

CHOU EN-LAI

# POLITICAL REPORT

Delivered at the Second Session  
of the Second National Committee of  
the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference  
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Comrades and Friends:

The second plenary session of the second National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference is now open. This session was originally scheduled to be held in the fourth quarter of 1955 but has been postponed to the present because at that time the task of socialist transformation all over the country was developing rapidly and everybody was busy working and found it difficult to spare any time. The postponement is in a way an advantage, as it has made it possible for us to sum up more easily our experience in the work of socialist transformation.

In this session, in addition to the original 545 members, we have 119 new members, and at the same time 626 persons from various walks of life have been invited to attend—making 1,290 persons in all. This shows that, along with the advance of the cause of socialism, our people's democratic united front has grown broader and stronger than before. People in all walks of life throughout the country, witnessing the flourishing of our great motherland, are displaying an unprecedented patriotic enthusiasm and an unprecedented political activeness and solidarity. This is a phenomenon which calls for congratulation. Relying upon the concerted struggles of all nationalities and people of all walks of life, we will certainly secure more smooth and more speedy progress in all the undertakings of our motherland.

There will be six reports to our session. My political report will deal first of all with the current international situation; with regard to internal mat-

ters I shall lay stress on certain aspects in which all of us are most interested.

So far as the international situation is concerned, the past year was a year marked by a trend toward relaxation in international tension.

During the years following the conclusion of the Second World War, the international forces of peace and the international forces of war have been engaged in acute struggles which progress in a seesaw fashion, and the international forces of peace have increasingly gained the initiative. The ranks of the forces defending world peace have developed and grown ever stronger. They embrace the socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union and broadly include as well other peace-loving peoples and countries of the world. Since last year, the “Bandung spirit” for peaceful co-existence and against colonialism and the “Geneva spirit” for the easing of international tension and the settlement of international disputes through negotiation have won growing support among the peoples of the whole world. On the other hand, the so-called “policy of strength” to which the U.S. aggressive circles and their followers still cling—which is, in fact, a policy to use war to intimidate and blackmail—has suffered one defeat after another, placing its advocates more and more on the defensive. Generally speaking, the current international situation is favourable to world peace, favourable to our socialist construction and unfavourable to the war schemes and policy of aggression of the aggressive bloc.

After the Second World War, there was formed the camp of peace, democracy and socialism headed by the Soviet Union. During the past ten years the construction work of the countries of our socialist camp in all fields has tremendously developed, thereby constantly increasing and consolidating our strength.

The countries of the socialist camp, embracing nine hundred million people, with a contiguous expanse of territories on the European and Asian continents, are in the advantageous position of being able to help and support each other under any circumstances and have established mutual relations of sincere co-operation and fraternal friendship. In contrast to this prosperous, rapid growth of the socialist camp and its daily strengthening internal unity, the imperialist camp headed by the U.S. aggressive circles is constantly harassed by crises, and its internal contradictions grow ever sharper. The brilliant achievements of the countries of the socialist camp in their construction work and the policy of peaceful co-existence to which they consistently adhere have won wide welcome and support from the peace-loving people of all countries of the world. Friendly relations between the socialist countries and all other countries which wish to maintain peace have also been developing from day to day. On the other hand, the policy of aggression and war preparation carried out by the imperialist aggressive bloc has met with ever more resolute opposition from the peace-loving people, and consequently this bloc is more and more isolated in the world.

However, the U.S. aggressive circles and their followers are not willing to recognize all these changes which have already taken place in the world. In order to secure maximum profits for monopoly capital and gain world domination, they still persist in their policy of aggression and war. For the sake of covering up the true character of their policy, the U.S. aggressive circles and their followers have incessantly repeated a series of lies about the so-called Communist menace in order to carry out intimidation and deceit.

Despite all the lies of the U.S. aggressive circles, the people of all countries know that it is the im-

perialist countries, not the socialist countries, that started wars in the past and are even now preparing for new wars. The socialist countries consistently follow a policy of peace and are working untiringly for consolidating peace, easing international tension and developing friendly co-operation among nations. Everybody knows that we socialist countries firmly stand for universal disarmament and the complete prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons. On this question, the Soviet Union has made sincere efforts in order to bring about international agreement and has taken concrete action jointly with all the People's Democracies. However, the U.S. aggressive circles and their followers have not only failed to make corresponding efforts but on the contrary have retreated from their original position on disarmament to obstruct an agreement on the disarmament question. The socialist countries are firmly opposed to aggressive military blocs. They advocate the establishment of systems of collective security and collective peace which do not exclude any country, to guarantee the security and peace of all countries of the world. But the U.S. aggressive circles and their followers have frantically organized exclusive and aggressive military blocs such as NATO, the Western European Union, the Manila Treaty and the Baghdad Treaty, widely establishing and expanding military bases on the territory of other countries. The socialist countries consistently stand for the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means, but the U.S. aggressive circles are carrying out a "brink of war" policy of intimidation and blackmail. Facts are more eloquent than words, and it is clear to all fair-minded people who wants war and who wants peace.

The U.S. aggressive circles are openly engaged in subversive activities against many countries, threaten-

ing the security of many countries. This is a fact which has come to be realized by many people who did not realize it before. The U.S. aggressive circles have never stopped their subversive sabotage activities against the socialist countries. Even now they are raving about their blood-thirsty policy of so-called "liberation," vainly seeking to re-impose on the peoples of the People's Democracies the rotten social system and the extremely reactionary rulers that they have long since overthrown. Up to the present time, the U.S. aggressive circles not only refuse to recognize the choice long since made by the Chinese people but are openly interfering in China's internal affairs, encroaching on China's territory and sovereignty by the use of force and the threat of using it, and vainly attempt to prevent the Chinese people from accomplishing their cause of unifying the whole country. The U.S. aggressive circles have never had any scruples, moreover, about using splitting tactics and armed coups d'état for subversion and sabotage against all those countries in Asia, Africa, Central and South America and other areas of the world which want to safeguard their sovereignty and independence, the allies of the United States not excepted. Such being the facts, the U.S. aggressive circles, reversing right and wrong, have been unscrupulously slandering the socialist countries as carrying out subversive activities. Such lies cannot change facts. We believe in the superiority of the socialist system. But we always maintain that revolution cannot be exported. We advocate peaceful co-existence and peaceful competition between countries having different social systems, and that the people of each country should choose their political and economic systems and their way of life for themselves. We are firmly opposed to the use of force or any other means to interfere in the internal affairs of another



country and to prevent its people from making their own choice. The five principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful co-existence, initiated by China jointly with India and Burma and supported by the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and many other countries, are a manifestation of this stand of ours.

The whole world sees that the U.S. aggressive circles are not only exerting their utmost to prop up the tottering colonial system, but are themselves the biggest colonialists of the world today. They are striving to extend their colonial rule and establish world domination by such means as setting up a world-wide network of military bases, organizing military blocs and giving so-called "aid" to underdeveloped areas. The United States openly refers to India's Goa and China's Macao as "provinces" of Portugal. In the United Nations, the United States always opposes national self-determination for the colonial peoples. The U.S. aggressive circles have become the main prop of colonial rule in all parts of the world. Yet the U.S. aggressive circles and their followers have the effrontery to prate about socialism being "a form of colonialism." The socialist system is a system under which there is no exploitation of man by man; this system is by its very nature entirely different from the system under which one country enslaves and plunders another. The socialist countries consistently support the struggle of all oppressed nations and are resolutely opposed to colonialism in all its manifestations. For more than 30 years, the Soviet Union has always been the most trustworthy and staunchest supporter of the oppressed nations in all parts of the world. During the recent visits of the national lead-

ers of the Soviet Union to India, Burma and Afghanistan, the boundless sympathy and all-out support of the Soviet Union for all the peoples and countries struggling to win and preserve national independence have found expression in a most lively form. We socialist countries hold that all nations and countries of the world, big or small, should be equal, and not categorized into superior and inferior; that the people of every country should have the right of self-determination, and should not be enslaved and plundered by any other country. China and some other socialist countries in past history were in the position of colonies and semi-colonies, and gained their independence precisely in the struggle against colonialism. Among those who have shaken off colonial rule are not only socialist countries, but also countries under the leadership of nationalists. In the future, there will certainly be more oppressed nations and countries who free themselves from colonial rule, along paths of their own choosing. This is the inexorable trend of historical development, a trend which cannot be blocked by any force.

The U.S. aggressive circles have always enslaved and exploited the underdeveloped countries through so-called "aid." In the name of "aid," they dump their surplus goods, thereby snatching other countries' markets and disrupting their economy. They relegate the underdeveloped countries perpetually to the position of suppliers of raw materials and markets for manufactured goods, so as to enslave and exploit them. Through their so-called "aid," the U.S. aggressive circles demand that the recipient countries cede to them military bases and undertake military, political and economic obligations detrimental to themselves, and that the United States supervise the use of the "aid" so as to control the recipient countries.

All this is no secret. Diametrically opposite to the policy of the U.S. aggressive circles, the policy pursued by the socialist countries in their aid to each other and their economic co-operation with other countries is first of all to supplement each other. We do not force other countries to accept goods which they do not need or which they can produce in sufficient quantities for themselves. Another characteristic of our policy is to help the economically underdeveloped countries to develop their own industry and achieve economic independence. Moreover, we demand no special privileges from countries accepting our assistance. Regardless of whether the assistance we provide is economic or technical, the principles on which we base ourselves are always equality and mutual benefit and non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

The facts are already very clear. They show that the whole purpose of the United States aggressive circles in putting up the banner of anti-communism and fabricating a whole set of lies is to cover up their own war preparations and acts of aggression. No doubt, the U.S. aggressive circles want to direct their spearhead of war against the socialist countries. Owing to the mighty strength of the socialist countries, however, the U.S. aggressive circles, despite their exhaustion of all possible means including armed intervention and subversive activities, have failed in the course of many encounters to make any gains whatsoever, and have instead suffered heavy blows. Therefore, under the name of anti-communism, the U.S. aggressive circles are actually first expanding their power in the areas where they can penetrate, violating the sovereignty and national interests of the countries in these areas, and employ all kinds of methods to carry out colonialist enslavement and plunder. This cannot but arouse the people of these

areas to fight against this policy of war and aggression; and in this struggle they are greatly encouraged by the growing strength of the socialist camp and the influence of its policy of peace and also by the effect of the policy of peace and neutrality persistently followed by many countries which have achieved national independence. The development of this struggle has placed the U.S. aggressive circles in a more and more awkward position.

The surging national liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Central and South America have shaken the hold of colonialism in these areas and vigorously blocked the implementation of the U.S. aggressive circles' policy there. In Southeast Asia, countries like India, Burma, Indonesia and Afghanistan have freed themselves from colonial status and taken the path of independent development. These countries treasure the national independence they have achieved and are determined to safeguard their independence and sovereignty. They condemn antagonistic military blocs and oppose war threats. They firmly maintain a position of neutrality and demand peaceful co-existence among all countries. These countries, particularly India as a great world power, are playing an increasingly great positive role in the peaceful settlement of many major international questions. We have a deep respect for the stand taken by these countries; we have established friendly relations with them on the principles of peaceful co-existence, and are co-operating with them in many respects in the struggle for peace and international security. In Africa and in the Near and Middle East, the Arab countries headed by Egypt are resolutely defending their national independence, courageously resisting the activities of the imperialist aggressive bloc to violate their sovereignty and create division among them. Recently, the

struggle of the people of Jordan against the Baghdad Treaty has won the sympathy and support of the broad masses of people throughout the world. We note with pleasure that the Sudan has declared independence and has joined the ranks of the Arab countries for common struggle. We also hope to see the fulfilment of the aspirations of the people of North Africa for national self-determination. At the time of the Asian-African Conference, we established friendly contacts with a number of countries of Africa and the Near and Middle East. Now, our relations with them have further developed. We sympathize with and support all the peoples and countries of Asia, Africa and Central and South America in their struggle to achieve or safeguard their national independence. Their struggles are just; no power on earth can prevent their victory. Their victory will strengthen the forces of peace and deal a blow to the forces of war.

There are also certain countries in these areas that are under the illusion that they have something to gain from joining aggressive military blocs or following the U.S. policy of aggression. But the facts show that those joining aggressive military blocs and helping the imperialists to create division in these areas only make themselves in the end the victims of the imperialist policy of divide and rule. By hitching its own national interests to the war chariot of the U.S. aggressive circles and following the aggressive policy of the United States, no country can safeguard its national independence, but can only put itself in a more subordinate position politically and economically; nor can it grow strong and prosperous, but only weaker and poorer. The people and far-sighted statesmen in these countries are making ever stronger demands to take another road, that is, to extricate themselves from their present difficult and hamstrung position

and, together with the other countries in these areas, make common efforts to win peace, safeguard national independence and develop friendly co-operation among all countries. We wish to maintain friendly relations with these countries. We are glad to see that resumption has begun recently of the once broken ties between the peoples of China and Thailand. We wish to make contact with the leaders and peoples of all these countries in pursuance of the spirit of Bandung, in order to dispel any estrangement that may exist.

Rearming West Germany and Japan is an important component part of the U.S. aggressive circles' scheme of war preparations. But the peoples of Germany and Japan, who were thrown into the holocaust of war by the militarists of their own countries not long ago, are increasingly firm in their opposition to rearmament for the purpose of fighting for the U.S. aggressive circles. The German people have realized that the U.S. aggressive circles' policy of rearming West Germany not only menaces the peace and security of the German people and the people of other European countries, but also obstructs the unification of Germany and prolongs the subordination of West Germany. The people in the German Democratic Republic, brought into being by the forces for democracy and peace there, are striving for a peaceful, democratic and unified Germany. In West Germany, the forces against rearmament and for peaceful unification are also growing. We consistently hold that the problem of unification of Germany should be solved by the German people themselves in conformity with their own national interests and the interests of European security. An unbreakable friendship has been formed between China and the German Democratic Republic. For the sake of peace and the reunification of Germany

into a peace-loving, democratic state, China would also welcome the normalization of its relations with the German Federal Republic.

Ten years have elapsed since the end of the war. But Japan still remains under U.S. occupation, manacled by various enslaving unequal treaties and agreements. U.S. military bases and installations are all over Japan. The U.S. embargo policy is hampering Japan's normal trade with other countries, making its economic plight even more difficult. The Japanese nation, always independent in the past, is now being interfered with and controlled by the United States in all respects. This situation is becoming more and more intolerable to the Japanese people. Recently in Japan there has been a tremendous growth in the movement to throw off foreign control. The people and far-sighted statesmen of Japan have come out more and more for an independent policy and against going along with and being subservient to the U.S. aggressive circles. They oppose foreign military bases and demand a ban on atomic and hydrogen weapons. They stand for the extension of ties with other countries of the world, first of all the normalization of Sino-Japanese and Soviet-Japanese relations. The Chinese people deeply sympathize with the Japanese people in their difficult situation, and fully support their desire for independence. We have developed political, economic and cultural ties with the Japanese people. We have consistently made efforts to facilitate the normalization of Sino-Japanese relations in accordance with the principle of peaceful co-existence. On August 17 and on November 4, 1955, the Chinese Government twice proposed to the Japanese Government that consultations be conducted between the two Governments on promoting the normalization of Sino-Japanese relations. We regret that no reply has yet

been forthcoming from the Japanese Government. The promotion of the normalization of Sino-Japanese relations is an urgent demand of both peoples, and the Chinese Government proposes once again that consultations be held between the two Governments on this question. We hope that Japan will be able to pursue an independent foreign policy, and would welcome Japan back to the big family of Asian countries, living in peace and friendly co-operation with the countries of Asia and the world.

The U.S. aggressive circles' policy of war preparations and expansion is seriously damaging the interests of its western allies. Because of their participation in the U.S.-controlled military blocs, these countries are forced to bear military expenditures beyond their capacities, thus bringing them mounting economic difficulties. At the same time, the U.S. policy of embargo has seriously obstructed their normal international trade. As a result of all this, their dependence on the United States has increased. If they originally expected that through their alliance with the United States they could hold on to their vested interests in their colonies and spheres of influence, they should have realized long ago that it is precisely this alliance that the U.S. aggressive circles are utilizing to wrest these interests away from them. Broad masses of the people in the countries allied with the United States are finding their countries' policy of trailing after the U.S. aggressive circles more and more intolerable. They have shown their opposition in action. The results of the recent general elections in France are a vivid demonstration of this. Even within the ruling classes of these countries, there are growing numbers of people who advocate the pursuance of an independent policy. It is obvious that the tendency of many capitalist countries to demand



freedom from U.S. domination will continue to develop. This trend conforms with the interests of the people of the countries concerned and the interests of world peace. The advantages which neutrality has brought to the people of Finland, Sweden and Switzerland are attracting other capitalist countries more and more. Austria's decision to maintain permanent neutrality has paved the way for Austria's peaceful development. We respect Austria's neutral status and would like to see the establishment of relations of peaceful co-operation between China and Austria.

The U.S. aggressive circles' policy of arms expansion and war preparations has likewise evoked growing dissatisfaction and opposition in the United States. The broad masses of the people are worried over the danger of war brought along by the policy of "strength." Their living conditions are continuously worsening and their democratic freedoms and rights are being taken away. The American people have unfolded an extensive struggle to improve their living conditions, defend democratic freedoms, secure peace and oppose war. This situation cannot but influence the U.S. ruling circles. Within the U.S. ruling circles, there are also some comparatively far-sighted persons who have gradually come to realize that war and the threat of war, the clamour for going to the "brink of war," and the continued adherence to a rigid policy of reliance on "strength" can only result in isolating the United States further. Therefore, they are asking for a more sober policy based on the recognition of realities. There are also quite a few people in American industrial and commercial circles who are dissatisfied with the U.S. policy of embargo and demand development of normal international trade. All this is a welcome sign. What the Chinese people firmly oppose is the U.S. aggressive circles' policy of arms expansion