

# *Speech by Comrade MAO TSE-TUNG*

*Head of the Delegation of the Chinese People's Republic*

Dear Comrades, in the name of the All-China Assembly of People's Representatives of the Chinese People's Republic, in the name of the State Council of the Chinese People's Republic and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, in the name of the entire Chinese people and all members of the Communist Party, I and all the comrades of our delegation offer our heartiest fraternal congratulations to the great Soviet people, to the Soviet Government and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and to all comrades and friends here present on the occasion of the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. *(Applause.)*



As Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the teacher of the revolution, pointed out on many occasions, the great Revolution effected by the Soviet people 40 years ago, marked the beginning of a new epoch in world history.

History has known revolutions of different types, but none of those that occurred in the past can in any way compare with the October Socialist Revolution.

For ages past, the toiling masses and progressive people throughout the world have dreamed of establishing a society in which there is no exploitation of man by man. For the first time in history the October Revolution made this dream come true over one-sixth of the earth's surface. This Revolution proved that the people, without landlords and bourgeoisie, are fully capable of building up a new, free and happy life on planned lines. At the same time it has been proved that the nations of the world are fully able to coexist in peace and friendship without imperialist oppression.

In the course of forty years the Soviet people have traversed a long and difficult path. The imperialists have used every available means in their attempts to destroy the first socialist republic in the world. Enemies of the Soviet Union who have sometimes thought themselves stronger than that country have twice launched armed attacks on the U.S.S.R. But the heroic Soviet people, under the leadership of the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union, utterly defeated the aggressors. *{Stormy applause.}*

The Soviet Union is invincible because it has replaced the capitalist system by the socialist system, has replaced the dictatorship of the exploiting classes by the

dictatorship of the proletariat, because it is developing the production forces of society at a rate unattainable in capitalist countries, because it really puts proletarian internationalism into effect, really opposes national oppression and helps the oppressed peoples in their struggle for liberation. A state of this type enjoys the support of all its people and is, at the same time, afforded the whole-hearted support of the peoples of all the countries of the world. The degree of support thus rendered is unmatched in world history.

In the course of 40 years the Soviet Union has undergone tremendous changes. Before the Revolution economy and technology in Russia were relatively backward. Today the Soviet Union is a first-class world power with a powerful industry. The living standard of the Soviet people is constantly rising. The level of development in education, science and culture greatly exceeds that of the capitalist countries. The Soviet Union has built the world's first atomic power station, the world's first jet air liners, the world's first intercontinental ballistic missiles and launched the first and second man-made Earth satellites. The whole world acknowledged the fact that the Soviet Union's achievements in launching two artificial Earth satellites have opened up a new era in man's conquest of nature. All these are things the Soviet people are proud of, as are the proletariat of the whole world and all mankind. (*Applause.*) Only the reactionaries get no pleasure from them.

By constructively applying Marxist-Leninist theory to the solution of practical problems, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has assured for the Soviet people a constant series of victories in building up a new way of life. An outstanding example of this is the programme for the building of communism in the U.S.S.R. that was promulgated at the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. Beyond all shadow of doubt the rational measures adopted by the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. to overcome the personality cult, develop agriculture, reorganize the management of industry and building, extend the rights of Union republics and local authorities, to combat the anti-Party group and strengthen the unity of the ranks of the Party and to improve Party political work in the Soviet Army and Navy as well as on other questions will make for greater strength and further development in various spheres of life in the Soviet Union.

With each passing day the peoples of the whole world see their own future more clearly in the successes of the Soviet people. (*Applause.*) The way of the Soviet Union, the way of the October Revolution is, fundamentally, the broad open highway of development for all mankind. Large sections of the people of all countries are celebrating the 40th anniversary of the October Revolution because the history of those 40 years has given them profound faith in the inevitable victory of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, the inevitable victory of socialism over capitalism, the inevitable victory of the oppressed nations over imperialism. There are, of course, still difficulties ahead of the people and obstacles that stand in the way. Thirty-six years ago Vladimir Ilyich Lenin said very aptly: "The main thing is that the ice has been broken, that the

way is open, that the road has been indicated." (*Applause.*)

The people's revolution, led by the Communist Party of China, has always been an integral part of the world socialist revolution which began with the October Revolution. The Chinese Revolution has its national characteristics which it is absolutely essential to take into consideration. Both in the revolution and in socialist construction, however, we have made the fullest possible use of the rich experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people. The Chinese people are glad that the experience of the October Revolution and socialist construction in the Soviet Union has enabled them to lessen or avoid many errors and to achieve comparative success in their work although the Chinese people are still faced with many difficulties.

Ever since the October Revolution it has been quite clear that if proletarian revolutionaries in the various countries ignore or do not seriously study the experience of the Russian Revolution, do not seriously study the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialist construction in the Soviet Union and if they do not apply this experience analytically and constructively to conditions in their own countries, then they will not be able to master Leninism, the new stage in the development of Marxism, they will not be able to find correct solutions to the problems of revolution and construction in their own countries. In such cases they will make either dogmatic or revisionist errors. We must conduct a simultaneous struggle against these two deviations, the most urgent of which at the moment is the struggle against the revisionist tendency.

It is equally clear that, as a result of the October Revolution, the government of any country refusing to live in friendship with the Soviet Union merely injures the real interests of the people of its country.

Today there are many countries in Europe and Asia that have entered the path of the October Revolution and have been victorious; they have over 900 million people and constitute the powerful world system of socialism. Capitalism has long since lost its superiority and socialism has long since developed into an invincible force.

In the long run the socialist system will replace the capitalist system — this is an objective law that exists irrespective of human will. No matter how much the reactionaries may try to check the forward movement of the wheel of history the revolution will come sooner or later and is certain to be victorious. (*Applause.*) The Chinese people have a saying that typifies the actions of certain foolish people: "To pick up a stone only to crush one's own foot." The reactionaries of some countries are quite as foolish as this. The persecution of revolutionary peoples can, in the final analysis, only serve to accelerate a still broader and more stormy people's revolution. (*Applause.*) Did not the different measures of repression used by the Russian tsar and Chiang Kai-shek against the revolutionary peoples serve as stimulants in the great Russian Revolution and the great Chinese Revolution?

The imperialists, in addition to their efforts to find a way of saving themselves by repressing the peoples of their own countries and of the colonial and dependent

countries, also rely on war. What can they expect from war? During the past half century we have lived through two world wars. After the First World War the Great October Socialist Revolution took place in Russia. After the Second World War, in Eastern Europe and in the East a still greater number of revolutions took place. If the imperialist gangsters risk unleashing a third world war they will achieve no other result than the acceleration of the final collapse of the world capitalist system. (*Applause.*)

The governments and peoples of the socialist countries are the builders of a new and peaceful way of life. We do not need war and are determined in our opposition to a third world war. The Soviet Union, China and other socialist countries are making consistent efforts to lessen world tension. The many proposals made by the Soviet Union for the reduction of armaments and for the prohibition of the production, testing and use of weapons of mass destruction are an expression of the attitude of all the socialist countries and are, at the same time, in the interests of all the peoples of the world. We are decisively in favour of peaceful competition between the socialist and capitalist countries, we are in favour of the peoples of all countries deciding their own internal affairs in accordance with their own wishes. We firmly support the standpoint that all countries should put into effect the famous five principles—mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual advantage, peaceful coexistence.

American imperialism persistently interferes in the internal affairs of other countries, amongst others, in the internal affairs of the socialist countries; the imperialists hinder, for example, the liberation of Taiwan by China, while in Hungary they raised a counter-revolutionary revolt. They take the greatest liberties in those countries that stand in the intermediate zone between the U.S.A. and the socialist camp. Today the U.S.A. is still nurturing plans for an invasion of independent Syria, using Turkey or Israel for this purpose, and is still dreaming of overthrowing the anti-colonial government of Egypt.

This sort of insane aggressive policy on the part of the U.S.A. has precipitated a crisis in the Middle East and provoked the danger of a third world war. All peace-loving and freedom-loving peoples are on the side of Syria and are against the American and Turkish aggressors in the same way as they were on the side of Egypt in October last year when she fought against British, French and Israeli aggressors. The Soviet Union has given a serious warning to the U.S.A. and Turkey, demanding that they immediately renounce their plans of aggression. The Chinese Government and the Chinese people support the struggle of the Syrians in defence of their country and are firm in their support of the Soviet Union's just position. (*Applause.*)

The imperialist marauders should remember that the time is irrevocably past when they could work their will with the fate of mankind, when they could partition Asia and Africa quite arbitrarily.

In the past, American imperialism did everything possible to hinder the liberation of

the Chinese people and is continuing to do so today.

The American imperialists, however, were unable to prevent the 600-million Chinese people from entering the path of socialism, (*Applause.*) In the brief period of eight years China has recorded achievements in various fields that she could not have attained for the whole of the past century. There is a small group of Right bourgeois elements in China that are attempting to oppose the socialist path, to oppose the leading position of the Communist Party in the life of the state and to oppose the close alliance between China and the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. Their foolhardy schemes, however, have all come to nought under the blows dealt in reply by our whole people. (*Applause.*)

For the purpose of accelerating the development of socialism in China on a more solid foundation, the Chinese people, under the leadership of the Communist Party, are engaged in a vitalizing movement to rectify our style of work. It is a campaign to resolve correctly the actual contradictions among the people, which it is necessary to resolve right now, through a nation-wide debate held under guidance, and freely in both urban and rural areas on such questions as the choice between the two roads of socialism and capitalism, the basic system and major policies of the state, the working style of the Party and Government functionaries, and the welfare of the people, a debate conducted by bringing out the facts and the truth. This is a socialist campaign of the people to educate and re-educate themselves. The campaign has already had tremendous success. Wherever it is done, the socialist consciousness of the people improves, erroneous views are quickly elucidated, shortcomings in work are corrected, unity within the ranks of the people is strengthened, labour discipline is speedily improved and the productivity of labour rises. (*Applause.*) Amongst our population of 600 million, this movement for self-education is now being conducted by stages and groups. It is expected that in a few more months the movement will have been successful on a national scale. We intend to continue this as one of the basic methods for the solution of various social contradictions that will arise throughout the transition period by conducting a briefer rectification campaign once a year or once in two years. In the employment of this method the starting point should always be a firm belief that the majority of the people will, after all, be on our side and that this majority is right. Our whole experience of the movement bears evidence of this.

Basing ourselves on Lenin's principles of close contact with the masses, the recognition of the initiative of the masses and practising criticism and self-criticism, we have developed the method of the rectification campaign in the course of many years of revolutionary practice and the correctness of this method is newly confirmed by the socialist movement for self-education that is being conducted in our country at the present time.

China has received all-round, fraternal aid from the Soviet Union in the matter of socialist construction. On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the October Socialist

Revolution permit me to express our heartfelt gratitude to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet Government and the Soviet people for the friendly help afforded to China. (*Applause.*)

In the early period of its existence the Chinese People's Republic concluded a Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance with the Soviet Union. This is a great alliance of two great socialist countries. (*Applause.*) We have one destiny and draw one breath together with the Soviet Union and all socialist countries. (*Applause.*) We believe that it is the sacred international duty of all socialist states to strengthen the solidarity of the socialist countries, headed by the Soviet Union.

The imperialists, headed by the U.S.A., are employing all manner of provocation and intrigue in an attempt to disrupt the friendship and solidarity of the socialist states headed by the Soviet Union. The imperialists, however, are doomed to disappointment. The solidarity of the socialist countries, headed by the Soviet Union, is growing stronger. The entire history of relations between states can show nothing like the relations between the socialist countries, who share their joys and their sorrows, who show mutual respect and trust, who help and inspire each other. This is to be explained by the fact that the socialist countries are states of a new type, where the exploiting classes have been overthrown and power is in the hands of those who work. The relations between these countries embody the principle of the unity, of internationalism and patriotism. We are closely united by common interests and common ideals. In his Inaugural Address of the International Working Men's Association, Marx said: "Past experience has shown how disregard of that bond of brotherhood which ought to exist between the workmen of different countries, and incite them to stand firmly by each other in all their struggles for emancipation, will be chastised by the common discomfiture of their incoherent efforts." This statement, made by Marx over 90 years ago, will never grow old for us. (*Applause.*)

My dear Comrades, representatives of the working class and of all sections of the peoples of many countries are participating in this festival session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. dedicated to the 40th anniversary of the October Revolution. This fact alone is proof of the great solidarity of the peoples of the world and symbolizes the development and expansion of the international socialist movement. Let us continue our effort to consolidate all socialist countries, to strengthen the solidarity of the working people and the oppressed nations of the whole world for new and still greater victories! (*Applause.*)

Long live the Great October Socialist Revolution! (*Applause.*)

Long live the solidarity and friendship of the socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union! (*Applause.*)

Long live the great banner of Marxist-Leninist internationalism! (*Applause.*)

Proletarians and peace-loving people of the world, unite! (*Stormy and prolonged applause. All rise.*)