

PEKING REVIEW

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*Chairman Mao's Talks at the Yanan Forum on
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this great work.*

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QUOTATIONS FROM CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG

We should support whatever the enemy opposes and oppose whatever the enemy supports.

*Interview with Three Correspondents
from the Central News Agency, the
Sao Tang Pao and the Hsin Min Pao
(September 1939)*

* * *

If they [the Kuomintang] fight, we will wipe them out completely. This is the way things are: if they attack and we wipe them out, they will have that satisfaction; wipe out some, some satisfaction; wipe out more, more satisfaction; wipe out the whole lot, complete satisfaction.

*On the Chungking Negotiations
(October 1945)*

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What is a true bastion of iron? It is the masses, the millions upon millions of people who genuinely and sincerely support the revolution. That is the real iron bastion which it is impossible, and absolutely impossible, for any force on earth to smash. The counter-revolution cannot smash us; on the contrary, we shall smash it.

*Be Concerned with the Well-Being of
the Masses, Pay Attention to Methods
of Work (January 1934)*



Chairman Mao Tse-tung

Our great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman



A Great Strategic Measure

“HONGQI” AND “RENMIN RIBAO” EDITORIAL

Chairman Mao on June 1, 1966, personally approved publication of the first revolutionary big-character poster put up in Peking University and acclaimed it as the country's first Marxist-Leninist big-character poster (see “Peking Review,” No. 37, 1966). This great strategic measure of Chairman Mao lit the mighty flame of the great proletarian cultural revolution and launched the powerful offensive on the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. In the past year the great proletarian cultural revolution has achieved brilliant victories.

On June 1 this year, the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, the young revolutionary fighters and revolutionary cadres all over the country held celebration meetings, forums and big demonstrations to commemorate the first anniversary of Chairman Mao's decision to publicize the first Marxist-Leninist big-character poster in the country.

To mark the occasion, “Hongqi” and “Renmin Ribao” jointly published the following editorial on June 1. — Ed.

ON June 1, 1966, our great leader Chairman Mao decided to publicize through press and radio the Marxist-Leninist big-character poster which was the first to appear in China and had been put up in Peking University. This was a great strategic measure.

This great strategic measure was a battle order issued directly to the entire Party and to the people of the whole country. It called on the proletarian revolutionaries and the broad masses of revolutionary people to launch a mass movement from below—the great proletarian cultural revolution—to expose and struggle against the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, to fight to smash the scheme for a capitalist restoration and to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

This great strategic measure lit the mighty flame of the great proletarian cultural revolution. Thereafter, the vigorous mass movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution spread in mighty waves throughout the country.

This great strategic measure clarified for all the people of the country the main target of revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the road and method to be followed in the making of that revolution.

In the final analysis, the struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the socialist road and the capitalist road, is one in which the proletariat wants to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat while the bourgeoisie wants to subvert it. And this finds concentrated expression in the struggle between the proletarian revolutionaries on the one hand and the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road on the other.

The handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, who sneaked into leading organs of the Party and organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat, usurped the leadership in some areas and departments. They waved “red flags” to oppose the red flag, they donned a cloak of Marxism but carried on revisionist activities, they hung up the signboard of the dictatorship of the proletariat but exercised a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. This is precisely what was done by Lu Ping, Sung Shuo, Peng Pei-yun and their like exposed by the first Marxist-Leninist big-character poster at Peking University. It was also true of the Peng Chen counter-revolutionary revisionist clique and its behind-the-scenes boss, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. The main target of revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat is the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. The great proletarian cultural revolution is directly aimed at making revolution against them, exposing them, seizing power from them and thoroughly defeating them.

The great proletarian cultural revolution means boldly mobilizing the masses to carry on a mass movement, it means carrying out this great revolution by practising mass democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat, that is, freely airing one's views, contending and debating to the fullest extent and publicizing one's views in big-character posters. Only so can we break the bonds of slavishness peddled by the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road; only so can we smash the yoke they imposed on the masses and destroy their reactionary citadel. Only so can we expose this handful of Party persons in authority, big or small, taking the capitalist road to the full light of day and overwhelm them in the mighty ocean of the revolutionary masses.

Chairman Mao's great strategic measure mobilized for action the hundreds of millions of the revolution-

ary masses in fierce attacks against the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. This mighty, vigorous mass movement scared them out of their wits. The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and his cronies hastened to cook up a bourgeois reactionary line. They proceeded to suppress the masses, suppress the revolution and stifle mass democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat in an attempt to stamp out the newly arisen mass movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

At this crucial moment, our great leader Chairman Mao returned to Peking and convened the 11th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party. At this session Chairman Mao made public his big-character poster "Bombard the Headquarters," which is of great historic significance. Chairman Mao said in this poster: "This first Marxist-Leninist big-character poster in the whole of China and the commentary on it in *Renmin Ribao* are really well written! Comrades please read this big-character poster and this commentary again. But in the last fifty days or more some leading comrades from the central right down to the local levels have acted in a contrary direction. Taking a reactionary bourgeois stand, they have exercised a bourgeois dictatorship and suppressed the vigorous movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution. They have called black white and stood the facts on their heads, encircled and attacked the revolutionaries, suppressed opinions differing from their own, and imposed a white terror, and they have done all this with great smugness. They inflated the arrogance of the bourgeoisie and damped down the morale of the proletariat. This is utterly vicious! Associating this with the erroneous tendencies of the Right deviation in 1962 and the apparently 'Left' but actually Right deviation in 1964, shouldn't this awaken people and make them ponder?"

Chairman Mao's big-character poster and the "Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" drawn up under his personal guidance exposed in a penetrating way the bourgeois reactionary line and the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. This big-character poster and decision illuminated the road along which the great proletarian cultural revolution was to advance, and greatly encouraged the proletarian revolutionaries and the broad masses throughout the country. The mass movement went into action on an even greater scale and with a deeper content. The Red Guard movement and the large-scale exchange of revolutionary experience pushed the great proletarian cultural revolution forward to a new upsurge. Carrying further forward the mass democracy of the proletariat, the broad revolutionary masses launched a large-scale mass criticism and repudiation of the bourgeois reactionary line and ferreted out of their corners all those persons in authority taking the capitalist road.

On the basis of the mass exposure of the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, our great leader Chairman Mao called upon the proletarian revolutionaries to unfold the struggle to seize power. The storm of the "January Revolution" which first appeared in Shanghai swept the country. Thereafter, the great proletarian cultural revolution entered the stage of the struggle to seize power. The ranks of the proletarian revolutionaries have since swelled. The Chinese People's Liberation Army has made important contributions by actively supporting the great proletarian cultural revolution in the various localities. In places and organizations where a seizure of power is necessary, provisional organs of power, based on a revolutionary "three-in-one" combination, have been established or are in preparation. At the stage of the struggle to seize power, complex contradictions of various kinds remain. But the target of struggle has become more concentrated. It is to capture, one by one, the strongholds in which the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road have entrenched themselves, take those strongholds back into the hands of the proletariat and force the enemy finally to lay down their arms.

A whole year has elapsed since Chairman Mao decided to make public the first Marxist-Leninist big-character poster in the country which was put up in Peking University. In that year, the great proletarian cultural revolution has achieved brilliant victories and momentous changes have taken place in the political life of China and the complexion of Chinese society.

In summing up the experiences of the struggle during the last 12 months, every revolutionary comrade and every revolutionary mass organization must study Chairman Mao's directives on the great proletarian cultural revolution, and at all times pay attention to keeping firm hold of the general orientation of the struggle.

Holding to the general orientation of the struggle demands clear recognition of whom the revolution is directed against, the object of the revolution, against whom the spearhead of attack should be directed. Why is the first big-character poster of Peking University described as Marxist-Leninist? It is because it clearly, penetratingly and unequivocally directs the spearhead of attack at the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. If the general orientation is wrong all else will be wrong. A number of unclear, confusing and incorrect slogans were spread on this question. For instance, "all persons classified as 'leading' cadres should step aside," "sweep everything out from top to bottom," "direct the spearhead upwards" and so forth. All of them are devoid of class analysis and are wrong. If we act in this way, without discriminating between the proletariat and the bourgeois, between the headquarters of the proletariat and that of the bourgeoisie, and without discriminating between the broad masses and the handful of bad elements, then mistakes of orientation will occur.

We must clearly recognize that after one year of the great proletarian cultural revolution, the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road have been exposed and at the same time, the great majority of our cadres have proved to be good or comparatively good. In those places and departments where a vigorous mass movement was unfolded, generally speaking, the class alignments have been clear or fairly clear. These were the circumstances in which the proletarian revolutionaries' struggle for the seizure of power was carried out. All revolutionary mass organizations should actively respond to Chairman Mao's great call, and unite and complete the task of seizing power from the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. During the course of this, the exposed top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and those in authority taking the capitalist road in each unit and area should be overthrown and discredited politically, ideologically and theoretically, and the task of "struggle-criticism-transformation"* should be fulfilled step by step in each unit. It is imperative to realize the revolutionary great alliance through mass criticism and repudiation, and through it raise our level of understanding of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, and truly keep power in the hands of the proletariat.

Holding to the general orientation of the struggle is inseparable from the correct understanding and practice of mass democracy. **Chairman Mao has taught us: "Democracy sometimes seems to be an end, but it is in fact only a means."** Why do we use the means of mass democracy in the great proletarian cultural revolution? Who are we dealing with? What is our aim? Our mass democracy is to arouse hundreds of millions of people to open fire at the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. We use the means of mass democracy precisely to awaken the masses in order to expose and overthrow the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. If we depart from this aim, we will lose our bearings and it is not democracy of the proletariat and the class enemy will take advantage of this. If we take democracy as an end, we will go astray down the bourgeois road.

Holding to the general orientation of the struggle is inseparable from correct understanding and handling of the two types of contradictions which are different in nature. Every revolutionary comrade and revolutionary mass organization must not only learn to handle the contradictions between ourselves and the

* The task of "struggle-criticism-transformation" means the task of struggling against and overthrowing those persons in authority taking the capitalist road, criticizing and repudiating the reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities" and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, and transforming education, literature and art and all other parts of the superstructure not in correspondence with the socialist economic base. — Tr.

enemy, but must also learn to handle correctly the contradictions among the people. At no time and under no circumstances should the spearhead of struggle be directed against the broad masses and cadres. Also, we should not direct the spearhead of struggle against people who are misled, but should patiently and meticulously do political and ideological work with them, persuade them, educate them and help them cast off their mental burdens, correct their mistakes and return to the side of the proletarian revolutionary line of Chairman Mao. The Left, and the Left mass organizations must develop first rate capabilities in doing such work among the masses. It is all the more necessary that the contradictions among Left organizations be settled by the method of democracy and the principle of "unity-criticism-unity." If the spearhead of struggle is not directed against the enemy but against people whose views differ from one's own, and "civil wars" are waged among the Left organizations, the general orientation of the struggle will be shifted and only the class enemy will be happy.

To hold to the general orientation of the struggle, we must creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's works, carry out rectification campaigns, seize power from the "self-interest" in our own minds and firmly oppose anarchism. No one burdened with many selfish ideas and personal considerations can possibly hold to the general orientation of the struggle. Without overcoming anarchism, no one can hold to the general orientation of the struggle. It is necessary to pay particular attention to this point in the course of the struggle for the seizure of power and after seizing it. Unless selfish ideas and personal considerations are overcome, the proletarian struggle for the seizure of power from the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road will, in the course of the struggle, turn into a struggle for power and fame for small groups and individuals, and after the seizing of power it will be absolutely impossible to implement Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. Unless anarchist ideas are overcome, the serious mistake of undermining proletarian revolutionary discipline and the dictatorship of the proletariat will be committed in the course of the struggle for the seizure of power, and, after seizing it, various people will build up their own "independent kingdoms." Every revolutionary comrade must be highly vigilant and not be led into wrong ways by "self-interest" and anarchist ideas.

Chairman Mao points out: Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of the first importance for the revolution and it is likewise a question of the first importance for the great cultural revolution. On this first anniversary of the mass movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution, we should firmly bear this teaching of Chairman Mao's in mind and hold fast to the general orientation of the struggle.

Firm Support for the Arab People's Fight Against U.S.-Israeli Aggression

June 6, 1967

ON June 5, 1967, instigated and supported by U.S. imperialism, Israel flagrantly launched massive armed aggression against the United Arab Republic, Syria and other Arab states. This is another towering crime against the Arab people committed by U.S. imperialism and its tool Israel as well as a grave provocation against the people of Asia, Africa and the rest of the world. The people of the Arab states, rising as one in their hatred against their common enemy, are dealing head-on blows at the aggressors. A storm of struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression is sweeping the whole Arab world.

Israel is a product of the U.S. and British imperialist policy of aggression. After World War II Israel could not have existed at all without U.S. imperialist fosterage, and it would never have dared to launch an attack against the Arab states without U.S. imperialist support. It is U.S. imperialism that has instigated Israel to attack Syria; it is U.S. imperialism that, in league with British imperialism, has threatened to reopen the Gulf of Aqaba by force of arms; it is again U.S. imperialism that has been supplying Israel with large quantities of arms in order to mount sudden attacks on the United Arab Republic and the other Arab countries. Facts have fully proved that U.S. imperialism is the back-stage manager of Zionism and the No. 1 enemy of the Arab people and the people of the world.

In this incident, the Soviet revisionist leading clique has connived at the aggression committed by Israel at

the instigation and with the support of U.S. imperialism, thus once again revealing its ugly features as a betrayer of the Arab people.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the greatest leader of the Chinese people, has pointed out that "The raging tide of the people of the world against the U.S. aggressors is irresistible. Their struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys will assuredly win still greater victories." The U.A.R., Syria and the other Arab states and the Arab people of Palestine are waging a just war against U.S.-Israeli aggression. A just war is invincible. The heroic Arab people with a glorious anti-imperialist tradition have raised aloft the just banner of war against aggression. We believe that with the sympathy and support of the people of the whole world, the Arab people will surely win final victory so long as they strengthen their unity, persevere in struggle, advance wave upon wave and surmount all difficulties.

The Chinese Government hereby solemnly declares: Armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, the 700 million Chinese people who are victoriously carrying on the great proletarian cultural revolution absolutely will not allow the U.S. imperialists and their collaborators to ride roughshod and commit aggression everywhere. We firmly stand on the side of the Arab people and resolutely support them in their just war against U.S.-Israeli aggression.

Victory will surely belong to the heroic fighting Arab people!

Premier Chou En-lai's Messages to Nasser, Atassi and Shukairy

—The Chinese People Will Always Remain Comrades-in-Arms of the Arab People in the Struggle Against Imperialism

On June 6, Premier Chou En-lai addressed separate messages to Gamal Abdel Nasser, President of the United Arab Republic, Nouredin Atassi, Head of State of the Syrian Arab Republic, and Ahmad Shukairy, President of the Palestine Liberation Organization. Following are the text of the messages. — Ed.

Message to Gamal Abdel Nasser

On June 5, 1967, instigated and supported by U.S. imperialism, Israel launched cowardly sudden attacks on Cairo, capital of the U.A.R., the Suez Canal zone, the Gaza Strip and other places, thus precipitating a war

of aggression against all the Arab states and people. Fearing no brute force and filled with hatred against their common enemy, the people of the U.A.R. and the entire Arab people who have an anti-imperialist tradition have greatly deflated the truculent arrogance of the aggressors and have won the sympathy and praise of all the anti-imperialist revolutionary people of Asia, Africa and the whole world.

The current aggression by Israel has been long pre-meditated and was launched after Israel had been assured of political and military support from U.S. President Lyndon Johnson. Facts have once again demonstrated that U.S. imperialism is the arch criminal supporting Israel in its aggression against the Arab states and is the most ferocious enemy of the Arab people. The Chinese people and Government fully agree with the correct conclusion drawn by Your Excellency Mr. President on May 2 that U.S. imperialism is "the headquarters of the counter-revolution in the world."

At present, the situation of the struggle against imperialism in the world is excellent. U.S. imperialism is besieged ring upon ring by the people of the world. By their war adventures U.S. imperialism and its tool Israel can only arouse the Arab people to even more resolute resistance and hasten their own doom. Britain, France and Israel did not come to any good end in their aggression against Egypt in 1956, and today, in instigating and supporting Israel in its aggression against the Arab states U.S. imperialism will definitely come to no good end either.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of the Chinese people, has said, "The just struggles of the peoples of various countries in the world support each other." The Chinese Government and people have always highly appraised the Arab people's struggle against imperialism and regarded their struggle as our own struggle and their victories as our own victories. Now I wish to reiterate to Your Excellency that in the struggle to repel the aggression by U.S. imperialism and its tool Israel, the Chinese Government and people stand firmly by the U.A.R. people and the entire Arab people and will for ever remain the staunch and reliable comrades-in-arms of the Arab people.

Finally, allow me, on behalf of Chairman Mao Tse-tung and Vice-Chairman Lin Piao as well as in my own name, to extend to Your Excellency our sincere regards and greetings.

Message to Nouredin Atassi

On June 5, instigated and supported by U.S. imperialism, Israel brazenly launched military aggression against your country. This is a new and grave war provocation against the people of Syria as well as the entire Arab people.

In the face of imperialist aggression, the Government and people of the Syrian Arab Republic have waged a tit-for-tat struggle and are hitting back at the

aggressors with resolute and powerful blows. Your just action has demonstrated the strong will of the Syrian people and the entire Arab people to oppose aggression by U.S. imperialism and Israel and has won the sympathy and praise of all the anti-imperialist revolutionary people of Asia, Africa and the rest of the world. The Chinese Government and the 700 million Chinese people will, as in the past, stand firmly by the people of Syria and the other Arab states and give full support to your just struggle against aggression.

Facts have proved once again that U.S. imperialism is the No. 1 enemy of the people of Syria and the other Arab states and is the source of all the sufferings of the Arab people. This war of aggression launched by U.S. imperialism and its tool Israel in no way indicates their strength; on the contrary, it shows that they are at the end of their tether and are putting up a last-ditch struggle. **Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of the Chinese people, pointed out long ago: "All reactionaries are paper tigers. In appearance, the reactionaries are terrifying, but in reality they are not so powerful. From a long-term point of view, it is not the reactionaries but the people who are really powerful."** I am deeply convinced that with the sympathy and support of the people of the world, the heroic people of Syria and the other Arab states, who have a glorious anti-imperialist tradition, will certainly win final victory in their struggle against aggression, so long as they strengthen their unity and persevere in struggle.

Finally, allow me, on behalf of Chairman Mao Tse-tung and Vice-Chairman Lin Piao as well as in my own name, to extend to Your Excellency our sincere regards and greetings.

Message to Ahmad Shukairy

Instigated and supported by the U.S. and British imperialists, Israel has brazenly launched a massive armed attack on the Arab states and peoples.

United as one, the Arab people are waging a just war against aggression. The Arab people of Palestine and the Palestine Liberation Army have taken up their fighting posts and, together with the entire Arab armed forces and people, they are giving play to the spirit of courage in battle and fearing no sacrifice and are dealing head-on blows at the aggressors.

Israel is a product of the U.S. and British imperialist policy of aggression. Nineteen years ago, Israel, supported by the U.S. and British imperialists, forcibly occupied the homeland of the Arab people of Palestine and compelled about a million Palestinians to become homeless refugees.

Today, the oppressed Arab people and the disaster-ridden Palestinians have stood up. Wherever there is oppression, there is resistance; wherever there is aggression, there is struggle against aggression. I believe that having taken up arms, the revolutionary Arab people of Palestine and the entire Arab people will not

lay down their arms and, like the heroic Vietnamese people, will fight on unflinchingly, resolutely and stubbornly until final victory.

At present, the situation of the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle throughout the world is excellent. U.S. imperialism is heavily besieged by the Vietnamese people, the Arab people and the revolutionary people of the whole world. Your Excellency has on many occasions stated that Palestine can be liberated only by armed struggle. I very much admire this clear-cut view held by Your Excellency. Today, the just war of the Arab states and peoples against aggression by U.S. imperialism, British imperialism and Israel is a fine beginning of the struggle to liberate Palestine.

人民日报
RENMIN RIBAO

Resolutely Support Arab People's War Against Aggression

ON June 5, Israel, a running dog of U.S. imperialism, flagrantly launched a war of aggression against the Arab countries by mounting massive air and ground attacks on the U.A.R., Syria and other countries. Thus, the threat of war conducted by U.S. imperialism in the recent period against the Arab people through Israel has turned into acts of war and U.S. imperialism and its lackey have imposed war on the Arab people.

Now that U.S. imperialism and its lackey have unleashed a war of aggression, the Arab people will naturally rise resolutely to fight a war against aggression. Since the enemy has already crossed the frontier, it is a matter of course to hit back with resolve. At present, the armed forces and people of the U.A.R., Syria and other countries are already dealing head-on blows at the invaders. United by a bitter hatred for their common enemy, the Arab countries have one after another announced their entry into a state of war with Israel. Troops of many Arab countries have moved into frontline positions for joint resistance against aggression. This is the most forceful and staunch answer of the 100 million Arab people to the aggressors.

The frantic aggression unleashed by Israel against the Arab countries has been stagemanaged single-handedly by U.S. imperialism. In the past few days, warships of the U.S. Sixth Fleet have sailed into the East Mediterranean to threaten the Arab countries. Lyndon Johnson issued three statements within one week clamouring that the United States would "fulfil"

The Chinese people's great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung has taught us: "The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution." The practice of revolutionary struggle of the Arab people of Palestine will again prove this indisputable truth.

The Chinese people will for ever remain comrades-in-arms of the Palestinian people and other Arab peoples in the struggle against imperialism. The Chinese Government and people will, as always, stand on your side and resolutely support you in carrying through to the end the just struggle against U.S. imperialism, British imperialism and their running dog Israel.

Please accept my regards and greetings.

its "promise" to Israel. The U.S. Ambassador to the U.A.R. declared long ago that the United States "will use force" against the Arab countries. The war of aggression now started by Israel in the Middle East is in fact a war in which the United States supplies arms and ideas and Israel provides men to fight for the United States and massacre the Arab people. The aim of this war of aggression stagemanaged by U.S. imperialism is to try and put down the Arab people's anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle so as to facilitate its control over and enslavement of the Arab countries.

British imperialism is also an accomplice in this war of aggression. Of late, Britain has trailed behind the United States in making one threat of war after another against the Arab countries and at the same time has been steadily amassing military forces east of the Suez Canal. Harold Wilson has brazenly declared that if the Arab countries did not bow to Israel, this "could lead to a local war in the Middle East." British imperialism which suffered a dismal defeat in the Suez Canal war is dreaming of riding again on the backs of the Arab people through this new war of aggression.

In the criminal aggressive activities of the United States and its lackey, Israel, the Soviet revisionist ruling clique is playing again the shameful role of No. 1 accomplice. Recently, busy contacts and intensive activities have been carried on between Moscow, Washington and London. A large number of Soviet war vessels have steamed into the East Mediterranean, exchanging fraternal greetings with the warships of the U.S. Sixth Fleet on the high seas. Kosygin wrote a

hypocritical letter to the Israeli Premier urging him to be "cautious." Even Israeli officials found the tone extraordinarily "moderate." The Soviet revisionist clique is bent on stamping out the flames of the Arab people's just struggle, in collusion with U.S. and British imperialism. Its act of betrayal has added greatly to the aggressive arrogance of Israel.

The war of aggression unleashed by the U.S. imperialist lackey Israel is in fact the continuation of the neo-colonialist policy of enslavement that U.S. imperialism has been pursuing towards the Arab countries. The United States, Britain and the Soviet Union have now joined hands in a vain attempt to bring the Arab

countries to submission by means of war. While provoking a war, they are getting the United Nations to "mediate" so as to enable the big powers to continue their intervention. This lays bare the United Nations as a tool of U.S. imperialism, a tool of colonialism, a tool of power politics of the big powers, and a tool of the big powers to cover up their war crimes and carry out political deception.

U.S. imperialism and its accomplices and lackeys are bullying the Arab people in such a way that it is absolutely not to be tolerated. The Arab people are

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Resolutely Repel British Imperialist Provocations

A GREAT battle against the bloody persecution by British imperialism has erupted in Hongkong. Since early May, in defiance of armed suppression by British troops and police, our patriotic compatriots there, holding aloft *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, have gone into the streets. Strikes and work stoppages have been announced by workers in various trades. Advancing wave upon wave and fearing no sacrifice, they courageously buffet with British troops, police and thugs. This tremendous, raging, anti-imperialist mass movement is now developing with a vengeance.

In disregard of the Chinese Government's repeated warnings, the British authorities in Hongkong, instead of submitting and pleading guilty to their fascist atrocities, have intensified their provocations against the Chinese people. They have continued to illegally arrest and try our patriotic compatriots. It is shocking the way they beat up, maltreat and murder those under arrest. They have promulgated a series of so-called "emergency decrees" to provide "legal grounds" to "justify" their persecution and make the resistance to violence a "crime" in an attempt to stamp out our patriotic compatriots' struggle against imperialism and violence with more arrests and persecution on a still larger scale. They have also moved in an aircraft carrier to make, as they bluntly put it, "a show of force." British imperialism has truly gone raving mad!

British imperialism thinks that it can frighten the Chinese people into submission with a few police truncheons, several decrees and some warships. This is an absolutely vain hope. Where there is oppression, there is resistance. Our patriotic compatriots in Hongkong put it well when they said the anti-British strug-

gle would "escalate" with the atrocity "escalation" by the British authorities there. They have warned the British imperialists: the struggle has just begun, and the battles to come will be still more heroic and earth-shaking! Now that our patriotic compatriots in Hongkong and Kowloon have started their counter-blows, they will certainly persevere in the struggle, fight the stubborn enemy, pursue the tottering foe until the British imperialists are pulled down and completely discredited!

British imperialism is the extremely vicious colonial ruler of Hongkong, the enemy of the 4 million Chinese compatriots there and the enemy of the 700 million Chinese people. For more than a hundred years, this moribund, savage imperialism has subjected our compatriots in Hongkong and Kowloon to brutal oppression. All of Hongkong's troops, police, secret service agents, courts, prisons and what not are tools for oppressing our compatriots in Hongkong and Kowloon. By plundering and bleeding our compatriots white, British imperialism has plunged the broad masses of them into a state of impoverishment. It also uses that which is most rotten and most decadent in Western culture to poison and corrupt our compatriots in Hongkong and Kowloon. In recent years, the British Government has again collaborated with U.S. imperialism, trying its utmost to convert Hongkong into a U.S. base for the war of aggression against Vietnam and a base for opposing China. The Hongkong under British colonial rule is a haven for sin and crime, a hell-hole. For more than a century, British imperialism has done so much evil, incurred so many blood debts and committed such towering crimes; these accounts must be settled!

Chi Pen-yu Condemns British Fascist Atrocities In Hongkong

Chi Pen-yu, a member of the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, strongly condemned the British imperialists for their fascist atrocities in Hongkong and for vainly trying to intimidate the great Chinese people with a few miserable warships. He warned the British imperialists: "If you do not lower your heads and own up to your crimes, we will let you have a taste of the Chinese people's iron fist!" He said this on June 5 in a speech at the closing ceremony of the seminar sponsored by the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau to mark the 25th anniversary of Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*.

Chi Pen-yu said: "British imperialism has stage-managed the sanguinary incidents of May 2, 6 and 22 in Hongkong, unwarrantedly arresting our patriotic compatriots in Hongkong and Kowloon and suppressing the revolutionary masses, and has imposed a fascist reign of white terror. Several days ago, a few wretched warships were sent to the coast off Hongkong

to make a blustering show of force. Overrating himself, stupid John Bull has clearly forgotten the times, so much so that he does not know what age he is in now. We must warn the British imperialists that the era of the imperialist piratical 'gunboat policy' has long come to an end. You are now at the end of your tether and have fully revealed your features as a paper tiger. You had better recall how the *Amethyst* sneaked away in the most unseemly manner. Today, in the face of the powerful socialist China, it is really pitiable and ludicrous that you should vainly try to intimidate the great Chinese people with a few wretched warships. We hereby warn the British imperialists: The old debt you owe us for launching the dirty Opium War and forcibly occupying Hongkong by taking advantage of the corruption in the Ching court is not yet repaid. Today you are again perpetrating fascist atrocities in Hongkong. This is a grave provocation against the great People's Republic of China. The 700 million Chinese people will absolutely not tolerate it."

Our patriotic compatriots in Hongkong and Kowloon are taking a step further to engage in a tit-for-tat struggle against British imperialism. It is a teacher by negative example, which, through its fascist outrages, is forcing our compatriots to unfold a campaign to hate, disdain and scorn British imperialism, and take all possible action — political, economic and cultural — to launch a powerful counter-attack against British imperialism's colonial rule. The heinous crimes of British imperialism for more than a hundred years in Hongkong must be exposed and made known in an all-out effort and on a colossal scale; the masses must be aroused to pour out their hearts in accusations; let every one of our compatriot's households there know this and make them see through the reactionary and rotten essence of British imperialism which is aggressive by nature.

This struggle should mainly rely on Hongkong's working class, which is the main force of revolution. The vast number of young students must also be fully mobilized so that their movement is integrated with the workers' movement. With Hongkong's working class as the core, patriotic compatriots from the broad strata there should be mobilized and the spearhead of the struggle should be concentrated against U.S. and British imperialism, above all against British imperialism which directly rules Hongkong.

Our great leader Chairman Mao has taught us: "What is a true bastion of iron? It is the masses, the millions upon millions of people who genuinely and sincerely support the revolution. That is the real iron bastion which it is impossible, and absolutely impossible, for any force on earth to smash. The counter-revolution cannot smash us; on the contrary, we shall smash it."

No matter how wild and how rabid British imperialism is in Hongkong at present, as long as our patriotic compatriots unite further, get organized and form a tremendous revolutionary army and set loose a tidal anti-imperialist mass movement, they will be able to build up a real revolutionary bastion of iron which British imperialism absolutely cannot smash. On the contrary, vicious British imperialism will be smashed to pieces before this iron bastion!

Our patriotic compatriots in Hongkong and the 700 million Chinese people absolutely cannot tolerate British imperialism's continued misdeeds in Hongkong and the bloody persecution of our patriotic compatriots.

Patriotic compatriots in Hongkong and Kowloon, mobilize further, get organized, courageously and fiercely unfold the struggle against vicious British imperialism! Be ready at any time to respond to the call of the great motherland and smash the reactionary rule of British imperialism! The fate of Hongkong will be decided by the patriotic compatriots there, by the 700 million Chinese people, absolutely not by decadent British imperialism.

Patriotic compatriots in Hongkong and Kowloon, fight valiantly! In the motherland where the great proletarian cultural revolution has won tremendous victories, the millions of Red Guards support you, the hundreds of millions of revolutionary masses support you! The 700 million Chinese people, armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, vow to serve as the powerful backing of their patriotic compatriots in Hongkong.

Patriotic compatriots in Hongkong and Kowloon, advance courageously towards the great victory!

(*"Renmin Ribao"* editorial, June 3.)

China's Great Revolution and the Soviet Union's Great Tragedy

by OBSERVER

FROM the beginning, China's great proletarian cultural revolution has hit the Soviet revisionist renegade clique where it hurts the most and shaken its tottering "throne."

Throughout the past year, scarcely a day has passed without the Soviet revisionist clique headed by Brezhnev and Kosygin viciously slandering, attacking and vilifying China's great proletarian cultural revolution. In a constant outpouring of venomous abuse, they allege that China's great cultural revolution is a "great tragedy."

Is this strange? Not at all. History shows that a truly great revolution is always a joyous festival to the revolutionary people but a great tragedy to the reactionary forces.

When the great Paris Commune came into being in 1871, Marx hailed it as the greatest day for the proletariat. But the monarchs and bourgeois rulers in Europe cried out in alarm that it was a dreadful catastrophe.

When the shots of the cruiser *Aurora* reverberated in 1917 and the song of triumph was sounded for the great Russian October Revolution the proletarians and other revolutionary people the world over were elated and inspired. But the imperialists and the renegades of the Second International ground their teeth and said that this would be the "final act" of the Russian revolution, that it was Bolshevik "arbitrariness" and "adventure."

When victory was achieved by the great Chinese revolution in 1949, the people throughout China and the rest of the world were jubilant. But U.S. imperialism shrieked in panic that the situation in China was "unfortunate" and "tragic," and that it was a "most anguished period."

The great proletarian cultural revolution now going on in China is a revolutionary movement which is more deep-going and larger in scale than the Paris Commune, the October Revolution and all past revolutions in China. Is it not quite natural that such a great revolution should give rise to howls and calumny from the

Soviet revisionist clique of renegades and all the reactionary forces in the world?

After the Russian October Revolution Lenin posed the question: Who had abused the first Soviets created by the Russian working class? They were "all the bourgeois scoundrels, the whole gang of bloodsuckers, with Kautsky echoing them."

Brezhnev, Kosygin and their like today are the abject followers of the renegade Kautsky whom Lenin had bitterly denounced. In madly abusing China's great cultural revolution as a "great tragedy," they only fully expose themselves as counter-revolutionaries.

A great tragedy has indeed taken place in the international communist movement of our time. But it has occurred in the Soviet Union, not in China. Its creators are none other than the gang of big renegades and scabs represented by Khrushchov and his successors Brezhnev, Kosygin and company.

Revisionism is now dominant in the homeland of Leninism, where the banner of the great Lenin has been lowered and trampled upon by the Khrushchov revisionist clique.

In the Soviet Union, the first socialist state in the world, set up by Lenin, the dictatorship of the proletariat has today become the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie; capitalism has been restored and the socialist state has changed colour.

Today, the Soviet people who achieved great successes under the guidance of Lenin and the leadership of Stalin have once again been reduced to the position of the oppressed and exploited. They have been deprived of the fruits of the revolution gained at such an inestimable cost in blood shed in protracted struggles.

Today, in the Soviet Union, which was once looked upon by the people throughout the world as the base of the world revolution, and to which the hearts of millions upon millions of revolutionary people were turned, the ruling clique has become the No. 1 accomplice of U.S. imperialism and another headquarters of world reaction. The red star over the Kremlin has completely lost its radiance.

This is a shocking picture and a grave, enormous historical retrogression!

The history of the international communist movement provides almost no instance of proletarian state power in a socialist country being toppled by the international bourgeoisie through armed attack from without. But a fortress can most easily be taken from within. Now, imperialism, which is at the end of its rope, uses war threats against the socialist countries from without, and at the same time is mainly employing the Khrushchov clique to carry out subversion from within, and it has effected "peaceful evolution" in the Soviet Union without losing a single soldier or wasting a single round of ammunition. Is this not a major historical lesson?

The great historical retrogression in the Soviet Union has confronted the international communist movement with an extremely important new question, that is, after seizing power, how can the proletariat retain it and prevent the restoration of capitalism? How can the socialist revolution be carried through to the end in the midst of the acute and complex class struggle? This is a major question which all our Marxist-Leninist predecessors did not encounter, did not live long enough to solve or were unable to solve.

It is the greatest Marxist-Leninist of the present era, our leader of genius Chairman Mao, and the historically unparalleled great proletarian cultural revolution in China led by him that have solved this question theoretically and answered it through the earth-shaking revolutionary practice of millions and millions of people.

The most fundamental lesson to be drawn from the tragedy that took place in the Soviet Union is that proletarian state power has been usurped by the Khrushchov revisionist clique. After the death of the great Marxist-Leninist Stalin, Khrushchov, a careerist and long-time schemer who had sneaked into the Party, and his gang found conditions ripe and staged a palace coup and usurped Party, army and government leadership in the Soviet Union. Since then, state power in the Soviet Union has changed character, a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie has replaced the dictatorship of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie has effected counter-revolutionary restoration through its agents.

As Chairman Mao has pointed out: "Those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, the government, the army and various cultural circles are a bunch of counter-revolutionary revisionists. Once conditions are ripe, they will seize political power and turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie."

China's great proletarian cultural revolution has absorbed this serious historical lesson of the Soviet Union.

This great revolution has profoundly educated and tempered the Chinese people and has also profoundly educated and influenced the revolutionary people all over the world. In China and throughout the world, thousands upon thousands of the revolutionary masses, by their own experience or observation of China's great proletarian cultural revolution, and by comparison and analysis, are further arming themselves with the infinitely brilliant thought of Mao Tse-tung. And revolutionary theory, once grasped by the masses, releases an infinitely powerful material force for the transformation of the world.

Through this great revolution, all revolutionary people understand ever more clearly that during the entire historical period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, classes, class struggle and the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road exist in society. And, consequently, the danger of a capitalist restoration exists for a long period.

Through this great revolution, all revolutionaries understand more and more clearly that in the class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat political power remains the most fundamental thing of all. The proletariat wants to consolidate its political power and the bourgeoisie wants to overthrow it. The proletariat wants to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie wants to overthrow it. This is a life-and-death struggle. If we lose our vigilance, state power will be usurped by persons of the Khrushchov type and the political power of the proletariat will be lost after it has been seized.

Through this great cultural revolution, all revolutionaries understand ever more clearly that the danger of capitalist restoration comes mainly from those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat, from the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. The contradiction between the proletariat and the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road is the principal contradiction in socialist society. This is the concentrated expression of the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist road and the capitalist road. The handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road are the main target of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Through this great cultural revolution, all revolutionaries understand more clearly that the class struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie in the ideological sphere is of vital importance and necessity. Chairman Mao says: **"To overthrow a political power, it is always necessary, first of all, to create public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the revolutionary class as well as for the counter-revolutionary class." And therefore, "the class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will continue to be long and tortuous and**

at times will even become very acute." If the proletariat does not thoroughly defeat the bourgeoisie in the ideological and cultural revolution, then the bourgeoisie will attack the proletariat, first of all, from the ideological and cultural positions, the political power of the proletariat may still be seized by the bourgeoisie and everything that has been achieved through struggle by the labouring people may still be destroyed overnight.

Through this great cultural revolution, all revolutionaries understand more and more clearly that proletarian extensive democracy is the best form for arousing the masses to revolutionary struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Proletarian revolutionaries and the revolutionary masses have launched from below the mass movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution, bringing out persons of the Khrushchov type into the open, exposing the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, thoroughly refuting, repudiating and overthrowing them, seizing power from their hands and ensuring that the political power of the proletariat is firmly in the hands of the proletarian revolutionaries.

Chairman Mao teaches us: The present great cultural revolution is only the first; and there will inevitably be many more in the future. The issue of who will win in the revolution can only be settled over a long historical period. If things are not properly handled, it is possible for a capitalist restoration to take place at any time. It should not be thought by any Party member or anyone of the people in our country that everything will be all right after one or two great cultural revolutions, or even three or four. We must be very much on the alert and never lose our vigilance.

In a word, through this great revolution, all revolutionaries have acquired a clearer understanding of the laws of the development of socialist society, the laws of the class struggle in socialist society and the laws of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. All this is the great result of the fact that our great leader Chairman Mao has penetratingly summed up the historical experience of the international proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, drawing particularly on the historical lessons of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, and has analysed the contradictions in socialist society, and creatively developed Marxism-Leninism.

Marx and Engels analysed the contradictions in capitalist society, discovered the law of the inevitable extinction of capitalism and founded the theory of scientific socialism.

Lenin and Stalin developed Marxism. They analysed the contradictions of imperialism, solved a series of problems concerning the revolution of the proletariat in the epoch of imperialism, and resolved the theoret-

ical and practical questions of realizing the dictatorship of the proletariat in a single country.

Chairman Mao has developed Marxism-Leninism still further, solved a series of problems concerning the proletarian revolution in the present era, and solved the theoretical and practical questions of carrying on the revolution and preventing the restoration of capitalism under the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is a great leap forward in the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism. It indicates that Marxism-Leninism has developed into a completely new stage, the stage of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Thus the great proletarian cultural revolution which was launched in China on the basis of the scientific theories discovered by Chairman Mao Tse-tung not only has prevented a repetition of the Soviet Union's tragedy in China and smashed the dream of imperialism and revisionism to restore capitalism in China, but it has also opened up a new epoch in the international communist movement, a new era of proletarian socialist world revolution.

China's great cultural revolution is an event for great rejoicing, a great hope and an immense inspiration to the proletariat and revolutionary people all over the world, a heart-stirring song of triumph of the international proletariat which resounds everywhere. But to the imperialists and the Soviet revisionist group of renegades, it is indeed a deep anguish, a big calamity and a great sorrow because their death knell has been sounded, their end is approaching, and their "throne" is going to collapse very soon.

In the history of mankind, the replacement of one social system by another must go through twists and turns and ups and downs. As this was even true of the bourgeois revolution which was the replacement of one system of exploitation by another, it is still more inconceivable that there would be no twists and turns and ups and downs in the proletarian revolution which aims to eliminate all systems of exploitation. From the historical materialist point of view, the great historical retrogression brought on in the Soviet Union, by this bunch of big renegades, the Soviet revisionist ruling clique, is only an episode in history. It is an immensely bad thing. But Chairman Mao has summed up both the positive and the negative historical experiences and found the way to prevent the restoration of capitalism, and so this immensely bad thing is turned into an immensely good thing.

We are now in a new era, an era under the great banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought. The Marxist-Leninists and the revolutionary people all over the world, armed with the great invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, will certainly be able to smash the old world to pieces and drive the imperialists, modern revisionists and the reactionaries of all countries, these monsters and demons, off the stage of history.

(*"Renmin Ribao," June 4, 1967.*)

Chairman Mao's "Talks"—Guiding Light For the Cultural Revolution of the World's People

—Seminar Sponsored by Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau to Commemorate The 25th Anniversary of Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yen'an Forum on Literature and Art*

THE biggest international meeting on Chairman Mao's works—the six-day seminar sponsored by the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau in Peking to commemorate the 25th anniversary of Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yen'an Forum on Literature and Art*—closed triumphantly on June 5 amid cheers of "Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!"

Attended by writers and friends from 34 countries and regions, the seminar is a complete demonstration of the determination of the revolutionary, progressive writers of Asia, Africa and the rest of the world to use the incomparably powerful ideological weapon of Chairman Mao's *Talks* in their resolute struggle against imperialism, modern revisionism and reactionaries of all countries. The seminar's success is a concrete manifestation of the fact that the revolutionary people of the world are entering a completely new era in which Mao Tse-tung's thought is the great banner. This will have a great impact on the study, grasping and application of Mao Tse-tung's thought by the world's revolutionary people and will encourage the revolutionary, progressive writers of Asia, Africa and the rest of the world to advance valiantly in accordance with Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art.

Among the leading comrades of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, members of the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Party's Central Committee and responsible representatives from other departments concerned present at the closing ceremony were Chou En-lai, Chen Po-ta, Kang Sheng, Hsieh Fu-chih, Chiang Ching, Hsiao Hua, Yang Cheng-wu, Wang Li, Kuan Feng, Chi Pen-yu, Mu Hsin, Yeh Chun, Wang Tung-hsing and Chu Tu-nan.

R.D. Senanayake, Secretary-General of the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau, who presided over the closing ceremony, read the Message of Salute to Chairman Mao, which had been unanimously adopted by the seminar. (For full text see p. 18.)

He then handed the message to Premier Chou En-lai and asked him to pass it on to Chairman Mao Tse-tung. The hall rose and burst into a long stormy ovation. Facing the big portrait of Chairman Mao, hanging high behind the rostrum, everyone cheered again and again: "Long live Chairman Mao!" and "A long, long life to him!"

After receiving the message, Premier Chou expressed his thanks for the glorious task the seminar had

entrusted to him. He promised to present it to the great leader Chairman Mao. The message, Premier Chou said, was imbued with boundless love for Chairman Mao and hatred for the enemy and infinite confidence in the revolutionary cause. It was a militant message, he declared.

Premier Chou said: Comrades and friends, in the face of imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries, let us unite, fight together and win victory together!

He congratulated the seminar on its success.

Concluding, he shouted: "U.S. imperialism is bound to be defeated!" "British imperialism is bound to be defeated!" "Soviet revisionism is bound to be defeated!" "The reactionaries of all countries are bound to be defeated!" "Vietnam is sure to win!" "The Arab people are sure to win!" "The Asian and African peoples are sure to win!" "The world's revolutionary people are sure to win!" "Long live the infinitely radiant thought of Mao Tse-tung!" and "Long live the great leader Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!"

Waving their bright red copies of *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, the writers and friends from many lands kept shouting: "Down with U.S. imperialism!" "Down with Soviet modern revisionism!" "Down with the reactionaries of all countries!" "Long live the great solidarity of the revolutionary Asian and African peoples!" "The Asian and African people's rebellion is justified!" "Long live the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung!" and "Long live the great leader Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!"

A call issued by the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau was adopted at the plenary session of the seminar. (For full text see p. 20.)

It was announced at the closing ceremony that the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau had decided to issue Chairman Mao badges to the revolutionary, progressive writers of Asia, Africa and the rest of the world in commemoration of the 25th anniversary of the publication of Chairman Mao's brilliant work *Talks at the Yen'an Forum on Literature and Art*.

The ceremony began at nine in the evening. Holding their bright red copies of *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, the writers and friends from many lands read out the teachings of Chairman Mao:

"People of the world, unite and defeat the U.S. aggressors and all their running dogs! People of the

world, be courageous, dare to fight, defy difficulties and advance wave upon wave. Then the whole world will belong to the people. Monsters of all kinds shall be destroyed" and "All our literature and art are for the masses of the people, and in the first place for the workers, peasants and soldiers; they are created for the workers, peasants and soldiers and are for their use."

Senanayake made the opening speech. The great success of the seminar, he said, was of historic significance. Representatives of the revolutionary writers in 34 countries and regions in Asia, Africa and the rest of the world had expressed in clear-cut terms their highest esteem and infinite love for Chairman Mao's brilliant *Talks*. The seminar was a vivid reflection of the enthusiasm of the revolutionary writers and people in various countries for studying Mao Tse-tung's thought.

The seminar was a milestone in the Afro-Asian writers' movement, he added. The revolutionary writers in Asia, Africa and the rest of the world were convinced that the brilliant ideas and teachings in Chairman Mao's *Talks* pointed to the only road the revolutionary writers and the oppressed people and nations must take in their struggle for national liberation. He made it clear that the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau reaffirmed its resolute, militant stand of opposing imperialism, revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries. He said that it strongly opposed U.S. imperialism and waged resolute struggles against the Soviet modern revisionists who attempted to split and sell out the revolutionary cause of the world's people. It was determined to uphold the revolutionary cause of the people.

Senanayake then announced the decision of the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau to hold the Third Afro-Asian Writers' Conference in November in Peking.

Chi Pen-yu was then invited to speak. In the light of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, he said, Chairman Mao in the *Talks* developed the Marxist-Leninist theory on literature and art creatively and with genius, and put forward a most comprehensive, systematic and correct proletarian revolutionary line on literature and art for the fighting proletariat.

Chi Pen-yu said that after the publication of this brilliant work by Chairman Mao, the revolutionary Chinese literary and art workers, guided by the revolutionary line on literature and art, were clear about the objectives of their struggle and found the orientation. Many fine literary and art workers, acting according to Chairman Mao's instructions, used the weapon of literature and art to serve the War of Resistance Against Japan and the War of Liberation, and tempered themselves into staunch revolutionary fighters in the flames of national liberation and people's liberation.

Chairman Mao's *Talks* is the programme for the current great proletarian cultural revolution unprecedented in history, preparing the ground for it in terms of comprehensive and systematic theories, line, principles and policies.

He also said that China's great proletarian cultural revolution has greatly developed Marxism-Leninism. It has revealed an entirely new and universal truth: In so-

cialist society and throughout the historical period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, class struggle by no means dies out, but continues to develop in depth, with the struggle between capitalist restoration and counter-restoration as its main content; revolution has not ended, but goes on in a new form. In the new epoch in which imperialism is heading for total collapse while socialism is advancing towards worldwide victory, a genuine Marxist-Leninist should not only recognize class struggle but also the dictatorship of the proletariat and the existence of the struggle between restoration and counter-restoration under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao's thesis on the carrying out of the great cultural revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat points out the orientation for the international communist movement and is the guiding light for the world proletariat in their struggle against imperialism and revisionism.

Chi Pen-yu roundly rebutted the attacks levelled by imperialism and the Soviet modern revisionist clique against our great leader Chairman Mao and their slanders against China's great proletarian cultural revolution. He said that to be opposed by the enemy is not a bad thing, but a very good thing. Their vile attacks on Chairman Mao testify all the more to the greatness and correctness of Chairman Mao, the Lenin of our time. They have proved not only that Chairman Mao, the great helmsman of the proletarian revolution, has pointed out the orientation and road for the Chinese revolution, but also that the revolutionary people under modern revisionist rule recognize Chairman Mao as having done the same for their revolution. The frenzied attacks by the Soviet revisionist clique against our most respected and beloved leader Chairman Mao show their fear that, under the impact of China's great proletarian cultural revolution, the Soviet people will grasp the weapon of the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, rise in rebellion against them and drive them from power. In hurling attack and abuse at our great leader Chairman Mao, the Soviet revisionists are nothing but a few flies buzzing in their death-throes; this cannot tarnish the splendour of the great thought of Mao Tse-tung in the least.

The seminar was a most successful and unprecedentedly imposing one. Its success is a concrete manifestation of the fact that the world's people are entering a completely new era in which Mao Tse-tung's thought is the great banner; it marks the entry of the Afro-Asian writers' movement into a new stage, and shows that Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and theories on literature and art are becoming the powerful ideological weapon for the people of the world in their struggle against imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries, he said.

After condemning U.S. imperialism for carrying out military and cultural aggression against Asia and Africa, he denounced the Soviet revisionist clique for their criminal acts of serving as accomplices of imperialism, actively carrying out cultural infiltration in Asia and Africa, peddling the literature of traitors, advocating capitulationism and helping imperialism to suppress and

sabotage the revolutionary movement of the Asian and African peoples.

In such circumstance, he went on, a task of the first importance confronting Afro-Asian progressive writers is to use the infinitely powerful ideological weapon of Chairman Mao's *Talks* to struggle against imperialist cultural aggression and against modern revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries.

Chi Pen-yu also said that as Chairman Mao teaches us, a tit-for-tat struggle must be waged against the enemy. It is necessary to use revolutionary dual tactics to counter-attack the enemy's counter-revolutionary dual tactics. Since the enemy holds the cultural front—the pen—and the military front—the gun—the revolutionary people must establish them too. To defeat imperialism and the reactionaries of all countries, we must first of all organize and expand a people's army and rely on this army with guns. The central task and highest form of the revolution is to seize power by armed force and settle the issue by war. Without a people's army, the people have nothing; **"Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."** Only with guns will it be possible to seize political power and con-

solidate it. But this army alone is not enough; there must also be a cultural army which is indispensable for uniting our own ranks and defeating the enemy. For Asia and Africa, such an army is one of the powerful instruments both for seizing power and for smashing imperialist cultural aggression.

The Asian and African peoples, Chi Pen-yu declared, have awakened and are waging vigorous revolutionary struggles. We are convinced that a new era of a progressive, brilliant culture of the Asian and African peoples will surely come amid the raging flames of their struggle for national liberation and people's revolution. Let us advance in giant strides along the revolutionary line on literature and art laid down by our great leader Chairman Mao! (For full text of the speech see our next issue.)

Kuo Mo-jo, head of the Chinese Writers' Delegation, made the closing speech. (See p. 23.)

At the end of the closing ceremony, the writers and friends from many lands shouted again and again: "Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!" They then sang the song *Sailing the Seas Depends on the Helmsman*.

Message of Salute to Chairman Mao

Our Most Respected and Beloved Chairman Mao:

We, revolutionary, progressive and patriotic writers of Asia, Africa and the rest of the world, are assembled here in Peking, the capital of China—the great red bastion of world revolution, from May 31 to June 5, 1967, at a seminar sponsored by the Executive Secretariat of the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau to commemorate the 25th anniversary of your *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*. At this seminar we have discussed the question as to the creative study and application of this great brilliant writing of yours in our struggles against imperialism led by the United States, against modern revisionism led by the Soviet leading clique, and against reaction of all countries.

Chairman Mao, the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our times,

We participants at this seminar express the following conviction:

Your *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* is of great worldwide epoch-making significance. It gives the revolutionary and progressive writers and artists of the world the most correct political guidance based on revolutionary Marxism-Leninism. In this brilliant writing, you have, creatively and with genius, developed the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and theory on literature and art. It is a most systematic, comprehensive and thoroughgoing programme of the great proletarian cultural revolution and the proletarian revolutionary line on literature and art. This great work of yours is also the beacon light guiding the Afro-

Asian writers' movement and the cultural revolution of the people of the world.

Chairman Mao, our great helmsman,

In the *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* you have profoundly, systematically and successfully settled the question of the general orientation of literature and art, namely, literature and art in the service of the workers, peasants and people's armed forces.

We hold that, as you have pointed out, **"This question of 'for whom?' is fundamental; it is a question of principle."** Only when we are clear as to for whom our literature and art are produced, can we fulfil the historical and revolutionary task entrusted to us by the people of our respective countries and the world. Only thus can we become fighters on the cultural front fighting side by side with the fighters on the military front and, under the guidance of your correct thought, we will all point our pens and guns straight at the heart of the enemy of the people and revolution—imperialism, modern revisionism and reaction.

We consider that herein lies the demarcation line between proletarian and bourgeois literature and art, and this is also the focal point of struggle between the two lines on literature and art, the line of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung's thought and that of counter-revolutionary revisionism.

Chairman Mao, our great teacher,

You have taught us that literature and art in the service of the workers, peasants and people's armed

forces means serving the requirements of their struggles and their fundamental interests. And we have fully realized that this can find concentrated expressions only through the politics inspired and guided by Mao Tse-tung's thought. We have full conviction in this great truth expounded by you, namely, "**Literature and art are subordinate to politics, but in their turn exert a great influence on politics. Revolutionary literature and art are part of the whole revolutionary cause, they are cogs and wheels in it.**" Therefore, we consider that serving the workers, peasants and people's armed forces means serving their political struggles. We stand opposed to the scheme of the counter-revolutionaries and their spokesmen, the Soviet modern revisionists, to separate literature and art from politics. This is a deceptive scheme in view of the fact that they are using literature and art to help suppress the revolutionary people's struggles against imperialism, modern revisionism and reaction and that they are carrying out a criminal policy to oppose revolution and the revolutionary people. They have been vociferously trumpeting about "humanitarian" literature and art. As a matter of fact, however, they have been producing non-humanitarian literature and art and submitting to non-humanitarian persons and their inhuman acts, and this is what the counter-revolutionary writers and artists in the Soviet Union have been doing. As you have rightly pointed out: "**In class society there is only human nature of a class character; there is no human nature above classes.**" There simply does not exist "humanitarianism" above classes. Our own experience proves that the liberation of the people and the overthrow of the reactionary rule can only be achieved through armed struggles. This is in conformity with your teaching that "**Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun.**" We should precisely use our pens to promote revolutionary armed struggles. Our literature and art should function as charcoal and faggots to kindle the flames of armed struggles.

Our most beloved and respected Chairman Mao,

In accordance with your instruction that literature and art should serve the workers, peasants and people's armed forces, we revolutionary writers and artists must resolutely adopt the revolutionary political stand of Mao Tse-tung's thought, heartily extol the people, extol the workers, peasants and people's armed forces and their revolutionary struggles, and mercilessly expose the evil features and the crimes of the enemies of the people — imperialism, modern revisionism and reaction. Proceeding from this stand, revolutionary writers and artists should produce works that will arouse the people and the workers, peasants and people's armed forces to crush their enemies. We should use our works to help the workers, peasants and people's armed forces become convinced that imperialism, modern revisionism and reaction are all "paper tigers" which can certainly be defeated by the mighty strength of the masses of the revolutionary people. Such works which we produce under the inspiration and guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought should function as "**powerful weap-**

ons for uniting and educating the people and for attacking and destroying the enemy."

Chairman Mao, our great leader,

We have witnessed the great role which your *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* has played in guiding the great proletarian cultural revolution now going on in China. This earth-shaking great proletarian cultural revolution is uprooting revisionism, overthrowing reactionaries and persons in authority taking the capitalist road, thus preventing the restoration of capitalism and ensuring that socialist China, the powerful bastion of world revolution, will never change its political colour. It has made the imperialists, modern revisionists and reactionaries tremble with mortal fear. To the revolutionary peoples of Asia, Africa and the whole world, however, it is an immense source of inspiration enhancing their spirit to fight and to rebel, to smash the shackles of oppression and exploitation and win a bright future.

We have seen how the Chinese revolutionary literary and art workers armed by the *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* have, with remarkable success, created such works as the ballets *The White-Haired Girl* and *Red Detachment of Women*, the Peking opera *The Red Lantern*, the symphony *Shachiapang* and the novel *The Song of Ouyang Hai*. These works are the models in applying Mao Tse-tung's thought in literary and artistic creation. By your own poetry, Chairman Mao, you have furnished us with clear examples in literary and artistic creation.

In these works we can clearly see how literature and art are harmoniously integrated with politics. This represents a great victory of Mao Tse-tung's thought and the fruit of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

We hold that, precisely as you have pointed out, in order to create literature and art serving the workers, peasants and people's armed forces, revolutionary writers and artists must wholeheartedly go among them, study Mao Tse-tung's thought in the heat of the struggles, study society, remould themselves and gradually shift their stand "**to the side of the workers, peasants and soldiers.**" We believe that a change in one's world outlook is the key to a correct solution of the problem of whom literature and art should serve.

Chairman Mao, helmsman of revolution,

Your line on literature and art is a thoroughgoing revolutionary line. With this line, you have charted the sole correct path for the development of revolutionary literature and art. The 25 years' history since your *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* has proved that as long as we adhere to the orientation indicated by you, we will promote the thriving development of revolutionary literature and art and the movement of the revolutionary writers and artists, and our literary and artistic creation will function as a powerful weapon to prepare public opinion, pave the

way ideologically for the revolutionary struggles, win national liberation and consolidate the fruits of revolution.

Through studying Mao Tse-tung's thought, we express our deep respect and gratitude for you from the bottom of our hearts. Our gratitude will be all the more significant when we truly apply your great teachings to our daily work and struggle.

Finally, we wish to say that Mao Tse-tung's thought is a powerful ideological weapon in opposing imperialism, modern revisionism and reaction. Inspired and guided by Mao Tse-tung's thought, the movement of revolutionary writers and artists, and the Afro-Asian writers' movement in particular, will certainly achieve the sacred objective of serving the revolutionary peoples of Asia, Africa and the whole world and their revolutionary struggles. We place all hopes on you, Chairman Mao, for leading our revolutionary struggles. We pledge ourselves always to study and follow your teachings. We are confident that any deviation from your teachings will bring defeat and darkness, while adherence to your teachings will bring success and brightness.

Long live the great, radiant thought of Mao Tse-tung which shines for ever brightly!

Glory to the Communist Party of China! Glory to the Chinese people!

Long live the People's Republic of China, the great red bastion of world revolution!

Long live the *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art!*

Long live the world-shaking great proletarian cultural revolution!

Long live the ever-lasting solidarity of the Afro-Asian peoples in opposing imperialism, revisionism and reaction!

May the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau advance from victory to victory under the inspiration and guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought!

Finally, we wish Chairman Mao, the great teacher, great helmsman, great leader, great revolutionary, great poet, and the very red sun which shines most brightly in the hearts of the revolutionary people of the world, a long, long life!

Seminar Held by the Executive Secretariat of the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau to Commemorate the 25th Anniversary of Chairman Mao's "Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art"

June 5, 1967, Peking

Study Chairman Mao's "Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art"!

(Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau's Call to All Revolutionary and Progressive Writers of Asia, Africa and the World)

June 5, 1967

Revolutionary and Progressive Writers of Asia, Africa and the World,

The red flag is fluttering in the winds and the thunders are echoing in the sky. At a time when the great proletarian cultural revolution in China has scored great victories, the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau has invited friends from 34 countries and regions of the world to hold a grand seminar in Peking, the heart of world revolution, to commemorate the 25th anniversary of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's brilliant *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*. This seminar has amply demonstrated our deepest respect and regards for Chairman Mao, the great leader of the revolutionary people of the world and the very red sun that shines most brightly in our hearts; it has given expression to our common pledge to remain for ever true to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line on literature and art.

Chairman Mao's *Talks* is an epoch-making, great Marxist-Leninist work. It is the most comprehensive,

thoroughgoing, correct and revolutionary proletarian programme on literature and art in the history of mankind. It is a powerful ideological weapon of the revolutionaries to transform the subjective world and the objective world in the image of the proletariat. It is the bugle call for the oppressed nations and oppressed peoples of the world in their great political and ideological struggles against imperialism, modern revisionism and all reactionaries.

During the Chinese people's war of resistance to Japanese imperialist aggression and the subsequent war of liberation, this great work guided the broad masses of revolutionary literary and art workers in joining the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and in making literature and art a powerful weapon to be used in co-ordination with the revolutionary armed forces in the seizure of political power, thereby performing a meritorious service in the struggles to destroy the ferocious Japanese aggressors and overthrow the tyranny of the Chiang Kai-shek regime. And now in the unprecedented, great proletarian cultural revolu-

tion, this great work has become the fighting programme of the broad masses of Chinese workers, peasants and soldiers and young Red Guards in destroying all old ideas, culture, customs and habits. This great revolution marks an entirely new stage in the development of Marxism. It is sweeping away all filth and sludge in society and has uprooted the counter-revolutionary revisionist black line on literature and art lurking in China's literary and art circles, and shattered the pipe dream for a capitalist restoration on the part of a handful of top persons in authority in the Chinese Communist Party taking the capitalist road. It has immensely consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat in China and hence the base area of world revolution. This constitutes a powerful support to the liberation struggles of the oppressed nations and world revolution. It has dealt a fatal blow to U.S.-led imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, modern revisionism with the leading clique of the C.P.S.U. as its centre and all reaction. These earth-shaking great victories have eloquently proved that the people armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought are invincible and that nothing can block their advance.

The *Talks* penetratingly points out that the fundamental orientation for proletarian literature and art is to serve the workers, peasants and soldiers. [Note: by soldiers it is meant armed people's forces.] The broad masses of workers and peasants constitute the overwhelming majority of the population and possess the greatest strength. They create and defend the material and spiritual wealth of human society with diligence and wisdom, and are hence the real masters of the world. However, under the dictatorship of the exploiting classes they are consigned to the very bottom of society and made to lead a miserable life even worse than that of the draught animals. They nourish the deepest hatred for the exploiting classes and are most militant. They are the main force of the revolution. Literature and art serving the workers, peasants and soldiers means serving the fundamental interests of the masses of workers and peasants, serving their revolutionary struggles to seize political power and to consolidate it thereafter; and in Asia, Africa and Latin America today, this means primarily serving the revolutionary struggles and the people's revolutionary wars against imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction.

U.S. imperialism is the sworn enemy of the peoples of Asia, Africa and the whole world. Everywhere it fosters reactionary forces and carries out wanton plunders, ruthless persecution and sanguinary suppression. In Vietnam, U.S. imperialism is frantically massacring revolutionary people, expanding its war of aggression and making new grave escalations in the war. In Palestine and the Middle East, it is busily sharpening swords in league with its accomplices, and is using Israel—a dagger which it has planted in the heart of the Arab world—to carry out armed provocations and war threats against the Arab people. In the Congo (K), Indonesia and other parts of the world, it has incurred heavy debts of blood.

The Soviet modern revisionists are the No. 1 accomplices of U.S. imperialism. In a further betrayal of the revolutionary cause of the people of the world, they are using every possible means to sabotage the revolutionary struggles of the people of the world and national-liberation movements, and are servilely serving the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war. Moreover, they are frantically carrying out cultural infiltration against the peoples of Asia, Africa and the rest of the world, using utterly reactionary, decadent revisionist literature and art to poison and benumb the revolutionary people, and spreading the notion that exploitation is no crime and rebellion is not justified, attempting thereby to subjugate the revolutionary people spiritually. This is something we absolutely cannot tolerate.

Where there is oppression, there rebellion is bound to break out. And the crueller the oppression, the stiffer the rebellion. Under the illumination of Mao Tse-tung's thought, the revolutionary situation in the world today is excellent. Asia, Africa and Latin America have become the storm centre of world revolution. The oppressed peoples there are taking up arms and are advancing wave upon wave in heroic battles, and the raging flames of the national-liberation movements are burning on the continents of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Like mad bulls crashing into a ring of flames and getting badly burnt, the imperialists, modern revisionists and reactionaries of all countries are frantically putting up a last-ditch fight.

Chairman Mao says, "To defeat the enemy we must rely primarily on the army with guns. But this army alone is not enough; we must also have a cultural army, which is absolutely indispensable for uniting our own ranks and defeating the enemy." For the complete victory of world revolution and the complete liberation of the whole of mankind, it is imperative to create a revolutionary cultural army which will coordinate with the revolutionary military front to crush the enemy's armed suppression and cultural aggression. Accordingly, the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau makes the following fighting call to all the revolutionary and progressive writers of Asia, Africa and the world:

We must all make great efforts to study Chairman Mao's great works, including his *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* and his profound revolutionary poetry. In doing so we must have a feeling of deep respect for Chairman Mao and a burning desire to seek truth and victory of revolution. We must carry on this study in the storms of class struggle and in the flames of national-liberation struggles; we must study conscientiously and do so over and over again; we must study and apply what we have studied in a creative way and combine study with practice. Let us emulate the path-breakers in China's great cultural revolution by taking Mao Tse-tung's thought as the compass guiding all our actions, by impressing it firmly in our mind, infusing it into our blood and translating it into our action.

We must, in accordance with the *Talks*, hold high the revolutionary banner of criticism and mobilize millions upon millions of people to launch a fierce offensive, by speech and writing, on the imperialist, revisionist and reactionary literature and art, tearing off all their disguises, thoroughly exposing such stuff as "humanitarianism," "literature and art of the whole people," "art for art's sake," literature of the traitors, decadent and yellow literature and art, denouncing their criminal aim of deceiving the people and poisoning their minds, so as to enable the masses of the people to understand that U.S. imperialist cultural aggression and the Soviet revisionists' counter-revolutionary line on literature and art are in the service of their reactionary political aim of enslaving the people of the world. Revolutionary and progressive writers of Asia, Africa and the world, let us unite with the peoples of the whole world and emulate the merciless spirit towards the enemy displayed by the late Lu Hsun, the most valiant fighter on the front of revolutionary culture, and use the massive cudgel of Mao Tse-tung's thought to deal resolute and devastating blows to U.S. imperialism, Soviet modern revisionism, all reactionaries, and their running dogs. We should, in the process of criticism and struggle, organize and train a mighty revolutionary cultural army and develop a revolutionary, national new literature and art, an anti-imperialist and anti-revisionist literature and art of the masses of the people.

We must creatively study and apply the *Talks* as well as Chairman Mao's other writings, and take his poetry as a model in integrating revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism. We must hold high the red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought on literature and art, follow the examples of the revolutionary new literature and art born in the storms of China's great proletarian cultural revolution and make literature and art serve the current revolutionary struggles of the people of various countries and serve the workers, peasants and people's armed forces; we must transform literature and art into daggers, lances, drums and bugles; we must enthusiastically extol the revolutionary struggles of the people and depict the noble characters of the revolutionary heroes; we must relentlessly expose the enemy's ferocity and brutality and his weakness; we must expose the cultural aggression and infiltration by imperialism and modern revisionism; we must loudly proclaim the slogan: "It is no crime to make revolution and rebellion is justified"; we must help awaken more and more workers and peasants to take up swords and guns and join the battle arrays; we must inspire more fighters to make bold charges against the enemy; we must see to it that the flames of battle blaze ever higher and that there are more tidings of victories; and we must reverse the reversal of history.

We must firmly bear in mind **this teaching of our great leader Chairman Mao: "In the final analysis, the dividing line between revolutionary intellectuals and non-revolutionary or counter-revolutionary intellectuals is whether or not they are willing to integrate themselves with the workers and peasants and actually do so."** We must make up our mind to go to the factories,

to the countryside and to the smoking battlefield, to share weal and woe and fight shoulder to shoulder with the masses of workers and peasants. Let us intensify our hatred against the enemy and deepen our feelings for the workers and peasants in the course of the fierce hand-to-hand battles between the revolutionary classes and the reactionary classes. And after protracted and arduous tempering, we will gradually shift our standpoint over to the side of the masses of workers and peasants, the side of the proletariat, truly hate what the workers and peasants hate, and love what they love. We will stand in the forefront of the struggle, raise the most powerful voice of the time, create outstanding heroic characters of the masses of workers and peasants and people's armed forces, characters whom the Afro-Asian peoples will appreciate, thereby opening a brilliant new era of revolutionary Afro-Asian literature and art.

Revolutionary and progressive writers of Asia, Africa and the world, the world is entering a new era in which Mao Tse-tung's thought is the great banner. Chairman Mao Tse-tung is the greatest supreme commander of the revolutionary people of the world in their revolutionary struggles. The *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* is the beacon light for all revolutionary people of the world, and the revolutionary and progressive writers in particular. It is the guide of their action and the bugle call for their combat. With this work, we can find our bearings in any bad weather; with this work, we can hold ground in the worst tempest; with this work, we will gain increased revolutionary wisdom, courage to fight and strength to work miracles. We will certainly study this work with great efforts, carry it out faithfully, propagate it enthusiastically, and defend it courageously. Following the revolutionary road indicated by our great supreme commander Chairman Mao, and facing a very bright future, let us courageously march on and on!

Our seminar in commemoration of the 25th anniversary of the *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* has laid the ideological basis for the Third Afro-Asian Writers' Conference to be held in Peking, capital of China. The Third Conference will hold even higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and push the movement of studying Chairman Mao's works to a higher stage. It will be a militant conference and a conference of unity and victory, which will use the incomparably mighty weapon of Mao Tse-tung's thought to further mobilize and organize the revolutionary and progressive Afro-Asian writers and people to combat U.S.-led imperialism, modern revisionism with the leading clique of the C.P.S.U. as its centre and all reaction. We are firmly convinced that under the infinitely bright radiance of Mao Tse-tung's thought and through our common efforts, the Third Conference will certainly be a success.

The sun is breaking through. Revolutionary and progressive writers and heroic peoples of Asia, Africa and the world, fight still more valiantly! Victory will surely belong to us!

We Must Be Chairman Mao's Good Pupils All Our Lives

— Comrade Kuo Mo-jo's Closing Speech at the Seminar

Dear Fellow Students and Comrades,

We are all pupils of Chairman Mao. We have spent six days studying together Chairman Mao's brilliant work *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*. We have studied it extremely conscientiously; we have truly been studying it respectfully and earnestly.

What we have learnt has been turned into the "Message of Salute to Chairman Mao" and the "Call to All Revolutionary and Progressive Writers of Asia, Africa and the World." These may be considered as our "graduation" theses, and our closing session tonight a "graduation" ceremony.

We are very happy to have here with us leading comrades of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and of the Cultural Revolution Group directly under the Party's Central Committee, and leading comrades in other departments concerned, Comrades Chou En-lai, Chen Po-ta, Kang Sheng, Hsieh Fu-chih, Chiang Ching, Hsiao Hua, Yang Cheng-wu, Wang Li, Kuan Feng, Chi Pen-yu, Mu Hsin, Yeh Chun, Wang Tung-hsing and other comrades, attending our graduation ceremony although they all must be busy doing many things. What is more, Comrade Chi Pen-yu has given us a very enlightening report. All this is a great encouragement to us, and we must extend our heartfelt thanks to them.

Meanwhile, we must also congratulate one another on the great success we have achieved in this seminar of studying Chairman Mao's works.

Comrades and fellow students,

We have concluded our seminar, but we have not come to the end of our study. After learning, it is imperative to apply what we have learnt, to put it into practice. There is no limit to learning; it will go on throughout our lives.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "If we have a correct theory but merely prate about it, pigeonhole it and do not put it into practice, then that theory, however good, is of no significance."

Chairman Mao also says, "Reading is learning, but applying is also learning and the more important kind of learning at that. . . . It is often not a matter of first learning and then doing, but of doing and then learning, for doing is itself learning."

It is one of the important features of the great thought of Mao Tse-tung to lay stress on practice and on the unity between words and deeds. Chairman Mao himself is a practitioner of this great thought. It is through constant practice and fighting that Chairman

Mao has vigorously advanced the Chinese and world revolution and has developed Marxism-Leninism to the present completely new stage.

We must therefore learn from Chairman Mao's spirit of putting things into practice if we want to be his good pupils. This spirit can be called the "Shaoshan Spirit," the "Yenan Spirit," the "Spirit of the Long March," and the "Spirit of the Chingkang Mountains." We must put this spirit into practice, popularize it and penetratingly grasp it. We must be men of action and must not be empty talkers. We must promptly put into practice what we have learnt, and urgently learn when we have to practise. Only in so doing can we learn and apply creatively.

We have already mentioned these ideas in our "Message of Salute" and the "Call." The main purpose of raising this point again is to urge myself to go on. I am an old pupil of Chairman Mao's. But I am poor in both learning and in applying his works; not creative in learning, still less creative in applying. I hope that you, my fellow students, will always give me help and advice so that I may be able to catch up with you to advance continuously.

Comrades and fellow students,

During the six days of study and discussion, more than 30 fellow students have said all there was to say. There is nothing else I can add. All in all, our seminar is the first international meeting of its kind in popularizing Mao Tse-tung's thought, and it is a successful meeting at that. It is something for us to remember. I wrote a poem last night to express my deep feelings. Allow me to read out this sketchy poem and dedicate it to Comrade Chiang Ching, and also to the other comrades and fellow students present here.

Over 80 of Chairman Mao's pupils from 34 countries on six continents,

Hold aloft the infinitely brilliant torch illuminating our way—

Chairman Mao's "Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art"

*Lighting up the inner-most thoughts of us all,
Lighting up the road forward for revolutionary Afro-Asian literature and art.*

We must wholeheartedly act according to Chairman Mao's directives,

Serve the workers, peasants and soldiers throughout our lives

*And transform the subjective and objective world.
Strike down U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism,
and all reactionaries,*

And reverse the reversal of the history of mankind.

*Never shall we be unworthy of the great red epoch
of Mao Tse-tung.*

*Dear Comrade Chiang Ching, you are the fine
example for us to follow,
You are good at creatively studying and applying
the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung.
Fearlessly, you charge forward on the literary and
art front,
Thus, the heroic image of the workers, peasants and
soldiers now dominates the Chinese stage;
And we must do the same for the stage the world
over!*

*China's yesterday is the today of many Afro-Asian
countries,
And China's today will be their tomorrow.
We will fight for the complete emancipation of the
oppressed nations and peoples,
We will fly the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's
thought over all the Afro-Asian countries,
And over the six continents and the four seas.*

*Chairman Mao's brilliant works are our spiritual
food for ever.
We must become as noble as Norman Bethune, with
utter devotion to others but no thought of self,*

*We want to be present-day Foolish Old Men and
throw the three big mountains: imperialism,
revisionism and reaction into the sea!*

*Oh, Chairman Mao, you are the very red sun shin-
ing most brightly in our hearts,
A long life to you, a long, long life, a long, long life
to you!*

Comrades and fellow students! I have recited my poem. Our seminar has now come to a successful conclusion. Let us work together to make a still greater success of the Third Afro-Asian Writers' Conference which will be held in Peking in November!

Long live the solidarity of the revolutionary Afro-Asian writers and peoples!

Long live the great solidarity of the revolutionary writers and peoples all over the world!

Long live the complete emancipation of the oppressed nations and peoples all over the world!

Long live the victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution!

Long live the infinitely brilliant thought of Mao Tse-tung!

Long live the great epoch of Mao Tse-tung!

Long live our great teacher Chairman Mao! A long life, a long, long life to him!

Nation's Revolutionary Masses Acclaim Chairman Mao's Five Documents on Literature and Art

THE many-millioned revolutionary masses of China have most enthusiastically acclaimed the publication of our great leader Chairman Mao's five brilliant works on literature and art. These five works, they say, have creatively developed Marxist-Leninist theory on literature and art and on class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat; they point the way for the proletariat to overcome the ideology of the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes, develop socialist literature and art, prevent revisionists from usurping the leadership of the Party and government, and to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat; they are great programmatic documents of the great proletarian cultural revolution. The revolutionary masses declare that they will diligently study these works, act resolutely according to them and apply them in the current class struggle to win new victories for the great proletarian cultural revolution and in the tasks of "struggle-criticism-transformation."

After studying Chairman Mao's *Letter to the Yen-an Peking Opera Theatre After Seeing "Driven to Join the Liangshan Mountain Rebels,"* members of the Peking

Kuanghua Woodworking Factory Red Rebels' revolutionary sparetime cultural propaganda team for spreading the thought of Mao Tse-tung announced: We worker, peasant and soldier masses and all revolutionary literary and art workers will certainly hold high the banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, the revolutionary banner of criticism and repudiation, and clear emperors and kings, generals and ministers, scholars and beauties, lords and ladies and their pampered sons and daughters and all other ghosts and monsters off the stage! In our socialist state we workers, peasants and soldiers are the masters. On the socialist stage, too, we are naturally also the masters. We must seize all positions in the fields of literature and art!

The revolutionary art workers of the China Peking Opera Theatre, the Worker-Peasant-Soldier Ballet Troupe, the Central Philharmonic Society and other professional cultural troupes declared their determination to answer the call of our great leader and write and stage more plays on contemporary revolutionary themes so as to "make this practice a common one," so that a completely new, socialist culture would spread

its light for ever and the great thought of Mao Tse-tung shine red throughout China and the world.

After re-reading Chairman Mao's brilliant instructions on criticizing the film *The Life of Wu Hsun*, proletarian revolutionaries and the revolutionary masses everywhere unanimously pointed out that the essential element of this film like that of the book on "self-cultivation" of Communists, was opposition to the proletarian revolution and the proletarian dictatorship. They declared that they would always remember class struggle and the need to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, hold the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought still higher, thoroughly criticize, repudiate and discredit ideologically, politically and theoretically the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists who supported and lauded this reactionary film and the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road who was their chief backer, completely smash the sinister counter-revolutionary revisionist line on literature and art and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end!

In their article published in a local paper, Kao Shu-lan and Wang Yu-pei, members of the Nanhuchu brigade of the Laikuangying People's Commune in Peking's Chaoyang district, called the film "poisoned wine and opium." However, they said, the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists in the old Propaganda Department of the Party's Central Committee, the old Ministry of Culture and the old Peking Municipal Party Committee and the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road who supported them, looked on Wu Hsun as a treasure, erected this monument to him and even went so far as to confer on him the honoured title of "servant of the people." They declared that the workers, peasants and soldiers would in no circumstances allow such scoundrels to sling mud on those brilliant words: "Serve the people."

The revolutionaries of Shanghai's Red Flag Film Studio held a meeting to raise aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and thoroughly criticize and repudiate the reactionary film *The Life of Wu Hsun*. Comrades who took the floor pointed out that in dishing up this reactionary film which publicized the slave mentality, lauded class capitulationism and praised a henchman of the landlord class as a "great saviour" of the peasants throughout the country, the purpose of the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists in literary and art circles was to dull the revolutionary will of the masses with the reactionary "spirit of Wu Hsun," and thus prepare public opinion for their scheme of a counter-revolutionary restoration.

The publication of Chairman Mao's brilliant historic document guiding the cultural revolution, the *Letter Concerning Studies of "the Dream of the Red Chamber,"* put an ideological weapon of incomparable strength into the hands of the revolutionary masses. The worker, peasant and soldier masses, revolutionary literary and art workers and young Red Guard fighters stressed: Chairman Mao pays the greatest attention to the great

proletarian cultural revolution, attaches the greatest importance to the class struggle in the realm of ideology, shows the greatest solicitude and gives the greatest support to the young revolutionary fighters and all new-born forces.

The proletarian revolutionaries of the Taiyuan Rolling Stock Works excitedly pointed out that just as more than ten years ago our great leader Chairman Mao gave full support to two "nobodies" in criticizing and repudiating bourgeois reactionary "authorities," so today again, more than ten years later, he was giving us proletarian revolutionaries the greatest encouragement and support and showing the greatest solicitude for us as thousands upon thousands of "nobodies," displaying the revolutionary spirit of "he who is not afraid of death by a thousand cuts dares to unhorse the emperor," were mounting a fierce general offensive on the "big shots" who looked so strong — the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. With Chairman Mao's backing, they said, they would certainly be able to drive from the stage of history those "big shots" who were strong in appearance but weak in reality — the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road.

Talking about their study of the five documents by Chairman Mao, the worker, peasant, soldier masses, young revolutionary fighters and revolutionary cadres stressed their determination to engrave Chairman Mao's teachings on their minds and raise their understanding of the class struggle on the literary and art front and of the struggle between the two lines in the realm of ideology to the level of the question of political power. Neglecting this would be tantamount to forgetting about the dictatorship of the proletariat. They declared that they would defend the proletarian dictatorship not only with guns but with their pens as well.

Together with revolutionary literary and art workers in the armed forces, commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army who are today shouldering the glorious tasks of supporting the masses of the revolutionary Left, and industry and agriculture, exercising military control, undertaking military and political training of revolutionary students and teachers, making preparations against war, and engaging in production, pledged that they would conscientiously study and apply Chairman Mao's five great documents on literature and art in a creative way and defend the dictatorship of the proletariat. Squad leader Hsieh Chi, a member of the Shansi Provincial Revolutionary Committee, said: "The publication of Chairman Mao's five brilliant documents amidst the triumphs of the world-shaking, great proletarian cultural revolution has given us fighters backing the masses of the revolutionary Left and supporting industry and agriculture the sharpest ideological weapon. With the great thought of Mao Tse-tung as our guide, with a mighty revolutionary force rallied together under the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, and with these five brilliant works as our weapon, we shall overwhelm every stubborn bulwark of reaction and all our enemies."

Mao Tse-tung's Thought Lights Up the Whole World

— Statement of the Communist Party of the Philippines

THE Political Bureau of the Communist Party of the Philippines (C.P.P.) in a statement on May 1 said that Mao Tse-tung's thought — the highest development of Marxism-Leninism in our era of world socialist revolution — has lighted up the whole world, according to a Manila report.

The statement reaffirms the C.P.P.'s commitment to fight U.S. imperialism and its reactionary allies in the Philippines; to fight modern revisionism and all forms of opportunism; to unite with all Marxist-Leninist Parties; and to pursue the policy of international united front.

The statement says that the C.P.P. is committed to a life-and-death struggle against U.S. imperialism and its local reactionary allies, comprador capitalists and landlords. The Philippines has long been a strong base of U.S. imperialism in Asia since its aggression against Filipino sovereignty in 1898. It has long been a stepping-stone for U.S. aggression against China and the whole of Southeast Asia and Asia. It is the bounden duty of the Filipino people, under the leadership of the working class and its Party, to expel the imperialist power of the United States from the Philippines. In pursuing its

anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle, the Party undertakes nationwide Party rebuilding, development of rural bases and armed struggle and a national united front under the leadership of the working class.

The C.P.P., the statement says, is committed to an uncompromising struggle against modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist ruling clique as its centre. There is no middle road between modern revisionism and the proletarian revolutionary line. The outlawed situation of the Party dictates clearly that there is no path to national and social liberation except through armed struggle. The C.P.P. is committed to the strongest fraternal unity with all Marxist-Leninist Parties. In this regard, the thought of Comrade Mao Tse-tung lights up the whole world as the highest development of Marxism-Leninism in this era of world socialist revolution.

In conclusion, it declares, the C.P.P. is committed to the policy of international united front led by the international proletariat, resolutely directing its spearhead against U.S. imperialism. It rejects the slogan of "united action" raised by the Soviet revisionist ruling clique. This slogan is a clever ruse to trap the working class of the world into a collusion with U.S. imperialism.

"Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung" Is a Powerful Weapon for The Indonesian People's Revolution

— Statement of the Delegation of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party

THE Delegation of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party on May 25 issued a statement entitled: "Acclaim the Publication of the Red Book *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* in Indonesian Language." The statement reads in full:

On May 1, 1967, the day of victory of the international working class, the Indonesian edition of the red book *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* came off the press.

The Delegation of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party, together with the entire Indonesian people, is overjoyed, and wishes to express its most profound gratitude to the Chinese Communist

Party and the Chinese people under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

The publication of the *Quotations* in the Indonesian language is an immeasurable internationalist support to the Indonesian people and the book will become a powerful weapon for them in their present foremost task to overthrow the fascist military regime of Suharto-Nasution.

This Indonesian edition of the *Quotations*, together with the previous editions in other languages which have spread to all parts of the world, will deal frontal blows at imperialism headed by the United States, modern revisionism with the leading clique of the C.P.S.U.

at the core, and the reactionaries of various countries. They are afraid of Mao Tse-tung's thought, the highest peak of Marxism-Leninism in the present era, the era of the total collapse of imperialism and the triumph of socialism throughout the world. On the contrary, the revolutionary people all over the world love Mao Tse-tung's thought and study it assiduously. The *Quotations* has given scientific and incisive answers to all problems coming up every day in the revolutionary movement at the present time. Everywhere the *Quotations* has aroused new tides of enthusiasm among the revolutionaries in their struggle to seize power.

We Indonesian Communists and revolutionary people are convinced that, armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, we will surmount all difficulties and win final victory in our hard and protracted struggle. We see the complete correctness in Comrade Mao Tse-tung's teaching that "the reactionary forces and we both have difficulties. But the difficulties of the reactionary forces are insurmountable because they are forces on the verge of death and have no future. Our difficulties

can be overcome because we are new and rising forces and have a bright future."

The publication and the spread of the *Quotations* in Indonesian and other languages represent another important victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution personally initiated and led by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the greatest Marxist-Leninist of the present era. The salvos of the great proletarian cultural revolution in China have brought, more profoundly and on a broader scale, the great and invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, the only theory to win revolution in the present era, to the revolutionary people all over the world.

The Delegation of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party is convinced that the red book *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* in the hands of the Indonesian Communists and revolutionary people will become a powerful weapon in their struggle to overthrow the fascist military regime of Suharto-Nasution and to establish the people's democratic dictatorship in Indonesia.

The Book on "Self-Cultivation" of Communists Serves Revisionism Under the Cloak Of Marxism-Leninism

— Excerpts From an Article in *Vanguard*, Organ of the Australian Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist)

DRESSED up in the clothing of Marxism-Leninism, the book on the "self-cultivation" of Communists by China's top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road is "service to revisionism: service to Khrushchov," said *Vanguard*, organ of the Australian Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), in an article on May 4, according to a Melbourne report.

The great proletarian cultural revolution in China is going deeper and deeper into the minds of the Chinese people and the Chinese Communists. It is also going deeper and deeper into the minds of the oppressed people of the world, the article notes.

At the present time in China, it continues, this book on "self-cultivation" is undergoing far-reaching criticism. For many years we in Australia were influenced by this book and even quoted from it. The book is thoroughly pernicious. "It is all the more pernicious because it is dressed up in the clothing of Marxism-Leninism and its author was accepted as a Marxist-Leninist."

"If we accept without thinking and testing in practice, in struggle, pronouncements from this or that 'authority,' we are sure to get into trouble. On the other hand if we accept Mao Tse-tung's thought to dare to think, dare to act, dare to struggle, dare to win, then we can really remould ourselves in revolutionary service to the people."

"Individualism, that is insistence on the individual's getting on, is a characteristic of capitalism. It subordinates public interest to the individual. . . . Everyone is expected to seek individual success. This is the reflection in men's minds of capitalist exploitation. This book on self-cultivation reflects that quite clearly. It actually approaches the problem from the point of view of the individual — how to maintain individualism and at the same time be a 'good Communist.' This of course is to reconcile the irreconcilable. The correct starting point for Communists can only be . . . the revolutionary interests of the workers and working people. Service to the people in revolutionary struggle is the only criterion of a good Communist."

The article points out that a revised text of this book was published in 1962 as the struggle against Khrushchov revisionism was reaching a critical point. "This book, republished at that very moment, was a blow against the Communists who were struggling against revisionism."

The article stresses: "Whether or not one accepts Mao Tse-tung's thought as the highest development of Marxism-Leninism divides Marxist-Leninists from revisionists. Yet in this book Mao Tse-tung's thought is not estimated at all as a development of Marxism-Leninism. True, lip service is given to Mao Tse-tung and he is even quoted. But the revisionists quote

Marx, Engels and Lenin. The real question is whether the revolutionary soul of Marxism-Leninism is promoted. In 1962 when this book was republished the standard-bearer of Marxism-Leninism and its revolutionary soul against revisionism was Mao Tse-tung." "It was in those given circumstances in 1962, that this book reappeared." "It was service to revisionism: service to Khrushchov."

"Revisionism does not come with a warning sign-board. It comes in many guises. It comes in the guise of Marxism-Leninism. It uses the terms of Marxism-Leninism. It is therefore of paramount importance that we are extremely vigilant and sweep the very innermost depths of our minds to clear revisionism from them."

Dwelling on the question of how to discern and get rid of revisionism, the article states: "There is only

one course to follow. That course is strict adherence to the thought of Mao Tse-tung, the highest development of Marxism-Leninism of our times, in all its implications." "Marxism-Leninism must have a specific contemporaneous content. That is the thought of Mao Tse-tung. That requires study in the sense Mao Tse-tung uses the word throughout his works and in particular in *On Practice, On Contradiction, Rectify the Party's Style of Work, Reform Our Study, Our Study and the Current Situation.*"

The article concludes by saying: "There is profound militant wisdom in Mao Tse-tung's statement: **'Communists must always go into the whys and wherefores of anything, use their own heads and carefully think over whether or not it corresponds to reality and is really well founded; on no account should they follow blindly and encourage slavishness.'**"

All Revolutionaries Pay Tribute to China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

— Excerpts From an Article in the Spanish Marxist-Leninist Journal *Spanish Revolution*

THE Spanish Marxist-Leninist Journal *Spanish Revolution*, in its No. 1 issue, carried an article under the title "All Revolutionaries Pay Tribute to China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution," warmly praising Mao Tse-tung's thought as the "peak of Marxism-Leninism of our times" and pointing out that China's great proletarian cultural revolution "is pulling out the poisonous weeds of revisionism by the roots," according to a Madrid report.

Referring to the great significance of this revolution, the article says that China's great proletarian cultural revolution today is aimed at destroying the ideology, culture and habits of the old exploiting classes, namely the bourgeoisie and the landlord class, thus to prevent the restoration of capitalism as happened in the Soviet Union. "Therefore, China's great proletarian cultural revolution has dealt crushing blows to revisionism and imperialism because it is pulling out the poisonous weeds of revisionism by the roots."

Acclaiming the infinitely brilliant thought of Mao Tse-tung, the article says: "Mao Tse-tung's thought is Marxism-Leninism of our epoch." "Comrade Mao Tse-tung has developed Marxism-Leninism to the highest peak." "Comrade Mao Tse-tung's thought is the acme of Marxism-Leninism of our times. In China and the whole world today, the study, application and mastering of Mao Tse-tung's thought is the study, application and mastering of Marxism-Leninism."

Referring to the study and application of Mao Tse-tung's thought by the Chinese workers, peasants and soldiers in the great cultural revolution, the article points out: "The immense significance of China's

great proletarian cultural revolution lies in the fact that for the first time in the history of mankind, the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers are mastering and applying the ideas and theory of Marxism-Leninism through the study and application of Mao Tse-tung's thought." It stresses that this is something unprecedented in human history, an event which has given tremendous impetus to the Chinese people and has made it impossible for anything or anybody to prevent them from advancing firmly and in giant strides towards the classless society, communism.

The article says: "China is the base of world revolution. The Chinese Communist Party is the standard-bearer of world revolution. Comrade Mao Tse-tung's thought is Marxism-Leninism of our era. Therefore, China's might adds to the strength of the entire world revolution. Every forward step which China takes towards communism is a step forward for the people of all countries towards their own liberation and a step forward in their own revolution. Every blow which the Chinese people deal to the revisionists and the imperialists is a blow given by all the revolutionaries to the revisionists in their own countries and therefore is also a blow to the U.S. imperialists, masters of the revisionists.

"The victory of China's great proletarian cultural revolution has ensured us that this great revolutionary base of ours (China) is indestructible."

The article concludes by saying that the Spanish revolutionaries and Marxist-Leninists warmly hail the magnificent victory of China's great proletarian cultural revolution and proclaim: "Glory belongs to Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of the people all over the world!"



Mao Tse-tung's Thought

Lights the Whole World

"Mao Tse-tung Is Our Lenin!"

In front of the Metropolitan Hotel in the centre of Moscow, in Gorky Park, in barber shops, and in many other places, Chinese comrades often meet Soviet strangers who eagerly ask for badges with a profile of Chairman Mao. Some of them would look at the badges pinned on the coats of Chinese comrades with deep emotion and say: "In seeing Mao Tse-tung badges we see Mao Tse-tung himself. Please give him our best regards!"

A young Soviet worker once admiringly touched the badge with a profile of Chairman Mao on the coat of a Chinese comrade and said with conviction: "Mao Tse-tung is our Lenin!" He asked the Chinese comrade to give him a badge and the latter pinned it on for him.

On the eve of May Day, a Soviet youth got a badge with a profile of Chairman Mao from a Chinese comrade who was in Red Square, and the youth immediately pinned it on, carefully placing it under the lapel of his jacket. He told the Chinese comrade: "I want Mao Tse-tung's books." Another Chinese gave him his own *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*. The young man pointed to the photo of Chairman Mao and Vice-Chairman Lin Piao standing on Tien An Men, which the Chinese comrade had put in this treasured book, and said admiringly: "Mao Tse-tung! Lin Piao!" Then he pointed his finger at the Kremlin Palace, saying: "Bad! Bad!" Tapping the red book in his hand, he declared: "The Soviet people need this book."

On May Day the Chinese Embassy in the Soviet Union received a greeting card with the signature of an ordinary Russian (obviously this letter was lucky enough to escape the Soviet authorities' censorship). The letter read: "The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party: Please send our best greetings to Comrade Mao Tse-tung on May Day." It described Chairman Mao as "one of those who have always resolutely opposed the betrayal of the doctrine of Lenin and Stalin."

One day in mid-March the Chinese Embassy received a phone call. The voice on the other end exclaimed "Hail Mao Tse-tung!" and "Long live the friendship between the people of China and the Soviet Union!" "Who is speaking?" the person who had answered the call asked. "I'm a good man!" came the reply.

On March 16 when some Chinese comrades were shopping in a Moscow department store, a middle-aged woman said to one of them in a low voice: "Long live Mao Tse-tung!" Many anecdotes of this kind can be heard in the Soviet Union.

When members of a visiting Chinese trade delegation were going to a banquet in the Prague Hotel on April 13, they found many Soviet people gathered at the entrance of the hotel; some of them waved to them. As they stepped out of the hotel later, an old man grasped the hands of one Chinese comrade and said: "You are our brothers."

On April 17 when members of the trade delegation were about to enter the Prague Hotel, some passers-by on the street shouted in Chinese: "Long live Mao Tse-tung!"

Many moving stories have been told about happenings on the Chinese trains going between Peking and Moscow. Late in April, a Soviet engineer working somewhere in Mongolia took the train to Ulan Bator on a special mission to look for a copy of *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*. He spent several days there but failed to find any. On his way back he met some Chinese train crew members and immediately poured out his innermost feelings. He said: "We listen to Radio Peking every day. Chairman Mao Tse-tung is the great Marxist-Leninist of the present era and the great leader of the people all over the world. We respect Mao Tse-tung as we respect Lenin and Stalin." Finishing his story about his search for the red book, he asked the crew to give him two red books and three badges with a profile of Chairman Mao. He said: "One for myself, one for my wife and the other for my child. I will teach my child to love Mao Tse-tung!"

Just as dark clouds cannot blot out the sun, slanders and rumours can never blot out the light of truth. No matter how shamelessly the Soviet revisionist ruling clique slanders the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao, the very red sun which shines most brightly in the hearts of the people of the world, their evil anti-China trickery will never succeed with the great Soviet people. In defiance of the Soviet revisionist ruling clique's white terror, they express in various ways their friendly feeling for the Chinese people, as well as their love and respect for the great Chairman Mao.

Chairman Mao's Works Published Abroad

Ceylon

The Sinhalese version of *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* has been published by Praja [People's] Publishers of Colombo. The publisher's note says that the book "reflects the great thought of Chairman Mao Tse-tung who is the greatest living revolutionary of the present era," and describes the *Quotations* as "the most popular book of the 20th century." This publishing house has also printed the Sinhalese and Tamil versions of the "three constantly read articles" (*Serve the People, In Memory of Norman Bethune and The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains*).

India

The English language edition of *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* has recently been reprinted and published by Vichar Prakashan [Thought Publishers] in Uttar Pradesh. Malayalam translations of the "three constantly read articles," *On the People's Democratic Dictatorship, Combat Liberalism* and *Oppose Book Worship* have been published in Calicut, Kerala State, by Marxist Publications. *Combat Liberalism* and *Reform Our Study* have been translated into Hindi and published in New Delhi by Bhawana Prakashan [Sentiments Publishers].

The wide publication of Chairman Mao's works in India is hailed as a joyful event for the revolutionary people of India. Letters of welcome are pouring into the publishing houses from Bombay, Hyderabad, Allahabad, Varanasi and many other places.

Pakistan

Chairman Mao's *On Practice* and *Where Do Correct Ideas Come From?* were recently translated into Urdu and published in pamphlet form in Karachi.

The publisher's note points out that Chairman Mao Tse-tung is the greatest revolutionary leader of our era. Therefore, it is of great significance to introduce Mao Tse-tung's thought to the Urdu speaking masses.

Japan

The Japanese edition of the "three constantly read articles," published in a single volume by the Tokyo Chunghua Bookstore, has been warmly welcomed by the revolutionary people of Japan. Workers, students and office staff rushed to buy it. Some people bought two dozen copies at a time.

Syria

Since its publication in Syria last March, the *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* in Arabic

has been in big demand. The first printing of 3,000 copies was sold out within three weeks.

Denmark

A Danish edition of *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* was published by the Danish publishing house Futura last April. The first printing was 5,000 copies. Futura also recently published the "three constantly read articles" in Danish. Other important works by Chairman Mao published in Danish since the end of last year include *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People, On New Democracy, Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art, and Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work*.

Sweden

The Swedish edition of *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* came off the press in Stockholm on May Day. The first volume of *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* was published in March. Both the *Quotations* and the *Selected Works* were translated by the Swedish Marxist Nils Holmberg and published by the Danelius Bookshop.

Belgium

A Dutch edition of *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* has been published recently by the International Bookstore in Brussels. The first printing was 20,000 copies.

Italy

Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung, translated and published in Italy by the Eastern Publishing House, was heartily welcomed by the Italian working people and progressives. The first printing of the book was 5,000 copies; the second printing will be 20,000.

France

Maspero, the French publishing house, recently produced a pocket-sized edition of selected works of Chairman Mao Tse-tung. The selection in three volumes contains 21 brilliant articles and 18 poems by Chairman Mao, including *Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society, On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party, Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War, On Practice, On Contradiction, On New Democracy, Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* and *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*.

The wide publication of Chairman Mao's writings in France reflects the great interest of the French people in studying Chairman Mao's works.

Disintegration in Imperialist Bloc Quickening

by "RENMIN RIBAO" COMMENTATOR

CHAIRMAN MAO said long ago that the imperialist camp is torn by internal divisions. The imperialist bloc led by the United States is now heading for further splintering. The contradictions among the imperialist countries, in particular those between the United States on the one hand and France and other West European countries on the other, are sharpening and coming to the fore.

After World War II, U.S. imperialism, taking advantage of the greatly weakened position of the West European countries, exercised control over them in all respects, forcing them to submit to its dictates. This has aggravated the contradictions between it and the West European countries. Chairman Mao has pointed out: **"Even towards its own allies in Western Europe, North America and Oceania, U.S. imperialism follows the policy of the law of the jungle, trying to trample them underfoot."**

The contradiction between imperialist countries and between monopoly capital groups is a basic contradiction in the world today. This contradiction is irreconcilable. Owing to the operation of the law of uneven development of capitalism, the economic strength of the West European countries has registered a relative increase in recent years, and a change in the balance of forces among the imperialist countries has taken place which is unfavourable to the United States. The United States is falling from its throne of an overlord and is no longer as "high and mighty" as in the early postwar years. As far back as 1952, Stalin said that the West European countries **"will be compelled in the end to break from the embrace of the U.S.A. and enter into conflict with it in order to secure an independent position and, of course, high profits."**

Over a period of time, the struggle over markets between France and other West European countries on the one hand and the United States on the other, the struggle between them for control, and the struggle for the domination of Western Europe and the capitalist world have gradually sharpened. The French action to expel U.S. troops and the NATO headquarters shows that the NATO bloc cannot even keep its appearance of unity and is in an unprecedented state of disintegration. West Germany has all along been the mainstay of U.S. control over Western Europe. But the contradictions between the West German monopoly capital groups and those of the United States have developed. There is a trend in the new government in Bonn to move closer to France while drawing away somewhat from the United States. With U.S. support, Britain is trying to squeeze into the six-nation "Common

Market" but without success so far, as a result of the resolute French boycott. All this shows that the resistance by the West European countries to U.S. control has become an inevitable trend, and Britain, which doggedly follows the United States and plays the role of Washington's junior partner, will only land itself in a dead end economically, isolate itself politically, and become a second or even third-rate minor figure in the imperialist gang.

It should be pointed out that the decline of U.S. imperialism and the disintegration of the imperialist bloc are the outcome of the development of the international class struggle as a whole. U.S. imperialism has been greatly weakened and its global strategy has been thrown into confusion by the unprecedented might of the Chinese people armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, by the powerful impetus given to the world revolution by China's great proletarian cultural revolution, by the tremendous victories of the Vietnamese people in their struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, and by the vigorous development of the revolutionary struggle of the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America and other parts of the world. In order to save itself from defeat in its aggression against Vietnam, to contain the powerful might of the Chinese revolution, and to stamp out the flames of the Asian people's revolution, U.S. imperialism has been compelled to transfer part of its military forces stationed in Western Europe to the East. This has correspondingly weakened its control over Western Europe and left U.S. imperialism at a loss as to how to meet the situation. This provides a golden opportunity for the West European countries to rise and intensify their struggle against U.S. control and challenge U.S. hegemony.

The fact that the monopoly groups of the imperialist powers have been working hand in glove with one another against the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of the world can in no way cover up, far less alleviate, the contradictions and strife among them for power and profits. The truth is that the higher the tide of the peoples' revolutionary struggle rises, the heavier are the blows dealt to the imperialist bloc, and the more acute their contradictions become.

Now, at a time when U.S. imperialism finds its domination in Western Europe shaky and itself encircled everywhere in the world, the Soviet revisionist ruling clique has stepped forward to protect it. In collaboration with U.S. imperialism, it has been working prodigiously for a "detente" in Europe. It is also engaged in making big deals over nuclear non-proliferation and other questions. All this is meant not

only to oppose the people of Europe and the rest of the world but also to help the United States control Western Europe and to push forward the policy of world domination through so-called U.S.-Soviet collaboration.

But domination of Europe and the world by U.S. imperialism or Soviet revisionism or both in collusion is only a pipe dream. The destiny of the world will be decided by the people of the world. The arrogant policy of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism will inevitably meet with fatal blows from the peoples of the world.

Of course, Western Europe is an important position in the capitalist system as a whole; it is the principal market for the export of U.S. capital and commodities and a key point in U.S. imperialism's global strategy. Therefore, U.S. imperialism will never give up Western Europe. But the more it tries to tighten its control over the West European countries, the more aggravated the contradictions between them will become. It is therefore inevitable that imperialism headed by the United States is heading for total disintegration.

(“Renmin Ribao,” June 4.)

U.S. and Soviet Union Collaborating in A Despicable Plot

by “RENMIN RIBAO” COMMENTATOR

THE U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionist ruling clique of late have been very active on the question of Indian-Pakistan relations. They have produced successively a programme for negotiations on the Kashmir issue, a suggestion for India and Pakistan to establish “joint enterprises,” a proposal for “arms reduction” by both countries, etc. These multifarious devices are motivated by the same aim: to coax and coerce Pakistan into abandoning its independent foreign policy and allying itself with the Indian reactionaries against China. This is part of the U.S.-Soviet conspiracy to create an anti-China encirclement in Asia.

The purpose of the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionist ruling clique in establishing an anti-China encirclement in Asia is twofold. In the first place, they certainly want to ring China strategically and are preparing to launch military provocations against her. Simultaneously, however, they also want to control and commit aggression against China's neighbours under the cover of an anti-China smokescreen. Those countries participating in the anti-China encirclement will be the first victims of the U.S.-Soviet plot.

India's reactionary Congress government is a most active opponent of China and one of the most rabid and faithful running dogs of the United States and the Soviet Union in their counter-revolutionary alliance. It betrays the national interests of India and relies on the backing and “aid” of the U.S. imperialists and Soviet revisionists to maintain its reactionary rule. Both its domestic and foreign policies are dictated by the U.S. imperialists. It is extremely isolated among the Afro-Asian countries and its international prestige has fallen drastically. At home, its rule has brought about famine and destitution and made life impossible for the broad masses of the working people. After serving for many years as a pawn of the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet

revisionists to oppose China, the Indian reactionaries have been unable to do any harm to China. But as a result of this reactionary policy of the Congress regime, a big country like India, to all intents and purposes, has been reduced to a colony.

The Pakistan Government has pursued an independent foreign policy, staunchly upheld friendly relations with China and energetically promoted Afro-Asian solidarity. This policy is in line with Pakistan's national interests. It has also earned Pakistan genuine friendship and support abroad and a good reputation among the Afro-Asian countries.

On the problem of Indian-Pakistan relations, both the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists pretend that they are unbiased. This is completely false. In fact they have always fostered and supported the Indian expansionists to bully Pakistan and impair its independence and sovereignty. As pointed out by the *Pakistan Times*, the so-called Indian-Pakistan “alliance” means Pakistan “toeing their (U.S.-Soviet) line which dictates that not only should Pakistan forget Kashmir but fall in behind India in its confrontation against China . . . a position which clearly means effacement of Pakistan as a sovereign independent country.” This is a penetrating exposure of the U.S.-Soviet scheme to bring about an Indian-Pakistan “alliance.”

Relying on the counter-revolutionary army which the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists have helped it build in reward for its opposition to China, Indian reaction has flagrantly bullied its neighbours. It has kept Kashmir under occupation for many years, incessantly launched armed provocations and wars of aggression against Pakistan and has even been arrogantly trying to swallow up East Pakistan. To defend

its sovereignty and national independence, Pakistan has been in a prolonged struggle against the Indian expansionists. All the armed aggression and subversive activities by the Indian reactionaries with U.S. imperialist and Soviet revisionist backing have failed to overpower Pakistan. The "Tashkent spirit" concocted by the Soviet revisionist ruling clique has also flopped. U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism are now plotting together again for an Indian-Pakistan "alliance." All this juggling, though varied in form, has one and the same purpose, that is, to prop up the Indian reactionaries to oppress Pakistan and oppose China.

Opposition to China and opposition to imperialism represent two policies which are as incompatible as fire and water. So far as the Asian, African and Latin

American countries are concerned, it is in essence a question of whether to serve willingly as flunkies or satellites of U.S. imperialism or to safeguard national independence. While working closely with U.S. imperialism to oppose China, the Soviet revisionist ruling clique is following the criminal intent of U.S. imperialism on the problem of Indian-Pakistan relations and going in for various deceptive manoeuvres. But all these despicable activities by the Soviet revisionist ruling clique only serve to reveal its shameless features as an accomplice of U.S. imperialism in aggression. It can never deceive any country genuinely desiring to safeguard its national independence.

(*"Renmin Ribao," June 5.*)

Dange's Plot to Sabotage Indian People's Revolution Will Surely Fail

WITH the steady development of the Indian people's struggle against their reactionary government — a lackey of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism — the renegade Dange, running dog of the Soviet revisionists, once again springs forth to spread the absurdity of "peaceful transition" in a vain attempt to paralyse the Indian people's revolutionary will and to deceive them into giving up the revolutionary struggle.

Dange Clique Again Dishes up "Peaceful Transition" Garbage

According to a report in the *Hindustan Standard* on April 26, Dange, with a view to covering up the reactionary character of the Indian Government, shamelessly told a meeting in Calcutta on April 24: "Peaceful transition to socialism is possible in India."

Dange made the absurd statement that the fourth general election in India in February, held under the bayonets of the police and special agents, has brought about "a change in the power structure" and that the election results "had raised hopes of a change-over to socialism by peaceful means." He even described the counter-revolutionary line of his clique as "fundamentally correct." He said the tactics it followed conform with the "new line" put forward at the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U.

On April 24 Dange revealed that very soon his clique will propose talks with the Indian Communist Party and other political parties, with the object of forming "an alternative government at the centre" to "topple the Congress government" through "peaceful means."

What the Dange renegade clique is dealing out is only the hackneyed phrases of the old revisionists Bernstein and Kautsky and the modern revisionist Khrushchov, and this is nothing but the Indian version of the so-called theories of "growing into socialism peacefully" and "winning a stable majority in parliament, thus enabling it to realize the socialist transformation of society." The Soviet revisionist ruling clique has long dreamed of making India an "example" of "peaceful transition." Now, following the line of his Soviet revisionist masters and capitalizing on the fourth general election, the Dange clique has again dished up its "peaceful transition" garbage.

India's Present Regime Is a Reactionary Regime Of the Dictatorship of Big Landlords And Big Bourgeoisie

Renegade Dange has distorted the facts of the situation resulting from India's fourth general election in order to provide a basis for his "peaceful transition" nonsense. But what are the facts?

As a result of this election, an extremely pro-U.S. traitorous central government was formed with Indira Gandhi and Morarji Desai heading it. This Congress government is still a reactionary regime of the dictatorship of the big landlords and big bourgeoisie of India. It is strengthening its tools of dictatorship, the armed forces and police, to suppress the Indian people. Under the present extremely difficult economic conditions, the Indian Government is engaged in feverish armament expansion, allotting almost one-third of its total expenditure for its huge military budget. It has sent a large number of reinforcements to the eastern frontier region

to flagrantly suppress the Naga people and the Mizo tribesmen who have put up armed resistance. Recently, there have been a succession of bloody incidents of brutal suppression of workers and peasants by the police in many parts of India.

State governments organized by "non-Congress parties" have appeared in some localities. This indicates the decay and decline of the Congress Party, the main tool of the Indian reactionary ruling classes — the big landlords and big bourgeoisie — as a result of the resistance put up by the Indian people. But actually, it is the local feudal-comprador forces which hold sway from top to bottom in these so-called "non-Congress" governments. Such state governments, though labelled "non-Congress," are no different from before — the reactionary nature of the political regime has not changed in the least.

Of the "non-Congress Party" state governments, there are the Kerala and West Bengal state governments in which the Indian Communists hold part of the state power. Nevertheless, these two state governments are component parts of the state apparatus of India's big landlords and big bourgeoisie. Under the direct control of the central government, they are completely unable to either introduce any reforms in substance or shake the foundation of the capitalist and feudal relations of production. Furthermore, whenever the central government deems it necessary, it can use the gimmick of "presidential rule" to take over all state government functions. This is the way the Kerala government was taken over in 1959.

These facts prove that without a people's revolution, without the seizure of political power by force, and without the smashing of the old state apparatus there can be no change in the social system nor in the nature of the political regime, and there can be no real social reform. There is no precedent in history, nor will there be any in the future.

Dange Clique Closely Collaborates With Congress Party in Its Political Plot

By spreading the poison of "peaceful transition" at this moment, the Dange clique is lending a helping hand to Congress reactionary rule.

Under this rule, the broad masses of the Indian people are suffering ever more brutal suppression and exploitation, and more and more people are on the verge of starvation and death. This situation has caused the awakening of various strata of the Indian people, and they are struggling against hunger and government tyranny. Recently, strikes and the seizure of foodstuffs and arms by force have occurred successively in many parts of the country. The Naga people and Mizo tribesmen, persisting in armed struggle, have continued to launch repeated attacks against the Indian reactionary troops.

To maintain its increasingly unstable reactionary rule, the Indian ruling clique is stepping up political deception while carrying out sanguinary suppression

of the people's struggle. At present, it is using the emergence of "non-Congress Party" state governments in a big propaganda campaign about its vaunted bourgeois "democracy." It is trying to use the "non-Congress Party" state government fraud to ease the contradictions, get the situation under control, and curtail the people's struggle. Some of the chieftains of the reactionary parties who have come to power lately are using the political capital they won through "opposing the Congress Party" to put out a number of reformist slogans. They are also using deceptive measures to make themselves seem different from the Congress Party so as to hoodwink the people and consolidate the reactionary regime.

Having closely collaborated with the Congress Party in its political deception, the Dange clique gangs up with another handful of revisionists who agree with it, and is taking advantage of the emergence of "non-Congress Party" governments in the states of Kerala and West Bengal to advertise the "Kerala path." These renegades advocate that the "united front" between the Indian Communist Party and the Dange clique "should be promoted throughout the country." They spread the fallacy that "peaceful transition" can be realized easily and comfortably without armed struggle. Their vicious aim is to make the Indian people give up their revolutionary struggle, lower their vigilance in face of violent attacks from the Indian reactionaries, and docilely accept their defeat.

The Dange clique is the running dog fostered by imperialism and the Soviet revisionist ruling clique to sabotage the revolution in India. This renegade clique is playing a role the Indian reactionaries cannot play in undermining the Indian people's revolutionary struggle. To fight for their liberation, the Indian people must resolutely smash this renegade clique and the revisionists of all forms and wage resolute revolutionary struggles.

Indian Reactionaries and Their Revisionist Accomplices Are Doomed to Failure

In their protracted struggles against the reactionary rule of the big landlords and bourgeoisie, the Indian people have gradually realized the truth pointed out by our great leader Chairman Mao: "Experience in the class struggle in the era of imperialism teaches us that it is only by the power of the gun that the working class and the labouring masses can defeat the armed bourgeoisie and landlords; in this sense we may say that only with guns can the whole world be transformed." "Revolutions and revolutionary wars are inevitable in class society and without them, it is impossible to accomplish any leap in social development and to overthrow the reactionary ruling classes and therefore impossible for the people to win political power."

The laws of history are unalterable. Nobody can stem the revolutionary torrent of the Indian people, nor can anyone save the Indian reactionary ruling clique and the Dange renegade clique from their doom. Victory will surely belong to the Indian people.

"New System" Makes Wage-Slaves of Workers

IN the industries of the Soviet Union, socialist ownership has been replaced by the ownership of a bourgeois privileged stratum and the mass of workers have been reduced to the status of wage slaves. The "new system" enforced by the ruling Soviet revisionist clique is a further step in this direction.

Under this "new system," the director of an enterprise is granted more and greater privileges. Official regulations empower the handful of top-ranking managerial personnel in an enterprise to "act in the name of the enterprise" "without authorization." They have the power to use the means of production and circulating funds of the enterprise as they deem fit; at their discretion, they may fix or alter wages and bonuses for the workers and staff members; they are free to recruit or dismiss workers and mete out punishment to them; they can independently determine the structure and the size of the staff of the enterprise. "The new system is a system of industrial administration based on one-man management," one Soviet paper says.

"Proprietors" Wield Power. Workers Oppressed

According to reports in the Soviet press, leaders of enterprises wielding such power under the "new system" have become quite unruly. One of them actually declared: "I am my own master and I can do whatever I like." In the drive for high profits in much the same way as in capitalist enterprises, they frequently lay off workers in large numbers on the pretext of "freeing the enterprise from surplus personnel" or "reducing staff." Women become the worst victims of discrimination. In some factories, women workers with many children, expectant mothers temporarily unable to work and widows in even more difficult circumstances, have been among the first to be dismissed. What befell Z.V. Troshkova, a woman worker of the "Renaissance" works in Leningrad, is typical. She had worked there for 19 years and had three children to support. But she was sacked when she could not work on the night-shift as one of her children fell ill and the creche had to send the child home.

The greater portion of the wages saved from such staff reductions goes into the pockets of the leading managerial personnel as "extra pay," while large numbers of laid-off workers, to keep body and soul together, wander from place to place looking for jobs.

Many Ways of Exploitation. Hard Toil for Child Workers

Those who are fortunate enough to keep their jobs are constantly haunted by the fear of being sacked, and the management takes advantage of this to intensify

their exploitation. In many factories, the workers who are retained are forced to take up "voluntarily" the work previously done by those who have been sacked. In some cases, one worker has to do the work of two or even three.

The management of some enterprises under the West Ural National Economic Council exploits the workers by forcibly putting off or simply cancelling their regular holidays or prolonging the time they work. The director of the Izhevsk Furniture Combine, T. Lushchkov, made his workers work a total of 3,645 extra hours in one year with not a single kopeck of additional pay. The same thing happened in a mining engineering works in Perm.

In many plants, child workers are subjected to intensified exploitation under the "new system." They are "made to do jobs injurious to their health, as gas-electric welders, battery-makers or copper-smiths, or as loaders."

The Soviet Labour Law stipulates that a child worker may work only six hours a day. To increase profits, however, many factories compel child workers to work seven hours a day, and raise their production quotas. One orphaned child worker once had to over-fulfil his month's quota by 14 per cent.

Nepotism Rampant. Workers Arbitrarily Sacked

The turn-over of labour has become a still more serious problem as a result of enforcement of the "new system" under which the management is free to recruit or dismiss workers. The Soviet press has acknowledged that millions of workers and staff are recruited or laid off every year by the state-run industrial enterprises and projects. In one mine in Yakutia in the north, "nearly all the names on the pay roll changed in a single year." A house-building factory in Alma-Ata recruited a total of 1,439 workers in 1965 and dismissed 1,152. In a factory in Uralsk, Kazakhstan, 51 per cent of the staff and workers were replaced by new hands in one year. More workers left a tannery in that town than were recruited in the same period.

It is reported that "there are enterprises, where the labour turn-over has been such that they have literally become corridors." The press has also noted that this turn-over has done no small harm to the national economy and that as a result the "state suffers a loss of 3,000 million rubles a year."

On the other hand, the directors of some enterprises, in order to increase their family influence, and

(Continued on p. 38.)

False Friends Show True Colours

The Arab countries are waging a sharp struggle against the threat of aggression from U.S. imperialism and its lackey, Israel. It was at this very point that the weekly *New Times*, organ of the ruling Soviet revisionist clique, published an article virulently attacking China in connection with Middle East developments. It alleged that the Chinese people "call themselves sincere friends of the Arab nations, while at the same time urging them to fan the flame of struggle in the Near East, unfortunately, merge with the imperialist provocateurs objectively." (sic) Such babbling by the ruling Soviet revisionist clique does not in the least harm the solemn stand of the Chinese people in giving resolute support to the anti-imperialist struggle of the Arab people. Quite the contrary. It is a revealing exposure of these contemptible Soviet revisionists who disguise their betrayal of the Arab people by hollow professions of support for them.

According to the logic of these Soviet revisionists, the Chinese people, who are loyal friends of the Arab people, should not support the Arabs' just cause against U.S. imperialism and Zionism. The Chinese people, as they would have it, should not support the Arab armed struggle against aggression even when Arab countries are menaced by aggression from U.S. imperialism and its stooge, Israel, because the Chinese people, by supporting the Arabs, are "merging with the imperialist provocateurs" and are guilty of "fanning the flame of struggle in the Near East." Do the high and mighty in the Kremlin mean to say that only people like themselves who deliberately turn a blind eye to U.S. imperialism using Israel as a cat's-paw against the Arab countries, who vigorously peddle the dubious stuff called the "Tashkent spirit," who plump for Arab-Israeli "reconciliation," and who strangle the anti-imperialist struggle of the Arab people, deserve to be known as their "sincere friends"? Or do they mean to say that only such people may consider themselves "sincere friends" of the Arab people who, like the U.S. and British imperialists, instigated Israel to invade the Arab countries and then advised the Arab people to exercise "restraint" in face of this threat of armed aggression?

The ruling Soviet revisionist clique is not only attacking China but the Arab people as well. In the view of the Soviet revisionist renegades, the Arab people's struggle against imperialist aggression is not a just act, but is something they have been incited to do. This is an attack of the most vicious kind on the Arab people!

The source of the current tension in the Middle East lies in the fact that U.S.-British imperialism is using Israel to commit aggression against the Arab countries. But the ruling Soviet revisionist clique, in overt and covert collaboration with the U.S. and British imperialists, is striking political deals with them, expressing more than once its desire to use its influence to ease the tension. To put the matter bluntly, this

means that the Soviet revisionist clique is ganging up with U.S.-British imperialism to stamp out the Arab people's struggle against imperialism. The Soviet revisionists indeed deserve the title of "sincere friends" of U.S.-British imperialism.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung has said: "There are true friends and false friends. But one can see in practice clearly who are true friends and who are false ones." What the Soviet revisionist clique has been doing concerning the Arab people is sham support but real betrayal. Such trickery by the Soviet modern revisionists will be completely seen through by the Arab people sooner or later. (June 2, slightly abridged.)

Strange, But Quite Normal

U.S. imperialism has massed a fleet of warships in the Middle East to browbeat the Arab people and support the Israeli aggressors.

The ruling Soviet revisionist clique also has a number of vessels cruising in the Mediterranean. This, it claims, is to support the Arab countries against Israeli aggression.

But when U.S. and Soviet warships cross each other at sea [as they did in the Mediterranean a couple of weeks ago], they exchange greetings in a most friendly way. Nothing about this suggests animosity between them.

Strange as this phenomenon may seem, it is quite normal, because U.S. imperialism supports Israel in real earnest, while the ruling Soviet revisionist clique supports the Arab countries in words only. How can there be animosity between them?

As a matter of fact, both pursue a common objective in regard to the Middle East situation. The U.S. imperialists say they want to settle the "Middle East crisis," but actually they are backing Israel in order to stamp out the raging flames of the anti-U.S. struggle of the Arab people. The Soviet revisionists say they want tension in the Middle East to ease, but actually their so-called support of the Arab countries is designed to smother Arab opposition to Israeli aggression. One may well ask: Is the sending by both the United States and the Soviet Union of warships to the Middle East not a "united action" taken for a common objective? Is it not part of U.S.-Soviet collaboration for world domination?

Of course, the ruling Soviet revisionist clique will not admit this. It is like a woman of easy virtue who, while selling herself, believes she must have a monument erected to her chastity. These Soviet revisionists who actually betray the Arab people are only trying their best to pose and pass themselves off as friends.

Unfortunately for them, their sordid behaviour cannot be concealed from the public eye. The greetings from American sailors on the high seas have given them away. (June 3)

ROUND THE WORLD

FAKE INTERVIEW EXPOSED

U.S.-Soviet Rumour-Mongering

The U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionist ruling clique have recently raised a new anti-China hullabaloo in connection with an "interview" allegedly given by Premier Chou En-lai.

This "interview" was a fabrication of Simon Malley, U.N. correspondent of the Tunisian weekly *Jeune Afrique*, after he returned at the end of March to the United States from Cambodia by way of China, the Soviet Union and France. It was first published in the American *Chicago Daily News*, and appeared in the British *Daily Sketch* the day after.

A spokesman of the Information Department of the Foreign Ministry of China made a statement on May 16 pointing out that Malley's report on the "interview," allegedly given by Premier Chou on the international situation, is "an out-and-out fabrication put out with ulterior motives."

This fake "interview" in Peking, however, was "confirmed" by U.S. State Department officials and U.S. delegate to the U.N. Goldberg, who were thousands of miles away from the Chinese capital, and was also "confirmed" by diplomats of the Soviet revisionist clique. Even after the Information Department of the Chinese Foreign Ministry issued an official statement repudiating it, U.S., British and Soviet newspapers and news agencies still widely publicized Malley's "report" and other articles fabricated by him.

Judging from the process by which the alleged "interview" was produced, from its contents, and from comments made by the imperialist and revisionist propaganda machinery in connection with it, this was a political plot of the U.S. imperialists and Soviet revisionists. Their despicable motive was to distort and smear the solemn stand of the Chinese Government and people on Vietnam, which is known to the whole world, and to disrupt the fraternal relations between China and Vietnam, so as to meet the needs

of the United States and the Soviet Union in their collaboration to sabotage the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation.

Milt Freudenheim of the *Chicago Daily News* admitted that he had discussed with Malley his projected "trip" to China before he left. It was also reported that after his return to the United States, Malley submitted to the U.S. Government a report on his fake "interview" and handed the "interview" and other related articles to U.S. officials. The U.S. State Department then instructed that all of them be published.

The Soviet revisionist clique also made great efforts to assist the United States to peddle the fabricated "interview." Two days after the Information Department of the Chinese Foreign Ministry repudiated it, U.P.I. reported that "qualified East European diplomats" in London "appeared to accept the interview as genuine, if only because it reflected Peking's known position." Both before and after the Chinese statement, Soviet, Hungarian and Czechoslovak newspapers also published the alleged "interview." As late as May 24, the Soviet paper *Literaturnaya Gazeta* published it with an unscrupulous attack against China.

No "affirmation" by the U.S. State Department and no "confirmation" by the diplomats of the Soviet revisionist clique can cover up the discrepancies in the fairy-tale they concocted. In particular they can by no means alter this most basic fact: Malley was in Peking only two days, from March 27 to 29, while passing through the city. During his stay there, neither Premier Chou nor any other Chinese leaders received him. He told the lie that he stayed in China for three weeks. A responsible person of the *Chicago Daily News* said that Malley stayed in Peking for 19 days. Malley also said that Premier Chou received him at 8 a.m. in the "people's palace" in the "Forbidden City." It is well known that there is no "people's palace" in the "Forbidden City" and Premier Chou

has never received any foreign guest at 8 a.m. It was precisely because all these were deliberately fabricated lies that Malley did not dare comment on China's repudiation of the forgery.

This farce was jointly staged by U.S. imperialism and the Soviet revisionist clique against the background that their plots on Vietnam and their joint anti-China campaign have suffered repeated setbacks. At present U.S. imperialism has suffered more and more disastrous defeats and has been bogged down more and more deeply on the south Vietnam battlefield. Whether through further extension of the war or new "peace talks" tricks, both the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists are confronted with an insurmountable obstacle—the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people, the resolute, unreserved support of the Chinese people for the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, and the close solidarity between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples. Therefore the badly beaten U.S. imperialists and Soviet revisionists manufactured and made a great outcry about this fake "interview" to slander China with the false charge of wanting the war in Vietnam to be prolonged indefinitely for its "own very good reasons." They also ranted in a vile, provocative manner that China's just position on Vietnam is in effect a "stab in the back of Vietnam" and a "threat."

By inventing the alleged "interview" in collaboration with each other, the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists thought they were being very clever; in fact they are being very stupid. Far from helping them get out of their fix in Vietnam, their big lie has revealed that they are at their wit's end and can only live on rumour-mongering.

"SECURITY" CHIEF SACKED

Soviet Revisionist Rule Shaky

Pravda announced on May 19 that V.E. Semichastny has been replaced by Y.V. Andropov as Chairman of the State Security Committee. This

is a sudden, significant change of leadership in a major instrument of fascist dictatorship in the hands of the Soviet revisionist ruling clique.

Andropov is one of the upstarts who came to the fore after Khrushchov's usurpation of the Party leadership and government power of the Soviet Union. In 1957 he was a department head of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee. In 1962 he was promoted and became a member of the Party's Central Committee Secretariat. In the past few years, he has often gone abroad as an important member of the entourage of Brezhnev and other Soviet revisionist chieftains or taken part in international conspiratorial activities as a member of the C.P.S.U. delegations.

Semichastny succeeded A.N. Shelepin as Chairman of the State Security Committee in 1961. When Shelepin was First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Komsomol, Semichastny was member of the Komsomol's Central Committee Secretariat. Shelepin is now Member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.S.U.

Also on May 19, the Soviet army paper *Krasnaya Zvezda* carried an obituary notice announcing that

"Major-General V.A. Lukshin, a leading worker of the State Security Committee, unfortunately passed away" when executing "public duties." Since 1954 Lukshin had been a leading member of the State Security Committee responsible for the security of the armed forces. In carrying this obituary notice, *Krasnaya Zvezda* did not accompany it with a photograph of the dead general. Moreover, the obituary notice was merely signed "by a group of comrades." This was something quite abnormal.

Another thing that warrants attention is that May 19 was the 45th anniversary of the founding of the Soviet Young Pioneers. Such a festival is usually an occasion for jubilant celebrations by the Soviet revisionists, and would be particularly so this year, the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution. It is noteworthy that when the 44th anniversary of the founding of the Soviet Young Pioneers was celebrated last year, the ceremony was attended by revisionist chieftains such as Kosygin, Podgorny, Suslov, and Shelepin. But the celebrations this

year were very lukewarm. Although a parade was held in the Red Square, not a single Soviet revisionist chieftain was on hand and even the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Komsomol failed to show up.

Again on May 19, certain unusual things happened in Moscow. In the morning, more than 20 trucks fully loaded with armymen drove through the Red Square and the direction of traffic in downtown Moscow was in chaos for the whole day.

On the following day, *Krasnaya Zvezda* gave frontpage prominence to an article by Soviet Marshal I.S. Koniev dealing at length with the suppression of the Kronstadt mutiny during the 10th Party Congress in 1921.

With its retrogressive measures at home and abroad meeting strong opposition from the Soviet people and the revolutionary people of the whole world, the Soviet revisionist ruling clique is having a tougher and tougher time. Its rule is shaky and it is ridden with internal contradictions. An acute power struggle is coming to a head. In this situation, the occurrence of a string of extraordinary events is worth attention.

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abusing their authority, have appointed their relatives to key positions. V. Putrushov, a worker of the Aramil Textile Mill in Sverdlov Region, exposed the "increasing nepotism" of the director, Yevseyenko. In this mill where he worked, the head of the weaving department was a L. Nemchinov, Yevseyenko's nephew, while Nemchinov's wife worked for a long time as the chief standardizer. "Many important problems . . . were often settled by the family." The director and his wife used to "open the unguarded gate of the factory with their own key" and the workers called it "the family key."

The director of a flooring combine under the Lvov National Economic Council promoted his wife "with only the qualifications of a housewife" to the post of economic engineer. To the resentment of the workers, the same director used the "funds for the repair of workers' quarters" to enlarge his own private residence.

Popular Opposition Disturbs Soviet Revisionist Power-Holders

This "new system" designed for the oppression and exploitation of the workers has met with increasing opposition from the Soviet working people. Worried by

this, the ruling revisionist clique, for the purpose of suppressing the working class, last December, passed in the name of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, a so-called resolution to strengthen labour discipline. In this resolution, it blamed the local authorities for "failing to exploit to the full . . . the possibilities of social influence and administrative measures provided by law." It called for "the cultivation of the sense of responsibility of the workers in scrupulously carrying out orders and instructions of the administration, and the development and strengthening of the principle of one-man management in administering production." It also called for the strengthening of the "functions" of the judicial authorities and procuratorates.

The resolution was followed by a flood of articles in the papers demanding an "uncompromising struggle" against opposition to the "new system," the "skilful use of administrative measures provided by law" and the adoption of "administrative and economic measures." On the other hand, the articles deplored "the wholesale issuance of instructions and warnings" which, it was admitted, had produced "no effect whatever."

This oppression and exploitation of the Soviet working class by the Soviet revisionist ruling clique will only hasten that clique's own doom.

Pakistan Defence Minister Leaves for Home

Vice-Admiral Afzal Rahman Khan, Minister of Defence of Pakistan, and S.M. Yusuf, Pakistan Secretary for Foreign Affairs who accompanied him, left Shanghai by plane on June 3 for home after concluding their friendly visit to China. Over 600 people gave the distinguished Pakistan guests a warm send-off at the airport. Among them were Vice-Ministers of National Defence Hsiao Ching-kuang and Wang Shu-sheng, commanders and fighters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army and young Red Guards.

The previous evening, the Chinese Ministry of National Defence gave a farewell banquet for the guests. Vice-Minister of National Defence Wang Shu-sheng and Minister Afzal Rahman Khan spoke at the banquet. Both wished the continual growth of the friendship between the Chinese and Pakistan peoples.

The Pakistan guests had arrived in Shanghai from Peking on June 1. Before they left the capital, Premier Chou En-lai gave them a luncheon on May 30, during which the host

and the guests conversed cordially and expressed their wish for the daily consolidation and growth of the friendship between their two peoples and the friendly co-operation between the two Governments.

Protest Against Anti-China Atrocities by Mongolian Revisionists

More than 150,000 people held a rally on June 1 in Huhehot, capital of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, to voice their strong protest against the Mongolian revisionist authorities, Soviet revisionist pawns, for their fascist anti-China atrocities. Attending the rally were revolutionary people of various nationalities and members of the Chinese People's Liberation Army stationed in the region. Again and again participants shouted: "We firmly support our Foreign Ministry's May 27 statement!" "We protest most strongly against the Mongolian revisionists' bloody suppression of Chinese diplomatic personnel and patriotic Chinese nationals!" "Down with the Mongolian revisionists—accomplices of the U.S. imperialists and pawns of the Soviet revisionists!"

"Long live the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung!" and "Long live the great leader Chairman Mao!"

A young comrade from the revolutionary rebel headquarters of the Red Guards of middle schools and colleges in Huhehot made the opening speech. He angrily denounced and strongly protested against atrocities committed by the Mongolian revisionist authorities in sending a large force of troops and police to savagely assault, arrest and detain Chinese diplomatic personnel, members of the staff of the local branch of the Hsinhua News Agency and large numbers of Chinese nationals. "Armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought," he said, "the Chinese people are not to be trifled with! Sooner or later, the Chinese people and the revolutionary people of the world will settle all accounts with the Soviet and Mongolian revisionists who are working hand in glove with the U.S. imperialists."

Teng Hai-ching, leading member of the preparatory group for the revolutionary committee of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region and Acting Commander of the P.L.A. for the region, said that it was no

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a heroic people with a tradition of struggling against aggression. They will never bow to the imperialist gangsters. In 1953 and 1958, they firmly countered the U.S.-British imperialist aggression. They are more united and powerful today than ever before. They will surely mete out redoubled punishment to the aggressors and deal them reinforced blows!

Chairman Mao Tse-tung has said: "If they fight, we will wipe them out completely. This is the way things are: if they attack and we wipe them out, they will have that satisfaction; wipe out some, some satisfaction; wipe out more, more satisfaction; wipe out the whole lot, complete satisfaction." This is the way for the Arab people to deal with imperialism and its lackey.

The present situation in the world is very favourable to the Arab people's war against aggression. U.S. imperialism is already badly mauled by the Vietnamese people and is inextricably bogged down in the Vietnam battlefield. It is committing aggression all over the

world and is badly trounced everywhere. It is in a position of utter passivity and is beset with difficulties. It puts on a very fierce appearance before the Arab people, but in fact it is extremely weak. What U.S. imperialism and its tool Israel fear most is that the Arab people will persist in this war against aggression. So long as the people of the Arab countries see through the reactionary essence of U.S. imperialism and its cohorts, strengthen their unity and persist in struggle, and refuse to be intimidated or deceived, they will certainly achieve final victory in their just war of self-defence against aggression.

The 700 million Chinese people strongly condemn the criminal aggression committed by U.S. imperialism and its lackey. U.S. imperialism is the common mortal enemy of the Chinese and Arab peoples. The Chinese people firmly stand by the Arab people and resolutely support their war against aggression.

U.S. imperialism and its lackey will certainly be defeated! The Arab people are sure to win!

("Renmin Ribao" editorial, June 6.)

accident for the Mongolian revisionist authorities to create a savage and bloody anti-China incident at the Ulan Bator railway station on May 21. He added that it was well organized and planned by the Mongolian revisionist ruling clique at the instigation of its boss, the Soviet revisionist ruling clique, and served the needs of U.S. imperialism's anti-China campaign. He pointed out that the handful of leading Mongolian revisionists were playing a shameless role in the present anti-China drama being staged by imperialism, revisionism and reaction throughout the world. Their frenzied opposition to China ran counter to the wishes of the world's people and was a betrayal of the people of Mongolia, and they would definitely come to no good end. Their action could not do the slightest damage to the great China, instead they were lifting a rock only to drop it on their own feet. **As our great leader Chairman Mao has taught us: "Make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again . . . till their doom; that is the logic of the imperialists and all reactionaries the world over in deal-**

ing with the people's cause, and they will never go against this logic." The Soviet and Mongolian revisionists, too, would never go against this logic.

Teng Hai-ching declared that the P.L.A. was the pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the staunch defender of the great proletarian cultural revolution. He said that the P.L.A. units stationed in the Inner Mongolian area resolutely supported the Chinese Foreign Ministry's statement and that, in full battle array, they were closely following the actions of the enemy and were prepared at all times to strike at any enemy who dared to invade China.

Wu Tao, a responsible member of the preparatory group for the revolutionary committee of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region and Political Commissar of the Inner Mongolian Military Command, and Kao Chin-ming, a revolutionary leading cadre, also spoke at the meeting. The two speakers pointed out that the reason why the Mongolian revisionist leading clique tailed after

the Soviet revisionists in carrying out wild anti-China atrocities was because it was afraid of the great thought of Mao Tse-tung and of the tremendous impact of China's great proletarian cultural revolution on the Mongolian people and feared that the Mongolian people would rise in rebellion against it. **Chairman Mao has said: "The socialist system will eventually replace the capitalist system; this is an objective law independent of man's will. However much the reactionaries try to hold back the wheel of history, sooner or later revolution will take place and will inevitably triumph."** The great thought of Mao Tse-tung has awakened the revolutionary people to rise and rebel against reactionary rule. The call "to rebel is justified" has shaken the whole world and no one — the Soviet revisionists, Mongolian revisionists or any other reactionaries — could block the speedy advance of the wheel of history.

After the rally, the participants paraded through the streets in a mighty demonstration against the Mongolian revisionist authorities.

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