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PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI REPORTS ON WORK OF THE GOVERNMENT

[Following is a translation of an unsigned article in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 1, 6 January 1965.]

On behalf of the State Council, Premier Chou En-lai gave a report on the work of the Government at the First Session of the Third National People's Congress on December 21 and 22, 1964.

The report consists of three parts: (1) the national economic achievements and the tasks of construction; (2) the socialist revolution and the people's democratic united front; and (3) the international situation and China's foreign relations.

Premier Chou En-lai began by pointing out that holding aloft the glorious banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking and adhering to the general line of socialist construction, that is, going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism, the various nationalities of our country, under the brilliant leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, have won one great victory after another since the First Session of the Second National People's Congress in unfolding the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment on a national scale and carrying on a tit-for-tat struggle internationally against imperialism, reaction and modern revisionism.

I. National Economic Achievements and Tasks of Construction

Speaking on the national economic achievements, Premier Chou stated that after the great expansion of 1958-60, China's national economy in 1961 entered the period of readjustment, consolidation, filling out and raising standards. At present, the task of readjusting the national economy has been basically accomplished, there has been an all-round upsurge in agricultural and industrial production, and the entire economy has taken a turn for the better and is entering a new period of development.

Economic Readjustment Has Been Completed in the Main

Premier Chou said that several years ago at a time when China's national economy had achieved a great expansion, it encountered some difficulties which were quite serious. The three successive years of natural disasters from 1959 to 1961 brought grave difficulties to the national economy as a whole. There were also some shortcomings and mistakes in our work. Moreover, in 1960 Khrushchev abruptly and perfidiously tore up several hundred agreements and contracts, withdrew the Soviet experts working in China and cut off the supply of important items of equipment, thus seriously upsetting our original plan for national economic development and adding greatly to our difficulties.

But the great Chinese people were not cowed by these serious difficulties. United as one man, working hard and forging ahead by relying on their own efforts, the people of our country, led by the Party, have in the space of four years consolidated the achievements of the three years of great expansion, corrected shortcomings and mistakes in our work, surmounted numerous obstacles, strengthened the system of people's communes, made a new leap in improving the quality and increasing the variety of industrial products, and have accomplished the arduous task of readjusting the national economy in not too long a period of time, thereby laying sound foundations for the future development of China's socialist construction.

In the past few years, we have made a preliminary summing up of the experience gained by the masses in their practice, formulated a series of specific policies and worked out a number of draft regulations for our work, in accordance with the basic spirit of the general line. These specific policies and draft regulations have played an important role in the readjustment of the national economy, although some of them still have shortcomings. At the same time, we have concentrated our main efforts on strengthening the agricultural front and increasing the output of necessities for the people, readjusted the relationship between industry and agriculture, switching industry and work in other fields on to the road of serving agriculture which is the foundation of the economy, and readjusted the relations among the various branches of industry, strengthening the weak links and developing new industries. As a result, the relations among the various branches of our national economy have become comparatively harmonious on the new basis and our economic strength is greater than before.

Premier Chou outlined the great achievements in the readjustment of the national economy in the four main fields of agriculture, industry, finance and trade, and culture and education.

First, after the successive increases in output in 1962 and 1963 and the still better harvests this year, agricultural production has reached the level of the high-yielding years of the past. It is estimated that grain, cotton, cured tobacco, sugar cane, pigs, sheep and the other chief agricultural and livestock products will all surpass the levels attained in 1957, the last year of the First Five-Year Plan period. Compared with 1957, the number of tractors employed in agriculture increased by four times in 1964, irrigation facilities (in terms of horse-power) by 12 times and power supply

in rural areas by 22 times, and chemical fertilizers supplied by the state more than trebled. There have been immense achievements in water conservancy, which has already played a positive role in agricultural production and will play a still greater role in the future.

Second, there has been a new expansion of industrial production and a new leap in the variety and quality of products. In 1964, the total value of industrial output is expected to increase more than 15 per cent over 1963 and to be far higher than in 1957. The output of steel, petroleum, chemical fertilizers, cement, motor vehicles, cotton yarn, sugar, cigarettes and other major industrial products will all increase over 20 per cent in 1964 as compared with 1963. In the past four years, there have been about 24,000 new varieties of major industrial products, trebling the figure of the period of the great expansion in 1958-60. There has been a general rise in the quality of products, with some reaching or approaching advanced international standards. The management of industrial enterprises has been vastly improved, consumption quotas of raw and other materials and fuels as well as costs of production have been sharply reduced, and labor productivity has constantly risen.

Third, there has been a marked improvement in supplies of commodities, prices have remained stable, revenue and expenditure are in balance, confidence in the currency has become still greater, and there has been a considerable expansion of foreign trade. In recent years living conditions have gradually improved both in the cities and in the countryside. Supplies of pork, mutton, vegetables and other non-staple foodstuffs in 1964 are more than 30 per cent greater than in 1957; for machine-made paper, aluminium utensils, enamelware, bicycles, radios and other important consumer goods the increases are over 50 per cent. Commodities are in relatively abundant supply on the market today and one can see signs of prosperity everywhere.

Fourth, there have been new developments in culture, education, public health work and physical culture, and the level of scientific research has been raised. In recent years, we have improved the work of teaching and raised the quality of education in accordance with the policy that education must serve the politics of the proletariat and must be combined with productive labor. A number of schools of a new type, on the basis of part-work and part-study or of part-farmwork and part-study, have been tried out in various places, and this has increased the proportion of the children of workers and poor and lower-middle peasants among pupils and students. We have continued to carry on the patriotic public health campaign, strengthened medical and public health work and raised the level of medical technique. Mass sport activities have grown considerably, and athletes have further improved their skill. Our contingents of scientists and technicians are growing. We have a good number of first-rate scientists and engineers, and some of our research may well be said to have reached advanced levels.

Premier Chou then spoke on the building up of national defense. He said that in recent years our work in the army and on national defense has taken a step forward along the road of revolutionization and modernization. Holding high the red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking, the Chinese People's

Liberation Army has strengthened its ideological and political work, stepped up military training and launched campaigns for "Four Good" companies and "Five Good" fighters (a "Four Good" company means a company good in political and ideological work, good in the "three-eight" working style, good in military training and good in making living arrangements. A "Five Good" fighter is: good in political thinking, good in military skill, good in the "three-eight" working style, good in fulfilling tasks and good in physical training - Translator's note) and there has been a marked enhancement in the class consciousness and combat effectiveness of the broad mass of officers and men. Militia work throughout the country has also been strengthened. The People's Liberation Army and the militia have played a significant role in the struggle to safeguard the security of the motherland and the cause of socialism, to defend Asian and world peace and to oppose U. S. imperialism and its lackeys.

As we all remember, the Premier said, when we were confronted with serious difficulties a few years ago, the imperialists, the modern revisionists and the reactionaries, all of whom are inveterately hostile to the Chinese people, joined in an anti-Chinese chorus, saying that China's economy had "collapsed," that the Great Leap Forward had "met with defeat," that the people's communes had "disintegrated," that the People's Government had become "bankrupt," etc. But in the face of the inexorable facts, it did not take long before these gentlemen had to admit that in the East the towering People's Republic of China has become more consolidated and powerful than ever.

Premier Chou emphasized that the great achievements scored in the last few years have been the result of our resolute application of the policy of self-reliance. Relying on the collective strength of the people's communes and bringing the enthusiasm and initiative of the peasant masses for collective production into full play, we have speedily restored and expanded agricultural production. Relying on the creative labor of the broad masses of our workers and scientific and technical personnel, we have enhanced our capacities for production and construction through our own efforts. Now we are able to rely entirely on ourselves in designing and building a large number of important modern industrial enterprises, designing and making machines and equipment which are large in size and high in quality and precision, and producing large amounts of raw and other materials and fuels of a fairly complete range of types and specifications and of excellent quality. The number of complete sets of equipment we are manufacturing has increased.

Premier Chou cited the typical experiences of the Tachai Agricultural Production Brigade in Siyang County, Shansi Province, and of the Taching Oilfield and the successful production of China's first atom bomb as concrete examples of our achievements in economic construction and in the building of national defense on the basis of self-reliance. He said that we ourselves made our first atom bomb which was exploded successfully on October 16, 1964. Foreign atomic scientists had to admit that our nuclear test surpassed those initially conducted by the United States, Britain or France.

He stressed the fact that, during this period, so far from incurring

any new foreign debt, however small, we have actually repaid almost the whole of our foreign debt. The sum total of the principal plus interest we owed the Soviet Union was 1,406 million new rubles; we have paid 1,389 million new rubles on schedule and have proposed to the Soviet side to pay off the remaining 17 million rubles ahead of schedule from the favorable balance in our trade with the Soviet Union in 1964. What is more, during this period we have furnished a far larger total in money and products in assistance to socialist and national independent countries than the foreign debt we repaid.

Premier Chou said that the tremendous achievements in the work of readjusting our national economy and the growth in our ability to undertake construction by our own efforts fully bear out the superiority of the socialist system, the vast potentialities of China's nationalities in their heroic work for the prosperity of the motherland, the correctness of the general line of socialist construction and the invincibility of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thinking.

After explaining in detail the experience and lessons gained in the work of readjustment in the last few years, the Premier laid great stress on the importance of summing up experience. He said that in order to build our country into a powerful socialist state as speedily as possible, the most important thing for us was to accumulate experience and to understand the objective laws of socialist construction.

It was precisely through the summing up of our experience in socialist construction on the basis of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism that the general line of socialist construction in our country was formulated by the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman Mao. This was a leap in our understanding of the laws of socialist construction. Through the practice of recent years, this general line has found its way still deeper into people's hearts and is now more profoundly understood by the broad masses of cadres and people. We already have a good number of specific policies necessary for carrying out this general line, and we have relatively rich experience in combating various kinds of difficulties. Through repeated practice the broad masses of our cadres and people have raised their level of understanding and have tempered and educated themselves; the tendency to act blindly has been reduced and purposefulness has increased. All this is extremely valuable.

Of course, this does not in the least mean that we have grasped all the objective laws of socialist construction and that the process of our understanding these laws is complete. As a matter of fact, there are still large unknown areas and a great many unfamiliar phenomena.

Chairman Mao has often taught us: The history of mankind is one of continuous development from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom. This process is a never-ending one. The class struggle will never end in any society in which classes exist. In the classless society the struggle between the new and the old and between the truth and falsehood will also never end. In the fields of the struggle for production and

scientific experiment, mankind makes constant progress and nature undergoes constant change; they never remain at the same level. Therefore, man has constantly to sum up experience, make new discoveries and inventions, and go on creating and advancing. Ideas advocating stagnation, pessimism, inertia and complacency are all wrong. They are wrong because they agree neither with the facts of social development over the past million years, nor with the facts of nature so far known to us (i.e., nature as revealed in the history of celestial bodies, the earth, life, and other natural phenomena).

Premier Chou said that we should constantly sum up our experience, as Chairman Mao has repeatedly demanded of us; we should sum up our experience whenever some work has been done, thus always engaging in never-ending practice and the never-ending summing up of experience. We should undertake conscientious and meticulous investigation and study of unfamiliar things and familiarize ourselves with them. In our future work of construction, we should learn more about its objective laws so as to make them serve our cause of socialism and so as to build our country into a great and powerful socialist state as quickly as possible.

Major Tasks for Further Economic Development

Premier Chou En-lai also laid down the tasks for the further development of the national economy in his report.

He explained the Draft 1965 Plan for the Development of the National Economy and the preliminary arrangements for the state budget. The main task in 1965 is energetically to organize a new upsurge in industrial and agricultural production on the basis of a deeper and broader socialist education movement in the cities and in the countryside, to complete the unfinished tasks in the work of readjustment in the national economy, and make preparations for the Third Five-Year Plan beginning in 1966.

The Draft 1965 Plan provides for an increase of about 5 per cent in the total value of agricultural output as compared with 1964. We should continue to carry out the policy of a diversified economy in agriculture with food grains as the key link and strive for a still better harvest by fully relying on the strength of the collective economy and fostering the Tachai spirit.

The Draft Plan provides for an increase of some 11 per cent in the total value of industrial output as compared with 1964. We should achieve a relatively large increase in output while continuing to raise the quality of products and increase their variety. We should spread the Taching experience and extensively unfold the emulation campaign, a campaign to compare oneself with the advanced, learn from and overtake them and help the less advanced to catch up; we should do our utmost to promote new techniques, specialization and co-ordination, strengthen the weak links and raise productive capacity and technique to still higher levels.

In capital construction, there should be more effective use of the

method of "concentrating forces to fight wars of annihilation" and attention should be paid to economic results. Designing should be revolutionized so as to meet the requirements of achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results. Care should be taken to economize on investment in all construction projects, productive or otherwise, and efforts should be made to raise the quality of construction work.

It is necessary to expand the exchange of goods between the city and the countryside still further, make the markets still more flourishing and continue to improve the people's livelihood. The Draft Plan provides for a considerable increase in the supply of such leading commodities as cotton textiles, edible oils, sugar, pork and eggs.

Active experiments should be made in selected places with regard to the educational system combining part-work and part-study or part-farmwork and part-study. Revolutionary cultural activities should be promoted in earnest. The patriotic public health campaign and mass sport activities should be further developed. Scientific research work should be further developed. Scientific research work should be further strengthened, and continued efforts should be made to carry out the plan for the development of science and technology.

In the state budget for 1965, both revenue and expenditure will increase by over 10 per cent as compared with 1964, with a balance between income and outgo. To implement the state budget, enterprises in industry, communications and transport are required to raise labor productivity and cut down costs still further, commercial enterprises are required to reduce costs of circulation, and construction enterprises are required to reduce costs of construction projects. All departments and local organizations should further economize on the various items entering into administrative and other expenses.

After reporting on the task of developing the national economy in 1965, the Premier stated that in order to build our country into a powerful socialist state with a modern agriculture, modern industry, modern national defense and modern science and technology in not too long a historical period, we should pay attention to the following problems in the development of our national economy:

First, the correct handling of the relations between agriculture, light industry and heavy industry. The correct handling of these relations furnishes an important guarantee for the successful carrying out of the general line of socialist construction. The plan for national economic development should be arranged in the order of priority of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry.

The guiding general principle of national economic development -- with agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor -- must be applied to obtain still better results. The scale of industrial development should correspond to the volume of the marketable grain and the industrial raw materials made available by agriculture. All departments and trades should orientate themselves to serve agriculture and the

countryside. The department of heavy industry should, in the first place, provide increasing amounts of machinery, chemical fertilizer, insecticides, fuel, electric power, irrigation equipment and building materials to agriculture and, at the same time, provide more and more raw and other materials and equipment to light industry. To meet these demands it is essential to speed up the development of heavy industry, and first and foremost of the basic industries, still further.

The development of agriculture not only requires the necessary material and financial assistance the state is able to provide -- what is more important, it depends on the collective strength of the people's communes.

Secondly, the correct handling of the relations between self-reliance and international co-operation. Self-reliance is the foundation-stone of the cause of revolution and construction. Only by relying on the diligent labor of its own people and fully exploiting its own resources for construction in the light of its own specific conditions is it possible for a socialist country to develop its economy at a relatively high speed and thus to strengthen the might of the socialist camp as a whole.

Among peoples of different countries assistance is never a one-sided affair; it is mutual and benefits both sides. It is a manifestation of great-power chauvinism to reduce the economy of another country to that of a dependency in the name of "economic mutual assistance." International co-operation must be built on the basis of self-reliance. Only by relying on itself in construction can a country help other countries more effectively. Moreover, in helping recipient countries it must help them to stand on their own feet.

Self-reliance is a policy consistently adhered to by our Party. The Chinese people are no sluggards or cowards, we have never depended and never will depend on others for our living. We are fully capable of building an independent, integral and modern economic system through our own strength. At the same time, we shall continue earnestly to do all we can to step up our aid to other countries and to render greater contributions in accordance with our internationalist duty.

Thirdly, the carrying out of the technical revolution. We cannot just take the beaten track traversed by other countries in the development of technology and trail behind them at a snail's pace. We must break away from conventions and do our utmost to adopt advanced techniques in order to build our country into a powerful modern socialist state in not too long a historical period. This is what we mean by the Great Leap Forward. Is this impossible of attainment? Is this boasting or bragging? Certainly not. It can be done. It is neither boasting nor bragging. We need only take a look at our history to understand this. In our country, haven't we fundamentally overthrown imperialism, feudalism and capitalism which seemed so strong? Haven't we attained a reasonably good level in all fields of socialist revolution and socialist construction after fifteen years of endeavour, starting as we did from "poverty and blankness"? Haven't we also exploded an atom bomb? Has not the label "Sick Man of the East"

fastened on us by Westerners been flung off? Why can't the proletariat of the East accomplish what the bourgeoisie of the West has been able to? Early this century Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the great Chinese revolutionary and our precursor, said that China would make a great leap forward. His prediction will certainly come true within several decades. This is an inevitable trend and no reactionary force can stop it.

In order to employ advanced techniques it is necessary to bring our people's ingenuity and talent into full play and carry on extensive scientific experiments. We must absorb all the good experiences and techniques of other countries. Learning from other countries must be combined with creativeness on our part. The adoption of new techniques must be combined with the mass movement for technical innovation and technical revolution. It is necessary to link scientific research, teaching, and production together.

Fourthly, the combination of centralized leadership and extensive mass movements. Our Party has acquired rich experience in leading the mass movement in revolutionary struggles. We have likewise acquired successful experience in unfolding the mass movement in economic construction, and this experience is as follows:

It is necessary to have the tasks discussed by the masses; to conduct the emulation campaign of comparing oneself with the advanced, learning from and overtaking them, and helping the less advanced to catch up; and bring about close coordination between the leading cadres, the specialists and the masses. We must promote both the revolutionary spirit of daring to think, daring to speak and daring to act and a scientific and realistic approach. On the one hand, there must be great enthusiasm in work and on the other, labor must be alternated with rest. Innovations by the masses must be put on trial before they are gradually introduced. It is necessary to adhere to the Party's class line, unite with all the forces that can be united and mobilize every positive element to serve the cause of socialist construction.

We demand of every leading comrade that he must be good at combining general calls with specific guidance. There are many comrades on the production front who are actually doing so. But there are also quite a few who do not "go and stay in selected primary units" (i.e., go down to primary units and work there for a certain period of time in order to acquire first-hand experience), do not investigate and study, and are accustomed to issuing orders from on high without consulting the masses. They should promptly change their style of work, go deep among the masses, investigate, study and learn the problems on the spot, admit their mistakes and listen to the opinions of the broad masses before they can solve problems and sum up experience together with the masses. Only in this way is it possible to give correct specific guidance and, consequently, issue correct general calls so as better to unfold the mass movement in production and construction.

Premier Chou also spoke on the question of persevering in the policy of building the country with diligence and thrift. He said that the purpose of this policy is not only to save manpower and material and financial resources but also to unfold the struggle for promoting proletarian ideology and eradicating bourgeois ideology. Diligence, thrift, plain living and hard work constitute the good proletarian style, while extravagance, waste, and the pursuit of personal enjoyment constitute the degenerate bourgeois style. We must promote the good proletarian style and make it prevail in our society, and in so doing we shall be able to resist the corrupting influence of bourgeois ideology. This is of vital importance both to the socialist revolution and to the socialist construction.

The Premier criticized some instances of waste in the management of enterprises, in capital construction and in administrative and other expenses. An intensive movement for increasing production and practicing economy must be unfolded on all fronts in 1965. The people of the whole country must join in the fight to accumulate and effectively utilize every single yuan of construction funds.

He pointed out that as the work of construction develops, undoubtedly many new problems will crop up and new contradictions and new imbalances will emerge. But so long as we understand and handle these contradictions and strike an overall balance rightly and not wrongly, we shall be able continuously to resolve the contradictions and achieve a new balance out of imbalance, and our national economy will be able to achieve a planned and proportionate development at high speed.

Premier Chou said that not a few shortcomings, mistakes and difficulties still exist in the various branches of our work and that new shortcomings, mistakes and difficulties will also emerge in the future. But we are confident that under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman Mao and guided by the beacon light of the general line, we can overcome every shortcoming, mistake and difficulty, and the cause of our construction will unquestionably march forward in giant yet steady steps as we continue to foster the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance, enterprise, hard struggle and building the country by thrift and diligence, and to give full play to the creativeness and enthusiasm of the masses.

II. The Socialist Revolution and the People's Democratic United Front

The second part of Premier Chou En-lai's report deals with the socialist revolution and the people's democratic united front.

The tremendous achievements in China's socialist construction, he said, were obtained as a result of persevering in the socialist revolution. The events of the five years since 1959 have further proved that the socialist revolution is the great motive force in the progress of Chinese society.

Laws Governing the Class Struggle in China's Socialist Society

The Premier said that Chairman Mao has creatively developed the

Marxist-Leninist theories of the dictatorship of the proletariat and scientific socialism by summing up the practical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the class struggle in China and by studying the positive and negative features of international experience, and particularly the lessons provided by modern revisionism.

Chairman Mao has taught us that socialist society will cover a very long historical period. In socialist society class contradictions continue to exist and class struggle does not die out after the nationalization of industry, the collectivization of agriculture and the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production. During this historical period, a thorough-going socialist revolution must be carried out on the economic, political, and ideological and cultural fronts. Moreover, as long as the world still contains imperialism, capitalism, reaction and modern revisionism, it is inevitable that the sinister winds of capitalism will frequently blow into socialist countries. Consequently, the struggle of which will win out, socialism or capitalism, must take a very long time in a socialist country before it can be finally decided.

The Premier declared that for quite a long period the landlord class, the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes which have been overthrown will remain strong and powerful in our socialist society; we must under no circumstances take them lightly. At the same time, new bourgeois elements, new bourgeois intellectuals and other new exploiters will be ceaselessly generated in society, in Party and government organs, in economic organizations and in cultural and educational departments. These new bourgeois elements and other exploiters will invariably try to find their protectors and agents in the higher leading organizations. The old and new bourgeois elements and other exploiters will invariably join hands in opposing socialism and developing capitalism. There are also counter-revolutionaries and other bad elements who have not been properly reformed or who have concealed themselves, and they will invariably engage in overt or covert subversive activities.

The realities of the political life of our country have again and again provided us with lessons, continued the Premier. Shortly after the socialist revolution in the ownership of the means of production was fundamentally completed in 1956, the bourgeois Rightists launched their attack in 1957 and a fierce class struggle ensued. The Communist Party led the people of the whole country in defeating that attack. From 1959 to 1962, when China's economy experienced temporary difficulties and when the imperialists, the reactionaries and the modern revisionists launched repeated campaigns against China, the class enemies at home launched renewed attacks on socialism, and consequently once again fierce class struggle ensued. In the domestic field, quite a few people actively advocated the extension of plots for private use and of free markets, the increase of small enterprises with sole responsibility for their own profits or losses, the fixing of output quotas based on the household, "going it alone" (i.e., the restoration of individual economy), "liberalization," "reversing previous correct decisions," and capitulationism in united front work; in the international field they advocated the liquidation of struggle in our relations with imperialism, the reactionaries and modern revisionism, and reduction of

assistance and support to the revolutionary struggle of other peoples. They used their bourgeois and revisionist viewpoints to oppose our general line of socialist construction and the general line of our foreign policy.

In September 1962, at the Tenth Plenary Session of the Party's Eighth Central Committee, Chairman Mao called on the whole Party and the entire people never to forget classes and class struggle. Under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman Mao, the people of the whole country launched a powerful counter-attack against the onslaught of the capitalist and feudal forces and checked the evil winds and noxious influences of the time.

It is entirely wrong to underestimate the danger of the restoration of capitalism in a socialist country, the Premier pointed out. But that does not in the least mean that the restoration of capitalism is unavoidable. In China, we have a staunch and militant Marxist-Leninist Party, the increasingly strengthened state power of the proletariat, the powerful revolutionary People's Liberation Army, the mass of highly politically conscious cadres and people, and a glorious revolutionary tradition. Most important is the fact that the nucleus of leadership of our Party and state is guided by Mao Tse-tung's thinking. All this makes it very difficult for capitalism to stage a come-back in China. We have always believed that the masses of the people, who constitute more than 95 per cent of the population, are for the revolution, for socialism, and firmly support the lines and policies laid down by our Party in accordance with the fundamental interests of the people of the whole country, although a part of them may follow our lead somewhat hesitantly. Provided that we resolutely follow the mass line, boldly mobilize the masses and get them organized, we will be able to smash any imperialist armed attack or plot for "peaceful disintegration," or any machinations by foreign and domestic class enemies for a come-back. The dictatorship of the proletariat in our country rests on firm foundations and our socialist state power is unshakable.

The Socialist Education Movement

The socialist education movement now going on in the countryside and in the cities has a great revolutionary and historic significance, the Premier stated. In this movement it is necessary to carry out a cleaning up and "capital construction" in the political, economic, ideological and organizational fields in accordance with the socialist principle of thoroughgoing revolution and to conduct a profound class education and socialist education among the masses of the people so as to promote proletarian ideology and eradicate bourgeois ideology. In this movement it is necessary firmly to rely on the working class, the poor and lower-middle peasants, the revolutionary cadres, the revolutionary intellectuals and the other revolutionaries, boldly to mobilize the masses, to distinguish between the contradictions among the people and those between us and the enemy and handle both correctly. This movement has far-reaching significance for the consolidation of our socialist positions and of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the destruction of the social foundations of revisionism, for the consolidation of socialist ownership by the whole people and by

the collective, and for the development of production and the building of a powerful socialist country.

Premier Chou said that the socialist education movement is a revolutionary movement embracing hundreds of millions of people, and only when the masses are boldly aroused can it really become a conscious revolutionary struggle on their part and can it really win complete victory. In the entire work of the socialist education movement, first place must be given to the bold arousing of the masses.

Premier Chou said that class struggle and the revolutionary movement are the motive force for developing production and that they serve the struggle for production. We are convinced that, following the successful unfolding of the present socialist education movement, there will be a new upsurge not only of socialist revolution but also of socialist construction.

The Cultural Revolution and the Question of Intellectuals

Speaking on the tasks of the cultural revolution, the Premier pointed out that in the period of socialism the overriding task on the ideological and cultural fronts is thoroughly to combat capitalism, to promote the proletarian ideology and eradicate the bourgeois ideology, although the task of combating imperialism and feudalism still remains. Socialist culture must serve the politics of the proletariat, serve the workers, peasants and soldiers, and serve the economic base of socialism. Therefore, it is necessary to bring about a radical transformation of all bourgeois, feudal and other ideology and culture which are not suited to the socialist economic base and political system, and to carry the socialist revolution on the ideological and cultural fronts through to the end.

The Premier said that a great debate on a series of questions of principle has been recently carried out by some departments and newspapers and periodicals in the fields of philosophy, political economy, the science of history, education, culture and art, and such bourgeois and revisionist views as "two combining into one," "the spirit of the times as representing the convergence of the ideologies of all classes," and "portraying middle characters" and a number of bad plays and films have been criticized. In essence, the debate is on whether to take the socialist road or the capitalist road, whether to serve socialism or feudalism and capitalism, whether to serve the workers, peasants and soldiers or to serve the bourgeoisie, or even the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists, whether to adhere to Marxism-Leninism or to practice revisionism, and whether to propagate the revolutionary dialectical materialism of the proletariat or to spread the reactionary idealism of the bourgeoisie. The debate has already yielded initial results.

In the cultural revolution the building of the new comes only after, or side by side with, the destruction of the old. Our new socialist culture progresses by criticizing bourgeois and feudal ideas. The festival of Peking operas on contemporary themes held this year has achieved an initial yet quite important success, has had repercussions on every branch of

culture and art and played a positive role in promoting the cultural revolution.

The Premier said that we will continue to carry out the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" in the service of the workers, peasants and soldiers and in the service of socialism, and that it is the only correct policy for developing science and culture. The process of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" is itself the process of ideological struggle. The proletarian ideology can develop only in the struggle against bourgeois ideology; the fragrant flowers of socialism can blossom more fully only in the struggle against poisonous weeds.

Speaking on the development of proletarian education, Premier Chou said that in accordance with the instructions of Chairman Liu Shao-chi, we should, for a number of years, continue to carry out reforms in the existing full-time school system, seriously apply the policy that education must serve the politics of the proletariat and be combined with productive labor, and popularize elementary education in its various forms by relying on the masses to the fullest extent; at the same time, experimental part-work and part-study schools and part-farmwork and part-study schools should be set up. Both are schools of a new type, combining education with labor, such schools can train men of a new type, who are developed in an all-round way and who are capable of doing physical labor, and have both culture and technique; the conditions will thus be created for gradually eliminating the difference between mental and manual workers. Such schools point to the direction of the long-term development of socialist and communist education.

The goal of our cultural revolution, the Premier said, is that the intellectuals should at the same time be manual workers and the manual workers intellectuals. In order to develop socialist science and culture, we must have a mighty contingent of working-class intellectuals. In the torrent of the cultural revolution, no intellectual can slacken his efforts at ideological remoulding. The fundamental ways for the intellectuals to remould themselves are as follows: They should study Marxism-Leninism and the works of Mao Tse-tung, study and creatively apply them, grasp and master them, and arm themselves with Mao Tse-tung's thinking; they should go among the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers for long periods, and take part in class struggle and in productive labor so as to become revolutionized and to become manual workers at the same time.

Consolidating and Expanding the People's Democratic United Front

He went on to deal with the consolidation and expansion of the people's democratic united front. The people's democratic united front in our country is a united front which is led by the proletariat through its vanguard, the Chinese Communist Party, is based on the worker-peasant alliance and embraces the national bourgeoisie, the democratic parties,

people's organizations, patriots of the various nationalities, patriotic overseas Chinese and all other patriotic democrats. The further consolidation and expansion of this united front is very significant for the successful advancement of the cause of socialism.

Premier Chou said that the Party and state have adopted the peaceful method of gradual socialist transformation with regard to the national bourgeoisie in accordance with China's specific conditions. This means that the antagonistic class contradiction between the working class and the national bourgeoisie is handled as a contradiction among the people. In the historical period of the socialist revolution, the national bourgeoisie of our country still has a dual character, that is to say, it has the possibility of accepting socialist transformation under compulsion and at the same time has a strong reactionary desire to develop capitalism. Our peaceful transformation of the national bourgeoisie is in essence a special form of class struggle which the proletariat, having seized state power after a long period of armed struggle, wages against the bourgeoisie by relying on its own mighty dictatorship. The aim is to abolish the bourgeoisie and capitalism finally and completely through a long class struggle, and it is definitely not to liquidate class struggle, practice class conciliation and preserve the bourgeoisie and capitalism. It is utterly wrong to depart from the proletarian stand of class struggle in examining and handling the questions of the bourgeoisie, the democratic parties and the united front.

The process of remoulding bourgeois elements is one of protracted, complicated and repeated class struggle. Only by maintaining an active attitude, persisting in educating and remoulding the bourgeois elements and waging struggle against all activities aimed at restoring capitalism, can we win over the majority or perhaps even the overwhelming majority of them and help them to be gradually transformed from exploiters to working people. As a class, the bourgeoisie must be eliminated, but the individuals belonging to it have a bright future provided they are willing to remould themselves and successfully pass the test of the socialist revolution.

Premier Chou said that the Chinese Communist Party firmly pursues the policy of "long-term coexistence and mutual supervision" towards the democratic parties, on the premise that classes and class struggle will continue to exist for a long period and with the six political criteria set forth by Chairman Mao as our common standards. The democratic parties' long-term coexistence and mutual supervision vis-a-vis the Communist Party constitute the process of their gradual socialist remoulding in the service of socialism, the process of their gradually remoulding themselves into a political force which serves socialism under the leadership of the Communist Party.

The consolidation and strengthening of the great unity of all our nationalities is a policy of great importance for guaranteeing the successful development of the socialist cause in our country. In the past fifteen years we have achieved great successes in applying the policy of national equality and solidarity, in establishing regional autonomy for various

nationalities, in carrying out the democratic and socialist revolutions in the regions inhabited by minority nationalities, and in developing their economy and culture.

The Premier quoted Chairman Mao as follows, "In the final analysis, national struggle is a matter of class struggle." It is in the light of this Marxist-Leninist tenet that we have examined and handled the national question. To depart from the viewpoint of class and class struggle in examining and handling it would only foster national separatism to the detriment of the unity of the nationalities and of our country.

The Premier pointed out that the broad masses of the working people of the minority nationalities have staunchly supported and actively taken part in the democratic and socialist revolutions. Many figures from among the upper strata of the minority nationalities have also expressed their support for social reforms and their willingness to accept remoulding, and they have been given due consideration by the government and the people. However, a few members of the upper strata have obstinately opposed social reforms. They have tried in a thousand and one ways to provoke national conflicts and undermine the unity of the nationalities; they have gone so far as to gang up with the imperialists, the foreign reactionaries, the modern revisionists and the domestic counter-revolutionaries to engage in criminal activities and even to launch armed rebellion in their attempts to wreck the revolutionary cause of the people of all nationalities and split our motherland, the great family of nationalities. These criminal activities of theirs have been completely shattered by the firm counterblows of the people of the various nationalities.

In 1962, under the instigation and direct command of forces from abroad, a group of the most reactionary protagonists of local nationalism staged a traitorous counter-revolutionary armed rebellion in Ining, Sinkiang, and incited and organized the flight abroad of a large number of people near the frontier. Under the leadership of the Party the people of all the fraternal nationalities in Sinkiang resolutely crushed these subversive and traitorous activities.

In 1959, the Dalai clique launched a traitorous counter-revolutionary armed rebellion in collusion with imperialism and the Indian reactionaries. It was promptly stamped out by our heroic People's Liberation Army and the broad masses of the Tibetan people. After his flight to India, the Dalai set up a bogus government in exile, promulgated a bogus constitution, supported the Indian reactionaries in their aggression against our country and actively organized and trained the remnant bandits who had escaped abroad to harass our frontier. All this proves that he has betrayed the motherland and the people. In compliance with the demand of the Tibetan people, the State Council has decided to remove him from the posts of Chairman and member of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region.

At the recent Seventh Enlarged Session of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region, all the delegates present, and especially the activists among the Tibetan poorer peasants and herdsman and the cadres

at the basic level, exposed and repudiated the planned and organized activities of the reactionary clique of serf-owners represented by Panchen Erdeni against the people, the motherland and socialism. The session unanimously resolved to remove Panchen Erdeni from his posts of Vice-Chairman and Acting Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region and this decision was approved by the State Council. In order to give him a last opportunity to turn over a new leaf, he was allowed to remain as a member of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region.

Premier Chou said that to gain complete liberation the people of all the minority nationalities in our country must rise in revolution under the leadership of the Communist Party. They must conduct and accomplish not only the democratic revolution, but also the socialist revolution, and carry them through to the end. In these revolutionary movements it is imperative to go a step further in boldly mobilizing the poverty-stricken peasants, herdsmen, serfs and slaves who were subject to the worst oppression and exploitation, and earnestly to train revolutionary cadres from among the formerly impoverished laboring people of the minority nationalities.

The Premier said that in applying the Party's national policy we must continue to combat great-nation chauvinism and local nationalism. As for the figures from the upper strata of the minority nationalities who are patriotic and are in favor of social reforms, we shall, as in the past, unite with them, educate them and remould them in adherence to the Party's united front policy. They have a bright future, as long as they make an effort to remould themselves.

The Premier added that we shall continue to pursue the policy of freedom of religious belief correctly and to uphold the integrity of state power and the separation of religion from the state. We must prohibit all illegal activities. We hope that people in religious circles will continue to take a patriotic stand against imperialism, persist in the principle of the independence and self-administration of their churches, abide by government laws and decrees, intensify their own remoulding and actively take part in the socialist construction of our motherland.

If there is to be further consolidation and development of our people's democratic united front, the most important thing is to carry the socialist revolution through to the end. The democratic parties, democrats and other patriots have co-operated with the Chinese Communist Party for a long time. It is now necessary for all of us to unite more closely and continue to march forward under the guidance of the general line. We believe that our people's democratic united front will undoubtedly play an even more important role in the great cause of socialist revolution and socialist construction, in the struggle against our enemies at home and abroad, and in supporting the people of the world in their fight against imperialism headed by the United States and its lackeys.

Party and Government Organs and Cadres at All Levels Must Be Revolutionized

On the question of revolutionizing Party and government organs and cadres at all levels, the Premier said that in order the better to advance the cause of socialist revolution and socialist construction, it is imperative to revolutionize the leading Party and government organs at all levels and likewise our cadres at all levels.

All Party and government organs and their staffs must be simplified, he continued, and the number of forms, documents and meetings must be drastically cut. Cadres at all levels must go to the units at the basic level, the system under which leading cadres go and stay in selected primary units for a long time must be upheld, and we must energetically encourage the practice of making investigations and studies and earnestly carry out the mass line.

We must persist in the system of cadre participation in collective productive labor. Only by participating in collective productive labor can our cadres basically overcome or forestall the tendency to conduct themselves as bureaucratic overlords and can they become ordinary laborers, sharing weal and woe with the people and genuinely integrating themselves with the masses.

In all fields of work, we must put politics in command, learn from the four "Firsts" of the Liberation Army and its "three-eight working style." (The four "Firsts" mean giving first place to man in the correct handling of the relationship between man and weapons; giving first place to political work in the correct handling of the relationship between political and other work; giving first place to ideological work in the correct handling of the relationship between ideological and routine tasks in political work; and giving first place to living ideas in the correct handling of the relationship between ideas in books and living ideas in ideological work. In the "three-eight" working style, "three" refers to the three mottoes: Keep firmly to the correct political orientation, maintain an industrious and simple style of work, and be flexible in strategy and tactics; and "eight" refers to the eight characters which mean unity, alertness, earnestness and activity--Translator's note.) All our Party and government organs and the broad mass of our cadres should learn from the thoroughly revolutionary spirit and style of work of the Liberation Army, the oil workers of Taching and the peasants of Tachai, and advance along the road of revolutionization.

Premier Chou emphasized that our cadres and working people must diligently study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thinking in the course of socialist revolution and construction. Arming them with Mao Tse-tung's thinking is a vital prerequisite for carrying our socialist revolution forward to the end and for the smooth progress of our socialist construction. It is also the fundamental way to overcome bourgeois ideology, revisionism and dogmatism and prevent their emergence.

By holding high the revolutionary red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking

by firmly relying on the working class, the poor and lower-middle peasants, the revolutionary cadres, the revolutionary intellectuals and the other revolutionaries, and by uniting with the masses who comprise over 95 per cent of the population, the leading Party and government organs will definitely be able to carry the socialist revolution on all fronts through to the end, prevent the restoration of capitalism, ensure the smooth building of socialism and pave the way for the future transition to communism.

III. The International Situation and China's Foreign Relations

The third part of Premier Chou En-lai's report deals with the international situation and China's foreign relations.

He pointed out that in the last five years and more the revolutionary people of the world, with the forces of Marxism-Leninism as their nucleus, have had serious trials of strength with imperialism headed by the United States, reaction and modern revisionism, and have scored great victories. We have achieved great successes in all spheres in applying the general line of our foreign policy.

Premier Chou said that the current international situation continues to be one in which "the East Wind prevails over the West Wind."

Great Victory in the Struggle against U.S. Imperialism

He indicated that the U.S. imperialists have all along pursued policies of aggression and war in their vain attempt to dominate the world. Over the last five years and more, U. S. Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson have all vigorously pressed forward with their counter-revolutionary dual tactics of perpetrating more adventurous aggressions while more cunningly playing the game of sham peace. The United States has pushed its arms expansion and war preparations to their highest peacetime peaks. It threatens the world with nuclear war, it plans to launch conventional and local wars to extend its aggression, and is now carrying on so-called special wars in southern Viet Nam, Laos and the Congo. It has been actively carrying on its conspiracy to disintegrate the socialist countries by peaceful means, and at the same time engages in constant military provocations and threats of war against them. It is energetically pushing its neo-colonialism in Asia, Africa and Latin America, committing acts of domination, intervention, subversion and aggression against the newly independent countries and frenziedly suppressing the national-liberation movement. It is controlling and bullying all its allies politically, economically and militarily. U. S. imperialism has done all the evil things it possibly can. It is the most arrogant aggressor ever known in history, the most ferocious enemy of world peace and the main prop of all the forces of reaction in the world. Peoples and nations all over the world that want to make revolution and liberate themselves, all countries and peoples that want to win independence and safeguard their sovereignty and all countries and peoples

that want to defend world peace must direct the sharp edge of their struggle against U. S. imperialism.

Premier Chou stated that in the course of the great struggle against U. S. imperialism and its lackeys, the revolutionary consciousness of the people throughout the world is rising and the forces of revolution are growing from strength to strength. The people of the countries in the socialist camp with a population of more than 1,000 million are the mighty bulwark of the revolutionary struggle of the people of the world against imperialism. The proletarian parties which uphold Marxism-Leninism stand in the forefront of this struggle. Asia, Africa and Latin America have become the storm-centres of world revolution at the present time. In these vast areas, the people of various countries have won one great victory after another in their struggle against imperialism, old and new colonialism and their lackeys. In Asia the national democratic revolution is developing in depth. The whole of Africa is in an anti-imperialist revolutionary upsurge. In Latin America the national democratic revolutionary movements, inspired by the Cuban revolution, are rising to new heights. The working class and other laboring people of the developed capitalist countries in Western Europe, North America and Oceania are waging struggles against monopoly capital for democratic rights and better living conditions, and they are experiencing a new awakening. The struggles waged by the people the world over against the U. S. imperialists' policies of aggression and war and for safeguarding world peace have grown tremendously and are surging forward from victory to ever greater victory.

The Premier said that the vigorous growth of the revolutionary struggle of the people of the world has put imperialism, headed by the United States, and all reactionaries in an unprecedentedly difficult position. Contradictions among the imperialist countries, and especially those between the United States and France, are becoming increasingly acute. The imperialist camp is further disintegrating. The conditions are ripening for another economic crisis in the United States. The imperialist system is undergoing rapid decline and disintegration. The United States, the chief-tain of imperialism, finds life getting tougher every day. It is running into snags and is being knocked about everywhere, finding itself besieged ring upon ring by the people of the world. However it continues to struggle and make trouble, it can never save itself from its doom.

The Premier stressed: Let the people of the socialist countries unite, the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America unite, the people of all continents unite, all the peace-loving countries unite, all the countries subject to U. S. aggression, control, intervention and bullying unite and form the broadest united front, and they will certainly be able to frustrate the U. S. imperialist policies of aggression and war and safeguard world peace.

The Premier strongly condemned the U. S. imperialist aggression and intervention in Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia. He expressed the firm support of the Chinese people for the just struggle of the people of these countries. China stands for a settlement of the Indo-China question in accordance with

the agreements of the two Geneva conferences. If the United States enlarges the war in Indo-China, China will absolutely not sit idly by. Such action by the United States will only result in a more disastrous defeat for it.

The Premier expressed firm support for the Korean people in their struggle against the U. S. occupation of southern Korea and for the peaceful reunification of their motherland.

He pointed out that the Japanese people's momentous mass struggle against U. S. imperialism and domestic reactionaries has dealt a powerful blow to the U. S. imperialist policies of aggression and war in Asia. The Chinese people staunchly support the Japanese people in their patriotic and democratic struggle.

He expressed support for the North Kalimantan people in their struggle for national independence, for the Indonesian people in their struggle against "Malaysia" which is the creation of U. S. and British imperialism, for the people of the Arab countries in their struggle against imperialism headed by the United States and against Israel, which is its tool of aggression, for the Palestine Arab people in their struggle to return to their homeland, and for the people of the Asian countries in their struggle against imperialism.

The Premier indicated that in their hostility to the independence of Ceylon, U. S. and British imperialism are intriguing with the reactionaries in an attempt to subvert the Ceylonese Government. He expressed his belief that the Ceylonese people will undoubtedly see through this plot and defeat it.

In recent years the Pakistani Government has pursued an independent policy, and in spite of obstruction from various quarters, it has persisted in developing friendly relations with China and other Asian and African countries. This accords with the interests of the Pakistani people and with those of Asian-African solidarity.

Premier Chou expressed support for the people of the newly independent countries of Africa in their just struggle against old and new colonialism and for the defense of their national independence. He said that the victory of the Algerian people in their national-liberation war has set a brilliant example for the national-liberation movement in Africa. He expressed his belief that the people of Angola, Portuguese Guinea, Mozambique, Southwest Africa, Bechuanaland, Basutoland, Swaziland, South Africa, Zimbabwe, and elsewhere will unquestionably win final victory in their fight for independence and freedom.

He strongly condemned U. S. imperialism for its recent direct armed aggression against the Congo in collusion with Belgian and British imperialism. He emphasized that by strengthening their national unity and persisting in their long struggle the Congolese people will certainly defeat the U. S. aggressors and their lackeys in the end and win genuine independence and freedom.

Premier Chou resolutely supported the Cuban people in their struggle against U. S. aggression, for their five just demands and for the defense of the revolution, and supported the people of the Latin American countries in their national democratic revolutionary struggle.

He expressed support for the working class and the broad masses in Western Europe, North America and Oceania in their struggle against U. S. imperialism and the monopoly capitalists of their own countries, and for the Negro people in the United States in their struggle against racial discrimination and for freedom and liberation.

Premier Chou strongly denounced the U. S. plan for a multilateral nuclear force and pointed out that it constitutes a major U. S. step towards arming the West German militarists with nuclear weapons, dominating the West European countries and making preparations for the invasion of the countries of Eastern Europe. He expressed the Chinese people's firm support for the just struggle of the people of the German Democratic Republic against the attempt of U. S. imperialism to foster West German militarism and revanchism and for the conclusion of a German peace treaty and for the defense of their state sovereignty.

Premier Chou stressed the great significance of Chairman Mao's statements and speeches of the last few years in support of the struggles waged by the peoples of other countries against U. S. imperialism. In his recent statement in support of the Congolese (Leopoldville) people against U. S. aggression, Chairman Mao issued the call: "People of the whole world, unite and defeat the U. S. aggressors and all their running dogs! People all over the world, be courageous, dare to fight, defy difficulties and advance wave upon wave. Then the whole world will belong to the people. Monsters of all kinds shall be destroyed." Chairman Mao's remarks reflect the revolutionary will of the people of the world in a highly concentrated form and immensely encourage their revolutionary struggle.

Great Achievements in China's Foreign Relations

Over the past five years and more our people have repulsed one anti-Chinese campaign after another whipped up by the imperialists, reactionaries and modern revisionists. Our international prestige has been enhanced and our revolutionary influence has become wider. The number of countries having diplomatic relations with us has now increased to fifty, and more than one hundred and twenty countries and regions now have trade or cultural relations with us. During these years Chinese leaders have exchanged friendly visits with leaders of many other countries. We have friends all over the world.

The Premier said that in the past five years China has settled boundary problems with Burma, Nepal, Mongolia, Pakistan, Afghanistan, etc. This is an outstanding achievement in our foreign relations. As for the Sino-Indian border issue, we have also made efforts for a peaceful settlement with India through negotiations. However, owing to the requirements of its domestic and foreign policies, the Indian Government is utterly devoid of any sincere desire to settle this issue. It has not only occupied 90,000

square kilometers of Chinese territory south of the so-called McMahon Line in the eastern sector of the Sino-Indian border, it also wants to occupy over 30,000 square kilometers more of Chinese territory in the western sector as a precondition for negotiations. This attitude of the Indian Government's is extremely unreasonable. We will not withdraw a single one of these seven civilian posts, and at the same time the Indian Government has to be reminded that the 90,000 square kilometers of territory south of the so-called McMahon Line are Chinese territory over which China has never relinquished its sovereignty. We are for peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian border issue through negotiations, but if India is determined not to have negotiations--no matter, we can wait.

Premier Chou said that, in the past five years and more, China has further developed its relations of friendship, mutual assistance and co-operation with many socialist countries on the basis of proletarian internationalism. Through no fault of our own, our relations with the Soviet Union have been impaired and have run into difficulties. Nevertheless, we continue to set store by unity and as far as possible we maintain normal intercourse. It was on the basis of this stand that on the occasion of the 47th anniversary of the October Revolution we took the initiative in proposing to send a Party and government delegation to attend the celebrations in Moscow. This major effort on our part was warmly welcomed by the Soviet people, the people of the socialist camp and all the revolutionary people of the world. We are firmly convinced that no force whatever can disrupt the great unity between the Chinese and Soviet peoples and the great unity of the peoples of the socialist camp.

In the same period, China's relations of friendship and co-operation with the new emerging countries in Asia and Africa have grown strikingly on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. China has concluded treaties of friendship or treaties of friendship and mutual non-aggression, agreements on economic and technical co-operation or trade and cultural agreements with a good number of the new emerging countries.

Premier Chou pointed out that with the development of its socialist construction China's aid to other countries has grown in scale during the last few years. After summing up our practice over the years, we have formulated the eight principles for providing economic aid to other countries. Our point of departure in aid to other countries is: to support construction in the fraternal socialist countries and increase the might of the whole socialist camp in the spirit of proletarian internationalism; to support countries which are not yet independent in winning their independence; and to support the newly independent countries in developing their national economies through their own efforts and in consolidating their independence and to strengthen the forces of the peoples of the world in their united struggle against imperialism. We have always done everything possible to help others, and have rendered assistance either gratis or in the form of low-interest or interest-free loans.

As a member of the great Asian-African community, continued the Premier, China has made consistent efforts to promote the unity of the Asian and African countries against imperialism. She played an active part in the

preparatory meeting for the Second African-Asian Conference in Djakarta last April and is ready to co-operate with the other Asian-African countries for the success of the Second African-Asian Conference to be held in Algiers.

Premier Chou strongly condemned U. S. imperialism for perpetuating its occupation of Taiwan, preventing the restoration of China's legitimate rights in the United Nations and plotting to create "two Chinas," or "one China, one Taiwan." He reiterated that the Government of the People's Republic of China is the only lawful government representing the entire Chinese people, and no other person or group, under whatever name, can represent China or part of Chinese territory and occupy a seat in the United Nations, and that, unless the United Nations expels the representative of the Chiang Kai-shek clique and restores China's legitimate rights in their entirety, we will have absolutely nothing to do with the United Nations.

As for the Sino-American talks, the Premier said that we have firmly maintained that all U. S. armed forces must withdraw from Taiwan and the Taiwan Straits and that, prior to the settlement of this fundamental problem, the settlement of concrete problems in Sino-American relations is out of the question. U. S. imperialism must get out of Taiwan and the Taiwan Straits. The Chinese people will surely recover their own territory of Taiwan.

Premier Chou said that there has been some expansion of economic and cultural exchange between China and Japan in recent years, but the extremely unfriendly attitude of the Sato government towards China and its tailing after the United States in the "two Chinas" plot have created difficulties in the relations between the two countries. These actions taken by the Sato government go against the will of the masses of the Japanese people and are detrimental to Sino-Japanese friendship.

The Premier also spoke on the Chinese Government's proposal for the convocation of a summit conference of all countries to discuss the question of the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. This proposal has won the support of the people throughout the world and of the governments of many countries. Owing to the obstruction of the United States and its partners, a prolonged, serious and complicated struggle must be waged before the objective of the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons can be realized. However, since China possesses nuclear weapons, things have begun to change and they will continue to change. So long as the people of the world are united and persist in struggle, the objective of the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons can be achieved. Nuclear weapons are created by man and will certainly be eliminated by man.

In conclusion, Premier Chou said that, thanks to the brilliant leadership of the Central Committee of our Party and Chairman Mao and thanks to the common effort made by the entire nation, the strength of our country is growing daily, our international prestige is rising higher and higher, and our international duties are consequently becoming heavier. We should

bear in mind Chairman Mao's teaching and eradicate any manifestation of great-power chauvinism resolutely, thoroughly, totally and completely, we should always maintain the fine tradition of modesty and prudence, work more conscientiously, and continue to carry out the general line of our foreign policy. The present world situation is excellent. We should continue to hold aloft the revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thinking, the banner of proletarian internationalist unity and the militant banner of struggle against U. S. imperialism and defense of world peace and strive for new victories in the cause of world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and socialism together with the people of the socialist camp, the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the people throughout the world and all the peace-loving countries and peoples.

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RESOLUTION OF NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS

[Following is a translation of an unsigned article in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 1, 6 January 1965.]

The First Session of the Third National People's Congress heard the report on the work of the Government made by Premier Chou En-lai on behalf of the State Council, and fully discussed it in the group meetings of Deputies and plenary sessions.

The Congress decides to approve Premier Chou En-lai's report on the work of the Government and the main targets set in the 1965 national economic plan and the preliminary arrangement of the state budget for 1965 submitted by the State Council. The Congress also authorizes its Standing Committee to examine and approve, when the draft state budget for 1965 is formulated, the draft budget and the final state accounts for 1964.

The Congress points out with satisfaction that since the First Session of the Second National People's Congress, the people of all nationalities of China, under the correct leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, holding aloft the great banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking and carrying out resolutely the general line of going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism, have unfolded on a nationwide scale the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and the struggle for scientific experiment and won great victories on all fronts of socialist revolution and construction.

The Chinese people have overcome comparatively smoothly the difficulties arising from serious natural calamities and the perfidy of others, corrected shortcomings and mistakes in their practical work, and have, in a relatively short space of time, accomplished the task of readjusting the national economy, made the system of the people's commune--the great creative contribution to the road of socialist advance in China--even more sound and taken a new leap forward in increasing the variety and improving the quality of industrial products, thereby creating still better conditions for future socialist construction in China. The Chinese people have been able to do all this precisely because they have the correct leadership of

the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party headed by the great leader Comrade Mao Tse-tung and because the great people of China, united as one, have struggled hard and displayed the spirit of self-reliance.

In short, China has made enormous achievements in the fields of agriculture, industry, communications and transport, commerce and finance, culture and education, science and technology and national defense construction over the past few years. These achievements testify to the superiority of the socialist system, the correctness of the general line for building socialism and the fact that the masses of the people, armed with Marxism-Leninism and with Mao Tse-tung's thinking, are invincible.

The people of all nationalities of China must continue to carry forward the spirit of self-reliance, carry out the general line for building socialism, implement the general policy of taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor for the development of the national economy, make a good and timely summing up of the experiences and lessons learned in all kinds of work, make full use of and bring into play existing strength and conditions, and strive for a more rapid new development of all aspects of the socialist cause in the country.

The Congress points out that the past five years have been years in which the socialist revolution in our country has gone even deeper. Iron-clad facts both within China and abroad have proved that classes, class contradictions and class struggle will continue for a very long period in socialist societies. To successfully press forward the socialist cause, the people of all nationalities of China must carry through to the end the socialist revolution on the economic, political, and ideological and cultural fronts. The socialist education movement now being unfolded in the countryside and the cities is of great revolutionary and historic significance and is a great motive force promoting the advance of all kinds of socialist work. We must resolutely rely on the working class, poor and lower-middle peasants, revolutionary cadres, revolutionary intellectuals and other revolutionaries and mobilize the masses boldly, thereby ensuring that complete and thorough victory will be achieved step by step in this socialist education movement.

The Congress points out that the present international situation offers an outstanding confirmation of Chairman Mao's famous proposition that "the East wind prevails over the West wind."

Under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese people have implemented in the past five years the general line of China's foreign policy. They have developed relations of friendship, mutual assistance and co-operation with various countries of the socialist camp on the basis of proletarian internationalism. They have striven for peaceful co-existence with countries having different social systems on the basis of the Five Principles and opposed the imperialist policies of aggression and war. They have supported the revolutionary struggles waged by all oppressed peoples and nations. The general line of our foreign policy is completely correct.

Internationally, we have waged tit-for-tat struggles against imperialism, reactionaries of various countries and modern revisionism and have scored great victories.

We have won great successes in our conduct of foreign relations. We have friends all over the world.

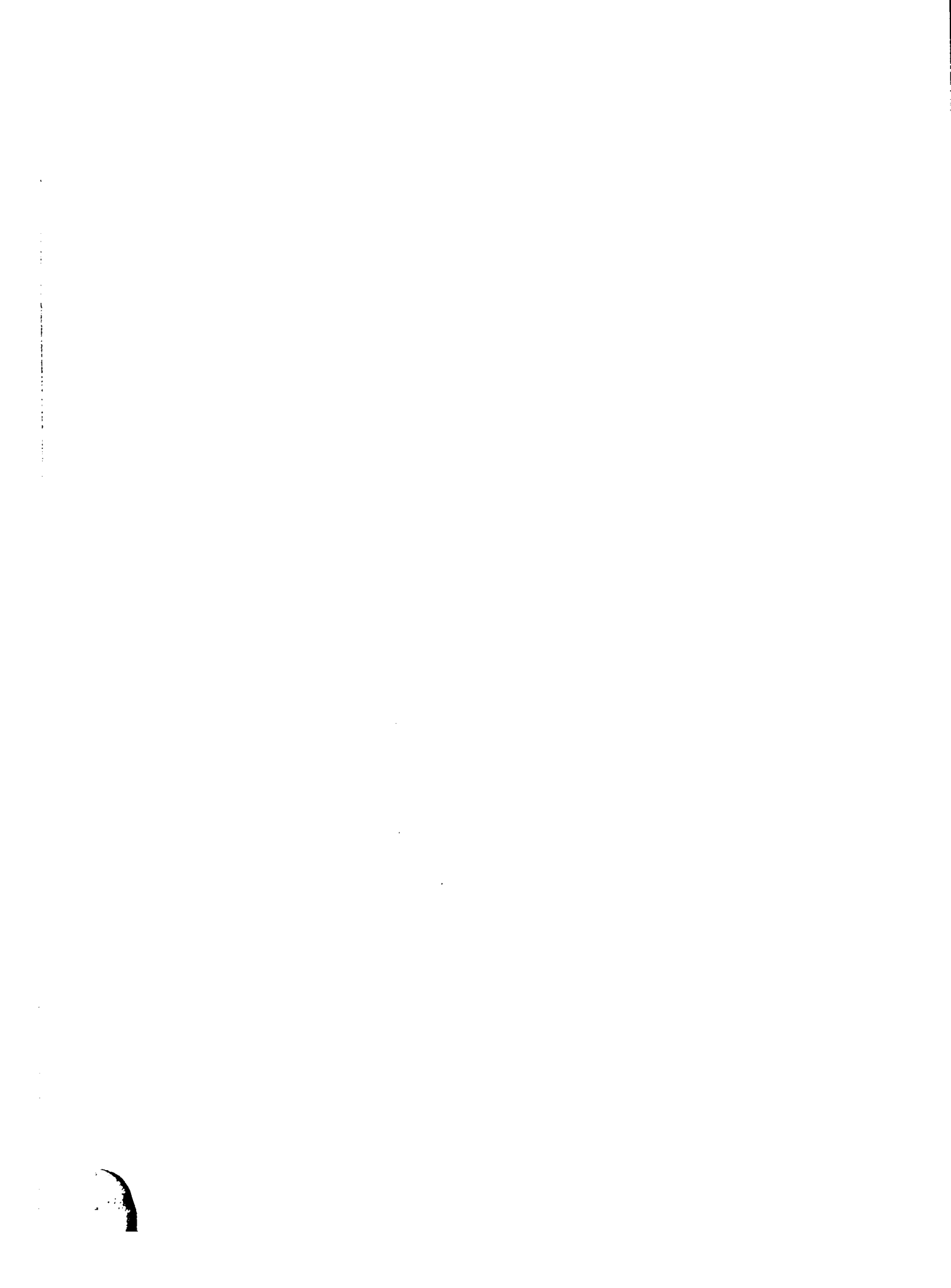
The Congress considers that the main tasks for the Chinese people in 1965 are: to carry even deeper the socialist education movement; to develop a mass campaign for comparing oneself with the advanced, learning from and overtaking them and helping the less advanced to catch up, and for increasing production and practicing economy; to organize energetically a new upsurge in industrial and agricultural production; to fulfill or overfulfill the 1965 national economic plan, so as to prepare the ground well for the Third Five-Year Plan beginning in 1966, and to ensure and promote the smooth development of all other aspects of the socialist cause.

The Congress calls on the workers, peasants and intellectuals of all nationalities of China, the democratic parties and other democrats, the patriotic national bourgeois elements, the patriotic overseas Chinese and all other patriots to unite even more closely, consolidate and develop the people's democratic united front, and, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, to continue to display the heroic spirit of working vigorously and self-reliantly and strive to build China, within not too long a historical period, into a great and powerful socialist state with a modern agriculture, modern industry, modern national defense and modern science and technology.

The Congress calls upon the Chinese people to keep ever in mind Chairman Mao's teaching on resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely liquidating big-nation chauvinism and maintaining always the fine traditions of modesty and prudence, to do their work more assiduously and well and continue to carry through the general line of China's foreign policy.

The Congress calls upon the Chinese people to continue to hold high the revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thinking, the banner of proletarian internationalist solidarity and the militant banner opposing U. S. imperialism and defending world peace; and, together with the peoples of the countries of the socialist camp, the peoples of Asian, African and Latin American countries, the world's people, and all peace-loving countries and people, to strive for new victories in the cause of world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and socialism.

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SIXTEEN POEMS

[Following is a translation of a collection of tz'u (6101, a form of poetry) by Hu Ch'iao-mu (5170 0829 2606) in the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No. 1, 6 January 1965, pp. 46-49.]

Liu-chou-ko-t'ou [0362 1558 2960 7333]
National Day

In this vast great land, one can call to mind the history of thousands of years. The masses have been known for their diligence and bravery, as they have also distinguished themselves through miraculous achievements. However, for a long time, they have suffered from humiliation and misery. The brave cherished their dream of freedom and rose in anger to revolt. When the situation appeared hopeless, they came upon Marxism-Leninism which arrived from afar like the thunder in the spring. The Party united workers and peasants, and guided them through the storms of struggle. What were once vicious and truculent villains were finally driven away almost overnight.

The people are overjoyed and exuberant in spirit at the unification of the country. They begin to work with their hammers and sickles for a magnificent future. We have brothers and friends everywhere, as we sail with the wind behind us. There are, however, some who betray their relatives and friends, and ingratiate themselves with the vicious and truculent. The torch is now burning brightly throughout the world, and spirits are running high. As one looks near and far, he can see the red combat flags fluttering everywhere, like the sun rising in the east at daybreak.

Shui-tiao-ko-t'ou [3055 6148 2960 7333]
Epic poem on National Day evening

This is again the evening when people of the four seas join in celebration. Lights are shining brightly on the fluttering flags along Chang-an avenue. Thousands of hearts are blooming in joy. The tide of

songs rises to become glittering stars, overshadowing the sun and the moon.

This is the time for dancing and singing. The young and the old alike will celebrate all night. The poor people everywhere help each other to build up a happy world with great confidence. The determination to succeed will bring forth success.

HO-hsin-lang [6320 2450 6745]

After attending the play: "Chien-wan-pu-yao-wang-chi"

An alarming drama it is. Who would know what is behind ordinary smiles. It mirrors the life of young men and women, and reflects the critical moments of their decisions. One recalls their high ambitions and careful planning. Nothing seems to obstruct them. The greatest joy is the joy for all.

I appreciate the skillful pen which depicts the changes in the world. What was once glorious has long disappeared. The path remains dangerous and treacherous. Persistent drops of water will drill through a stone wall, as continuous efforts will also change the world. One should not ignore the fact that classes remain in existence.

Ch'in-yuan-ch'un [3084 0955 2504]

Lyric poem at Hangchow

The mountains are majestic, the lakes soft and smooth, and the rivers magnificent in the autumn. The scenery is beautiful at this time of the year, as one can admire the moon from a boat sailing on a lotus lake, amid the fragrance of cassia. Cotton balls are snow-white, and golden ripe rice waves in the field. The autumn favors a bumper harvest in the countryside. The efforts of man are well rewarded.

Hangchow has always been known as a paradise on earth. What it is now is beyond comparison with what it was before. The prosperity has been hard won by the efforts of many. Workers and peasants have merely started to exert effort. With mountains and rivers rebuilt, Hangchow has changed its old features. More will follow to transform it entirely.

P'u-sa-man [5476 5646 5875] (Five poems)

On detonation of atom bomb, 16 October 1964

The secret of nature is unlocked, as heroes finally discover fire. A bolt from the blue is heard throughout the world.

The wind is striking the water and divides the clear from the riled. While millions are overjoyed, few are worried.

Second Poem

With exuberant ambition to remove the mountain, how could the

700,000,000 long remain in servitude! Through their own efforts, they have exerted their position as a master.

As the clouds are floating to the northwest, and the peacock is dancing in the southeast, things are changing completely as the wind whips waves at sea.

Third Poem

Climbing mountains and fording water is an ordinary event, for the heroes are ignorant of hardship. Miracle is performed by man, as one goes higher he will become more humble.

On the higher ground, the view is better. As we go upward, we are glad that the peak before us is again higher.

Fourth Poem

The remnant sunset in the west is cloudy, while the rising sun is bright in the east. Dusk is widespread, while daybreak is universal.

The flag of daybreak is flying the four seas, with prospects unprecedented for thousands of years. The fog will be driven away to let the sun and the moon shine through.

Fifth Poem

Man has fought evil throughout history. When evil prevails, there is not peace. The day is coming when the heaven and earth will be clear. Evil is now surrounded by men. As sure as the day is long, soon men will triumph over evil.

Shui-lung-yin [3055 7893 0692] (Seven Poems)

A spark of fire has come east to light up the plain like a sun. Living in a thatched roof hut as a youth, one thinks of the broad masses. After several years of effort, the rivers begin to boil, and the heaven and earth start to turn. In difficult years the comrades stood in line and displayed exuberant vitality amid cold wind.

The bell rings out loud and clear at night to wake up the soldiers who rise at daybreak. As the banner flutters under the east wind, the guidance of thinking points the direction for all to follow. His articles and talks frighten the enemies. His orders and commands call everyone to follow.

Second Poem

Lenin's cause was epic-making. Once the campaign was declared, the war was fought for thirty years. Two branches grew luxuriantly side by side. In war and in peace, friendship grows under adverse conditions. The enemy is loitering and plotting, and never wakes up from his daydreaming.

The 900,000,000 consolidate their unity in an alliance unique in

the world. In the turmoil they work diligently at their tasks for their future under the same banner. They sailed in the same boat in wind and through breaking waves.

Third Poem

Looking at the clouds in the northwest, I think of the past and the present. What was a fairy garden now lays in waste. What were magnificent buildings now lay in ruin. As they moved toward destruction, the path was dark and hopeless.

The hopeless state did not last long and the lost sheep soon found their way out. The garden and home can be rebuilt, and the farm reseeded so that it will grow again. One would join the people to change heaven and earth.

Fourth Poem

At the old courtyard, I saw a familiar swallow come back. Even with a new appearance it comes back to the old place. It rebuilds its own nest and seeks its old companions.

Year after year, the new replaces the old. The world changes as the new sweeps away the old. For generations to come the young will follow to press forward.

Fifth Poem

As a teacher by negative example, he is unique in history. He is harsh to friends, brave in treating the dead, and timid in the face of danger. He sings sutra, and commands the wind and rain. He talks nonsense about the Party and the State.

It was not long before difficulties became insurmountable. How can the same prescription be used over and over again? Soon the tree falls and the old partner disappears. The rear cart followed the same track, while red flags were flying.

Sixth Poem

Ten years have gone by like a dream. What was expected before has been more than fulfilled. The squandered son has returned to rebuild the estate.

The country is waiting for the lion to roar and the flags to flutter. The sky will turn and the earth will move, with the coming of the spring.

Seventh Poem

Who created the magnificent culture throughout history? The people slaved for thousands of years in miseries. At the turn of a new page in history, the sun shines throughout the land. Who would claim that sheep like to live with wolves and with shackles. The call for revolution has shaken rivers and mountains. The people rose to defeat the truculent. They have cleared away the fog and driven away the devil for a new life.

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