Speech Delivered at the Meeting in Celebration Of the 40th Anniversary of the Founding of The Communist Party of China

by LIU SHAO-CHI

Following is the full text of the speech made by Liu Shao-chi, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, at the Peking rally held on June 30, 1961, to celebrate the 40th birthday of the Party. — Ed. ary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism and established the People's Republic of China. (Applause.)

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 12 years we have basically completed the socialist revolution and in socialist construction have achieved immense successes. 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 social system is already established in this great land of China and that China is no longer a stagnant country but is forging ahead vigorously. (Applause.)

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 been spread widely in China and has won great victories. (Enthusiastic applause.)

Before the founding of the Communist Party of China the Chinese people waged a long struggle against imperialism and feudalism, with fresh forces 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 emancipation. 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. (*Applause*.)

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 reaction-

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T 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 many times predicted 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. (Prolonged, enthusiastic applause.) It has been unswerving in its loyalty to the interests of the Chinese people and of 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. (Enthusiastic applause.)

As we look back over the forty years of history,



we pay high tribute to our glorious martyrs to the cause of communism, martyrs to the cause of the liberation of the Chinese people. Among them were many members of the

Comrade Liu Shao-chi addressing the anniversary meeting

Communist Party, many working people and many persons outside the Party. In the struggle they gave their last drop of 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." peasant alliance with the broad masses of peasants and by uniting on the basis of this alliance with the various nationalities and the people of all revolutionary strata, the Chinese working class was able to 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. From then on, our revolutionary cause proceeded much more smoothly. (Applause.)

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. (*Prolonged, stormy applause.*)

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 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 learnt more about how to integrate the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. The general line and the 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 making investigations and studies 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

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-

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attained unprecedented unity under the banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking. This ensured that our Party could lead the masses of the people of the whole country correctly, and, after the conclusion of the War of Resistance Against Japan, could succeed in the great People's War of Liberation and thus speedily win complete victory in the people's democratic revolution. (Applause.)

On the occasion of the 28th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of China, Comrade Mao Tsetung published 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 a 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. 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 especially on the political and ideological fronts this struggle will go on for a long time. In 1957, the socialist revolution in our country won a decisive victory on the political and ideological fronts. We should follow the directive 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 of "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.

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

G UIDED 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 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. During the period of socialist transformation, our Party based itself on the policy put forward by Comrade Mao Tse-tung for carrying out socialist construction side by side with socialist transformation and achieved great success in the field of national economic construction, a

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 applied Lenin's ideas concerning the policy of state capitalism under proletarian dictatorship; we summed up our Party's experience of 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. 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. (Applause.)

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, to mobilize all the positive factors, to unite with all the forces that can be united with, to put into effect the series of policies of "walking on two legs," to 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. (*Applause*.)

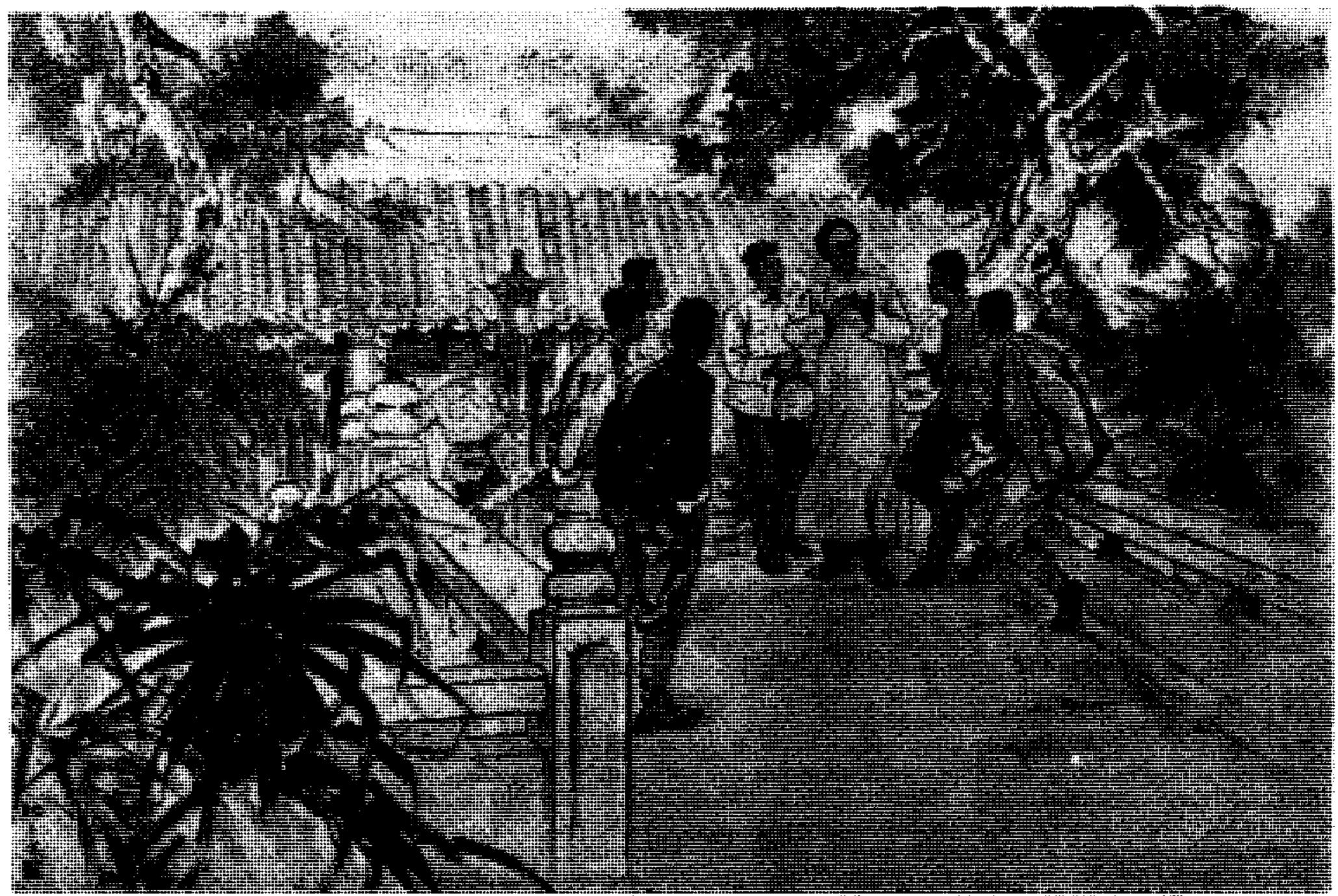
In the course of executing the principles and policies just mentioned, the Central Committee of the Party corrected in good time certain right and "left" deviations which occurred. Meanwhile, in various movements we

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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. (*Applause*.)

Guided by the Party's general line for building socialism, our country has made big leaps forward for three consecutive years from 1958. Meanwhile, in our countryside there have emerged the people's communes formed by agricultural 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. (Prolonged, enthusiastic applause.)

D URING 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.



Chairman Mao at the National Institute of the Peasant Movement in Canton Painting in Chinese ink by Yang Chih-kuang

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. (Applause.) difficulties and shortcomings. (Applause.) 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. (Stormy, prolonged applause.)

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. In all our undertakings the fundamental guarantee for victory is this great unity under the leadership of the Communist Party of China. (Applause.)

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. (*Prolonged, enthusiastic applause.*)

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

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. (*Applause*.)

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! (Applause.) We pay tribute to the patriotic democratic parties, democratic personages and the national bourgeoisie, who have long co-operated with our Party, and to our overseas compatriots! (Applause.) We pay tribute to all the commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army who are defending our motherland! (Applause.) We pay tribute to all the cadres and Party members who are working diligently and conscientiously at all posts of struggle! (Applause.)

The working class is the leading force in forging the great unity of the whole nation. The workers of our

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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; the people's communes based on ownership by the production brigade should be placed on a sound footing and consolidated; and the superiority of the people's commune system in promoting agricultural production should be brought into full play. (Applause.)

socialist construction. Comrade Mao Tse-tung said at the Eighth National Congress of the Communist Party of China:

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.

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. (Applause.) O UR 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.

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 nonworking 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.

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 the 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:

The Communist Party of China is the core around which the people of the whole country are united for

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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.

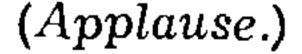
This is the Marxist-Leninist style of integrating theory with practice, the style of seeking truth from facts.

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, there appeared in our Party right or "left" errors, both the result of divorce from reality. 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 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.

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. (Prolonged applause.)

Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, the basic policy of 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 policies of aggression and war; to support the revolutionary struggles of all oppressed peoples and nations against imperialism and colonialism. This is the general line of our foreign policy. (Applause.) This foreign policy which our country practises conforms to the interests of the Chinese people and conforms 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 warmly acclaimed by the people of the whole world. (Applause.) We have friends all over the globe. (Applause.) The U.S. imperialist scheme to isolate our country internationally has been shattered. (Applause.) 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. (Applause.) The aggression of U.S. imperialism against our country and its threats of war against us will definitely be defeated. (Applause.) Our people's aim of liberating our sacred territory of Taiwan will definitely be attained. (Enthusiastic applause.)

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 learnt many things in our socialist construction. We must, however, guard against complacence. 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 complacence; 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 have to 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. (*Applause.*) 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 World War II, 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

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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. (Applause.)

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. The aggression and intervention of U.S. imperialism have produced tense situations in Laos and south Viet Nam 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 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. (Applause.)

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 peace-loving peoples and countries of the whole world. (Applause.)

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 intervention and aggression of U.S. imperialism, (applause,) 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. (Applause.) In Africa, country after country has won independence; the people of Algeria are dauntlessly persisting in their struggle for national liberation, (applause,) and the peoples of the Congo, Angola and other African countries are continuing their struggles against the new and old colonialists. (Applause.) 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. (Applause.)

THE situation of the East wind prevailing over the West

In the major capitalist countries, more and more people are joining the ranks to fight the oppression of monopoly capital, to strive to improve their living conditions and to defend 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. (*Enthusiastic applause*.)

wind is already perfectly clear. The victory of socialism, of national liberation, of democracy and of world peace is irresistible. (*Applause*.)

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 nationalliberation 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. (Applause.)

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. (*Applause.*) 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. (Applause.) In the last analysis, the forces of the people are invincible, the will of the people is irresistible. (Applause.) 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. (Prolonged, enthusiastic applause.)

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

Long live the Communist Party of China! (Applause.)

Long live Marxism-Leninism! (Applause.)

Long live the great unity of the Chinese people! (Applause.)

Long live the great unity of the people of the world! (Prolonged, enthusiastic applause.)