

Liu Shao-chi

ADDRESS
AT THE MEETING
IN CELEBRATION OF
THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY
OF THE FOUNDING
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY
OF CHINA



FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS
PEKING

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CONTENTS

Address at the Meeting in Celebration of the 40th Anniversary of the Founding of the Communist Party of China Liu Shao-chi 1

Appendices:

Carry Forward the Party's Fine Tradition
Hongqi editorial 21

Forty Great and Glorious Years
Renmin Ribao editorial 31

**ADDRESS AT
THE MEETING IN CELEBRATION OF THE
40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA**

(June 30, 1961)

LIU SHAO-CHI

Comrades and Friends,

We are gathered here today to celebrate the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of China.

The forty years since the founding of the Communist Party of China have been years during which our Party has led the people of the whole country in heroic struggles and in achieving great victories, years during which Marxism-Leninism has spread widely in China and has won great victories.

Before the founding of the Communist Party of China the Chinese people waged a long struggle against imperialism and feudalism, with new fighters always stepping forward as others fell, a struggle that moves us to song and tears. However, they never attained genuine victory. It was not until Marxism-Leninism spread to China following the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia that the Chinese people found the best theoretical weapon for their liberation. The Communist Party of China wielded this weapon and formulated the correct objectives, policies and methods for the struggle to liberate the Chinese people. From then on the march of the Chinese people from victory to victory has been irresistible.

During these forty years the Communist Party of China, together with the Chinese people, has accomplished a great deal.

To sum up, what has been accomplished consists mainly of two important things:

First, we carried out the people's democratic revolution in China. Because of its weakness the Chinese national bourgeoisie could not lead China's bourgeois-democratic revolution to victory. The responsibility of leading this revolution had to be shouldered by the proletariat. For a very long time many people tried to establish in China the system of a bourgeois republic, but all these attempts ended in bankruptcy. In China, if a republic was to be set up, it had to be a people's democratic republic under the leadership of the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance. Our Party united the people of the whole country and after twenty-eight years, from 1921 to 1949, finally overthrew the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism and established the People's Republic of China.

Second, we have been carrying out the socialist revolution and socialist construction in China. We have been doing this for the past twelve years and we are continuing to do it. The founding of the People's Republic of China marked the beginning of the transition from the democratic to the socialist revolution. The Chinese people's democratic state power is in essence the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the past twelve years we have basically completed the socialist revolution and have achieved immense successes in socialist construction. A very long time is still required to build China into a great socialist country with modern industry, modern agriculture and modern science and culture. And a longer historical period is required to realize the transition from socialism to communism. Nevertheless, anyone can see that the socialist system is already established in this great land of China and that China is no longer a stagnant country but is forging ahead vigorously.

It is a great event in the history of the development of Marxism-Leninism that in a large country with a population

of 650 million, under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, the people's democratic revolution has won complete victory, the socialist revolution has won decisive victory and socialist construction has won initial victory. Both before and after the October Revolution Lenin predicted many times that the Chinese revolution and the revolutions in other Asian countries would exert a profound and far-reaching influence on the course of human history. His prediction has begun to come true. Undoubtedly, the victory of the Chinese revolution has changed to a certain degree the international balance of forces in favour of the people of the world and against imperialism and all the reactionaries. This victory has therefore been welcomed by the working people and peace-loving people the world over. It has also incurred the enmity of the imperialists, the reactionaries of various countries and the Yugoslav revisionist group. The imperialists, the reactionaries of various countries and the Yugoslav revisionist group have been and are cursing us venomously and will go on doing so. This is inevitable and not surprising. But it will not harm us in the slightest.

The historical facts of forty years have proved that the Communist Party of China is a great, glorious and correct Marxist-Leninist political party. It has been unswerving in its loyalty to the interests of the Chinese people and the Chinese nation. It has never bent nor flinched before domestic or foreign enemies. It has led the Chinese people to great victories and will lead them to still greater victories.

As we look back over the forty years of history, we pay high tribute to our glorious martyrs to the cause of communism and the cause of the liberation of the Chinese people. Among them were many members of the Communist Party, many working people and many persons outside the Party. In the struggle they gave their last blood and sacrificed their lives. They will live in our hearts for ever!

The history of the Communist Party of China is the history of the ever closer integration of the universal truth of Marxism-

Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said, "The victories of the revolution and construction in our country are all victories of Marxism-Leninism. The ideological principle consistently followed by our Party is to link closely the theory of Marxism-Leninism and the practice of the Chinese revolution."

In every historical period of our Party it has been the leader of our Party, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, who has stood at the very forefront and who has been the most able in integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of China.

Confronted with the extreme complexity of the Chinese revolution, Comrade Mao Tse-tung correctly posed and resolved a series of theoretical and tactical problems, thus enabling the Chinese revolution to steer clear of one shoal after another and to capture one position after another.

Proceeding from a concrete analysis of the classes in Chinese society, Comrade Mao Tse-tung charted the historical course of the Chinese revolution. He pointed out that the Chinese revolution must advance in two steps, the first was the people's democratic revolution and the second, the socialist revolution.

The enemies of China's democratic revolution were imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism and they were very powerful. But the latent revolutionary strength of the Chinese people was even more powerful. The peasantry constituted the overwhelming majority of the population of our country. By forming a solid worker-peasant alliance with the broad masses of peasants and by uniting on the basis of this alliance with the people of various nationalities and of all revolutionary strata, the Chinese working class could defeat these powerful enemies. Comrade Mao Tse-tung correctly resolved the problems of the peasant movement, armed struggle, the united front and the building of the Party; these were the most fundamental problems of China's democratic revolution.

During most of the twenty-eight long years of our country's democratic revolution, our Party's leadership was correct. In

certain periods, however, some Right and some "Left" errors were committed. The most serious of these were the Right opportunist error of Chen Tu-hsiu in 1927 and the third "Left" dogmatist error of 1931 to 1934 under the leadership of Comrade Wang Ming. These errors all violated what Comrade Mao Tse-tung correctly advocated and they inflicted losses on the Party and the cause of the people's revolution. The many experiences, positive and negative, that were accumulated by our Party in its struggle educated the whole Party and raised the level of political consciousness of the comrades. Under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the Party overcame both the Right and the "Left" errors. The Tsunyi Meeting of January 1935 established Comrade Mao Tse-tung's leadership throughout the Party. Since then, our revolutionary cause has proceeded much more smoothly.

The rectification movement launched in the Party in 1942, which lasted more than three years, gave the cadres of the whole Party a profound education, and they learned more about how to integrate the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. The general line and various specific policies of the Party came to be really understood by the overwhelming majority of the Party's cadres. The style of linking oneself with the masses, of investigating and studying and of seeking truth from facts became the unified style of the Party. Consequently, at the Seventh Congress of the Party in 1945, the whole Party attained unprecedented unity under the banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking. This ensured that after the conclusion of the War of Resistance Against Japan, our Party could correctly lead the masses of the people of the whole country to wage the great People's War of Liberation successfully, and thus speedily win complete victory in the people's democratic revolution.

On the occasion of the 28th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of China, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pub-

lished his well-known article, "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship." This article explained the titanic changes that had taken place since Chinese progressives adopted the proletarian world outlook as the instrument for studying the nation's destiny. The article summed up our basic experience in the period of the democratic revolution. At the same time, on the basis of the specific conditions of our country, it pointed out the fundamental road for the transition from the democratic to the socialist revolution.

After the establishment of the People's Republic of China we carried out the anti-feudal land reform in the newly liberated areas and at the same time we waged the great struggles to suppress counter-revolutionaries and to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea; thereby we further cleared the way for the socialist revolution and for socialist construction in our country.

Guided by the general line and the various specific policies for the period of transition to socialism which were laid down by the Party's Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, our socialist revolution may be said to have proceeded comparatively rapidly and smoothly.

On the socialist transformation of agriculture: We applied Lenin's theory of the worker-peasant alliance under the dictatorship of the proletariat and his theory of agricultural co-operation; we summed up the experience we had gained in our revolutionary base areas in the movement for agricultural mutual aid and co-operation; and in accordance with the concrete conditions of our country after liberation, we relied on the poor peasants and lower middle peasants, united firmly with the rest of the middle peasantry, used various transitional forms and thus enabled our agriculture to change from an individual economy to a socialist collective economy.

On the socialist transformation of the industry and commerce of the national bourgeoisie: We applied Marx's idea that in certain conditions the proletariat may adopt a policy of buying out the bourgeoisie and Lenin's ideas concerning the policy of state capitalism under proletarian dicta-

torship; we summed up our Party's experience in its industrial and commercial policies in the revolutionary base areas; and in accordance with the concrete conditions of our country after liberation, we carried out the combined policy of utilizing, restricting and transforming capitalist industry and commerce and used various forms of state capitalism, ranging from the lower to the higher, in order to achieve this transformation.

In the course of executing the principles and policies just mentioned, the Central Committee of the Party corrected in good time certain Right and "Left" deviations which occurred. Meanwhile, in various movements we constantly summed up our experiences and formulated a whole set of specific policies that were needed to put into effect the general line for socialist transformation. The result was that the more than 500 million peasants led by the working class took the road of socialism in not too long a period of time and in circumstances where agriculture was not yet mechanized. Moreover, this promoted the socialist transformation of individual handicrafts and of capitalist industry and commerce.

The struggle as between the socialist and the capitalist road has not ended with the basic completion of the socialist revolution in the ownership of the means of production, and this struggle will go on for a long time especially on the political and ideological fronts. In 1957, the socialist revolution in our country won a decisive victory on the political and ideological fronts. We should follow the direction Comrade Mao Tse-tung set forth in his article, "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Within the Ranks of the People," draw a sharp line between two fundamentally different kinds of contradictions — those between the enemy and ourselves and those within the ranks of the people — and adopt different methods for resolving continuously the two different kinds of contradictions that arise in the course of the struggle between the two roads. Except in the case of enemies, over whom dictatorship must be exercised, we must resolutely carry out the policy, "proceed from the desire for unity,

distinguish between right and wrong through criticism or struggle, and arrive at new unity on a new basis," in order to resolve the contradictions within the ranks of the people.

During the period of socialist transformation, our Party, basing itself on the policy put forward by Comrade Mao Tse-tung for carrying out socialist construction side by side with socialist transformation, achieved great success in the field of national economic construction, success without parallel in Chinese history.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung and the Central Committee of our Party applied the Marxist-Leninist theory on socialist construction, drew on the experiences of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in construction, and on the basis of our experience in carrying out the First Five-Year Plan formulated the general line for China's socialist construction — the general line of going all out, aiming high and achieving more, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism.

What is the basic significance of this general line? It is to utilize to the maximum the enormous potentiality of the socialist system for developing the productive forces of society, mobilize all the positive factors, unite with all the forces that can be united with, put into effect the series of policies of "walking on two legs," and develop our national economy in a planned and proportionate way and at high speed so that our country can change at a comparatively fast rate from a backward into an advanced country.

Today our country is still economically backward. Imperialism continues to bully us. The people of our country urgently demand an end to this backwardness. There is not the slightest doubt that our Party's general line for socialist construction conforms to the aspirations of the whole people.

Guided by the Party's general line for socialist construction, our country has made big leaps forward for three consecutive years beginning with 1958. Meanwhile, in our countryside there have emerged the people's communes formed by agricul-

tural co-operatives joining together. Thus the general line, the big leap forward and the people's commune have become the Three Red Banners that are leading the Chinese people forward.

During the three years of the big leap forward, the key targets set for industry in the Second Five-Year Plan have been fulfilled ahead of schedule, a fairly large modern industrial base has been built and consequently the productive capacity of the basic industries has increased two or more times. In agriculture, water conservancy projects have been undertaken extensively, and thus conditions essential for the future development of agricultural production have been created. In the fields of culture and education there has also been great progress over the last three years.

Inspired by the Three Red Banners — the general line, the big leap forward, and the people's commune — the broad masses of workers, peasants and intellectuals have displayed great enthusiasm and creativeness on every front of construction. During the big-leap-forward movement the masses of the people have brought their mighty strength into play to create a new life and make a new history.

The facts have proved that it is absolutely right and entirely necessary for the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people to hold high the Three Red Banners of the general line, the big leap forward and the people's commune.

Our general line is developed and perfected through practice, and the various specific policies and specific measures essential for its realization have also to be developed and perfected gradually through practice. During the big leap forward of the last three years we have had tremendous achievements, and the general line and the various specific policies and measures have all been developed. At the same time, there have also been quite a few shortcomings in our work which, together with the serious natural calamities of the two successive years, have given rise to some temporary difficulties. In a large country like ours with a population of 650 million,

a country that is economically and culturally backward, it would be inconceivable for such a new undertaking as socialist construction to proceed without shortcomings, without running into any difficulty. Historical experience has proved that no difficulty, no shortcoming, can frighten us; on the contrary, we have always steeled ourselves and become stronger and more correct in the course of extending our achievements and overcoming all kinds of difficulties and shortcomings. We are fully confident that, under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung and under the guidance of the Three Red Banners, the whole Party and the whole people will surely unite as one, overcome temporary difficulties and continue our triumphant march forward.

The forty years' history of the Chinese Communist Party has proved that China's advance in revolution and construction is inseparably linked with the great unity of the whole people. This great unity under the leadership of the Communist Party of China is the fundamental guarantee of victory in all our undertakings.

The great unity of the Chinese people has been forged in the course of prolonged struggles for revolution and construction, it has stood all tests and it is therefore the firmest kind of unity.

Credit for all our achievements should go to the masses of the people of all the nationalities of our country. While celebrating the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of China, we pay tribute to the workers, peasants, engineers and technicians, teachers, professors, scientists, workers in the economic field, cultural workers, public health workers, and other working people who are carrying on heroic struggles and working hard on all fronts! We pay tribute to the patriotic democratic parties, democratic personages, national bourgeoisie and overseas compatriots that have long co-operated with our Party! We pay tribute to all the commanders and fighters of the People's

Liberation Army who are defending our motherland! We pay tribute to all the cadres and Party members who are working diligently and conscientiously at all posts of struggle!

The working class is the leading force in forging the great unity of the whole nation. The workers of our country will keep on playing their vanguard role in the construction work of the country. The working class should continue to raise its class consciousness, shoulder its responsibility as the leading class even better and prove itself by deeds to be the class most capable of championing the interests of the whole people.

The worker-peasant alliance is the foundation of the great unity of the people of the whole country. In our socialist construction we can create favourable prerequisites for developing the entire national economy only when we bring into full play the enthusiasm and creativeness of the more than 500 million peasants, raise labour productivity in agriculture, and comprehensively develop all the various branches of agricultural production. We must firmly carry out the basic policy put forward by Comrade Mao Tse-tung that agriculture should be the foundation and industry the guiding factor for the development of the national economy. Industry and other departments concerned must go all out in support of agriculture and do everything possible to increase the output of means of production for it, so as to meet the needs of agricultural development. Party committees and people's governments at all levels should conscientiously, thoroughly and completely carry out the series of policies and measures concerning the rural people's communes laid down by Comrade Mao Tse-tung and the Central Committee of the Party, place the people's communes, with ownership by the production brigades as their basis, on a sound footing and consolidate them, and bring into full play the superiority of the people's commune system in promoting agricultural production.

The intellectuals are an important force, indispensable to the success of our socialist construction. In our country their

ranks are constantly expanding, and they have made great progress in remoulding themselves ideologically. They have made valuable contributions on all fronts of socialist construction. We should continue to enlarge the ranks of intellectuals and continue the policy of "a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend," so that the cause of socialist science and culture may flourish still more in our country.

The great unity of the people of our country, the people's democratic united front of our country, comprises two alliances—one is the alliance of the working class with the peasants and other working people, the other is the alliance between the working people and those non-working people with whom co-operation is possible. We should continue to carry out the policy of "long-term coexistence and mutual supervision" with the democratic parties, unite with all the forces that can be united with and mobilize all positive factors that can be mobilized so as to serve the cause of socialism. Since the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, the members of the national bourgeoisie in our country have made new advances in educating and remoulding themselves politically and ideologically. We should help them to continue their fundamental remoulding so that they will become conscious socialist working people.

The Communist Party of China is the core around which the people of the whole country are united for socialist construction. Comrade Mao Tse-tung said at the Eighth National Congress of the Communist Party of China held in September 1956:

There are over 10 million members in our Party, yet they constitute only a very small minority of the country's population. In the various organs of the state and in public affairs a great deal of work has to be done by non-Party people. It is impossible to get the work done well unless we are good at relying on the masses and co-operating with non-Party people.

In order to do a good job in the interests of the great unity of the whole people and in the interests of socialist construction, all members of our Party must, under the leadership of the Central Committee, raise their ideological and political level further, perfect the Party organizations and strengthen the unity of the Party.

Our Party now has more than 17 million members. Eighty per cent of them have joined the Party since the founding of the People's Republic of China, and 70 per cent have joined since 1953. They are the Party's new blood but lack experience, and many of them have not yet had systematic Marxist-Leninist education. Those who joined the Party before liberation have gone through sanguinary revolutionary struggles and are now the backbone of our Party, but while familiar with revolution they have not yet had adequate experience in socialist construction. Therefore, all Party members, whether old or new, have a serious task before them, that is, they must learn socialist construction, conscientiously and systematically.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said, "The important thing is to be good at learning." At present the most important task is to unfold a new campaign of study throughout the Party. The primary purpose of this campaign is to help all Party cadres further to understand and grasp the objective laws of China's socialist construction, so that we can build socialism in our country with more, faster, better and more economical results. All Party members and cadres should study conscientiously the basic Marxist-Leninist principles of socialist revolution and socialist construction, study the theoretical and practical problems of China's socialist construction as elucidated by Comrade Mao Tse-tung on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles, study the general line and the various specific policies of socialist construction as formulated by the Central Committee of the Party, and study the experience in socialist construction of the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries. As for the large number of new Party members, they

must in addition be given basic education in Marxism-Leninism and basic knowledge of the Party.

Through this campaign of study all Party cadres should consciously improve their style of work and further develop the traditional Marxist-Leninist style of our Party. To do this, we must, as Comrade Mao Tse-tung has consistently said, learn how to use the theory and method of Marxism-Leninism to make meticulous investigations and studies of the environment and to derive from objective reality inherent laws, and not imaginary laws, as our guide to action. Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out long ago that in order to bring about the victory of the Chinese revolution we must depend on the understanding by Chinese comrades of Chinese conditions. He has stated:

Correct and firm tactics of struggle for the Communist Party can never be produced by a handful of people sitting in a room. They can only be produced in the process of the struggles of the masses, that is to say, they can only be produced through practical experience. For only through practical experience can a correct estimate of the class forces be made, only thus can correct and firm tactics of struggle be produced and the victory of the revolution safeguarded. To this end, we need at all times to understand the conditions in society and to conduct practical investigations.

This is the Marxist-Leninist style of integrating theory with practice, the style of seeking truth from facts.

In the history of our Party, not all cadres have had this style, and much less so at the beginning. In different periods of our country's revolution, Right or "Left" errors, both the result of divorce from reality, appeared in our Party. Their common characteristics were disregard of the investigation and study of objective reality, failure to understand the concrete conditions of China and the belief that the Chinese revolution could be directed by relying on subjective imagination and the impressions of the moment, or by merely adducing

isolated quotations from certain books. It is well known that these erroneous tendencies caused setbacks of various kinds to the Chinese revolution. Our comrades must bear this lesson in mind, must in their work adhere to the style of seeking truth from facts as advocated by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, and must prevent or overcome every kind of subjectivist style.

Our Party is good at learning. When we began, we had no experience of the democratic revolution, the socialist revolution or socialist construction. But through diligent study amid practice we came to understand and grasp the objective laws of the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution, and we have also learned many things in our socialist construction. We must, however, guard against complacency. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has many times told us to be on guard against conceit and impetuosity. He has said, "Modesty makes one progress whereas conceit makes one lag." He has also said, "The enemy of study is one's own complacency; he who really wants to learn something must begin by not being complacent." We are all aware that to be satisfied with a smattering of knowledge, to fancy that one knows a great deal and so be lazy about study, shows a defective sense of responsibility towards the cause of the people's revolution. We are resolutely opposed to this erroneous attitude. There are many things about socialist construction we have yet to learn. We must study diligently. If we are diligent, we can surely attain a further knowledge and grasp of the objective laws of socialist construction.

Our Party not only shares the life and lot of the Chinese people but has always held that China's revolution and construction are a part of the people's revolutionary movement throughout the world and a part of the world socialist cause. Our Party and our people consistently uphold the principle of linking proletarian internationalism with patriotism and are firmly united with the people of the whole world.

In our revolution and construction we have received assistance from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and we also have received sympathy and support from the working people of the world and the progressive forces in all countries. At the same time, the Chinese people, too, by their exertions and struggles, support all the progressive and just causes of the people of the world. Such internationalist mutual support and solidarity is of extremely great importance for the triumph of our common cause. Here we wish to pay high tribute to the great Soviet people and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and to the people and the fraternal Parties of the other socialist countries, to the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries, and to the people of all countries now engaged in struggles.

Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, the basic policy for our international relations has been: to develop relations of friendship, mutual assistance and co-operation with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries; to strive for peaceful coexistence with countries of different social systems on the basis of the Five Principles and to oppose the imperialist policy of aggression and war; and to support the revolutionary struggles of all oppressed peoples and nations against imperialism and colonialism. This is the general line of our foreign policy. This foreign policy which our country practises conforms to the interests of the Chinese people and also to the interests of the people of the world. It is beneficial to the unity of the socialist camp, to the national liberation movements and revolutionary struggles of the people of all countries, and to the cause of world peace. Our country has established diplomatic relations with forty states and has economic, cultural and friendly relations with more than a hundred countries and regions in the world. Our achievements in national construction and the victories of our foreign policy of peace have been acclaimed by the people of the whole world. We have friends all over the globe. The

U.S. imperialist scheme to isolate our country internationally has been shattered.

U.S. imperialism, stubbornly hostile to the Chinese people, is still occupying our territory of Taiwan by force, maintaining military bases with huge forces at many places near our country, pursuing a policy of aggression and war, and gravely menacing peace in the East and the world. We must maintain our vigilance and continue to wage a tit-for-tat struggle against U.S. imperialism. Justice is entirely on our side, the people of the whole world sympathize with us and support us. The aggression of U.S. imperialism against our country and its threats of war against us will definitely be defeated. Our people's aim of liberating our sacred territory of Taiwan will definitely be attained.

Imperialism and colonialism are heading towards their doom. The general crisis of capitalism has reached a new stage, and all the contradictions inherent in the imperialist system are becoming ever more acute. After the Second World War, there emerged a series of socialist countries and nationally independent countries and the area ruled by imperialism was greatly reduced. The dykes of imperialism and colonialism are being pounded continually by the flood of people's revolutions. Among the imperialist powers quarrels and rivalries are being intensified, above all, between the United States on the one hand and Britain and France on the other. The imperialists are in a bad way and they are having an increasingly bad time.

U.S. imperialism does nothing but evil, and this amply demonstrates the decadence of monopoly capitalism. Its deeds are making more and more people understand that U.S. imperialism is the chief bulwark of world reaction, the No. 1 enemy of the people of the whole world. U.S. imperialism is obstinately persisting in its policy of arms expansion and war preparation, everywhere encroaching upon the sovereignty of other countries, and actively fostering West German and Japanese militarism so that two dangerous hotbeds of war are

being created, one in the West and one in the East. Aggression and intervention by U.S. imperialism have produced tense situations in Laos and south Vietnam in Asia, in the Congo in Africa and in Cuba in Latin America. The danger of the imperialist war forces, headed by the United States, provoking a new world war continues to menace the people of all countries. Since the Kennedy Administration took office, it has done its utmost to push a counter-revolutionary policy of "two tactics"; on the one hand it is cunningly using "peace" tactics and on the other it is intensifying its policy of war. The people of all countries who are engaged in struggle understand that Kennedy is more dangerous than Eisenhower. No matter what tricks U.S. imperialism may play, it cannot prevent the people of the world from awakening and the national liberation movements from developing. Imperialism and reaction can never, as they would like, refasten the chains on peoples who have won their liberation. The days when they could do as they pleased are gone for ever.

The situation of the East Wind prevailing over the West Wind is already perfectly clear. The victory of socialism, of national liberation, of democracy and of world peace is irresistible.

The Statement of the Moscow Meeting said:

The chief result of these years is the rapid growth of the might and international influence of the world socialist system, the vigorous process of disintegration of the colonial system under the impact of the national-liberation movement, the intensification of class struggles in the capitalist world, and the continued decline and decay of the world capitalist system. The superiority of the forces of socialism over those of imperialism, of the forces of peace over those of war, is becoming ever more marked in the world arena.

The Moscow Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties held in November 1960 has further strengthened the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement.

This great unity under the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism is the fundamental guarantee of victory for the people of the whole world.

All the countries of the socialist camp are constantly making new achievements in their work of construction. The successful launching of a manned spaceship by the Soviet Union most strikingly demonstrates the superiority of the socialist system. The socialist countries have been making ceaseless efforts to safeguard world peace. Their foreign policy of peace is exerting an ever-increasing influence on a world scale. The peaceful proposals of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries for universal disarmament, the stopping of nuclear tests and the conclusion of a German peace treaty have gained widespread support among the peace-loving peoples and countries of the whole world.

The peoples of various countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America are unfolding ever deeper and wider revolutionary struggles against imperialism and its running dogs. In Asia, the Laotian people have won great victories in their struggle against the U.S. imperialist intervention and aggression, and the Japanese people are carrying on a sustained struggle against U.S. imperialism and its followers, the Japanese reactionaries, a struggle for independence, democracy, peace and neutrality. In Africa, country after country has won independence; the people of Algeria are dauntlessly persisting in their struggle for national liberation, and the peoples of the Congo, Angola and other African countries are continuing their struggles against the new and old colonialists. In Latin America, the national democratic revolutionary struggle is surging forward; after defeating the mercenaries of U.S. imperialism, the Cuban people are continuing triumphantly to consolidate and develop their revolutionary cause.

In the major capitalist countries, more and more people are joining the ranks of the fight against the oppression of monopoly capital, for the improvements of their living conditions and for the defence of their democratic rights.

To safeguard world peace and to oppose the war policy of imperialism is the most urgent demand of the people of the whole world. The struggle in defence of world peace has become the broadest and most powerful mass struggle of our time. In this struggle, the people of the whole world are becoming more and more united and have formed a broad international united front, with the forces of socialism as its core, and embracing the forces of national liberation, the forces of democracy and the forces of peace. So long as the people of the world strengthen their unity and persist in their struggle, they will surely win new victories in the cause of world peace and human progress.

International experience and the experience of China are continually proving this truth of Marxism-Leninism: the forces of the people are the really great force that makes the history of mankind. In the last analysis, the forces of the people are invincible, the will of the people is irresistible. With the forces of the people united as one and under correct leadership, there are no difficulties that cannot be surmounted, no obstacles that can hinder our victorious advance.

Long live the Communist Party of China!

Long live Marxism-Leninism!

Long live the great unity of the Chinese people!

Long live the great unity of the people of the world!

APPENDICES

CARRY FORWARD THE PARTY'S FINE TRADITION

(Editorial of *Hongqi*, No. 13, 1961)

The Chinese Communist Party has gone through 40 great and glorious years since July 1, 1921 till today. During these years, the Party has led the people of the whole country in heroic struggles, achieved great victories in the people's democratic revolution and socialist revolution and embarked with remarkable success on large-scale socialist construction.

China's democratic revolution was carried out in a vast, semi-colonial and semi-feudal country with a large population and a backward economy. The extremely barbarous reactionary regime which imperialism, the feudal forces and bureaucrat-capitalist class imposed on the Chinese people brought them untold disasters. Though political parties of the Chinese bourgeoisie had led China's democratic revolution, they did not and could not put forward a thorough democratic-revolutionary programme and could not lead the democratic revolution to victory. A new situation arose in the Chinese revolution after the Chinese Communist Party took over the leadership in the revolution. Guided by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the Party creatively applied the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism to the Chinese revolution, overcame Right and "Left" opportunist errors, and correctly laid down the programme, policies and tactics for the Chinese democratic revolution, thereby enabling the revolution to march forward along the correct path. In the course of the democratic revolution our

Party established a firm worker-peasant alliance and, with this as the basis, formed a broad united front with all the democratic forces. After leading the peasants in armed struggles over long years, establishing revolutionary base areas in the countryside and using the countryside to surround the cities, it finally overthrew the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, won a great victory in the people's democratic revolution in a large country embracing about one-fourth of the world's population, and founded the People's Republic of China. This was a great international event following the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia.

On the basis of the victory of the people's democratic revolution, our Party immediately led the Chinese people into the socialist revolution and socialist construction.

The people's democratic dictatorship in our country is, in essence, a proletarian dictatorship. We confiscated bureaucrat-capital and turned it over to the state, and built a socialist economy based on ownership by the whole people. In regard to the socialist transformation of agriculture, immediately after the land reform, we quickly and step by step transformed the peasants' individual economy, through the transitional forms of mutual-aid teams and semi-socialist agricultural producers' co-operatives of the elementary type, into a socialist economy characterized by collective ownership. Through various forms of state capitalism, we also transformed the industry and commerce of the national bourgeoisie into socialist industry and commerce owned by the whole people. In this way, we eliminated the capitalist system and its roots in our country. After the completion of socialist transformation in the ownership of means of production, we also won a decisive victory in the socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts.

In socialist construction, we completed the First Five-Year Plan in 1957 and laid a preliminary foundation for industrialization. Beginning from 1958, our Party led the people throughout the country in implementing the general line of

going all out, aiming high and building socialism with more, faster, better and more economical results, and the set of "walking on two legs" policies, bringing about a big leap forward in the national economy and setting up people's communes throughout the countryside. Under the radiant light of the Three Red Banners — the general line, the big leap forward and the people's communes — China's economic construction, culture and education have developed greatly. These three years saw the rate of industrial advance greatly accelerated, the level of industrial production greatly enhanced, and the material and technical base of industry greatly strengthened. We have fulfilled ahead of schedule our major targets for industrial production set by the Second Five-Year Plan. In agriculture, during the past three years the people's communes have brought their tremendous power into play, water conservancy projects for the farmlands have been greatly developed, and the "Eight-Point Charter" for agricultural production has been enriched and developed through extensive practice. All this has not only alleviated the losses caused by two consecutive years (1959-60) of serious natural calamities, but also created favourable conditions for increasing farm production in the future.

The great victories of China's revolution and construction are the results of prolonged, hard struggles waged by the Chinese people; they are also inseparable from the assistance of the international revolutionary forces, particularly that of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries. The Chinese people's victories have dealt imperialism a serious blow, greatly added to the strength of the socialist camp and of the forces defending world peace, promoted changes in the world balance of forces in favour of socialism, and given a powerful impetus to the development of the national liberation movement all over the world.

The great victories of China's revolution and construction are victories of Marxism-Leninism in China, victories of Mao Tse-tung's thinking which integrates the universal truth of

Marxism-Leninism with China's concrete practice, and victories of the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. Our Party, under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung and through prolonged revolutionary struggles, has steeled itself into a mature Marxist-Leninist political party. Our Party has fostered and developed its fine style of work in the practice of revolutionary struggle: in all its work, it sticks to seeking truth from facts and carries out the mass line resolutely, linking itself closely with the masses of the people; it maintains an attitude of modesty and prudence in all circumstances and modestly learns from the masses. In the past, we persisted in and developed this style of work and ensured victories for the revolution and construction. Today our task is to build China into a great socialist country with modern industry, modern agriculture and modern science and culture. All Party members and cadres should continue to persist in and carry forward the fine, traditional style of the Party and strive to fulfil this arduous task.

The basic style of work of our Party is one of seeking truth from facts. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out: " 'Facts' are all things existing objectively; 'truth' consists of their internal relations, or laws, and 'seeking' means studying." Our Party has always held that we must apply the Marxist-Leninist theory in studying China's actual problems so as to integrate the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. The correct lines, policies and methods put into effect by our Party in the various periods are all products of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with China's concrete practice.

During the twenty-eight years of the democratic revolution, our Party passed from being inexperienced to having some experience and finally to having rich experience. This was also a process of steadily integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. During this process, some comrades made errors of

dogmatism and others errors of empiricism. Dogmatists and empiricists go from two different sides against the principles of integrating theory with practice and of seeking truth from facts. Since both their thinking and their work proceed from subjective wishes and subjective imagination instead of from objective conditions, they cannot but run their heads against a wall in their work. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said: "This subjectivist method is contrary to science and to Marxism-Leninism and is the sworn enemy of the Communist Party, the working class, the people and the nation; it is a manifestation of impurity in Party spirit." As a result of the struggles against Right and "Left" errors, particularly after the rectification campaign of 1942, the majority of Party cadres have got a deep understanding of the dangers of subjectivism and have come to realize profoundly that it is only by applying Marxist-Leninist theory and method in conducting systematic and comprehensive investigations and studies of actual conditions, and deriving from them their inherent laws, and not imaginary laws, that we can obtain a correct guide to our actions. Thus, the question of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the practice of the Chinese revolution was solved within the whole Party.

Integration of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the practice of China's socialist revolution and socialist construction and the gaining of an understanding and grasp of the objective laws of various kinds of work are also processes. When the socialist revolution and socialist construction was about to start, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out that we were being compelled to take up many things that we were unfamiliar with and were being called upon to learn many things that we did not understand. Over the past twelve years, by persisting in seeking truth from facts as our style of work and applying the method of integrating theory with practice, we have learned quite a lot and gained much experience in socialist revolution and socialist construction, thus enabling us to work out lines and policies conforming to actual needs, win

basic victory in the socialist revolution and score tremendous achievements in socialist construction. The building of socialism in a large country with a population of 650 million is a new cause; it involves complicated work in various fields and the experience we have is still not enough. We are still facing the serious task of perfectly integrating the theory of Marxism-Leninism with the practice of China's socialist construction, thereby understanding and grasping more completely and more profoundly the objective laws of the work of socialist construction. This demands that we carry forward the working style of seeking truth from facts, modestly and conscientiously investigating objective conditions, and constantly studying and summing up our experience in work. The correct lines and policies of our Party are all formulated strictly in accordance with the objective laws of things. We must proceed from reality, study the actual situation in different places, at different times and under different conditions, and carry out the Party's policies in a way suited to existing circumstances.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's call for the whole Party to go in for investigation and study in a big way is of extremely great significance. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has time and again told us: "One who makes no investigation has no right to speak." "All conclusions must be reached after the situation has been investigated and not before." We must use the method of integrating theory with practice to make a serious study of Marxism-Leninism, to make a serious study of the works of Mao Tse-tung and to make a serious study of the experience of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries; and go deep among the masses to make systematic and comprehensive investigations and studies of any matters of major importance. Only by constantly conducting such investigations and studies and persisting in the style of seeking truth from facts, can we achieve success in every field of work.

Persistence in seeking truth from facts and the carrying out of investigations and studies cannot be divorced from the

working method of the mass line. The mass line is at all times a fundamental line of the Party. Without this line it would have been impossible to achieve all the victories of our revolution. In socialist construction it is likewise necessary to implement the mass line firmly, to rely closely on the strength of the masses and crystallize their wisdom. The protracted period of revolution and construction, and the three years of the big leap forward, have clearly demonstrated the mighty strength of the masses.

Our Party wholeheartedly serves the people; all the work of our Party proceeds from the interests of the masses of the people. The more earnestly our Party members and cadres work for the welfare of the masses, the more profoundly will the masses be able to understand that the cause of the Party and the state is their own cause. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has constantly told us that all Communist Party members and all revolutionary cadres, no matter what meritorious deeds they have performed, and no matter what their work or position, must be on a footing of equality with the people, behave like ordinary labourers, share the rough and smooth with the masses, show close concern for their interests and be at one with them. We must show concern for the collective and long-term interests of the masses and at the same time pay great attention to their personal and immediate interests. Our Party members and cadres must understand at every hour and every minute of the day what the demands of the masses are and what they are thinking, so that all our work can conform with their demands and with their level of political consciousness.

The masses of the people can emancipate themselves only by using their own strength; they must be the masters of their own affairs—this is a fundamental principle of the Party's mass line. This principle is diametrically opposed to the bourgeois idea of bestowing favours on the people. In every kind of work, good results can be achieved only by proceeding according to the level of political consciousness of

the masses, their needs and their willingness, and by relying on their creativeness and initiative. The leaders must learn from the masses with modesty, respect their views, and consult them when questions arise. In this way, they will be able to guide the mass movement correctly. We must let the masses make up their own minds and express their own ideas about their own affairs. The cadres should not take everything into their own hands, nor should they adopt the viewpoint of bestowing favours on the masses. The leaders must be adept at summing up the experience of the masses, and help them, through their own deliberations and their own experience, attain a correct understanding of things and correctly solve their own problems.

Persistence in seeking truth from facts and adherence to the mass line demand that we adopt a modest and prudent attitude, study hard, oppose arrogance, complacency and overconfidence in oneself. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said: "It must be understood that the masses are the real heroes, while we ourselves are often childish, and unless this point is understood, one cannot acquire even the most rudimentary knowledge." Comrade Mao Tse-tung has also frequently told us that what we don't know and don't understand, we must study modestly and learn from the masses, not pretending to know what we don't really know. Only when one is first adept at being the pupil of the masses can one become a teacher of the masses, and only when one continues to be a pupil can one continue to be a teacher. The more modest and prudent our Party members and cadres are, the closer their ties with the masses will become, the more they will learn, the faster progress will they make, and the greater the successes they will achieve in their work.

Ever since the People's Republic of China was founded, the Communist Party has been in power throughout the country, great progress has been made in various fields, and our Party has enjoyed greater prestige than ever among the people. Our achievements are undoubtedly great, but we should never rest

content with what we have already achieved, otherwise we shall not be able to make further progress. The masses wholeheartedly support and love our Party. This is, first and foremost, because our Party can serve the people very well, because our Party members and cadres willingly act as the servants of the people and are able to be respectful pupils of the masses. The task now confronting us is extremely arduous; new things, things with which we are unfamiliar, will continually be put on the agenda. We must continue to maintain and develop the attitude of modesty and prudence, guard against conceit and impetuosity, learn modestly from the masses, constantly practise criticism and self-criticism, accept the supervision of the masses so that we shall do our work still better.

The victories we have scored in the past forty years are great. The present internal and external situations are most favourable. Our Party's general line, and its various principles and policies, for building socialism have proved to be correct in practice; the enthusiasm of the broad masses of the people for the revolution and construction is soaring high; the people of the whole country are united as one under the leadership of the Party; all our Party cadres have amassed a good deal of experience in the practice of socialist construction and their ideological level and their level of understanding of the Party's policies have been considerably enhanced. In the international sphere, the forces of socialism, of national liberation, of democracy and of peace are developing vigorously and the East Wind has prevailed over the West Wind. Looking back over the past, we are elated and inspired by the brilliant achievements made. Looking ahead to the future, we see boundlessly bright prospects, which fill us with supreme confidence. Every Party member and cadre should develop the fine, traditional style of our Party still better, implement the line and policies of our Party still better, maintain closer ties with the masses, organize and mobilize them still better so as to bring their strength and wisdom into full play. Party

organizations at all levels should regard the work of educating cadres and of improving their calibre as an immediate task of great importance. With the education given them by the Party and the help of the masses, the broad mass of cadres, through their own painstaking efforts and modest learning, will certainly be able constantly to raise their own level and improve their method and style of work.

Let our entire Party, under the leadership of our Party's Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, unite with the people of our whole country, hold high the Three Red Banners of the general line, the big leap forward and the people's commune, continue our advance with full confidence and march from victory to still greater victory.

FORTY GREAT AND GLORIOUS YEARS

(Renmin Ribao Editorial, July 1, 1961)

Forty years have gone by since the birth of the Communist Party of China. The history of these forty years has proved that our Party is great, glorious and correct.

The Communist Party of China was built up on the foundation of Marxism-Leninism and has advanced continuously under the banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking. Our Party has consistently adhered to the principle of closely integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of China. The forty years' history of the Communist Party of China is a history of the victory of Marxism-Leninism in a great country in the East, with one-fourth of the world population.

In the past forty years, under the guidance of the general lines for the democratic revolution, for the socialist revolution and for socialist construction put forward by the Chinese Communist Party, China's revolution and construction have won continuous and splendid victories.

During the democratic revolution, the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people waged a protracted, difficult and complex struggle, overthrew the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, established the Chinese People's Republic and opened a new epoch in Chinese history. The 650 million people of China have stood up on their feet. They have become masters of their own destiny. This victory is of great significance both in Chinese and world history.

After the victory of the democratic revolution in China, the Chinese Communist Party has again led the people of the whole country to great victories in the socialist revolution and socialist construction. We have with comparative rapidity and smoothness basically carried out the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production and have won a decisive victory in the socialist revolution on the ideological and political fronts. All this has enabled the limitless creative power lying latent among the hundreds of millions of working people to burst out, freed the productive forces from the fetters of the old production relations, and thus created favourable conditions for the rapid development of the national economy in our country.

In May 1958, by applying the Marxist-Leninist theory of socialist construction, the Communist Party of China, at the Second Session of its Eighth National Congress, summed up the experience of revolution and construction in the preceding period and formulated the general line of going all out, aiming high and getting more, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism. Guided and inspired by this general line, the people of the whole country are high in spirits, and there has emerged a big leap forward in our national economy for three successive years. Throughout the vast rural areas, people's communes have been set up, formed by the joining together of the advanced type of agricultural co-operatives. In the past three years, the people all over the country have held aloft the Three Red Banners — the general line, the big leap forward and the people's commune, valiantly pressed ahead and made tremendous achievements in all spheres of work. During these three years, our industry has raised the level of its productive forces to a fairly great extent, considerably strengthened its material and technical base, and fulfilled ahead of schedule the major targets set forth in the Second Five-Year Plan. In agriculture, despite the successive serious natural calamities in 1959 and 1960, the superiority of the people's commune, the great development of rural water

conservancy work and certain improvements in agricultural technical installations have combined to reduce the losses incurred, and moreover have created favourable conditions for raising agricultural production in the future. There has been considerable development in the cultural and educational activities of our country, too. Such a striking success as achieved during the big leap forward of the past three years could not possibly have been achieved in ordinary times. The facts have proved that this general line mirrors the aspirations of the masses of the people to change the "poor and blank" state of China and build socialism quickly and that it conforms to the objective reality of China and is fully correct.

For forty years our Party and the whole nation have been able to overcome difficulties step by step and win victories in the arduous and complicated struggle; this is inseparable from the correct leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung. Comrade Mao Tse-tung always adheres to the principle of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of China and has creatively settled a series of theoretical and practical questions concerning the Chinese revolution and construction. He has led us in overcoming various Right and "Left" errors within our Party, and this has enabled the political and ideological level of the whole Party to rise constantly. Comrade Mao Tse-tung's correct leadership is of decisive importance for the victory of our Party and the Chinese people.

The victory of the Chinese revolution and construction is the outcome of the heroic struggles of the broad masses of the Chinese people united as one under the leadership of the Communist Party of China. Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "A basic principle of Marxism-Leninism is to enable the masses to know their own interests and unite to fight for their own interests." What our Party has done in the past forty years has been to arouse and educate the masses to get united and fight for their own interests. The Communist Party of China has always safeguarded the interests of the masses of the people, un-

swervingly relied on their support and regarded the people as the only source of its strength. In our prolonged struggle of the revolution and construction, our Party has established the closest relations with the broad masses of the people. They see in the Chinese Communist Party alone their most reliable guide and they are firm in their belief that the Party's leadership is the guarantee of their liberation and their success in all spheres of work. It is by relying on the confidence and support of the people of various nationalities, on the alliance of the working class, the peasantry and the revolutionary intellectuals, and on the co-operation of the various democratic classes, democratic parties, democrats without party affiliation and all the other patriotic and democratic forces with our Party that we have won the victory of today. Our Party is united, our people are united and the various nationalities, democratic parties and the other patriotic elements in our country are united. This unity has been forged and steeled in the prolonged struggles in the revolution and construction; it has stood various tests and is the firmest.

The Chinese revolution is the continuation of the October Revolution. The struggle of the Chinese people has received in various ways support from the international proletariat and the people in all parts of the world. The victory of the Chinese people has in turn rendered support to the international working-class movement and the revolutionary struggles of the people all over the world. The Statement of the Meeting of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties in 1960 pointed out:

The people's revolution in China dealt a crushing blow at the positions of imperialism in Asia and contributed in great measure to the balance of the world forces changing in favour of socialism. By giving a further powerful impetus to the national-liberation movement, it exerted tremendous influence on the peoples, especially those of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

In the struggle of the people of the world for peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism, the Chinese people have actively made the contribution incumbent on them. In accordance with the principles of Marxist-Leninist internationalism, China and the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are united in the great family of the socialist camp and have established unbreakable, fraternal relations of friendship, co-operation and mutual assistance. The Chinese people have always held aloft the anti-imperialist banner, firmly supported the revolutionary struggle of the oppressed nations and oppressed peoples and opposed the policy of war and aggression of imperialism headed by the United States. The Chinese People's Volunteers, together with the Korean People's Army, heroically defeated the U.S. imperialist aggressors. The Chinese people resolutely oppose U.S. imperialist aggression and its war threats against China, and are determined to liberate their territory Taiwan. The Chinese people actively support the national democratic movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America and regard this as their noble international duty. China is a sponsor of the famous Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. On the basis of the Five Principles, our country has established friendly relations with many countries. We shall continue to strive for peaceful coexistence with nations of different social systems on the basis of the Five Principles and oppose the imperialist policy of aggression and policy of war. The foreign policy of peace pursued by our country is welcomed by all the peace-loving peoples and countries in the world. No matter how U.S. imperialism cudgels its brains in trying to isolate us, it can never prevent our country from establishing extensive and friendly ties with the people in all parts of the world. We have friends all over the globe. Trying to isolate us our enemies have got themselves isolated instead. Internationally, China's stature is rising higher and higher and its influence is spreading wider and wider.

Today, the international situation is extremely favourable to us. Since the Meeting of Representatives of Communist and

Workers' Parties, under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, both the international communist movement and the socialist camp have become more united than ever. Yugoslav revisionism has been spurned by the Communist and Workers' Parties one and all. The struggle against imperialism and colonialism in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America is surging forward to a new high tide. The revolutionary and democratic movements in the capitalist countries are growing with each passing day. The imperialist bloc is continually heading towards split. The struggle for the defence of world peace rides on the crest of the waves forward. Victory for world peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism is the main current of contemporary history, and nobody can hold this back.

In the past forty years, our Party has traversed a great and glorious road. It has grown from small Marxist-Leninist groups with only a few members each into a great party with more than 17 million members, from a revolutionary organization oppressed by the reactionary regime into a party in power in a big country of 650 million people. Our Party knew little when it was in its infancy. Now, our Party has attained political maturity, with quite a number of cadres well versed in various spheres of work. It has a considerable number of veteran members, tested over the years, and large numbers of new members, fresh and vigorous, who are the Party's new blood, activists emerging from various struggles, many of them possessing special professional knowledge in the fields of science, technology and culture. Of course, we must not become complacent, we still have to study hard. As Comrade Liu Shao-chi pointed out in his speech at the meeting held in celebration of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of China, a new campaign of study should be started throughout the Party to help all its cadres further to understand and grasp the objective laws of China's socialist construction. That is to say, we must make strenuous efforts to study the basic Marxist-Leninist principles of socialist revolution and socialist construction, study the theoretical and

practical problems of China's socialist construction as elucidated by Comrade Mao Tse-tung on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles, study the general line and the various specific policies of socialist construction as formulated by the Central Committee of the Party, and study the experience in socialist construction of the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries. As for the large number of new Party members, they must in addition be given basic education in Marxism-Leninism and basic knowledge of the Party.

In celebrating the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of China, we have before our eyes the earth-shaking changes that have taken place in our country in the past forty years as the result of the heroic struggle waged by our Party and the people of the whole country. The socialist system, free from exploitation of man by man, which was once held only as an ideal, has become reality in China. The old China in the abyss of suffering has become a new China, flourishing and prosperous. We have accomplished great tasks never undertaken by our forefathers, and we shall accomplish still greater ones. Our cause is great, our future is infinitely bright and our strength is invincible. As long as we closely unite with the people of the whole country and with the people of the whole world and work vigorously and tirelessly, we will certainly build China into a powerful socialist country with modern industry, modern agriculture and modern science and culture. Let us hold aloft the banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking and valiantly march forward!

刘少奇
在庆祝中国共产党
成立四十周年大会上的讲话

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