sylphs imaginable.

There are no technical fireworks in this *Les Sylphides*, a series of group dances, solos and *pas de deux* based on the original Fokine production to Chopin's music, but its very unpretentiousness demands that the dancers preserve its mood in every simple gesture, and

this the troupe did with complete serenity. It was natural that we looked with particular attention at Ulanova. She dances a Chopin prelude: music becomes fused completely to expressive movement and you see the music's changing emotions in her face and every movement of her expressive hands.

A sprightly *adagio* from Tchaikovsky's *Nutcracker* by Chestova and her partner Nikunov, two of the younger members of the troupe, bridged the complete change of mood from Chopin to the *Walpurgis-night* (choreographer: Lavrovsky) danced to Gounod's *Faust* music. This is a tumultuous Bacchanalia of rude satyrs and delicate water sprites with Plisetskaya as a Bacchante and Begak as a Muscular Bacchus figure. Plisetskaya was in a role that she does best of all. She has tremendous temperament, a dazzling technique that gives a whiplash spin to her *fouettes*, and that makes her seem to soar where others merely leap. This wild frolic with satyrs gives ample opportunity for astonishing acrobatic lifts and jumps that she performs with a gay abandon, fearlessness and flawless judgment that make them seem perfectly normal episodes in the life of a Bacchante — which they probably are.

This dance also gave the men of the troupe their first chance to display the *brio*, the sturdy manliness, elevation in their jumps and phenomenal turns for which they are famous. They make the most difficult things seem as easy as walking, as if it were natural to leap and hover in the air. Chinese audiences, with their background knowledge of traditional Chinese opera acrobatics, are full of appreciation for these classical dance feats.

A beautifully staged Polish *Krakoviak* to Glinka's *Ivan Susanin* music with a full stage of over forty dancers preceded the appearance of Olga Lepeshinskaya part-

nered by Sergeyev in the sparkling *pas de deux* from *Don Quixote* by Minkus. For the ballerina, this is essentially a *tour de force* of technique, of rapid turns, leaps and spectacular poses coming with dramatic suddenness at the end of giddy twirls. It demands a diamond-cut brilliance and boldness — and Lepeshinskaya showed all of this. When it was over her own charmingly sweet character broke through in her smiles and bows to her audience.

Galina Ulanova made her final appearance of the evening in the dance made famous by Pavlova, *The Dying Swan*, to the music of Saint-Saëns. It lasts a few minutes only. Yet in that time she draws a picture of a wounded, dying spirit in the body of a swan that is at once utterly comprehensible, utterly sincere and that goes far beyond any mere dance representation of a dying swan as such. We will be seeing Ulanova later on in *Giselle*, but even in this tiny fragment, from her first movement on the darkened stage, her art compels one's concentrated attention. Her arms flutter, they are transformed into wings. Her strength fails; she dies and her body gives a final sigh of motion as if life did not want to depart. Pavlova was never more expressive than this. Ulanova has written about the many strands that go to make up her final characterization of a role. I couldn't help thinking of the nature stories of Prishvin that can take a little incident in the life of some bird and give it a poignant human significance, much as our own painter Chi Pai-shih has done with the humble insects.

A puppet dance to music by Solov'yev-Sedov and a fairly traditional ballet version of Khachaturian's *Sabre Dance*, concluded the orthodox classical part of the programme. Then we were abruptly translated into modern times by Koren in two Spanish dances of his own composition. Koren will be remembered by all who saw his spectacular dancing in the death of Mercutio in the Soviet film version of *Romeo and Juliet*. Here, in his *corrida*, with sharply etched lines he draws a Goya-esque type in high waisted tight black trousers, short black jacket, white shirt and black tie, with the mannered postures, clicking heels and controlled passion of a Spanish romantic, the *aficionado* of the bull-ring.

The three final items on the programme had a particular interest as showing the advance of the Bolshoi Ballet to the balletic treatment of modern themes and subjects, a key problem of ballet today. This is no easy task. The technique of the classical ballet was built up very largely to express themes and subjects in the romantic tradition: the fairy bal-



Ulanova in "The Dying Swan"



Plisetskaya and Begak in "Walpurgis-night"
Sketches by Li Ke-yu

lets (*Swan Lake*), the stylized pastoral romance (*Giselle*); now in all countries, China included, choreographers are endeavouring to adapt this fund of technique—with its peculiar advantages as a means of training dancers with a great suppleness of movement, vigour and grace—to modern themes and subject matter. This has been achieved with varying degrees of success. In this sense, the Bolshoi production of *Romeo and Juliet* choreographed by Zakharov to Prokofiev's music, was modern in conception. So far it is one of the finest full-length dramatic ballets I have seen, but no one has yet achieved a comparably successful full-length ballet on modern subject matter in a contemporary setting. In this sense the programme's three final dances to Soviet musical compositions were an introduction to the modern Soviet ballet.

First came a *Waltz* danced by Lepe-shinskaya and Begak to music by Shostakovich. This is a gay *pas de deux* of modern friendship between a girl and a youth in tennis clothes (choreographer: Voinonin). Then came a group dance of young men and girls in sea-blue practice clothes suggesting a playtime romp of a ballet school at the seaside. It is composed by Varlamov to Moshkovsky's music. Both of these are fresh little pictures in a somewhat athletic framework of modern Soviet life and spirit.

Men of Stalingrad, composed by Var-kovitsky, another of the younger group of Bolshoi Ballet choreographers, to music by Potapov, goes deeper in theme, feeling and dramatic force. It starts with a group of five Soviet Army men holding their red flag aloft: a heroic monumental group typifying Stalingrad at the climax of the Hitlerite siege. The group breaks up and moves through a dance of advance, of setbacks, of losses in combat and finally, blood-stained, wounded, fatigued but unbowed, advancing to vic-

tory. It is a dramatic dance fragment, movingly and strongly performed.

Though it repeatedly touched the ultimate in technical proficiency and sheer dancing skill and art, it is not, however, in such a concert programme that the Bolshoi Ballet shows its full strength. It is characteristic of this remarkable troupe that it is a great *collective* and so it is in its full-length ballets that the special talents of each of its members, brilliant as they are individually, shines with still greater brilliance and is developed in their full expressive range. Peking, therefore, already captivated, is looking forward with the utmost interest to the coming performances of the ballets.

—C. I. F.

SPORTS

National Sports Meet Ended

China's First National Sports Meet ended with a big crop of national and world records. In the fifteen days of competition in which sport was front-page news throughout the country, seven sportsmen broke world records in four events, and 664 sportsmen broke national records 844 times in 106 events. These are the gifts of the sportsmen for the tenth anniversary of the People's Republic.

New China's sportsmen have come a long way since liberation. In the pole vault, for example, the pre-liberation record was 4.015 metres, held by Fu Pao-lu, the only Chinese athlete ever to qualify for an Olympic final (Berlin, 1936). But today's champion, Tsai Yi-shu, cleared 4.47 metres, and seven others vaulted 4.10 metres. No one before liberation ever did the men's 800 metres in 2 mins.; now twelve runners have covered that distance in less than 2 mins. In the women's events, the situation was no better. The pre-liberation record for the 80 metres low hurdles was 13.6 secs. At this First National Meet, even the girl who came 42nd did it in 13.5 secs. In the women's small-bore rifle prone shooting event, a comparatively young sport in China, Chen Yung, a markswoman of the P.L.A., set a new world record of 589 points out of a possible six hundred, firing thirty shots each at distances of 50 and 100 metres.

One thing that stands out prominently at this First National Sports Meet is the mass record breaking by a whole batch of promising youngsters. For example, in track and field in which the Peking men's and women's teams carried off both titles, 43 athletes, seven of them women, broke national records in half of the 42 track and field events contested. This is something unheard of before in China. In the men's 1,500 metres, for in-

stance, all the first six runners broke the national record of 3 mins. 59.8 secs.

Many athletes are hovering around world marks in several events. Woman sprinter Chiang Yu-min of Chekiang, winner of three gold medals, covered the 400 metres in 56 secs. flat and the 200 metres in 24.7 secs. Liu Cheng from Inner Mongolia won the women's 80 metres low hurdles in 11.1 secs.; she hit 10.9 secs. in a heat. An 18-year-old schoolgirl, Yang Mei-ju of Peking, came second in the high jump with 1.68 metres, only 2 cm. lower than the height the champion Cheng Feng-jung cleared in this event. The men did equally well. In the hop, step and jump, Tien Chao-chung from Shantung jumped 15.82 metres. Ma Fa-cheng from Honan threw the javelin 67.78 metres. The 400 metres was almost a dead heat between Li Chung-lin of Shantung and Hsuan Yao-lun of Shanghai. Li won in 48.9 secs., with Hsuan one-tenth of a second behind him.

The wealth of new sporting talent the meet has brought to the fore is a most heartening event. Individuals and teams hardly known before the meet opened have asserted themselves in their matches against the best in the country. The Szechuan men's basketball team, for instance, won the championship during the meet, having to its credit victories over the strong Peking and Shanghai teams. Its men's volleyball team also battled its way against tough opponents to become runner-up to the Shanghai team in the tournament. In table tennis the emergence of new talent is even more manifest. Many promising youngsters have risen to challenge players who rank among the world's best. Chiu Chung-hui who finished third at the Dortmund World Table Tennis Championships this year was eliminated 3:0 in the semi-finals by Hu Ke-ming, a 19-year-old schoolgirl from Canton. In the finals, Hu Ke-ming went on to trounce Yeh Pei-chun to become national women's singles champion. Yeh Pei-chun, China's Corbillon Cup player, was national champion in 1957 and 1958. Jung Kuo-tuan, who won the world title at Dortmund this year, was eliminated in the quarter-finals of the men's singles tournament by hard-hitting Li Fu-jung, a 17-year-old schoolboy from Shanghai. The men's singles title this year was regained by former national champion Wang Chuan-yao who made a spectacular come-back by defeating Chuang Chia-fu, another Swaythling Cup player, 3:2 in the finals.

It has been a joyous, keenly competitive and keenly co-operative meet that was inspired by a splendid spirit of sportsmanship. It will have an extremely great influence on the further course of sport and athletics in China.



WHAT'S ON IN PEKING

Highlights of Entertainment During the 10th Anniversary Celebrations

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

PEKING OPERA

▲ **THE TALE OF THE WHITE SNAKE** The legendary love story between a White Snake fairy and a scholar. A scheming recluses sets him against her and later imprisons her in a tower. Many years later, she is rescued by her son. Produced by the China Peking Opera Theatre.

Oct. 7, 7:30 p.m. Renmin Theatre

▲ **PRINCESS SHUANG YANG** A traditional opera newly revised by the Shang Hsiao-yun Peking Opera Troupe. A Sung dynasty story. How Princess Shuang Yang helps her husband defend his country from the attack of foreign invaders is the theme of this opera.

Oct. 8, 7:30 p.m. Ji Xiang Theatre

▲ **THE WEST CHAMBER** A young scholar, Chang Chun-jui, meets Tsui Ying-ying by chance and falls in love with her. With the help of the clever maid Hung Niang, the lovers marry. Jointly produced by the China Peking Opera Theatre and the Peking Opera Company of Peking.

Oct. 10, 7:30 p.m. Renmin Theatre

SZECHEWAN OPERA

▲ **THE TALE OF THE WHITE SNAKE** Based on the legendary love story between a White Snake fairy and a scholar. Produced by the visiting Szechuan Opera Troupe.

Oct. 6, 7:30 p.m. Da Zhong Theatre

SHAOSHING OPERA

▲ **WU TSE TIEN** The story of the concubine of a Tang emperor, who later became the first woman ruler of China. Produced by the visiting Shanghai Shaohsing Opera Theatre.

Oct. 7, 7:30 p.m. Music Hall in Zhongshan Park

SHENSI OPERA

▲ **ORPHAN OF THE CHAO FAMILY** Prime Minister Chao Tun of the ancient State of Tsin is killed by the ruthless minister Tu An-ku who orders the wholesale execution of all his kith and kin. Chao's two friends, Cheng Ying and Kungsun Shu-chiu, save Chao's infant grandson, sole heir of the Chao family, by a desperate plot in which Kungsun gives his own life and Cheng Ying lets his own son die in place of Chao's grandson. Produced by the visiting Shensi Opera Troupe.

Oct. 10, 7:30 p.m. Guang He Theatre

HUNAN OPERA

▲ **DRAWING LOTS FOR LIFE OR DEATH** A magistrate is ordered by a local military commander to sentence an innocent girl to death. Once rescued by the girl's father, he determines to save her life. His daughter and god-daughter offer to die in her place. The three selfless girls draw lots to decide who will make the sacrifice needed to save the lives of the rest. The timely arrival of a just inspector saves the situation. Produced by the visiting Hunan Opera Troupe.

Oct. 8 & 9, 7:30 p.m. Peking Workers' Club

KUNQU OPERA

▲ **LOVE WITHOUT HONOUR** A traditional opera of the Yuan dynasty. Produced by the Shanghai Drama School.

Oct. 9, 7:30 p.m. Renmin Theatre

PINGJU OPERA

▲ **BY THE KINSHA RIVER** An episode from the famous Long March. It tells how

the Red Army exposes a Kuomintang plot and unites in friendship with the Tibetans as it crosses the Tibetan region by the Kinsha River in 1936. Produced by the China Pingju Opera Theatre.

Oct. 6, 7:30 p.m. Peking Workers' Club

MODERN OPERA

▲ **SPRING THUNDER** A new opera produced by the Central Experimental Opera Theatre. It tells the story of the heroic peasant uprising in Hunan during the First Revolutionary Civil War period.

Oct. 9-10, 7:30 p.m. Tianqiao Theatre

CHINESE DANCE DRAMA

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

Oct. 7 & 8, 7:30 p.m. Tianqiao Theatre

BALLET

The Bolshoi Ballet

is visiting Peking on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the People's Republic of China. This week's programme includes: *Giselle*, *The Stone Flower* and *The Path of Thunder*. With Ulanova, Pilsetskaya, Lepeshinskaya and others. At Shoudu Theatre.

▲ **THE CORSAIR** China's first production of the classical ballet by the French composer Adam. Performed by the teachers and students of the Peking School of Dancing.

Oct. 6, 7:30 p.m. Tianqiao Theatre

CONCERTS

Performance by the Central Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra

Shostakovich: *Symphony No. 11*

Lo Chung-jung: *Symphony No. 1*

Oct. 8, 7:30 p.m. Cultural Palace of the Nationalities Theatre

The Dresden Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra led by Prof. Heinz Bongartz and conducted by Siegfried Geissler is visiting Peking and will give several performances. Watch for place and dates!

THEATRE

▲ **PRELUDE TO THE EASTWARD MARCH** This play, produced by the P.L.A.'s Cultural Troupe, tells how the Communist Party waged a vigorous struggle to rally the nation against the defeatists and splitters of national unity at a time when the reactionary Kuomintang clique was on the verge of capitulating to the Japanese invaders.

Oct. 6, 7:30 p.m. China Youth Art Theatre

▲ **THE TEMPEST** The famous play by the great Russian dramatist, A. N. Ostrovsky. Produced in Chinese by the Experimental Theatre of the Central Drama School.

Oct. 7 & 8, 7:30 p.m. China Youth Art Theatre

▲ **TWELFTH NIGHT** Shakespeare's famous comedy produced in Chinese.

Oct. 9 & 10, 7:30 p.m. China Youth Art Theatre

▲ **SUNRISE** A story of the fate of women in a pre-liberation treaty port. A vivid picture of upper-class life there and also of its underworld. Lu Lu, its central character,

is a good-time girl who is a victim of the old society. Produced by the Peking People's Art Theatre.

Oct. 6-8, 7:30 p.m. Shiyao Theatre

▲ **A DOLL'S HOUSE** Ibsen's famous play produced in Chinese (under the title *Nora*) by the China Youth Art Theatre.

Oct. 9 & 10, 7:30 p.m. Peking Theatre

FILMS

NEW FILM MONTH

(Sept. 25-Oct. 25)

to mark the 10th anniversary of the People's Republic of China. Showings of the year's best colour films produced by the nation's leading film studios.

▲ **LIN TSE-HSU** The story of what happened when the patriot Special Commissioner Lin Tse-hsu, in the late Ching dynasty, destroyed opium shipped to China by British merchants. Produced by the Haiyan Film Studio.

▲ **SONG OF YOUTH** Based on the popular novel by Yang Mo. A story of the heroic revolutionary youth movement in Peking in the early 1930s. Produced by the Peking Film Studio.

▲ **THE STORM** A new film portraying the great "February 7" railway workers' strike in 1923. Produced by the Peking Film Studio.

▲ **NEW STORY OF AN OLD SOLDIER** An ex-serviceman tackles a new job setting up a state farm on the wastelands of north-east China. Produced by the Haiyan Film Studio.

▲ **THE LONG MARCH** Jointly produced by the "August 1" and Peking Film Studios. It shows how the invincible Chinese Red Army fought its way to victory during the Long March against attacks by the enemy and over such formidable natural barriers as the Tatu River and the Great Snow Mountains.

▲ **THE LIN FAMILY SHOP** Adapted from Mao Tun's famous short story. It pictures the impact of Japanese imperialism on small businessmen. Produced by the Peking Film Studio.

▲ **OUR VILLAGE LADS AND LASSES** A story of how the young people of a village win through in a battle to bring water from a distant spring to irrigate their fields. Produced by the Changchun Film Studio.

▲ **FIGHTING DETACHMENT OF THE HUI** about a detachment of Hui guerrillas who fought and outwitted the Japanese invaders. Produced by the "August 1" Film Studio.

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

EXHIBITIONS

▲ **NATIONAL EXHIBITION OF INDUSTRY AND COMMUNICATIONS** Open daily (except Mon.) 8:30 a.m.-4:30 p.m.

At Peking Exhibition Centre

▲ **NATIONAL AGRICULTURAL EXHIBITION** Open daily (except Mon.) 8:30 a.m.-4:30 p.m.

At Agricultural Exhibition Centre

▲ **THIRD NATIONAL PHOTO EXHIBITION** Open daily 9:00 a.m.-5:00 p.m.

At Summer Palace

▲ **ART EXHIBITION** by Peking artists. Open daily (except Mon.) 8:30 a.m.-5:00 p.m.

At the Women Gate in Palace Museum

▲ **NATIONAL HANDICRAFTS EXHIBITION** Open daily (except Mon.) 8:30 a.m.-5:00 p.m.

At the Women Gate in Palace Museum

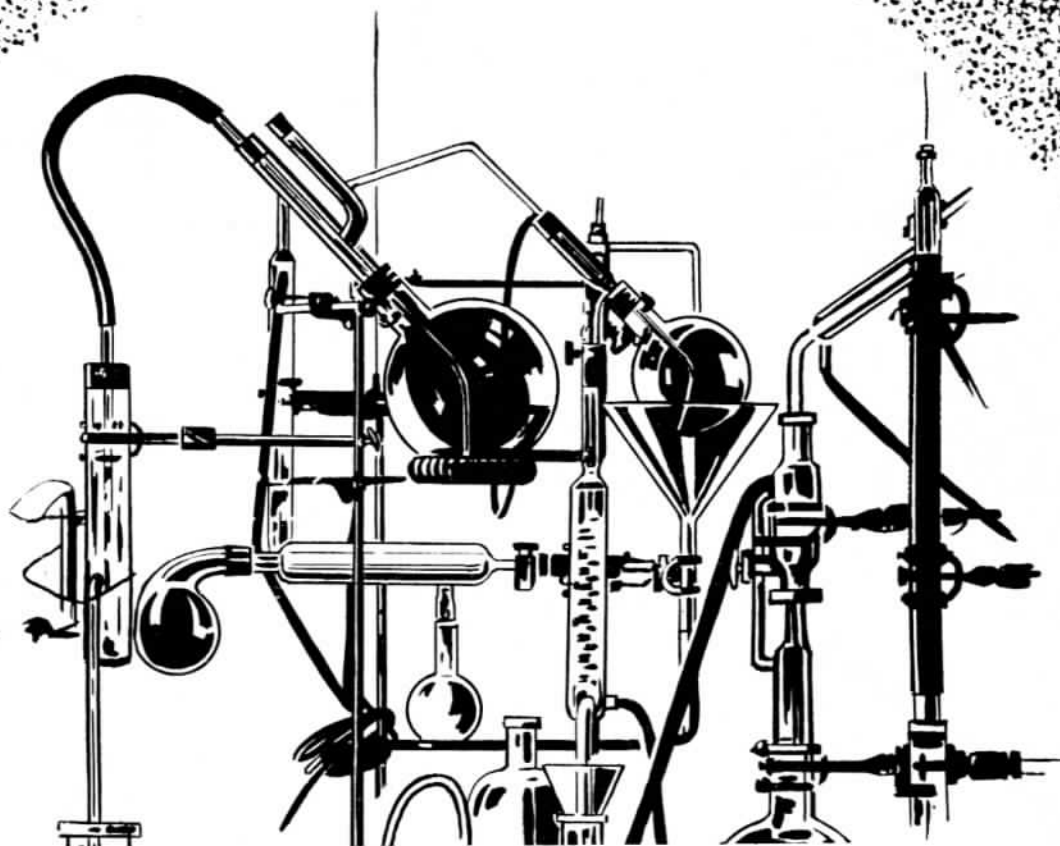
▲ **EXHIBITION OF HSU PEI-HUNG'S PAINTINGS** Open daily 9:00 a.m.-4:00 p.m.

At Hsu Pei-hung Memorial Hall



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