

# MAO'S REPORTED SPEECH ON NEW POLICY OF CHINESE COMMUNISTS

The N.Y. Times yesterday published a story by its Warsaw correspondent, Sydney Gruson which quotes reported excerpts from speeches made by Mao-Tse-tung at the end of February and the beginning of March.

The dispatch is printed under the deliberately misleading headline about the alleged Red "liquidation" of 800,000 between 1949 and 1954. However, deep in its story the Times itself inserts a bracket which says:

"The 800,000 are believed to include mainly opponents of the regime killed in civil warfare after 1949, as well as persons executed on charges of spying and counter-revolution."

Considering the scope of the civil war and the enormous armaments given to Chiang Kai-shek by the U.S. the figure is remarkably low.

The Daily Worker is in no position—in part because of the John Foster Dulles iron curtain against American correspondents in China and the passport discrimination against our newspaper—to check the authenticity, or the context of the Mao excerpts quoted by Gruson. —Editors.

## CONTRADICTIONS

The Gruson dispatch, based on information gathered in Poland quotes Mao as saying about the problems of contradictions under the Chinese Peoples regime:

These problems "are new in Marxism-Leninism. Marx and Engels did not know about these problems for obvious reasons. Lenin mentioned them but did not enlarge upon them because during his lifetime, as a result of foreign intervention, it was difficult to speak about internal problems only.

"As for Stalin, his opinions can be considered only negatively. The experience of the Soviet Union in this respect shows that Stalin made the mistake of substituting internal differences for external antagonism, which resulted in a rule of terror and the liquidation of thousands of Communists.

"In dealing with enemies it is necessary to use force. We in China also have used force to deal with enemies of the people. The total number of those who were liquidated by our security forces number 800,000. This is the figure up to 1954.

"Since then we are no longer using methods of terror. Instead we have substituted persuasion and education. If one persists in using the methods of terror in solving internal antagonisms, it may lead to transformation of these antagonisms into antagonisms of the nation-enemy type, as happened in Hungary.

"But the method of persuasion must go together with an analysis of the bad side of the problem, with the making of suggestions that take root in the mistakes committed. This is the old method of meetings and discussions. Many people laugh at us because we have too many meetings. But this old and tried custom of allowing everyone to have his say has frequently given good results and is the most democratic procedure.

"The internal differences are not and must not be antagonistic even if they are the antagonisms between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. If we stand on the platform of national unity, the solution of these differences must be based on criticism designed to strengthen that unity.

"A good example is the attitude of the Chinese Communist Party toward the bourgeoisie, which resulted in the bourgeoisie's joining the constructive

work of building a Socialist state. Of course, we do not say this applies to every other country, which may be worn under different conditions, but in the Chinese experience this way of solving problems has proved most useful."

Mao is quoted on strikes as follows:

"The internal antagonisms should be dealt with as soon as they appear. But what to do if this is hampered by bureaucracy, which in turn leads to demonstrations and strikes? Such incidents should be considered as warning signals to sectors of the administration where bureaucracy has made its nest.

"In this respect it can even be said that small strikes are beneficial because they point to mistakes committed. Of course big general strikes cannot be considered in the same way because they are not fought to rectify mistakes or satisfy rightful grievances but are directed against the regime itself.

"Small strikes, if correctly dealt with, can be a good way to avoid big strikes. But it also must be pointed out that we should use persuasion to dissuade workers from using these methods. Strikes are never beneficial to the working class because they result in less goods for the market, that is for the workers themselves. But we should use only persuasion and never administrative methods of force.

"Another aspect of this situation is the question of pay. We do not have at present enough funds to increase the pay even for those who rightly claim more for their work. It is known that the wages given to three workers must suffice for five persons at least. So what can be done? The best solution seems to divide the work so that everyone gets something, both in the way of work and pay. We must try also to get everyone who wants it the possibility of engaging in outside work."

On China's population problem, Mao said that the number of births, now 30,000,000 a year, was a "sign of great progress made in medical service and the general rise in living standards, especially in the countryside and of the faith people have in the future."

"But this figure must also be of great concern to us all," he said, continuing:

"I will quote two other figures. The increase in grain harvest for the last two years has been 10,000,000 tons a year. This is barely sufficient to cover the needs of our growing population.

"The second figure concerns the problem of education. It is estimated that at present 40 percent of our youth have not been placed in primary schools. Steps must therefore be taken to keep our population for a long time at a stable level, say, of 800,000,000. A wide campaign of explanation and proper help must be undertaken to achieve this aim.

Mao is quoted on "the double aspect of all occurrences" as follows:

"Each problem must be considered in its entire complexity. Everything has two sides, a good side and a bad side. For instance, the Japanese attack was a bad thing because it meant war. But, on the other hand, it resulted in good because the struggle against Japanese aggression made it possible to mobilize the whole nation around the Communist party, which led the struggle, and ultimately made for the Communist victory.

"The tragedy of Hungary was also bad. But the Hungarian tragedy had its positive result because it made us conscious of the mistakes that spring from



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great-power feelings and chauvinism and taught us to beware of them. World War II also had its positive as well as its negative aspects. The war brought upon the world much destruction but at the same time it crushed the old imperialists and made clear that a new war would mean the overthrow of capitalism. But we do not want a war though the possibility of it must not be excluded."

## THEORY

On theory, Mao is quoted as follows:

Marxism-Leninism is not afraid of criticism and does not fear discussion. It is the compass of the party that built a Socialist China. Marxism-Leninism must come out to meet criticism head on because only in this way can it be strengthened and become a really great power and not a new religion or a taboo. The party believes that Marxism-Leninism will win more sympathizers if it conducts an ideological struggle based on the principle of unity-criticism-unity.

"The opinions against the policy of a hundred flowers are the result of a fear of criticism, fear of losing the monopolistic position. They are an example of dogmatism. Marx never said that he should not be criticized. To those who do not follow that teaching of Marx I would address an old saying: 'He who does not allow himself to be criticized during his life will be criticized after his death.'"

"There need be no fear that the policy of a hundred flowers will yield poisoned fruit. Sometimes it is necessary even to have this poisoned fruit to know what it is that we are fighting against. For this reason, too, it has been decided to publish the full works of Chiang Kai-shek and even a volume of some of the Voice of

America broadcasts. It is not enough to attack reactionaries. We must know exactly what the reactionaries want and what they represent."

## WAR

Mao is quoted on the possibility of war as follows:

"A new war is a possibility we must always bear in mind. There are different reasons why the capitalists may want to start it. But personally I do not believe we need fear such a possibility for at least the next 15 years."

"To a question on the problem of solving the difference between the immediate needs of the people and the needs to safeguard industrial progress, he replied,

"The one-sided drive to build in a hurry the heavy industry needed by the country aggravated this problem. But an analysis made it possible to reduce the proportion of funds devoted to heavy industry from 9.1 percent to 6.1 percent and there is a possibility of still further reductions."

Mao is quoted about publishing Chiang Kai-shek and Voice of America as follows:

The new generation, which did not fight face to face with imperialism and reactionaries,

must know why we are calling on them to continue that fight. And another reason. We cannot breed flowers in a hothouse. Such flowers will be neither beautiful nor healthy. We must strengthen and harden them if their fruits are to be lasting."

On Soviet experience Mao is quoted as saying:

"The Soviet Union has many experiences that can be used for the benefit of our country, especially in regard to industrial progress. But other experiences of the Soviet Union cannot be neglected and we have to consider them if only not to repeat the mistakes."

About Hungary Mao is quoted as follows:

"The Hungary party was weak because it stressed the methods of repression instead of persuasion. The weakness of the party came out during the tragedy of October when the party simply disappeared in a matter of a few days. The use of Soviet forces was necessary because there was fear that the disintegration would not be confined to the party alone but to the whole state, though it is regrettable that the situation made such an intervention necessary."

## DR. PAULING IN PARIS, WILL PUSH DRIVE TO BAN H-TESTS

PARIS, June 13—Dr. Linus Pauling, American scientist and Nobel Prizewinner, arrived from New York yesterday to continue his campaign for outlawing nuclear bomb tests.

"I ardently wish that scientists from all countries sign my appeal against nuclear tests, approved by 2,000 of my American colleagues," he said at Orly Airfield.

"It is indispensable to avoid a nuclear world war which would cause hundreds of millions of victims and certainly destroy our civilization."

Lucien Laurichesse, secretary general of the National Scientific Research Council, met Pauling at the airport.

Dr. Pauling will lecture in Paris, Toulouse, Montpellier and Strasbourg before going to Yugoslavia, Britain and perhaps the Soviet Union. He is Professor of biochemistry at the California Institute of Technology.

## FINNS AT CEREMONY RETURN LENIN LOCOMOTIVE TO USSR

HELSINKI, June 13—The American-made locomotive in which V. I. Lenin escaped in 1917 to Finland during the period in which the Bolsheviks were driven underground by the Kerensky government, was returned to the Soviets at a ceremony here today.

Nikita Khrushchev, secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, refusing the offer of gloves to keep his hands clean, personally mounted the cab of the locomotive—Number 293 built in Richmond, Va. It still has its U. S. maker's plate.

The Finnish Government returned the locomotive today as a gesture of friendship in connection with the state visit here of Khrushchev and Soviet Premier Nikolai Bulganin.

## Memorial to Anne Frank Held In Frankfurt, Her Native City

FRANKFURT, Germany, June 13—Anne Frank's native city yesterday observed what would have been her 28th birthday. An organization of German victims of the Hitler regime placed a memorial tablet on the Frank family's house.

Anne, her mother and her sister died in a Nazi concentration camp in 1944. Her diary was made into a prize-winning American play.

## CHILEAN CP PAPER ORDERED SUSPENDED FOR FIVE DAYS

SANTIAGO, Chile, June 13—El Siglo, organ of the outlawed Chilean Communist Party, was ordered yesterday to suspend publication for five days, on a charge of publishing articles and stories "injurious" to the government of President Carlos Ibanez.

The order was handed down by Appeals Judge Manuel Almaraz. The ruling coincided with appointment by the Chamber of Deputies of a special committee to investigate the legality of Government restrictions on Chilean radio stations.

## Wm. Worthy Gets Another 'No'

WASHINGTON, June 13.—The State Department's Passport Division has recommended against renewing the passport of William Worthy, Jr., Baltimore newsman who went to China despite an Administration ban on travel there.

A State Department spokesman said the division made the recommendation yesterday. It is the subject to consideration by Roderic L. O'Connor, chief of the State Department's Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs.

If O'Connor supports the recommendation, Worthy will be informed of the State Department action by letter. It will advise him that he may appeal to a special State Department hearing board.

Worthy's passport expired March 4. He sought renewal April 29.

Worthy, a reporter for the Baltimore Afro-American, is on leave from his newspaper while he studies under a Nieman fellowship at Harvard University.