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No. 3, 1965

- Communist China -

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## COMMENT ON MARCH MOSCOW MEETING

Following is a translation of an article by the editorial departments of the Jen-min Jih-pao and Hung-ch'i published in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 3, 23 March 1965, pages 1-11.

### I. What Kind of Meeting Was It?

The schismatic meeting contrived by the new leadership of the CPSU which inherited the mantle of Khrushchev was finally held from March 1 to 5, 1965. On March 10 a statement entitled "Communique of the Consultative Meeting of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow" was issued.

After making herculean efforts and combining hard tactics with soft to knock something together, the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union finally managed to convene a fragmented meeting. The divisive meeting was quite small and most unseemly. It was a gloomy and forlorn affair.

Attending this meeting, besides the Soviet Party, were representatives and observers of 15 Parties, plus the two splinter revisionist factions of Australia and Brazil and the notorious clique of the renegade Dange, which was also dragged in to swell the total, adding up to 19 units in all.

Of the 26 Parties whose attendance was ordered by the leaders of the CPSU, the seven fraternal Parties of Albania, China, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Rumania and Viet Nam firmly refused to take part in the divisive meeting. The fraternal Marxist-Leninist Parties of Australia, Brazil and India likewise condemned and opposed the meeting.

The 19 units in attendance were rent by contradictions and disunity. Some of them wholeheartedly supported Khrushchev's revisionism and splittism; some did so half-heartedly; others, for reasons they might find it awkward to divulge, had to attend under orders to serve as a claque at the show; and still others may have temporarily fallen into the trap from naivete.

No one can deny that this meeting was the self-same illegal and schismatic meeting which Khrushchev had ordered to be held on December 15, 1964, in the CPSU's letter of July 30, 1964.

People may ask, what grounds are there for saying so? Didn't the new leaders of the CPSU postpone the meeting? Didn't they change its name from a drafting committee meeting to a consultative meeting? Didn't they speak of unity against the enemy and other good things in the communique?

By playing tricks, in appearance the new leaders of the CPSU made some changes and a number of Khrushchev's original aims which were based on wishful thinking have not been fulfilled. But in essence, the new leaders of the CPSU have taken over Khrushchev's revisionism and splittism lock, stock and barrel, and they carried out his behest for a divisive meeting very faithfully. Please consider the following facts:

The new leaders of the CPSU repeatedly declared to us that the international meeting of fraternal Parties and the meeting preparatory to it must be linked with the illegal and schismatic meetings for which Khrushchev issued the order on July 30, 1964.

The new leaders of the CPSU reiterated Khrushchev's order in the letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU to the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party dated November 24, 1964, in the letters addressed to other fraternal Parties around that time, as well as in the "Announcement on the Convocation of the Drafting Committee for the Preparation of the International Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties" carried in Pravda on December 12, 1964. They insisted that the preparatory meeting for the international meeting of fraternal Parties be held on the basis of the drafting committee which the leadership of the CPSU had decided on. They also said that they had reached the conclusion that "the fraternal Parties which have declared themselves for the convening of the drafting committee have the right to embark on practical preparations for its meeting."

They adhered to and carried out Khrushchev's order by telling only the 26 Parties — no more and no less — which had been members of the long defunct drafting committee of 1960 to attend the meeting.

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They adhered to and carried out Khrushchev's order by insisting on convening the meeting no matter how many Parties refused to attend. And so they held the meeting despite the firm opposition of a number of fraternal Parties and their flat refusal to participate.

They only postponed the meeting because under the circumstances they could not do anything else. Nevertheless, in the manner of a patriarchal party they still issued orders that it be held on March 1, 1965. And so the meeting began on that date.

On the eve of the meeting they changed its name, giving it the cloak of a "consultative meeting." In fact, this change of name did not change the nature of the divisive meeting which had been ordered by Khrushchev.

It thus became clear that despite their many tricks and conjuring feats the new leaders of the CPSU were still peddling Khrushchev's old waves. Their purpose was simply to put up a false front and inveigle people into attending the meeting, into acknowledging their status as the patriarchal party, into recognizing their right to do one thing today and another tomorrow and to wave their baton, and into following them down the blind alley of Khrushchev's revisionism and splittism.

Things could not be plainer. If the new leaders of the CPSU really wanted unity and not a continuation of Khrushchev's old practice of plotting sham unity and a genuine split, why did they not discard the order issued by Khrushchev on July 30, 1964? Why did they come out with another letter on November 24, 1964? And why could they not accept the advice of fraternal Parties, abandon this illegal schismatic meeting, change their direction and and make a fresh start?

Indeed, if the new leaders of the CPSU had not been determined to carry out Khrushchev revisionism after Khrushchev's fall, they could have very well used that fine opportunity and made a start by abandoning the divisive meeting and thus shown a desire to eliminate the differences and strengthen unity on a new basis. We sincerely hoped that the new leaders of the CPSU would make use of that fine opportunity and seek new ways to eliminate the differences and strengthen unity in conjunction with us as well as the other Marxist-Leninist parties.

But what did we get instead? When the Chinese Party and Government Delegation made contact with the new leaders of the CPSU in Moscow in 1964 during the anniversary of the October Revolution, the latter explicitly stated that there was not a shade of difference between themselves and Khrushchev on the question of the international communist movement and in their attitude towards China. They obdurately held to their stand on an illegal schismatic meeting. What is more, the plan for the divisive meeting which Khrushchev had not had time to fulfill was carried through by his successors.

It is now possible for people to see more clearly that these new leaders of the CPSU had to oust Khrushchev, not because they had any difference of principle with him, but because Khrushchev had become too odious and had been too stupid in some of his practices and because Khrushchev himself had become a serious obstacle to the carrying out of Khrushchev revisionism. In replacing Khrushchev they simply changed the signboard and employed more cunning methods and subterfuges in order the better to push through and develop Khrushchevism and to carry out the general line of revisionism, great-power chauvinism and splittism which Khrushchev had put forward at the 20th Congress of the CPSU, systematized at its 22nd Congress and embodied in the Programme of the CPSU.

## II. What Are the Deeds of the New Leaders of the CPSU?

Of late the new leaders of the CPSU have uttered quite a few fine words, and the communique of this divisive meeting is also larded with many high-sounding hypocritical phrases, such as "oppose imperialism," "support

Viet Nam against U. S. imperialism," "support the national-liberation movement," "support the people's revolutions in various countries," "unity against the enemy" and "concerted action." The new leaders of the CPSU have taken over certain slogans advanced by the Marxist-Leninists in an attempt to create the illusion that they have changed somewhat and taken a stand differing from Khrushchev's revisionism and splittism.

What a striking similarity there is here to the adoption by U. S. imperialism of some of the main slogans of the leaders of the CPSU! Peaceful coexistence, peaceful competition, peaceful transition, relaxation of tension, general and complete disarmament, the two-power domination of the world, joint assistance to India, joint support to the reactionaries of all countries, joint efforts to undermine the world revolutionary movements through the United Nations, joint efforts to oppose China, and so on - these slogans and schemes of Khrushchev's have all been taken over by U. S. imperialism' The leaders of the CPSU and the U. S. imperialists have joined in a love feast, exchanging information and working in common against communism, against the people, against revolution and against the national-liberation movement for the purpose of maintaining imperialism, revisionism and reaction everywhere against all revolutionaries. But we are not the United States, we are Marxist-Leninists. We shall expose the intrigues and plots of the new leaders of the CPSU.

Marxism-Leninism teaches us that just as an individual must as a matter of course be judged "not by his professions, but by his actions; not by what he pretends to be, but by what he does, and what he really is,"<sup>1</sup> so must a political party. "In historical struggles one must distinguish still more the phrases and fancies of parties from their real organism and their real interests, their conception of themselves from their reality."<sup>2</sup>

If in the light of this principle we examine what the new leaders of the CPSU have done since Khrushchev's fall, we shall be able to understand that all their fine words only amount to selling horse meat as beefsteak and that they are saying one thing and doing another. We shall likewise be able to understand the real meaning of certain slogans contained in the communique.

The communique says, "Divergences in the communist movement weaken its unity and thereby do damage to the world liberation movement, to the communist cause." We would like to ask: Whence the divergences? What is actually weakening the unity of the international communist movement and doing damage to the cause of the people's revolutions in different countries? Quite plainly, it is Khrushchev revisionism, as expressed in concentrated form in the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the CPSU and the Programme of the CPSU. The divergence between Marxism-Leninism and Khrushchev revisionism is a divergence between two roads, between defending Marxism-Leninism and opposing Marxism-Leninism; it is a divergence between two antagonistic classes, the proletariat and the

1) Frederick Engels, Germany: Revolution and Counter-Revolution, Eng. ed., International Publishers, New York, 1933, p. 93.

2) Karl Marx, "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte," Selected Works of Marx and Engels, Eng. ed., F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1958, Vol. 1, p. 272.



bourgeoisie. Since the new leaders of the CPSU are now following Khrushchev's whole revisionist general line of "peaceful coexistence," "peaceful competition," "peaceful transition," "the state of the whole people" and "the party of the entire people," this only goes to prove that they are still bent on deepening the differences, wrecking unity and doing fresh damage to the international communist movement.

The communique reads, "The participants voiced their conviction that what unites the Communist Parties greatly outweighs that which at the present time disunites them." This assertion is sheer hypocrisy; it is an attempt to whitewash the actions of the new leaders of the CPSU in openly splitting the international communist movement.

In the incipient stages of Khrushchev revisionism and in the course of its development, we invariably proceeded from the desire for unity and offered our advice and criticism, in the hope that Khrushchev might turn back. We indicated on many occasions that the points the fraternal Marxist-Leninist Parties had in common were basic while the differences among them were partial in character, and that they should seek common ground while reserving their differences. But Khrushchev and his like turned a deaf ear to these words. They kept widening the differences and going farther down the revisionist road. They formulated a revisionist general line and a whole set of revisionist internal and external policies and worked out a revisionist programme. Hence, the nature of the differences clearly became one of fundamental opposition between the Marxist-Leninist general line and the revisionist general line. In addition, Khrushchev issued his order for the convening of the divisive meetings and went a step further in setting the revisionists against the Marxist-Leninists in the organizational sphere and in splitting the international communist movement.

After Khrushchev's downfall, we hoped that the new leaders of the CPSU would proceed from the common interests of the international communist movement, abandon Khrushchev revisionism and return to a Marxist-Leninist and proletarian internationalist stand. But the new leaders of the CPSU have obstinately clung to the whole of Khrushchev's revisionist theories, general line and policies and have declared that there is not a shade of difference between Khrushchev and themselves on the question of the international communist movement and in their attitude toward China. And they have taken the serious step of convening the divisive meeting regardless of the consequences. Quite obviously, the new leaders of the CPSU have gone a step further in destroying the basis for the unity of the Communist Parties. In these circumstances we would like to ask: When they exclaim, "what unites the Communist Parties greatly outweighs that which at the present time disunites them," what is this if not an effort to conceal their revisionist and schismatic essence?

The new leaders of the CPSU claim that we can take "concerted action against the enemy" and adopt "united action"! This is likewise a swindle. One of the important characteristics of Khrushchev revisionism is its complete reversal of enemies and friends. The new leaders of the CPSU are continuing to practice Khrushchev revisionism, and they regard U. S. imperialism, the common enemy of the people of the world, as their friend and all Marxist-

Leninists and revolutionaries as their enemies. This being the case, what concerted action against the enemy or what united action can one speak of?

Let us now examine the actual policy the new leaders of the CPSU have pursued towards U. S. imperialism since they came into power.

In a nutshell, they are continuing to adhere to Khrushchev's reactionary policy of Soviet-U.S. cooperation for the domination of the world. They are proclaiming that there are "sufficiently broad areas for co-operation" between the Soviet Union and the United States and extolling the U. S. chief-tain Johnson as being "sensible" in their efforts to prettify U. S. imperialism.

In their dealings with U. S. imperialism, the new leaders of the CPSU do not make as much noise as did Khrushchev; but they are "men of action." After taking office, they hurriedly struck several bargains with the U. S. imperialists, on some of which no agreement had been reached for a long time during Khrushchev's leadership. What deserves special attention is the fact that the new leaders of the CPSU should have agreed to contribute, in the guise of a donation, to the expenses incurred by the United States in its armed intervention in the Congo in the name of the United Nations. Moreover, for the purpose of helping U. S. imperialism to suppress and stamp out the people's revolutions in various countries they have given active support to the United States in its scheme to utilize the U. N. "Special Committee for Peace-Keeping Operations" to establish a standing U. N. armed force. They have taken over Khrushchev's policy of fraternizing with, currying favour with and capitulating to U. S. imperialism.

The leaders of the CPSU have been trying in every possible way to bring within the orbit of Soviet-U.S. talks for the "settlement of problems" all revolutionary struggles in the front line of the battle against U. S. imperialism in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the storm-centers of world revolution. The new leaders of the CPSU are now loudly proclaiming their support for the revolutionary struggle of the people of southern Viet Nam, but in reality they are trying to gain political capital for their dealings with the U. S. imperialists and to carry out plots for "peace talks," in a futile attempt to extinguish the revolutionary struggle of the south Vietnamese people against U. S. imperialism and its lackeys.

At a time when the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam is being wantonly bombed by the U. S. gangsters, all the countries of the socialist camp and the revolutionary people throughout the world should, as a matter of course, unite and wage a tit-for-tat struggle against the U. S. aggressors. Instead, in order to serve U. S. imperialism the new leaders of the CPSU insisted on holding the schismatic meeting and took this grave divisive step. The statement against U. S. imperialist aggression in Viet Nam which they issued in the name of this divisive meeting was itself an irony of the first magnitude. Within twenty-four hours after the statement had been issued, they dispatched troops as well as ordinary and mounted police brutally to suppress the demonstration of students in Moscow against U. S. imperialism, an action which

resulted in bloodshed, and they have persecuted foreign students who took part in this struggle. At the same time, the Soviet Government made prompt and obsequious apologies to U. S. imperialism.

The new leaders of the CPSU have exposed their fraudulence by their deeds. They have revealed themselves in their true colors to the whole world. They are directing the spearhead of their struggle not against U. S. imperialism and its lackeys but against the revolutionary people of all countries who are fighting imperialism and its lackeys.

It seems that "what unites" the new leaders of the CPSU and U. S. imperialism is becoming stronger and stronger and is making them well-nigh inseparable. Naturally, what separates them from the Marxist-Leninists will become greater and greater and "what unites" them with the Marxist-Leninists smaller and smaller the longer this goes on.

Next, let us consider the policies the new leaders of the CPSU have adopted towards fraternal countries and fraternal Parties.

In a nutshell, the new leaders of the CPSU have persisted in Khrushchev's policies against China, Albania, the Japanese Communist Party, the Indonesian Communist Party, the New Zealand Communist Party and all the fraternal countries and Parties which uphold Marxism-Leninism.

The new leaders of the CPSU still cling to the views expressed in the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU of July 14, 1963, in Suslov's anti-Chinese report at the February 1964 plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU and in the resolution adopted on this report. They are still energetically mobilizing the whole Soviet Party and the entire Soviet people to read these anti-Chinese documents. In other words, they have taken over all the worn-out weapons from Khrushchev's anti-Chinese and anti-Communist arsenal. Moreover, they continue to give all kinds of support to the Indian reactionaries in the latter's opposition to China.

The new leaders of the CPSU have persisted in the entire set of erroneous policies against Albania which Khrushchev adopted at and around the period of the 22nd Congress of the CPSU.

The new leaders of the CPSU continue to practice Khrushchev's great-power chauvinism towards fraternal socialist countries and to carry out a policy of exerting control over them.

The new leaders of the CPSU continue to follow Khrushchev's policy of unscrupulous interference in the internal affairs of the fraternal Parties and engage in disruptive and subversive activities against them. They have been colluding with Japanese Trotskyites, Right-wing Social-Democrats and renegades from the Japanese Communist Party, and have perpetrated every kind of disruption and subversion against the Japanese Communist Party which upholds Marxism-Leninism. Moreover, they publish articles in their press attacking it and giving open support to the handful of renegades such as Yoshio Shiga, Ichizo Suzuki and Shigeo Kamiyama. They have been supporting Indonesian

Trotskyites and other counter-revolutionary forces in opposing the Indonesian Communist Party which upholds Marxism-Leninism and in disrupting the anti-imperialist national united front of Indonesia. They have been attacking the New Zealand Communist Party which upholds Marxism-Leninism and trying to subvert its leadership. And they have been carrying on all kinds of disruption and subversion against the Communist Party of Burma and other fraternal Parties upholding Marxism-Leninism.

The new leaders of the CPSU continue to pursue Khrushchev's policy of strenuous support for the clique headed by Dange, that renegade from the Indian working class and running dog of the Indian big bourgeoisie, in its anti-communist, anti-popular, and counter-revolutionary activities.

From all this people can see at whom the new leaders of the CPSU are aiming when they speak of "concerted action against the enemy," and what they are actually about when they speak of "united action." People can also see that the new leaders of the CPSU do not want to strengthen what unites the fraternal Parties but ceaselessly aggravate what disunites them.

Numerous facts show that the clamor of the new leaders of the CPSU against U. S. imperialism is a sham while their capitulation to U. S. imperialism is the essence, that their issuing of the statement against U. S. imperialism is a sham while their suppression of the masses struggling against U. S. imperialism is the essence, that their support for revolution is a sham while their disruption of revolution is the essence, that their statements such as "unity against the enemy" and "concerted action" are a sham while their actions to undermine unity and create splits everywhere, even to the point of convening a meeting to create an open split in the international communist movement, are the essence.

To sum up, what the new leaders of the CPSU have been doing can be described as "three shams and three realities": sham anti-imperialism but real capitulation, sham revolution but real betrayal, sham unity but a real split. They are still doing what Khrushchev did, which can be described as "four alignments with and four alignments against": alignment with imperialism against socialism, alignment with the United States against China and the other revolutionary countries, alignment with the reactionaries everywhere against the national-liberation movements and the people's revolutions, and alignment with the Tito clique and renegades of all descriptions against all the fraternal Marxist-Leninist Parties and all revolutionaries fighting imperialism.

### III. Answers to Some Questions

The communique of the schismatic Moscow meeting once again strikes up the old tune about the cessation of public polemics, saying that "the Parties represented at this meeting have declared themselves in favor of discontinuing open polemics, which are in character unfriendly and degrading to the fraternal Parties." It adds that "they consider it useful to continue in a comradely form and without mutual attacks, an exchange of opinions on the important contemporary issues of mutual interest."

The communique dare not face this basic fact: it is the leaders of the CPSU themselves who started the public polemics in complete violation of the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties and who have taken an "unfriendly" attitude towards fraternal Parties and launched "degrading" attacks on them. Nor dare it touch on the crucial matter of whether the numerous resolutions, statements and articles attacking the Chinese Communist Party and other Marxist-Leninist parties, which the leaders of the CPSU and their followers published, still stand or not.

We understand full well what is really meant when the leaders of the CPSU and their followers call for the ending of the public polemics; it means drawing no distinction between right and wrong, showing no respect for the truth, and allowing the revisionists to slander and attack the Marxist-Leninists while forbidding the Marxist-Leninists to answer and refute the revisionists.

So far, we have published only a small number of articles in reply to the attacks and slanders levelled at us by the leaders of the CPSU and their followers and are a long way from having completed our replies, while in many cases we have not yet made any reply at all. Unless they openly announce the withdrawal of these anti-Chinese resolutions, statements and articles and publicly admit their mistakes, it will be absolutely impossible to silence us. Can the whole affair be reckoned as ended when Your Lordships go off, shrugging your shoulders, after abusing others? Can it be that you may abuse people whenever you please and then call a halt whenever you want to, while forbidding us to make a fair answer? Is there any such unequal and wholly unreasonable principle governing relations among fraternal Parties?

The Chinese Communist Party has on many occasions made clear its stand on the question of the public polemics, and we now once again announce it to the world: Since there are differences of principle between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism and since the modern revisionists have maligned us so much and refused to acknowledge their mistakes, it goes without saying that we have the right to refute them publicly. In these circumstances, it will not do to call for an end to the public polemics, it will not do to stop for a single day, for a month, a year, a hundred years, a thousand years, or ten thousand years. If nine thousand years are not enough to complete the refutation, then we shall take ten thousand.

The communique also declares itself "against the interference by any Party in the internal affairs of other Parties." As everyone knows, what is meant here is but another version of the "denunciation of the factional activities of the Chinese Communist Party."

For years we have heard this kind of talk about opposing "factional activities" from Khrushchev, the greatest splitter in the international communist movement. There are indeed quite a few persons who have engaged in factional activities, namely, Khrushchev and his disciples, and since his downfall, those who cling to Khrushchev revisionism without Khrushchev and those who want to make Communist Parties degenerate into social-democratic parties. They direct their factional activities against Marxism-Leninism,

against revolution and against the proletariat and the masses of the people who constitute the overwhelming majority of the population of the world. To oppose revolution and undermine the revolutionary unity of the proletariat they have carried out subversive activities in all the Communist and Workers' Parties by every conceivable means. Acting thus, they will inevitably be deserted by their followers and eventually become a miserable and negligible faction. And the "faction" which these gentlemen are attacking consists precisely of the Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries who stand with the masses of the people. It should be stressed that the small schismatic Moscow meeting was itself grave factional activity.

The Communist Party of China never conceals its views. We approve of and support all the world forces, including all the political parties, groups and individuals, that persevere in revolution and in opposition to imperialism and reaction. As Lenin taught, the only correct policy is one based on principle. We shall never barter away principle. The more the revisionists abuse us, the stronger the proof that we are right, and the more firmly shall we maintain our principled stand. In this connection, if we need to make self-criticism, we should say that, in comparison with the support given by the leaders of the CPSU to the revisionist groups in many countries, we have not given enough support to the revolutionary Left in some countries and henceforth must greatly intensify our endeavours in this respect.

To put it bluntly, it will never work in the future any more than it did in the past to allow the adherents of Khrushchev revisionism to conspire with each other in opposing the Marxist-Leninists to support each other and unite in their struggle against Khrushchev revisionism and its adherents.

The communique says not a single word about whether the so-called new international meeting, which was to have been held in the middle of 1965 according to Khrushchev's order last year, has been cancelled or postponed. It equivocates by talking of "active and all-sided preparations" and of the meeting "to be held at a suitable date." At the same time the communique advocates the holding of a so-called "Preliminary Consultative Conference of representatives of the 81 Parties that gathered at the 1960 Meeting." What does this mean? Doesn't it mean that they are desperately hanging on to the so-called drafting committee in Khrushchev's order of July 30, 1964? Or does it mean that they are insisting on the 81-Party meeting ordered by Khrushchev? Or are they up to some new trick?

We must solemnly tell the new leaders of the CPSU: In convening the illegal schismatic meeting you took a most serious step to effect an open split in the international communist movement. You must be held responsible for all the grave consequences.

In calling the divisive meeting, you have placed new and serious obstacles in the way of convening an international meeting for the unity of the fraternal Parties. We said before that in order to hold a successful meeting for unity, some four or five years of preparatory work might be required to remove the obstacles, but now it seems that a period twice as long, or even longer, will be needed.

#### IV. Unite on the Basis of Marxism-Leninism and Revolution

The new leaders of the CPSU have now held their schismatic meeting. They probably think that they can thereby curry favor with imperialism and somehow maintain their revisionist "legitimacy," and that they can use it for some political sleight of hand. But their action can neither intimidate nor deceive the Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people of the world. They were unable to block the advance or the people's revolutionary struggles in the past, and they will be still less able to do so in the future.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has taught us time and again that the people - including those of the Soviet Union - who constitute the overwhelming majority of the population of the world want to make revolution. The overwhelming majority of Communists and cadres of the international communist movement, including those in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, want to make revolution. Persons like Khrushchev, whose thinking is ossified and who obtusely pursue the revisionist road and are bent on opposing communism, the people and revolution, are a mere handful, a tiny minority. For a whole some people may not see things clearly or may be hoodwinked or may commit mistakes, but so long as they want to make revolution, having once understood the true situation and seen revisionism in its true colors, they will eventually break with revisionism and come over to the side of Marxism-Leninism in the course of their revolutionary practice. The masses of the people and the revolutionary cadres, who constitute over 90 per cent of the population of the world, will certainly unite.

The number of those believing in Khrushchev revisionism was already dwindling in any case. Now, of course it is even harder to make others believe in Khrushchevism without Khrushchev. Similarly, the number of those obeying Khrushchev's baton was already decreasing. Now, of course it is even harder to make others obey the baton taken over from Khrushchev. The small divisive meeting so painstakingly contrived by the new leaders of the CPSU turned out to be neither fish nor fowl; this not only shows that Khrushchev revisionism without Khrushchev is wrong and bankrupt, it also shows the great importance of the persistent struggle of the Marxist-Leninist parties and the Marxist-Leninists against modern revisionism and against this divisive meeting.

All the same, we have to thank the new leaders of the CPSU for insisting on calling the divisive meeting. This bad thing can be turned into a good thing. It has helped people quickly to strip the new leaders of the CPSU of their veil of Marxism-Leninism and to expose their true revisionist features. It is helping people to see through their fine words to the essence behind the appearance. It is helping all Communists and revolutionary people the world over to realize that the emergence and development of Khrushchev revisionism is by no means a matter of a few individuals or an accidental phenomenon. It has profound social and historical causes. So long as imperialists and reactionaries exist and so long as there are classes and class struggle in the world, Khrushchev revisionism will inevitably recur in one form or another and the struggle against it will not come to an end.

The communique of the schismatic Moscow meeting states that the Communists of all countries should concentrate on what it calls "the urgent tasks." What are the urgent tasks? In our view, the most urgent task facing the international communist movement is to unite with all the forces that can be united in order to oppose U. S. imperialism and its lackeys, to oppose the reactionaries of all countries, and to win victories in the struggle for world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and socialism. The Declaration of 1957 and the Statement of 1960 have explicitly pointed out that modern revisionism is the main danger in the international communist movement at the present time. In order to wage the struggle against imperialism and reaction successfully and further strengthen the unity of the international proletariat, it is imperative to continue to expose the true features of the modern revisionists, help those who lack an understanding of the true situation to acquire it, and help those who hesitate on the road of revolution to march ahead with the revolutionary people. It is likewise imperative to isolate to the maximum the modern revisionists, who are the accomplices of imperialism and reaction, and to carry the struggle against Khrushchev revisionism through to the very end.

The grave action of the new leaders of the CPSU in calling the divisive meeting has given the Marxist-Leninist parties and the Marxist-Leninists of the world the right to take the initiative. There is all the more reason now why we should openly criticize and thoroughly expose the revisionist line of the new leaders of the CPSU, give more vigorous support to the people's revolutionary movements and the revolutionary Left in different countries and promote the speedier development of the Marxist-Leninist forces and the unity of the international communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and revolution.

The struggle between the two lines in the international communist movement has now entered a new stage. At this crucial juncture, we would like once again to give the new leaders of the CPSU a piece of sincere advice. Why should you put your neck into the noose left by Khrushchev? Why can't you start afresh?

In our view, it is at once difficult and not difficult for you really to take the side of the fraternal Marxist-Leninist Parties and the revolutionary people in concerted action against the enemy and in unity against imperialism. The question hinges on whether or not you will do the following:

Publicly declare that all orders for convening divisive meetings are wrong and illegal. Openly admit the error of illegally convening the schismatic meeting.

Publicly and solemnly admit before the Communists and the people of the world that Khrushchev's revisionism, great-power chauvinism and splittism was wrong.

Publicly admit that the revisionist line and programme adopted at the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the CPSU presided over by Khrushchev was wrong.



Publicly admit that all the words and deeds of the leaders of the CPSU against China, Albania, the Japanese Communist Party and the other Marxist-Leninist parties are wrong.

Publicly pledge yourselves to desist from the error of Khrushchev revisionism and return to the road of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and to the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement.

It is imperative to solve these questions of principle if the genuine elimination of the differences and genuine unity against the enemy are to be achieved. Unless these questions of principle are solved and the serious obstacles placed in the way of the unity of the international communist movement are removed, then all words about eliminating differences, strengthening unity, ending public polemics and calling an international meeting of the fraternal Parties are empty talk.

The show put on by Khrushchev was but a brief interlude in the history of the international communist movement, much briefer than the performances of the old-line revisionists, Bernstein and Kautsky. The subsequent performance of those who want Khrushchevism without Khrushchev can only be a brief interlude, too, and no better than the show put on by Khrushchev himself.

The victorious advance of the revolutionary struggle of the people of the world represents the trend of history, and this trend is independent of the will of the imperialists, the reactionaries of all countries and the modern revisionists. As always, they keep on exposing their reactionary features by their deeds and will thus serve as teachers by negative example for the proletariat and revolutionary people of the world. We are convinced that over 90 per cent of the people of the world will join the revolutionary front against imperialism and that over 90 per cent of the people in the ranks of the international communist movement will advance along the road of Marxism-Leninism. We are also convinced that the revolutionary people of the world, the great international communist movement, the great socialist camp and the great Chinese and Soviet peoples will finally sweep away all obstacles and unite on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The future is infinitely bright for the cause of world revolution. In the end monsters of every description will be completely destroyed.

Let all the parties upholding Marxism-Leninism and all the revolutionary people of the world unite in the great struggle against imperialism, against the reactionaries of all countries and against modern revisionism! The Marxist-Leninists and the revolutionary people of the world will undoubtedly win even greater victories in their struggle for world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and socialism!

CSO: 3530-D



AN INTRODUCTION TO THE BOOK,  
POLEMICS ON THE GENERAL LINE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

Following is a translation of an unsigned article in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 3, 23 March 1965, pages 12-15.

A book of great political and theoretical significance--Polemics on the General Line of the International Communist Movement--has just come off the press at the People's Publishing House. It is a collection of important documents issued by the CCP against Khrushchev revisionism. Included in the book are "A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement" which the Central Committee of the CCP put forward on 14 June 1963 and the 10 vital articles written by the editorial departments of the Jen-min Jih-pao and the magazine Hung-ch'i, namely:

1. - "The Origin and Development of the Differences Between the Leadership of the CPSU and Ourselves";
2. - "On the Question of Stalin";
3. - "Is Yugoslaia a Socialist Country?";
4. - "Apologists of Neocolonialism";
5. - "Two Different Lines on the Question of War and Peace";
6. - "Peaceful Coexistence--Two Diametrically Opposed Policies";
7. - "The Leaders of the CPSU--the Greatest Splitters of Our Times";
8. - "The Proletarian Revolution and Khrushchev's Revisionism";
9. - "On Khrushchev's Phoney Communism and Its Historical Lessons for the World"; and
10. - "Why Khrushchev Fell."

The appendix to the book includes the letters of 30 March 1963 from the Central Committee of the CPSU to the Central Committee of the CCP and the open letters of the Central Committee of the CPSU to party organizations and all communists in the Soviet Union published on 14 July 1963.

Readers of this book will be able to see clearly that "the general line at the present time" for the international communist movement, as advocated in the letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU to the Central Committee of the CCP on 30 March 1963 is in effect the Khrushchev revisionist line which was first put forward by the leadership of the CPSU at its 20th congress, and developed into a complete system and fixed in the form of the

program of the CPSU at its 22nd congress. At a later date, while talks were taking place between the CCP and the CPSU the leadership of the CPSU once again tried to palm off their revisionist general line as the general line of the international communist movement in the open letter of 14 July 1963 of the Central Committee of the CPSU to party organizations and all communists in the Soviet Union. In that open letter, too, the leadership of the CPSU did all it could in turning facts upside down, in rumor-mongering and mudslinging, and in leveling vicious all-round attacks against the CCP, while currying favor with the U. S. imperialists.

As against the revisionist general line of the leadership of the CPSU, the Central Committee of the CCP put forward "a proposal concerning the general line of the international communist movement" in its letter of 14 June 1963 to the Central Committee of the CPSU.

On the basis of Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory and the revolutionary principles of the 1957 declaration and the 1960 statement, the Central Committee of the CCP explicitly pointed out that the general line of the international communist movement at the present stage should be: "Workers of all countries, unite; workers of the world, unite with the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations; oppose imperialism and reaction in all countries; consolidate and expand the socialist camp; bring the proletarian world revolution step by step to complete victory; and establish a new world without imperialism, without capitalism, and without exploitation of man by man."

This is a Marxist-Leninist line, a line whereby the people of all countries resolutely carry on their revolutionary struggles and carry the proletarian world revolution forward to the end, and the most effective line for opposing imperialism and safeguarding world peace.

Beginning 6 September 1963, the editorial departments of Jen-min Jih-pao and Hung-ch'i published nine articles in succession commenting on the open letter of the CPSU Central Committee in order to set fully forth the CCP's views on the general line of the international communist movement, to criticize Khrushchev revisionism thoroughly, and to reply to the attacks of the CPSU leadership.

The article "The Origin and Development of the Differences Between the Leadership of the CPSU and Ourselves" recounts in detail the history of the struggle between the two lines in the international communist movement from the time of the 20th CPSU Congress. It points out that "the differences between the Chinese and Soviet parties and within the international communist movement have arisen solely because the leadership of the CPSU has departed from Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary principles of the 1957 declaration and the 1960 statement and pursued a revisionist and splitting line in the international communist movement. The process in which the leadership of the CPSU has gone farther and farther down the road of revisionism and splittism is the very process which has widened and aggravated the differences."

"On the Question of Stalin" sets forth the CCP's appraisal of the great Marxist-Leninist Stalin and exposes and criticizes Khrushchev's error in

completely negating Stalin by making use of "combating the personality cult." In attacking Stalin, states the article, Khrushchev was in fact recklessly attacking the Soviet system and the Soviet state, and he did so with the aim of erasing the indelible influence of this great proletarian revolutionary among the people of the Soviet Union and throughout the world and negating Marxism-Leninism, which Stalin had defended and developed, so as to pave the way for the all-out pursuit of a revisionist line.

On the basis of irrefutable facts, "Is Yugoslavia a Socialist Country?" proves the restoration of capitalism in Yugoslavia and the degeneration of Yugoslav state power from a dictatorship of the proletariat to a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The article exposes both the role played by the Tito clique as a counterrevolutionary special detachment of U. S. imperialism and Khrushchev's actions in scrapping the 1960 statement and wallowing in the mire and colluding with the renegade Tito clique.

"Apologists of Neocolonialism" sets forth the fundamental views of the CCP on the national liberation movement, while repudiating the absurd arguments and the traitorous activities of the Khrushchev revisionists on this question. It points out that "in serving the imperialists' neocolonialism, Khrushchev is not a whit inferior to the old revisionists in their service of the imperialists' old colonialism.

The article "Two Different Lines on the Question of War and Peace" elucidates the fundamental antagonism on this question between the Marxist-Leninist and revisionist lines. It points out that by their whole line of action the leaders of the CPSU have altogether renounced the struggle against the imperialist policies of aggression and war, have altogether renounced the united front against U. S. imperialism and its lackeys and for the defense of world peace, and have sought to isolate to the maximum not the principal enemy of world peace but the forces of world peace, thus in effect renouncing the fighting task of defending world peace.

The article "Peaceful Coexistence--Two Diametrically Opposed Policies" systematically expounds Lenin and Stalin's policy of peaceful coexistence, namely, the fundamental ideas on the policy of peaceful coexistence which all Marxist-Leninists, including the Chinese Communists, uphold, and repudiates the so-called general line of peaceful coexistence of Khrushchev revisionism. The article points out that the essence of the general line of "peaceful coexistence" pursued by the leaders of the CPSU is Soviet-U. S. collaboration to boss the world. On the pretext of "peaceful coexistence," the leaders of the CPSU seek in the international sphere to substitute class collaboration for class struggle, advocating "all-round cooperation" between socialism and imperialism, thus opening the door to imperialist penetration of the socialist countries, all of which exactly meets the requirements of the U. S. imperialist policy of "peaceful evolution."

The article "The Leaders of the CPSU are the Greatest Splitters of our Times" reviews the historical lessons of the struggle against splittism in the international communist movement, exposes the splittist crimes of the leaders of the CPSU, and refutes their slanders in this connection against

the CCP. The article points out that the leaders of the CPSU are pitting their revisionism against Marxism-Leninism, their great-power chauvinism and national egoism against proletarian internationalism, and their sectarianism and splittism against the international unity of the proletariat. Thus the leaders of the CPSU have become manufacturers of the splits in the entire international communist movement and the socialist camp, and within many fraternal parties.

The article "The Proletarian Revolution and Khrushchev's Revisionism" expounds violent revolution as a universal law of proletarian revolution, analyzes the experience of success and failure in the international communist movement and in the revolutionary struggles of the people of various countries during the postwar years, and repudiates the road of so-called "peaceful transition" but forward by Khrushchev, which is diametrically opposed to the road of the October revolution. The article says: "In the history of the international communist movement the betrayal of Marxism and of the proletariat by the revisionists has always manifested itself most sharply in their opposition to violent revolution and to the dictatorship of the proletariat and in their advocacy of peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism. This is likewise the case with Khrushchev's revisionism."

The article "On Khrushchev's Phoney Communism and its Historical Lessons for the World" expounds the objective laws governing socialist society and the dictatorship of the proletariat, and reveals and criticizes the errors of Khrushchev revisionism in renouncing the dictatorship of the proletariat and changing the nature of the political party of the proletariat. The article points out that "as a result of Khrushchev's revisionism, the first socialist country in the world built by the great Soviet people with their blood and sweat is now facing an unprecedented danger of capitalist restoration."

This article explains Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theories and policies on socialist society and the dictatorship of the proletariat and says: "Comrade Mao Tse-tung has formulated a set of theories and policies, after summing up the practical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat in China and studying the positive and negative experience of other countries, mainly by the Soviet Union, in accordance with the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, and has thus enriched and developed the Marxist-Leninist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

By their original plan, the editorial departments of Jen-min Jih-pao and Hung-ch'i would have continued bringing out articles commenting on the open letter of the CPSU Central Committee. However, in October 1964 Khrushchev collapsed. Hence, Hung-ch'i issued "Why Khrushchev Fell" by way of a brief summing up. The article says: "Everything Khrushchev did over the past 11 years proves that the policy he pursued was one of alliance with imperialism against socialism, alliance with the United States against China, alliance with the reactionaries everywhere against the national liberation movements and the people's revolutions, and alliance with the Tito clique and renegades of all descriptions against all Marxist-Leninist fraternal parties and all revolutionaries fighting imperialism."

The article pointed out that although Khrushchev had fallen, his

supporters--the U. S. imperialists, the reactionaries of various countries, and the modern revisionists--would not resign themselves to defeat. These demons of all kinds were continuing to pray for Khrushchev and were trying to "resurrect" him with their incantations in the hope that events would develop along the lines prescribed by Khrushchev, so that "Khrushchevism without Khrushchev" might prevail. It could be asserted categorically, it added, that this is a blind alley.

The publication at the present moment of "Polemics on the General Line of the International Communist Movement" has special significance. From this book readers will be able to learn the history of the struggle against Khrushchev revisionism, and by using this book as a weapon they will be able to distinguish and criticize Khrushchevism without Khrushchev, so that the struggle against modern revisionism is carried forward to the very end.

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## TO INQUIRE INTO EVERYTHING

Following is a translation of an article by Lu Li (6424 0500) in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 3, 23 March 1965, pages 16-17.

In his essay, "Oppose Book-ism," Comrade Mao Tse-tung tells us to: "Walk with your two legs in big strides to every department and every place within the scope of your work, and emulate Confucius by inquiring into everything." (Selected Readings From Mao Tse-tung's Works, Book A, People's Publishing House, p. 18)

Comrade Mao Tse-tung quotes the popular saying, "Inquire into everything," but fills it with brand new content.

The fact that our Party can exercise correct leadership over the people is because we regularly carry out investigation and study, consult with the masses on important matters, and practice the leadership method of continuously pooling the experiences and wisdom of the masses and continuously applying them perseveringly among the masses. This method in effect requires "making inquiry into everything."

Our socialist revolution is right now proceeding intensively while our socialist construction is developing vigorously. On all fronts new things are cropping up, new problems are arising, and new tasks are being set continuously. It is true that we have accumulated considerable experience in respect of socialist revolution and socialist construction, but before us there are still many, many unknown domains that we have to know, and many, strange things with which we have to familiarize ourselves. Therefore, it is all the more necessary today to strengthen investigation and study and promote the spirit of "inquiring into everything."

Some people have strong, blind confidence in their own intellect. When they are confronted with a problem, they merely shut themselves in and think about ways and means to cope with it. Of course, assiduous thinking is a good thing, and constant thinking can indeed lead to wisdom. However, diligent thinking must proceed on the basis of the thinker's possession of abundant data and material. Man's head, no matter how brilliant, is only a processing factory. To produce good products -- correct ideas -- one must take in various experiences, knowledge, and views from the broad masses who personally take part in practical struggle. Having taken possession of such material, man's brain can then proceed to think, starting from reality and a certain basis, and do the work of adjustment, analysis, synthesis, and generalization. One cannot

rely on government "appropriation" for raw materials for thought, nor can one "procure" them with money, but has to collect them oneself. That requires one to carry out practice, investigation, and inquiry.

There is such a saying: "He who goes into a pastureland makes inquiries of the herdsmen; he who goes to the water makes inquiries of the fishermen." Why? Because "they know their places very well." In doing our work and making investigations and studies, we do something not so simple as inquiring our way, but the principle is the same: We must make our inquiries of those who have the most practical experience and who know the actual situation best.

In making investigation and study, we must inquire repeatedly about facts which we need know, and we must address our inquiries not only to the same person. The more we inquire the surer we shall be of our facts; the more we debate the clearer will the truth be. Only by asking questions can we know the different facts and situations and views and compare them. Only by asking questions can we know a thing and the whys and wherefores of it. Only by asking questions can we check our facts and make sure of them. Only by asking questions can we find out the root of things and their internal relations. Only by asking questions can we discover contradictions and develop discussion about them, so as to make our understanding intensive and comprehensive and avoid superficiality and one-sidedness. Only by asking more questions can we know more. If we know only a little, we shall not be able to get the correct view from a comparison of our facts. Correct knowledge is often obtained through comparing different facts and situations and different views. Comrade Mao Tse-tung tells us that, in holding an investigation meeting, we must "ask questions and take notes personally and unfold discussion with those attending the meeting" (Preface and Postscript to 'Rural Investigations', Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Vol 2. People's Publishing House, p. 790), that we must "make investigation in the manner of discussion." ("Oppose Book-ism," Selected Readings From Mao Tse-tung's Works, Book A, People's Publishing House, p 25) Only by so doing can be understand the true facts and arrive at correct or near-correct conclusions.

To be able to "inquire about everything," it is necessary to have the spirit of "not thinking a shame to stoop and ask questions." To a Marxist-Leninist who maintains that the masses are the creators of history, there is completely nothing "shameful" to "stoop to inquire." On the contrary, it is shameful to pretend to understand something which ones does not understand or to think presumptuously that one knows what one does not really know.

In one's childhood, one will always ask the grown-ups about this and that, questions which sometimes necessarily make the grown-ups aware of their puerility and laughability. But is it not a result of "inquiring about everything" that a child quickly goes from a state of ignorance to a state of knowledge and from knowing little to knowing more? When a child grows up, it will inevitably get rid of some of its childishness, but the spirit of "inquiring about everything" should be retained and developed.

"Without investigation, no right to speak." ("Oppose Book-ism", Selected Readings From Mao Tse-tung's Works, Book A, People's Publishing House, p 17) This saying actively requires us to win the right to speak through making investigation and study. It is wrong to talk glibly and unreasoningly without first making any investigation. Nor is it right to be contented with lack of knowledge and understanding and desist from actively acquiring the right to speak. The correct attitude should be: Learn to "inquire about everything" and thus win the right to speak!

CSO: 3530-D



COMMENT ON HISTORY OF IMPERIALISM'S USE OF CHRISTIANITY  
TO INVADE AFRICA

[Following is a translation of an article by  
Yang Chen (2799 4176) in the Chinese-language  
periodical Hung Ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No. 3,  
23 March 1965, pages 18-30.]

-- "When we look away from the homeland of bourgeois civilization towards the colonies, the extreme hypocrisy of bourgeois civilization and its savage nature appear nakedly before us. This is because it still puts up a facade of respectability in its homeland, whereas it doesn't bother with adornments in the colonies." \* --

Marx

The reactionary historians of the bourgeoisie have consistently propagated the idea that Christianity spread "civilization" in Africa. Under the pens of the deceivers, Christianity seems to have made imperishable accomplishments in the development of the colonies; it appears to have been the actual savior of the oppressed nations and peoples. However, what are the facts after all?

Religion is the opium of the masses. Although the bourgeoisie, when it was opposing feudalism, criticized religion, it soon realized that religion was a very useful tool with regard to its economic demands and political goals. Following the development of capitalism, the bourgeoisie paid more and more attention to using religion in its service. It is just as Engels said: "Now more than any time before, the device of morality is needed to control the people. And the first and most important device which influences the masses is still religion." (1)

The rise and development of capitalism are related with the plunder of the colonies, with the cruel oppression of the laboring peoples in the colonies. The bourgeoisie primarily used warships and cannons to open the door of the colonies. When the colonialists were conquering every piece of territory, they carried out frantic slaughter and bloody oppression. However, they always employed the two counter-revolutionary hands of culture and war; thus the missionary activities of Christianity constituted an important method by which they could benumb and stupefy the oppressed peoples.

Recent Western Christianity, as the bourgeoisie was expanding overseas and carrying out the criminal activities of invading the colonies, served the function of urging the tiger on. It can be said that the history of its missionary activities in Africa is the history of the bourgeoisie plundering the wealth of the colonies and enslaving the peoples. No matter how the imperialist missionaries may use the defense of the "sacred spirit," this point cannot be covered over.

In this article, we will use historical facts to see what sort of "civilization" was spread, what sort of "contributions" were made, by the Christian church during the course of the colonialists' invasion of Africa.

#### The Strange Disciples Who Spread the Gospel Were Slave Traders

From the latter half of the 15th century to the first part of the 16th century, capitalism, which was just developing, urgently needed to realize original accumulation by violent means. Apart from expanding their political control and economic force in their own lands, the bourgeoisie undertook even more ruthless plunder abroad. Slave trade in African Negroes was an important source for capital accumulation. It was by the bloody sweat and on the white bones of the millions of enslaved Negroes that the Western bourgeoisie erected its tremendously wealthy "civilized world." In these inhuman, filthy criminal activities, the Western Christian church, having proclaimed itself "savior", acted as the teeth and claws of the colonialists.

Early in the middle part of the 15th century, the Catholic missionaries of Portugal and Spain entered Africa on the heels of the slave traders. In 1491, a group of Portuguese Dominican priests reached the mouth of the Congo River. The Congolese king of that time accepted Catholicism and ordered his subjects to believe in it. At first, the Portuguese missionaries, priests, and monks were still simply in cahoots with the slave traders, getting profit out of this. Later, these Catholic missionaries gradually became slave-owners, using slaves to work for them. Some men of the church even became slave-traders, directly selling the Negroes into slavery. Their cruelty did not take a back seat when compared with the other slave traders. These priests, whose model was ascetic cultivation, all led a debauched and shameless life.

In 1517, the famous Catholic "disciple", the Dominican La-ssu K'o-sha-ssu, made a proposal to the Spanish emperor Charles the Fifth. He proposed that a large number of African Negroes be sold to the Americas. During the next two centuries, the Spanish government, "in the name of the holy Trinity," altogether sold 500,000 Negroes into slavery, making a profit of 50 million li-fo. These Negro slaves toiled on the colonial plantations of the Americas doing inhuman labor, and were on the average worked to death in seven years.

Holland and England, professing a new religion, were countries which later followed Portugal and Spain in seizing and selling African Negroes. The English admiral and trader, John Hu-chin-ssu, was the founder of the English trade in Negro slavery. In 1562, his ship which sailed to Africa's west coast to capture and sell slaves acquired fame as the "Jesus" ship. He set up regulations for the sailors, requiring them to "worship God daily,

and to love one another." Their work consisted in burning and destroying villages in west Africa, and in capturing Negroes to ship to the West Indies to be sold into slavery.

Coming down to the 18th century, England had taken over from Portugal, Spain, and Holland, as the primary country selling slaves. In 1713, England and Spain signed the Wu-te-le-chih treaty, which stipulated that England would monopolize the slave trade for 30 years, and from 1713 to 1743 it provided the Spanish colonies with 144,000 slaves at a price per head of 33.33 p'i-a-ssu-t'e. The English bishop Bu-lieh-ssu-t'o-erh signed his name to this treaty. According to statistics, from the middle of the 17th to the middle of the 18th century, British merchants sold more than three million slaves. Although some Christians opposed the slave trade, the English church supported it from first to last. It proclaimed: To save the Negro's soul is sufficient to compensate for all the crimes of the slave traders.

#### Using Sacred Scripture To Prove that Slave Trading Was "Proper"

Not only did the Western Christian churches use missionary activities to whitewash the barbarous behavior of the slave traders, but they also used religion in every way to benumb the Negro and to wear away their will to resist. However, the churches' special role in the slave trade was not immediately understood by the slave traders. In the 1740's, the slaves of the West Indies who entered the religion started selling for higher prices; only at this time did the slave traders discover the "value" of the missionaries. At this time the colonial governments of every country invited missionaries in to preach to the slaves. In 1751, the English Anglican church organized a gospel spreading society and sent T'ang-ma-ssu T'ang-p'u-sun, who had formerly been head of Divinity College at Cambridge, to the Gold Coast to be a missionary. This was the first missionary sent by England to Africa. This loyal supporter of the slave trade and the slavery system, in a book written in 1772, used scripture to prove that the slave trade was "proper."

At that time, the American Christian churches were similarly ardently upholding the slavery system and slave trade; they were vigorously proving the "legitimacy" of this. They said shamelessly: "It is much better to be slaves under the care of the American Christian churches than to be free pagans in Africa." (2) The famous American church head and preacher, Chan-mei-shih Ssu-mi-li, who supported Negro slavery, said: The American system of Negro slavery is approved by God. In 1804, the American society, in a resolution at its general meeting, called on all ministers to "use all opportunities to convince the slaves to obey their masters." (3) In Virginia and Maryland, Protestant ministers preached to the slaves like this: "God's will is to desire them to be content in their lowly position;" if the slaves "do not do their allotted work well, they will suffer eternal torment in Hell." (4)

The bloody history of the African Negroes in being sold, enslaved, and oppressed for 400 years fully shows: The Christian churches not only directly participated in slave trading and became holders of large numbers

of slaves, but they also ardently supported slave trading, and became the spiritual pillar for the slavery system.

### The Colonial Vanguard Wearing the Cloak of Religion

At the start of the 19th century, European capitalism had undergone a development of even greater scope. The bourgeoisie strengthened its overseas expansion and plunder of colonies. Especially when capitalism entered the imperialist stage, the export of capital replaced the export of goods, and imperialism raised a frantic tide to split up the world.

The African mainland was still the primary target of the colonialists' rape. In the struggle to seize Africa, the colonialists combined armed conquest, trade, and missionary activities. They fully utilized the strength of Christianity, considering the missionaries to be "the vanguard of empire." Christianity actively accepted this task, and variously dispatched missionaries to meet their way into Africa, so as to investigate things internally for the colonialists, and to carry out the work of enslavement towards the African peoples.

At the start of the 19th century, European colonialists still knew nothing about conditions in the interior of Africa. However, people said that in a certain area on the upper reaches of the Nile River, there was much gold and ivory, which aroused the interest of the European colonial countries.

In 1795, England occupied Hao-wang-chiao. The same year the English "London Missionary Society" was founded. From its inception, this society paid attention to south African regions, considering that the Cape of Good Hope [Hao-wang-chiao] could be exploited. In 1799, the first missionary reached the Cape of Good Hope colony. The same year, the English Anglican church set up the "Society for Propagating Religion in Africa and the East." In 1806, it dispatched missionaries to Se-la-le-wo-nei, planning from this point to penetrate the African mainland deeply. First of all they concentrated on the Nile River region, and their activities were all given financial support by the British colonial government.

In their activities to penetrate the African mainland to open the way for colonialist aggression under the name of spreading religion, a missionary of the English London Missionary Society, Ta-wei Li-wen-ssu-tun, played a considerable role. He went to south Africa in 1840; he had heard that the Ma-ku-lo-lo people in the interior were rich in ivory and cattle. In 1849, he started north from south Africa and crossed the K'a-la-ha-li desert in search of the Ma-ku-lo-lo people. He finally found them. Because he was too far from the south African coast, he decided to go west, hoping to find the north-west seacoast market route. After reaching the west African coast, he then led a military expedition back to the Ma-ku-lo-lo people, thinking of ways to ship their ivory to the west African seacoast. Later he set out from their territory towards the east seacoast; all along the way he preached the good points of trading with the European colonialists. Before Livingston had penetrated the interior, the Europeans had believed the interior to be extremely poor. They thought that the central part, the Southern part and the Sahara Desert were of little value, and the rivers



dried up in the desert. Livingston drew back the mysterious curtain which had concealed the African mainland to that time and discovered that the interior possessed rich water resources, that thick forests covered the fertile land, that there were beautiful plains and river valleys, and that people were living everywhere.

He accomplished two missions for the English aggressors: First, he collected much careful, accurate intelligence; second, he devised means to win the good feelings of the tribes which he encountered, and thus opened the way for later English aggressors. Livingston was particularly praised for the latter. (5)

Another missionary of the London Missionary Society, Robert Mo-fei-t'e, after 1820 travelled all over Pei-chuan-wei-lan and penetrated as far as the northern Ma-t'a-pieh-lieh region (that is, the present-day Southern Rhodesia.) At that time, the south African Huo-tun-chih people were resisting the English colonialists in stubborn armed battle. The British colonial government badly wanted to capture their leader. Mo-fei-t'e undertook activities in this region, and finally induced the leader of this tribe to be baptized and to come into Christianity. Thus he completely obeyed Mo-fei-t'e's arrangements. He took the leader to see the English colonial rulers, causing him to lead his tribe to surrender to the colonialists. By the second half of the 19th century, England had completely swallowed up Pei-chuan-wei-lan.

After it had been swallowed up, there only existed the broad stretches of the Ma-t'a-pieh-lieh people's area which had not yet fallen to the European colonialists. Robert Mo-fei-t'e had already entered that region many times and was out of sight there for a long time, allegedly spreading religion. In the last part of the 1880's, England, Germany, Portugal, and the Boers all wanted to occupy this territory. The English were far away in their cape colony, so a military expedition was of no avail. In February 1888, Robert Mo-fei-t'e's son, John Mo-fei-t'e, in the status of representative for the English colonial rulers, both deceived and coerced the chief of the tribe to sign a treaty forbidding him to enter negotiations with anyone without receiving England's permission. In this way, this broad region of territory came within the English sphere and sunk into being an English protectorate. Later this John Mo-fei-t'e changed his position from being a missionary into a colonial government official in South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, and Pei-chuan-wei-lan.

### Intelligence Personnel and Strategists

In the 1860's and 1870's, capitalism was making the transition towards monopoly, and the frantic tide of seizing colonies had begun. In 1867, the European powers had only occupied one-tenth of the area of South Africa; by 1900, nine-tenths had become colonized.

Between 1860 and 1900, England, France, and Germany stepped up their seizing of colonies. Of these, the colonial area which England seized in Africa was the largest with the most population.

Between 1866 and 1900, England's overseas' colonies doubled. Of these, between 1867 and 1900, England's colonies in Africa increased by 13 times. The total area was 200,000 square kilometers, which was about

40 times the area of the British Isles. Thus did English monopoly capital mature in its colonial aggression. English Christian activities developed in the wake of the expansion of capital overseas. The role which it played in English capitalism developing into imperialism must not be neglected.

During this period, there were many changes in missionary activities based on past experience. Previously, the missionaries had been linked with the colonial governments publicly, which caused African dissatisfaction towards Christianity. Now they realized that the more that missionaries appear to be above all this, the more they could work in the service of imperialism. Therefore, they held that missionaries should "strive to avoid, in any action, appearing as if they were the agents of any government." (6) Before, the Dutch missionaries considered the Africans to be big children, and they considered themselves to be their care-takers. The English missionaries used the slogans of freedom, equality, and universal love on the Africans, stressing that mission work was to "save" Africans; they vigorously tried to win the trust of the Africans.

Although their methods were more cunning and concealed than before, their toiling for the policies of imperialism had not changed at all. This can be demonstrated by a few examples of the seizure of Sub-Saharan colonies by England.

Of the missionaries sent by the London Missionary Society to south Africa, there was one John MacKensie who was known as a missionary politician. He was a missionary to Pei-chuan-wei-lan after 1785. At that time, the people of the area were constantly opposing the English military occupation. The English colonial government sent a regiment commander, Charles Hua-lun to lead troops to suppress the rebels. Using the intelligence given him by MacKensie and using his influence among the inhabitants there, Hua-lun extinguished the resistance struggle by the Pei-chuan-wei-lan people. Later he was knighted by the English queen; in summing up his experience at ruling colonies, he wrote: "In maintaining peace between colonialists and natives, a missionary is worth a regiment." (7) Hua-lun pointed out that MacKensie was his most reliable source of intelligence on the area and the inhabitants. MacKensie also suggested policies for the British governor-general of south Africa; in order to keep the four major tribes within the Pei-chuan-wei-lan borders, he advocated the method of divide and rule, and wanted to build colonial rule up on the tribal system. Fu-lai-wei accepted his proposal. This method of divide and rule was later widely used by British colonial rulers. MacKensie's vision was not restricted just to Pei-chuan-wei-lan, for his ambition was to make British colonies out of all the regions which Livingstone has visited. In 1883, he returned to England, and from then to 1891 he ran about everywhere, sought out the colonial minister Yueh-pi-fu Chang-po-lun, drew politicians into his net, wrote articles for the newspapers, vigorously exhorting England to move to the north in south Africa and occupy as much territory as possible. At that time, the English newspapers praised him, saying: "From today on, his name will be recorded in the historical annals of our empire. In a time of crisis, he has saved the British position in Africa." (8)

In central Africa, after Livingstone had opened the path to the interior, the Scottish missionary society in 1875 from the upper reaches of the Tsan-pi-hsi River established a missionary outpost on the west bank of the

Nyasa lake in Nyasaland. In 1891, England announced that Nyasaland was her protectorate. In this region, England undertook many armed suppressions but many tribes still resisted. At this time, the Scottish missionaries suggested plans to the government, by which the missionaries would devise ways to enslave the native people. In 1904, the English missionaries controlled the situation, with the results that England didn't use one rifle or bullet, yet it swallowed up Nyasaland. For this, the British colonial governor-general wrote a letter of gratitude to the Scottish missionaries (that is, the overseas missionary organization). It said: "Those chiefs are now willing to accept the new order, which really amazes me. This without doubt is the result of your activities. ... Future people may know nothing about this, but those who understand the history of creating the colonies will recognize well your great achievement." (9)

In east Africa, in 1875 the English Anglican society missionary Ssu-t'u-ya Wa-t'e-yu-sang-kei-pa-erh entered Kenya and settled his base in the Chi-k'u-yu tribal region. He became blood brothers with the local chiefs, deceptively won their trust, and started investigating the local products, customs and habits, and became acquainted with the local people. Thereafter, the British East Africa Company built a fortress there and then the English government sent troops there. They deceived the illiterate chiefs into leasing the territory for 999 years and they signed a treaty to that effect. Thus this piece of land became part of the British colonial possessions in east Africa. The tribe of the Mei-wang-na Mei-k'a chieftans in the interior of Kenya were not willing to submit to British rule. The British colonialists used tribal contradictions; from the nearby Masai tribe they gathered thousands of warriors to help the British colonial army. They cruelly slaughtered the Mei-wang-na Mei-k'a people and even women and babes in arms, who had never touched a weapon, were put to the sword or hacked to pieces. Blood flowed in streams and piles of corpses filled up valleys. Later, this area was finally conquered still with the help of this missionary.

The above cases were just a few examples. In actuality, every area in sub-Saharan Africa which fell to British colonial rule was first worked on by the missionaries for aggression. The missionaries were the disguised forerunners of the invading army. They gathered intelligence and helped the forces of the colonial aggressors set up their bases. If the local peoples resisted, the invading army outrageously slaughtered them. Later, the missionaries again appeared to urge the local people to submit to the aggressors. Thus did the missionaries provide vigorous coordination for the armed aggression by imperialism against the colonies.

Above were a few historical facts about Britain's aggression in Africa in the 19th century. These were models of how imperialism used the missionary cause to invade Africa. Other imperialist countries which invaded Africa also used the missionary cause as their tool, and their methods were the same.

#### The Ambitious American Missionaries

When England and other imperialist countries were infiltrating the

African mainland, the U.S. was busy carrying out aggression against Central and South America, against the Pacific islands, and against Asia. Although it was not in time to share in the dirty plot of splitting Africa, its ambitions towards Africa were not less than any other imperialist country.

As American was committing aggression towards Africa, it also used fully the tool of religion. Engels said: Although America "had not carried on a system of the middle ages of Europe, it had taken over in great degree medieval traditions, religion, English customs (feudal) law, superstitions, the art of exorcising spirits. In sum, it had accepted every sort of extravagant thing which would not directly harm livelihood, but which was extremely useful in keeping the masses ignorant." (10)

American missionaries started going to south and west Africa in the 1820's. In 1816, the American government paid out funds to organize the "American Colonial Aid Society", which used the pretext of helping freed slaves to return to Africa and established a colonial base in west Africa. In 1821, this "Society" "bought" in west Africa 5,200 square miles of territory, and the price which it paid to the local people was a few old rifles, some ammunition, tobacco, umbrellas, hats, soap, printed cloth, and other odd items. With this ridiculous price, America swindled her way into possessing Liberia. At that time, the American Christian missionary society had already ambitiously announced: "The primary task of carrying religion to Africa should be on America. America has 1,500,000 Negroes, and we can send some of them as missionaries to Africa. This is something which other countries don't have." (11)

After the American Civil War, the capitalist economy was rapidly developing, and the overseas missionary cause was developing along with it. In 1884, the American baptism society received the "right to continue" missionary work in the Belgium Congo, taking this over from the English. From that time on, the American Christian society was very active in the Belgium Congo.

In the last decade of the 19th century, the development of American capitalist economy had already surpassed the old imperialist countries of England and France, and its overseas missionary activities greatly developed. The infamous Sudan internal society was founded in 1893. At the end of the 19th century, the American Christian churches were all sending missionaries; some went to south Africa, some to middle, some to the east, and some to the west. They received much land from the colonial governments. The American churches wrote in their lesson books on African missionary work: "Now is the time to conquer the whole globe. What is presently needed are world politicians; we need men made of steel who never weary. Present-day Africa is waiting for them. ... World trade is calling on religion to pay out the price to get Africa." (12) From this people can see: U.S. imperialism, the late-comer, and its missionaries urgently dreamed vainly of swallowing all of Africa.

#### Helping Imperialism Maintain Colonial Rule

After the imperialist powers split up Africa, they first needed to establish a firm rule before they could plunder African wealth on a large scale. To achieve this presented a huge difficulty for imperialism.

The African people were not willingly enslaved, and they often undertook stubborn struggles with the colonialists in order to throw off the rule forced upon them. The more the imperialist countries used armed force for cruel oppression, the more the Africans hated the imperialists, and the more they fought. This caused imperialism to adopt tactics of swindling and pliantness at the same time that they carried out bloody oppression, so as to achieve a stable rule.

The missionary activities of the Western Christian churches again played a special role, using even more subtly religion, this benumbing drug, to poison the thought of the people and to help the colonial governments stabilize their rules. In order to achieve this, with unprecedented speed and size, they developed their overseas missionary activities. Looking at the increase in the number of missionaries, in 1800 the number was only 100; by 1884, this number had grown to 5,800, and by 1900 it had almost tripled itself, reaching 15,500 persons. Looking at the expenses of the missionaries, in 1800 the annual missionary total expenditure was only 80,000 U.S. dollars. By 1900, the amount had reached 19 million U.S. dollars per year. And between 1901 and 1913, it again rapidly doubled itself.

At the end of the 19th century, the English missionary, T'ang-na Fu-jui-se, who had been active in Nyasaland for many years, summed up the many experiences of the Christian churches in helping imperialism stabilize its colonial rule, in an instruction book he wrote on African missionary work. He said expansively: "It is one thing to have a tribe return to the peaceful administration of a (colonial) government. But it is quite another matter to cause the natives to hand over their bows and spears, to have them pay taxes, and to cause them not to seek revenge when they are insulted. At present the peace of the British imperial rule is gradually creeping into the African interior. This is not simply because they have a small army formed of local people with European officers; it is also because a new teaching is infiltrating the life of the tribes, robbing them of their warlike spirit and instilling a patient, forgiving spirit." He said further: "This is especially so in south Africa and Nyasaland where the natives have given up the habit of attacking white people; and peace is being established there. This accomplished didn't rely simply on superior military actions, but it also relied on the long-term proselytizing of the missionaries before the government actions. This saved thousands of British pounds. In the areas where the missionaries were not the vanguard, planned military struggles must be carried out to establish peace." (13) The present-day famous Western historian on modern Christian missionary work, H. Ku-ssu-tfat-fu's Yao-erh-nai-k'o, has put it this way: "There is really no doubt that it was much more expensive to kill off the native peoples than to convert them with Christianity." (14) Western missionaries and theoreticians of the missionary cause openly held that missionary activity and bloody slaughter were nothing more than the two closely coordinated tactics of culture and war on the part of imperialist rule.

The imperialists saw that every piece of their territory was a volcano which could erupt at any time, so they had to be constantly prepared for armed resistance. For this, they fully employed the missionaries as special agents to warn them. After a U.S. imperialist element had investigated the

missionary cause in the colonies, he reached this conclusion: "I discovered that the missionaries, more than any other foreigner, better understand the natives, are closer to them and can thus provide more reliable intelligence." (15) Not only did the missionaries act as special agents for intelligence, but they also tried to have local converts act as agents in time of peace, and as protective forces in time of war. In this respect, based on the experience of Imperialism in invading Africa and China, the American missionary Chan-mei-shih Tan-ni-ssu pointed out: "In time of peace, the missionaries can serve diplomacy, and when war breaks out or riots occur, they are also useful. During the riots and disorder in Uganda, the missionaries protected (the colonialists') lives and wealth. When the Boxers surrounded the foreign embassies in Peking, the missionaries made outstanding contributions in protecting them. This is publicly acknowledged." (16)

The reason why, according to the important official of the American missionary society, Robert Ssu-p'i-erh, the missionary cause could play such a role in colonial rule was because the Christian churches undertook activities of "kindness and friendship." This strength of these activities "could vigorously promote peace and order (colonial order under imperialist rule -- the writer)." (17) The English doctor of theology, John Ao-chi-erh-wei, who had been an official on the overseas board of the Scottish missionary society, further explained: "Their (the missionaries') activities were completely unofficial, and therein lay their value and results." (18) To use the attitude of being "unofficial", to raise the signboard of being there for reasons of "kindness and friendship" -- this was the "secret" of service to imperialism by the missionaries' fifth column. The more they could convince the local people that they were "supra-politics" and "unofficial", the more they showed "kindness and friendliness" to the natives, the better they could serve imperialism.

#### Peddlers of Their Own Countries' Goods

Capitalistic Imperialism sought overseas colonies in order to sell their goods and to plunder the rich resources of the colonies. Again in this the missionaries provided vigorous cooperation.

With regard to selling goods, the missionaries often became a force for protecting business. Yao-erh-nai-k'o pointed out that reliance on the missionary cause to protect business was much more reliable than on warships. In any area, if Christianity truly took root, commercial ships could safely anchor, and the businessmen could relax and boldly proceed. Another theoretician of the missionary cause said: "Among the dangerous, barbarous tribes, the missionary outposts were designated as a business line which were safe and stable. Among the savage nationalities, it was almost without exception that the missionaries acted as the vanguard in opening a path for world trade." (19)

Not only did the missionaries safeguard the peaceful undertaking of commercial plundering of the colonies, but they were also the peddlars of commercial goods. In 1909, an American board official in Africa wrote a report for his business firm back home: "There are about 50 American missionaries in my area. They are undertaking conversion work among 1,500,000 natives, and their influence undoubtedly greatly spurs the demands for light

clothing and all sorts of daily commodities. These emissaries of Western culture are peddlars of their own country's goods. ... In order to sell more American goods here, our next step should be to sell American goods through the missionaries." (20)

The missionaries' role in this was very satisfactory. Tan-ni-ssu wrote in his book: "In about 1880, according to the careful calculations of the Scottish missionary, Dr. Ta-ts'e-erh, in south Africa's Na-t'a-erh province, a local household, before contacting missionaries, spent only two British pounds per year on imports, but a Christian convert spent 20 pounds." (21) Another American preacher, Hu-te, figured out the following statistics: A ten-fold profit in business can be made on the basis of the missionary investment. (22) The secretary of the "religion-propagating society" of the British Anglican church, Fan-en, even proclaimed: "A missionary with 20 years' overseas service is worth 10,000 pounds per year to British business." (23)

Some missionary groups further managed colonial trade, expanded the scope of economic plundering, and thus became large capitalists. For example, the trading company of the British Anglican society in Uganda had 15,000 pounds in capital in 1908; this company handled cotton, hemp, rubber, and had its own factory.

With regard to imperialism's cruel enslavement of Negroes in mines so as to plunder Africa's mineral resources, Christianity also made its "contributions." For example, British missionaries cooperated with the owners of mines and undertook proselytizing of Negro miners. In South Africa's mining regions with diamond, gold, and coal mines, British missionaries took on the job of "character education" towards the miners, asking them to endure the cruel oppression of the mine owners under extremely evil labor conditions and living conditions. The "character education" very much pleased the mine owners. They thought it a healthy factor in "solving the problem of wages." (24) During three years, this activity developed in 43 mining concentration camps.

#### "Developing Skills" for Increasing Exploitation of Negroes

In order to exploit Africa's resources on a large scale, the missionaries vigorously promoted use of Negro labor. A south African missionary said: "I am not a political economist, and the very word scares me. But I don't mind saying that we have good material in our hands that we often don't use. In Na-t'a-erh province, there are 300,000 Negroes, and only 17,000 whites. People ordinarily believe that we must rely on European immigrants to save this country. This method is not in accord with our needs. ... Why don't we search for some skilled labor, cooperate with the missionaries scattered about, and set up schools for learning skills. In this way we can gradually fully use this material at hand, the K'a-fo people (an insulting used by the colonialists towards the Africans -- the writer)." (25)

The task of insuring that Africans would obediently work for their colonial masters also fell to the Christian missionaries. Western missionaries held that their most rewarding achievement in Africa was in developing

the so-called "skilled education." At every missionary outpost they set up "schools for developing skills." They took in African boys as apprentices, and taught them masonry work, carpentry work, sewing, printing, and so forth. Thus on the one hand, in the name of developing skills, they exploited African boys, and on the other hand they instilled a slave mentality, so that later they would serve their colonial rulers wherever they went in Africa. The British colonial administrator in central Africa, Chan-ssu-tun, said happily: "Now we no longer need to import carpenters, brick-layers, cooks, shop personnel, and telegraph workers from England. We can have these tasks done by the natives which the missionaries train. These natives receive simple, useful training, are contented with their lot, and have no extravagant hopes." (26)

The missionaries who engaged in this believed that their work made three great contributions to the colonialists: First, this provided servants for the colonial "lords"; second, they provided a cheap labor force; third, by instilling a slave mentality, they could help prevent the colonial people from rebelling. The former British governor-general to south Africa, Fu-lai-juí, in an address to the conference of the cape colony, boasted that the best method for preventing the Negroes from rising in armed rebellion was to create more schools for developing skills as run by the missionaries. In 1880, there were less than 300 such schools in Africa, while by 1900, they had increased to 146. In south Africa, central Africa, east Africa, and west Africa, such schools were run by British, American, and German missionaries.

Apart from such schools to train handicraft skills, the missionaries also trained farm laborers so as to undertake economic plundering directly. In south Africa, at first the infamous Great Britain South African Company and the colonial government gave the missionary groups much land to set up the so-called Christian convert villages; they had the local converts settle in these villages and engage in farm production. In actuality the missions became large landowners. Later, the missions also established farms with capitalistic management, so that they became plantation owners in the colonies. In Nyasaland in central Africa, the Scottish society had several thousand acres surrounding their churches; they grew coffee beans, and hired Africans to work on the plantations. The Tsan-pi-hsi mission in east Africa similarly owned that much land and raised coffee, cotton, and by 1908 it had 230,000 coffee plants; it employed several thousand workers and controlled 300 villages.

#### Using an Enslaving Education to Poison the Thought of the Africans

After the 1840's, the Western missionaries tightly grasped education as a primary activity in Africa. Ssu-pi-erh said: "From the beginning, education has been greatly required in spreading religion; on the one hand, education can produce strength, and on the other hand, if education were to separate from religion, it would cause danger." (27) What was meant by "education can produce strength" was that through the enslaving education of the Christian missions which eroded the Africans' ideology, they Africans would come to work willingly for their colonial masters. To put it as a missionary would, "we must use all methods to knock open the tightly



closed hearts and minds of the Africans." (28)

In order to extinguish African resistance to imperialism, the missionaries expended their energies to poison the Africans' thinking, and to cause them "to accord with the decree of Heaven," and to accept the cruel colonial rule. With regard to this, Ou-te-han, who for many years had been secretary of the original International Missionary Society, and who presently is still the famous head of the World Christianity Promotion Society, spoke very revealingly. He said: The colored races are three and one-half times as numerous as the white. It is hard to imagine that the colored races could be completely annihilated. Even if the West united, it still could not make the colored races submit. This is "the final question of world politics." The solution of this problem must rely on the Christian religion setting up a "great world society" under imperialist rule. Ou-te-han believed that the Christian missionary cause must use every possible means to prove the "legitimacy" of imperialist colonial rule. He pointed out: Human life is unequal. Man is endowed differently by nature, and there are similar differences between nationalities. Therefore, the African economic resources could only be exploited by the white people; the black Africans must rely upon Western governments to maintain social order. And colonial rule is "the expression of a sense of responsibility" by imperialism towards the colonial peoples. (29)

The American Ssu-pi-erh was even more hypocritical than Ou-te-han. He claims that his fascist theory of racial superiority is: "God shows different mercy to man, and assigns different positions to man." Ou-te-han urged that the West should rule Africa, while Ssu-pi-erh said: "Christianity denies that any colonial nationality should be ruled for a long time, but it does have people believe that every piece of territory should open its gates, so that other nations may come in to cooperate mutually. ... In this way, the backward peoples may raise themselves and serve all mankind." (30)

At the same time they propagated this enslaving education, they added religious control, and used Western religion to destroy and replace African religions. In his instruction book on African missionary work, Fu-jui-se wrote: "We have already seen that the Africans' religious beliefs are to fear every sort of ghost and spirit. Missionaries must preach that Christianity can overcome these evil spirits. In this way we will be able to reach many listeners." (31) But it was not enough to have Africans simply believe in the Western god, for they still had to create in their hearts feelings of "sin". They were to consider themselves "sinners", and not to view their misery of enslavement as a crime by the colonial rulers. Thus they would be willingly enslaved and oppressed.

It is very clear that the so-called "education" by the missionaries consisted of, by means of running schools and proselytizing, instilling a slave mentality, "reforming the character of the whole people," touting that the colored race's enslavement was the will of God, urging that the colonial peoples should "cooperate" with the imperialist rulers, and teaching that enslavement is to "raise oneself" and to "serve all mankind."

In order to study the results of these educational activities, all the American Christian missions in 1920 formed together into the "Association for Investigating African Education." They spent a year investigating conditions in every part of Africa. In the preface to their report

they summed up the results: "The investigative group holds that Africa's future completely depends on greatly increasing the strength of Christian education." (32) The report also pointed out: "The (colonial) government main concern is peace and order; the businessmen's primary concern is business; the missionary cause is the work of directly influencing people. This alone is the most basic contribution towards the colonies. ... The government must be stable, business must flourish, and they both fortunately have the missionaries' work." (33)

The inculcating of a slave mentality into the Africans by the missionaries had an even more sinister meaning, and that was preparing to use colonial peoples in imperialist wars of aggression. In a work published by the Gospel Society of the British public society in 1906, entitled "Religion's Overseas' Work -- A Collection of Talks by Five Bishops to Businessmen", a bishop of the Kuao-an-te-lieh religious district called on businessmen to support missionaries. He said: "We must talk for a moment about our responsibilities towards colonial peoples. ... They call English their mother tongue; they claim the British Isles as their fatherland. They are our children, we are their fathers. We must fulfill our duties towards them, and there is an important reason for this. ... We went through a series of fiery trials in the Boer War. At that time when the fires of war came, no matter whether it is presently or many years later, you must realize the great needs towards the colonial peoples. Without them, you would not have been able to survive. Now is the time for you to save yourselves. Now is your chance to win their hearts. In this way you will unite closely with them. When the huge struggle comes, these children will stand up to help their fathers fight. And God will help us to defeat the enemy." (34) When we realize how imperialism used the colonial peoples in the two World Wars as cannon fodder, we can see the far-reaching, bloody significance of what that bishop was saying. How revealing was his talk, how cold, how shameless!

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From the simple historical facts above, people can see what sort of commodity was this "Western civilization" propagated in Africa by the missionaries who were serving colonialism. We can see what sort of persons these "Western emissaries" were. Although this is just history now, we can look it over and take heed.

Now, imperialism, in particular U.S. imperialism, is still using missionary activities in Africa on a large scale to carry out aggression. After WW II, the U.S. neo-colonialists, even more cunningly and viciously, have been using religion to expand in Africa. According to the 1961 statistics of the Wall Street Journal, the new American missionaries in Africa number more than 8,000 persons, while the U.S. embassies and consulates in Africa employ only 700 Americans.

U.S. imperialism actively uses religion to conceal its neo-colonialist crimes of aggression and to destroy the national liberation struggles by the colonial peoples. U.S. imperialism's missionaries vigorously call for "non-violence" and "brotherly love only". They want the colonial peoples

to "love their hated enemies." They outrageously tout that Jesus' redemption is the only hope, and that it is a crime to strive for national liberation and to undertake armed struggle. This is treason to God. Today, American missionaries are in this manner serving the aggressive and warlike policies of U.S. imperialism.

Today's Africa is a revolutionary one. All the peoples of the African mainland have stood up. Under the blows of the African and the world's peoples, imperialism's colonial rule is collapsing. The African peoples have seen through the neo-colonialist plots of imperialism. The hypocritical countenance of Christianity, in the service of neo-colonialism, is being seen clearly by more and more Africans. Imperialism's use of Christianity to invade Africa will surely end up in total bankruptcy.

Notes:

\* "The Future Results of Pu-lieh-tien's Rule in India", The Complete Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. 9, People's Publishing House, 1961, p. 251.

(1) "The Development of Socialism from Illusion to a Science," Selections from Marx and Engels, Vol. 2, People's Publishing House, 1958, p. 114.

(2) P'o-Lai-Ssu: The Achievement of Jesus, New York, 1882, pp 378,381.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Chien-wei-lien Fu-ssu-t'ie: An Outline of the Political History of the Americas, published by the San-lien Bookstore, 1961, p. 125.

(5) T'ang-na Fu-jui-se: The Future of Africa, London, 1911, pp. 51-55.

(6) Ibid. pp. 177, 179.

(7) Ibid.

(8) Wei-erh-sun Nai-lo: Early Dawn on the Dark Continent, New York, 1905, pp. 229-233.

(9) John Ao-chi-erh-wei: The Contributions of Missionary Work to Our Empire, London, 1923, pp. 41-47.

(10) "Engels' Letter to F.A. Tso-erh-li," Selection of Letters by Marx and Engels, People's Publishing House, 1962, p. 438.

(11) A Speech to the 1826 Conference of the American Overseas Missionary Board, carried in the "Articles on Missionary Work," P'o-shih-tun, 1846, p. 29.

(12) Earl Taylor: The Price of Africa, New York, 1902, p. 43.

(13) T'ang-na Fu-jui-se: The Future of Africa, pp. 180,181, 94.

(14) Ku-ssu-t'a-fu Yao-erh-nai-k'o: Modern Missionary Work and Culture, English translation, Ai-ting-pao, 1883, p. 60.

(15) Chan-mei-shih Pa-tun: Missionaries and their Critics, New York, 1906, p. 57.

(16) Chan-mei-shih Tan-ni-ssu: Summons to Modern Missionary Work, New York, 1913, pp. 32-33.

(17) Robert Ssu-p'i-erh: Christianity and Every Country, New York, 1910, p. 381.

(18) John Ao-chi-erh-wei: The Contributions of Missionary Work to Our Empire, pp. 236-238.

(19) John Pei-t'un: Jesus and Civilization, London, 1912, p. 477.

(20) Robert Ssu-p'i-erh: Christianity and Every Country, p. 36.

- (21) Chan-mei-shih Tan-ni-ssu: Summons to Modern Missionary Work, pp. 100-101, 94.
- (22) Ibid.
- (23) See Ku-ssu-t'a-fu Yao-erh-nai-k'o: Modern Missionary Work and Culture, English translation, pp. 48-49.
- (24) Ibid. pp. 83-84.
- (25) Wei-erh-sun Nai-lo: Early Dawn on the Dark Continent, p. 157.
- (26) Anna Lindsey: The Glory of Jesus, New York, 1908, pp. 184-185.
- (27) Robert Ssu-p'i-erh: The Gospel and the New World, p. 115.
- (28) T'ang-na Fu-jui-se: The Future of Africa, pp. 143-144.
- (29) See Ou-te-han: Christianity and Race Question, London, 1924.
- (30) Robert Ssu-p'i-erh: "On Colonial Rule," printed in Historical Outline of Christianity, Vol. 5, New York, 1926, pp. 210-218.
- (31) T'ang-na Fu-jui-se: The Future of Africa, pp. 172-174.
- (32) See T'ang-mei-ssu Ch'ing-ssu: The Education of Africa, New York, 1922, "Preface", p. 24.
- (33) Ibid. p. 8.
- (34) The work noted, pp. 69-70.

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## SELECTION OF REVOLUTIONARY SONGS

Following is a translation of an unsigned article  
In the Chinese-language periodical Hung Ch'i (Red  
Flag), Peiping, No. 3, 23 March 1965 pages 31-49.

Editor's note: Revolutionary mass songs constitute an important weapon of class struggle. Under the leadership of Mao Tse-tung's literary and art thought, our revolutionary music workers have, in every historical period of revolution, created many vigorous mass songs with revolutionary content and national form. They are in accord with the revolutionary tasks of each period, and they vigorously stimulate the revolutionary determination of the masses and their revolutionary spirit. They resist, and have replaced, the decadent bourgeois songs and all extravagant music which undermine the masses' revolutionary determination. At present, our people are carrying out socialist revolutionary activities and socialist construction with abundant vitality. The masses are loudly singing revolutionary songs which praise the party's leadership, the brilliance of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, socialism, the new life and struggles of the workers, peasants, and soldiers, the storm of the anti-imperialist struggle by the peoples of the world, and the solidarity of the revolutionary peoples of the world.

For this issue we have chosen 13 revolutionary songs of the past few years which have been rather popular among the masses.

- 1) Navigators Are Relied On For Sailing on the Ocean. (Lyrics by Yu Wen (6735 2429) and music by Wang Shuang-yin (3769 7175 0603)
- 2) Socialism Is Good (Lyrics by Hsi Yang (1585 2799) and music by Li Huan (2621 2255)
- 3) We Are Walking on the Main Road. (Music and lyrics by Li Chieh-fu (2621 0506 1133)
- 4) The Working Class Is Tough. (Lyrics by Hsi Yang (1585 2799) and music by Ch'u Wei (4234 4850)
- 5) Commune Members Turn Their Faces Towards the Sun. (Lyrics by Chang Shih-hsieh (1728 1102 3610) and music by Wang Yu-hsi (3769 3768 6007)
- 6) Song of the Three-Eight Work Style. (Lyrics by Hsia Ping (1115 3056) and music by Hsu Chun (1776 0193)
- 7) Chairman Mao's Soldiers Obey the Party Best. (Music and lyrics by Li Chih-chin (2621 0037 6855)
- 8) Topic for the Women Militia (seven-character broken-off style). (Music provided for a poem by chairman Mao -- by Li Hsieh-fu (2621 0506 1133)

- 9) Learn From the Good Example of Lei Feng . (Lyrics by Hung Yuan (3163 3293) and music by Sheng Mao 3932 5399)
- 10) Raise High the Banner of Revolution. (Lyrics by Lu Mang (5684 5345) and music by Meng P'ao (1322 3134)
- 11) We Are the Inheritors of Communism. (Lyrics by Chou Yu-hui (0719 6735 6540) and music by Chi Ming (1376 2494)
- 12) Proletarians of the World, Unite. (Lyrics by Kuang Wei-jan (0342 2607 3544) and music by Ch'u Hsi-hsien (4234 1585 6343)
- 13) Peoples of the World, Unite. (Lyrics by Ch'iao Yu (0829 5038) and music by Shih Lo-meng (2514 2867 3443)

These songs express the revolutionary thought and feelings of the masses in the new socialist era, and on a certain level they are the achievements attained by our music work in using the literary and art thought of Mao Tse-tung.

#### Navigators Are Relied on for Sailing on the Ocean.

Navigators are relied on for sailing on the ocean,  
 The growth of the myriad things depends on the sun,  
 Rain and dew provide moisture, the growing rice is strong.  
 What we rely on for revolution is the thought of Mao Tse-tung.  
 Fish cannot leave water, melong must cling to the vine;  
 The revolutionary masses cannot depart from the communist party,  
 The thought of Mao Tse-tung is a never-setting sun.

#### Socialism Is Good

Socialism is good, socialism is good!  
 The position of the people in socialist countries is high.  
 The reactionaries have been overthrown, imperialism is scurrying  
 Away with its tail between its legs.  
 All the people of the country are united, and they have raised a  
 New high tide of socialist construction.

The communist party is good, the communist party is good!  
 The communist party is the good leader of the people.  
 It proposes, and it disposes; it works whole-heartedly for the people.  
 Resolutely follow the communist party, so as to build up the  
 Great motherland.

Socialism is good, socialism is good! Socialism safeguards the  
 Land and the people. The people and the land are safeguarded, and  
 Reactionary thought cannot prevail.  
 Socialism will definitely triumph, the communist society will definitely  
 Be realized. The communist society will definitely be realized!

#### We Are Walking on the Main Road

We are walking on the main road,  
 Our determination is great, and our spirits soar;

Chairman Mao is leading the revolutionary ranks,  
Slicing through all obstacles and racing ahead.

The three red banners are waving in the breeze;  
Six hundred million people are striving valiantly;  
They are toiling diligently to transform the rivers and mountains,  
Vowing to change the motherland into a paradise.

Our friends are everywhere in the world,  
Our songs are heard in the four corners of the earth.  
Revolutionary storms cover the whole globe,  
Demons and evil spirits cower in terror.

How broad is our path,  
How incomparably brilliant is the future.  
We devote ourselves to this beautiful cause  
With boundless joy and unsurpassed glory.

March forward! March forward!  
The force of revolution cannot be impeded,  
Plunge ahead! Plunge ahead,  
Facing the direction of triumph.

#### The Working Class Is Tough

The working class is tough; following the path of Mao Tse-tung,  
We move along, cherishing the motherland, surveying the whole world.  
We will never falter on the path of revolution.  
Holding aloft the red banners, bravely marching ahead,  
We are the locomotives of the new era, we are the locomotives of the  
new era!

The working class is tough; following the path of Mao Tse-tung,  
We move along. With self-reliance and painstaking struggle,  
We will never falter on the path of construction.  
Holding aloft the red banners, bravely marching ahead,  
We are the locomotives of the new era, we are the locomotives of the  
new era!

#### Commune Members Turn Their Faces Towards the Sun

The commune is an ever-green vine,  
Commune members are melons on the vine,  
The melons are connected to the vine, the vine bears the melons.  
The fatter the vine becomes, the sweeter the melons;  
The sturdier the vine becomes, the larger the melons.

The green vine of the commune is intertwined with all the families;  
With one heart and united vigor, they till the soil.  
With busy hands, they till the soil well.

With united hearts and great strength, they have developed the  
collective economy.  
Flowers bloom happily in the hearts of the commune members.

The commune's root is the red sun, and the commune members turn  
their faces towards the sun.  
Facing the sun, the flowers blossom forth with large petals.  
Let the wind howl, let the rain beat down,  
We will never leave it.

The radiance of the commune shines on the myriad families;  
The spirits of the myriad families are high,  
Every family loves the commune, everyone obeys the party's call.  
The seeds of happiness have sprouted forth, the seeds of happiness  
have sprouted forth.

### Song of the Three-Eight Work Style

(Edited by the editorial board of the "People's Liberation Army Songs.")

Red banners wave, military calls resound;  
The songs of the soldiers are clear and bright.  
The three-eight work style is a precious heirloom.  
The thought of Mao Tse-tung shines with a golden radiance.  
A resolute, correct political direction, a simple, painstaking  
Work style, lively and flexible tactics and strategy --  
These three phrases we engrave on our hearts.  
Solidarity, tenseness, seriousness, and vitality --  
These large eight characters have power, vigor.  
Red banners wave, military calls resound;  
The songs of the soldiers are clear and bright.  
The three-eight work style is a precious heirloom.

### Chairman Mao's Soldiers Obey the Party Best

Chairman Mao's soldiers obey the party best;  
Wherever they're needed, there they go,  
Wherever life is bitter, there they settle down.  
If the motherland needs me to guard the frontiers,  
I shoulder my rifle and march off; I take up my pack and set forth.  
Right! If the motherland needs me to guard the frontiers,  
I shoulder my rifle and march off; I take up my pack and set forth.

Chairman Mao's soldiers obey the party best;  
Wherever they're needed, there they go,  
Wherever life is bitter, there they settle down.  
If the motherland needs me to guard the frontiers,  
I will put down my roots there; I will sprout forth on the snowy  
mountains.  
Right! If the motherland needs me to guard the frontiers,  
I will put down my roots there; I will sprout forth on the snowy  
mountains.



Chairman Mao's soldiers obey the party best;  
Wherever they're needed, there they go,  
Wherever life is bitter, there they settle down.  
If the motherland needs me to guard the frontiers,  
I will brave the wind and snow and train myself;  
We will be well-trained and capable and excell.

Chairman Mao's soldiers obey the party best;  
Wherever they're needed, there they go,  
Wherever life is bitter, there they settle down.  
If the motherland needs me to guard the frontiers,  
I will climb mountains and scale peaks on my patrols;  
Five-good flowers will bloom on the frontiers.  
Right! If the motherland needs me to guard the frontiers,  
I will climb mountains and scale peaks on my patrols;  
Five-good flowers will bloom on the frontiers.

Chairman Mao's soldiers obey the party best;  
Wherever they're needed, there they go,  
Wherever life is bitter, there they settle down.

#### Topic for the Women's Militia

A lively and brave air, a five-foot rifle,  
The early morning rays of the sun illumine the training field;  
What strange purpose have the women of China?  
They don't love cosmetics, they love weapons.

A lively and brave air, a five-foot rifle,  
The early morning rays of the sun illumine the training field;  
What strange purpose have the women of China?  
They don't love cosmetics, they love weapons.

#### Learn From the Good Example of Lei Feng

Learn from the good example of Lei Feng;  
He was loyal to the revolution, he was loyal to the party.  
He clearly knew his likes and hatreds, never forgetting his root.  
His standpoint was firm, his determination strong;  
His standpoint was firm, his determination strong.

Learn from the good example of Lei Feng;  
Wherever he was sent, he exuded brilliance.  
He wanted to be a screw for the revolution,  
And his collectivist thought radiated around him,  
His collectivist thought radiated around him.

Learn from the good example of Lei Feng;  
He never swerved from a life of hardship and simplicity.  
His example was to serve others, ignoring himself;  
How lofty was his communist virtue,  
How lofty was his communist virtue.

Learn from the good example of Lei Feng;  
Chairman Mao's instructions were written on his heart.  
He tightly grasped the weapon in his hands,  
And strove daily to move ahead;  
He strove daily to move ahead.

### Raise High the Banner of Revolution

We young people, possessed of fiery hearts, form the vanguard  
in the era of revolution.  
Wherever there is difficulty, there you'll find us,  
Boldly and loyally serving the people.  
We don't fear the myriad difficulties and hardships,  
Nor the lofty mountains and deep seas;  
We hold high the banner of revolution, and, like huge waves rolling  
on, we never rest.  
Facing the red sun, our determination is even greater, as we  
courageously march on.

We young people, possessed of fiery hearts, want to do battle  
for the truth.  
Our likes and hatreds are clearly distinguished,  
We dare to take up heavy burdens and immerse ourselves in revolution.  
Opposing imperialism, supporting just struggles,  
We raise high the banner of revolution, and, like huge waves  
rolling on, we never rest.  
With hearts united and firm solidarity, we triumphantly march  
forward.

### We Are the Inheritors of Communism

We are the inheritors of communism, continuing the glorious tradition  
of the revolutionary first generation;  
Loving the motherland, loving the people,  
Our fresh red scarves about our necks, blowing in the breeze.  
We fear no difficulties, no enemies;  
We are stubborn in our studies and firm in struggles.  
Facing victory, we march on bravely, facing victory, we march on  
bravely,  
We are the inheritors of communism.

We are the inheritors of communism, following the glorious path of  
the revolutionary first generation;  
Loving the motherland, loving the people,  
The youthful vanguard we are proudly called.  
Always prepared, accomplishing much, we want to annihilate the  
enemy completely.  
We march bravely on for our ideals, for our ideals,  
We are the inheritors of communism.

## Proletarians of the World, Unite

Mountain linked to mountain, sea linked to sea,  
Proletarians of the world, unite!  
Sea next to mountain, mountain next to sea,  
Proletarians of the world, unite!  
The red sun emerges from the mountains, nearing the great ocean;  
It radiates brilliance on the new era of the people's liberation.  
See there the old world, collapsing, disintegrating,  
The time has arrived for the poor, for the miserable to rise up!  
Imperialism, the reactionaries, the demons and evil spirits,  
How can they withstand the angry tide of revolution,  
Which overturns mountains and upsets the seas.  
Who cares if paper tigers bare their fangs, flash their claws;  
We will slaughter it, smash it, annihilate it completely!

We are mountains, we are seas,  
The mountains shake, the earth quakes, the angry tide surges,  
The time has arrived for the poor, for the miserable to rise up!  
We are mountains, we are seas,  
What we smash are our chains and manacles,  
What we gain is the whole world!

Mountain linked to mountain, sea linked to sea,  
Proletarians of the world, unite!  
Sea next to mountain, mountain next to sea,  
Proletarians of the world, unite!

## Peoples of the World, Unite

On the five continents, on the four seas, angry billows surge.  
Throughout the world, the anti-imperialist armies howl,  
Resounding with calls of charge.  
In Asia, in Africa, in Latin America, the drums of battle are  
sounding,  
On all sides, they seize the U.S. imperialist bandits.  
Brothers, well done; your determination is strong, your solidarity  
firm;  
We will chant a war song together and follow the same great path.  
Mutually supporting, forging ahead boldly, mutually supporting,  
forging ahead boldly,  
We will tear out the very roots of imperialism, we will tear out  
its very roots.

The fires of revolution are flaming everywhere;  
Throughout the world, the anti-imperialist armies howl, resounding  
with calls of charge.  
Firm in struggle, unyielding, the time has arrived for the human  
race to transform itself.  
Brothers, well done; your determination is strong, your solidarity  
firm;

We will chant a war song together and follow the same great path.  
Mutually supporting, forging ahead boldly, mutually supporting,  
forging ahead boldly,  
We will tear out the very roots of imperialism, we will tear out  
its very roots.

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