

# PEKING REVIEW

28

July 8, 1966

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## TALKS AT THE YENAN FORUM ON LITERATURE AND ART

May 1942

MAO TSE-TUNG

### Chinese Government Statement

China further freed from any bounds or restrictions  
in rendering support and aid to Vietnam against  
U.S. aggression.

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## FROM CHAIRMAN MAO'S WORKS:

"In the world today all culture, all literature and art belong to definite classes and are geared to definite political lines. There is in fact no such thing as art for art's sake, art that stands above classes or art that is detached from or independent of politics. Proletarian literature and art are part of the whole proletarian revolutionary cause; they are, as Lenin said, cogs and wheels in the whole revolutionary machine."

— Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art

# TALKS AT THE YENAN FORUM ON LITERATURE AND ART

May 1942

**MAO TSE-TUNG**

## INTRODUCTION

May 2, 1942

Comrades! You have been invited to this forum today to exchange ideas and examine the relationship between work in the literary and artistic fields and revolutionary work in general. Our aim is to ensure that revolutionary literature and art follow the correct path of development and provide better help to other revolutionary work in facilitating the overthrow of our national enemy and the accomplishment of the task of national liberation.

In our struggle for the liberation of the Chinese people there are various fronts, among which there are the fronts of the pen and of the gun, the cultural and the military fronts. 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.

Since the May 4th Movement such a cultural army has taken shape in China, and it has helped the Chinese revolution, gradually reduced the domain of China's feudal culture and of the comprador culture which serves imperialist aggression, and weakened their influence. To oppose the new culture the Chinese reactionaries can now only "pit quantity against quality". In other words, reactionaries have money, and though they can produce nothing good, they can go all out and produce in quantity. Literature and art have been an important and successful part of the cultural front since the May 4th Movement. During the ten years' civil war, the revolutionary literature and art movement grew greatly. That movement and the revolutionary war both headed in the same general direction, but these two fraternal armies were not linked together in their practical work because the reactionaries had cut them off from each other. It is very good that since the outbreak of the War of Resistance Against Japan, more and more revolutionary writers and artists have been coming to Yen-an and our other anti-Japanese base areas. But it does not necessarily

follow that, having come to the base areas, they have already integrated themselves completely with the masses of the people here. The two must be completely integrated if we are to push ahead with our revolutionary work. The purpose of our meeting today is precisely to ensure that literature and art fit well into the whole revolutionary machine as a component part, that they operate as powerful weapons for uniting and educating the people and for attacking and destroying the enemy, and that they help the people fight the enemy with one heart and one mind. What are the problems that must be solved to achieve this objective? I think they are the problems of the class stand of the writers and artists, their attitude, their audience, their work and their study.

The problem of class stand. Our stand is that of the proletariat and of the masses. For members of the Communist Party, this means keeping to the stand of the Party, keeping to Party spirit and Party policy. Are there any of our literary and art workers who are still mistaken or not clear in their understanding of this problem? I think there are. Many of our comrades have frequently departed from the correct stand.

The problem of attitude. From one's stand there follow specific attitudes towards specific matters. For instance, is one to extol or to expose? This is a question of attitude. Which attitude is wanted? I would say both. The question is, whom are you dealing with? There are three kinds of persons, the enemy, our allies in the united front and our own people; the last are the masses and their vanguard. We need to adopt a different attitude towards each of the three. With regard to the enemy, that is, Japanese imperialism and all the other enemies of the people, the task of revolutionary writers and artists is to expose their duplicity and cruelty and at the same time to point out the inevitability of their defeat, so as to encourage the anti-Japanese army and people to fight staunchly with one heart and one mind for their overthrow. With regard to our different allies in the united front, our attitude should be one of both alliance and criticism, and there should be different kinds of alliance and different kinds of criticism. We support them in their resistance to Japan and praise them for any achievement. But if they are not active in the War of Resistance, we should criticize them. If anyone opposes the Communist Party and the people and keeps moving down the path of reaction, we will firmly oppose him. As for the masses of the people, their toil and their struggle, their army and their Party, we should certainly praise them. The people, too, have their shortcomings. Among the proletariat many retain petty-bourgeois ideas, while both the peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie have back-

ward ideas; these are burdens hampering them in their struggle. We should be patient and spend a long time in educating them and helping them to get these loads off their backs and combat their own shortcomings and errors, so that they can advance with great strides. They have remoulded themselves in struggle or are doing so, and our literature and art should depict this process. As long as they do not persist in their errors, we should not dwell on their negative side and consequently make the mistake of ridiculing them or, worse still, of being hostile to them. Our writings should help them to unite, to make progress, to press ahead with one heart and one mind, to discard what is backward and develop what is revolutionary, and should certainly not do the opposite.

The problem of audience, *i.e.*, the people for whom our works of literature and art are produced. In the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region and the anti-Japanese base areas of northern and central China, this problem differs from that in the Kuomintang areas, and differs still more from that in Shanghai before the War of Resistance. In the Shanghai period, the audience for works of revolutionary literature and art consisted mainly of a section of the students, office workers and shop assistants. After the outbreak of the War of Resistance the audience in the Kuomintang areas became somewhat wider, but it still consisted mainly of the same kind of people because the government there prevented the workers, peasants and soldiers from having access to revolutionary literature and art. In our base areas the situation is entirely different. Here the audience for works of literature and art consists of workers, peasants, soldiers and revolutionary cadres. There are students in the base areas, too, but they are different from students of the old type; they are either former or future cadres. The cadres of all types, fighters in the army, workers in the factories and peasants in the villages all want to read books and newspapers once they become literate, and those who are illiterate want to see plays and operas, look at drawings and paintings, sing songs and hear music; they are the audience for our works of literature and art. Take the cadres alone. Do not think they are few; they far outnumber the readers of any book published in the Kuomintang areas. There, an edition usually runs to only 2,000 copies, and even three editions add up to only 6,000; but as for the cadres in the base areas, in Yen-an alone there are more than 10,000 who read books. Many of them, moreover, are tempered revolutionaries of long standing, who have come from all parts of the country and will go out to work in different places, so it is very important to do educational work among them. Our

literary and art workers must do a good job in this respect.

Since the audience for our literature and art consists of workers, peasants and soldiers and of their cadres, the problem arises of understanding them and knowing them well. A great deal of work has to be done in order to understand them and know them well, to understand and know well all the different kinds of people and phenomena in the Party and government organizations, in the villages and factories and in the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies. Our writers and artists have their literary and art work to do, but their primary task is to understand people and know them well. In this regard, how have matters stood with our writers and artists? I would say they have been lacking in knowledge and understanding; they have been like "a hero with no place to display his prowess". What does lacking in knowledge mean? Not knowing people well. The writers and artists do not have a good knowledge either of those whom they describe or of their audience; indeed they may hardly know them at all. They do not know the workers or peasants or soldiers well, and do not know the cadres well either. What does lacking in understanding mean? Not understanding the language, that is, not being familiar with the rich, lively language of the masses. Since many writers and artists stand aloof from the masses and lead empty lives, naturally they are unfamiliar with the language of the people. Accordingly, their works are not only insipid in language but often contain nondescript expressions of their own coining which run counter to popular usage. Many comrades like to talk about "a mass style". But what does it really mean? It means that the thoughts and feelings of our writers and artists should be fused with those of the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers. To achieve this fusion, they should conscientiously learn the language of the masses. How can you talk of literary and artistic creation if you find the very language of the masses largely incomprehensible? By "a hero with no place to display his prowess", we mean that your collection of great truths is not appreciated by the masses. The more you put on the airs of a veteran before the masses and play the "hero", the more you try to peddle such stuff to the masses, the less likely they are to accept it. If you want the masses to understand you, if you want to be one with the masses, you must make up your mind to undergo a long and even painful process of tempering. Here I might mention the experience of how my own feelings changed. I began life as a student and at school acquired the ways of a student; I then used to feel it undignified to do even a little manual labour, such as carrying my own luggage in the presence of my fellow students, who were incapable of carrying

anything, either on their shoulders or in their hands. At that time I felt that intellectuals were the only clean people in the world, while in comparison workers and peasants were dirty. I did not mind wearing the clothes of other intellectuals, believing them clean, but I would not put on clothes belonging to a worker or peasant, believing them dirty. But after I became a revolutionary and lived with workers and peasants and with soldiers of the revolutionary army, I gradually came to know them well, and they gradually came to know me well too. It was then, and only then, that I fundamentally changed the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois feelings implanted in me in the bourgeois schools. I came to feel that compared with the workers and peasants the unremoulded intellectuals were not clean and that, in the last analysis, the workers and peasants were the cleanest people and, even though their hands were soiled and their feet smeared with cow-dung, they were really cleaner than the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois intellectuals. That is what is meant by a change in feelings, a change from one class to another. If our writers and artists who come from the intelligentsia want their works to be well received by the masses, they must change and remould their thinking and their feelings. Without such a change, without such remoulding, they can do nothing well and will be misfits.

The last problem is study, by which I mean the study of Marxism-Leninism and of society. Anyone who considers himself a revolutionary Marxist writer, and especially any writer who is a member of the Communist Party, must have a knowledge of Marxism-Leninism. At present, however, some comrades are lacking in the basic concepts of Marxism. For instance, it is a basic Marxist concept that being determines consciousness, that the objective realities of class struggle and national struggle determine our thoughts and feelings. But some of our comrades turn this upside down and maintain that everything ought to start from "love". Now as for love, in a class society there can be only class love; but these comrades are seeking a love transcending classes, love in the abstract and also freedom in the abstract, truth in the abstract, human nature in the abstract, etc. This shows that they have been very deeply influenced by the bourgeoisie. They should thoroughly rid themselves of this influence and modestly study Marxism-Leninism. It is right for writers and artists to study literary and artistic creation, but the science of Marxism-Leninism must be studied by all revolutionaries, writers and artists not excepted. Writers and artists should study society, that is to say, should study the various classes in society, their mutual relations and respective conditions, their physiognomy and their



psychology. Only when we grasp all this clearly can we have a literature and art that is rich in content and correct in orientation.

I am merely raising these problems today by way of introduction; I hope all of you will express your views on these and other relevant problems.

## CONCLUSION

May 23, 1942

Comrades! Our forum has had three meetings this month. In the pursuit of truth we have carried on spirited debates in which scores of Party and non-Party comrades have spoken, laying bare the issues and making them more concrete. This, I believe, will very much benefit the whole literary and artistic movement.

In discussing a problem, we should start from reality and not from definitions. We would be following a wrong method if we first looked up definitions of literature and art in textbooks and then used them to determine the guiding principles for the present-day literary and artistic movement and to judge the different opinions and controversies that arise today. We are Marxists, and Marxism teaches that in our approach to a problem we should start from objective facts, not from abstract definitions, and that we should derive our guiding principles, policies and measures from an analysis of these facts. We should do the same in our present discussion of literary and artistic work.

What are the facts at present? The facts are: the War of Resistance Against Japan which China has been fighting for five years; the world-wide anti-fascist war; the vacillations of China's big landlord class and big bourgeoisie in the War of Resistance and their policy of high-handed oppression of the people; the revolutionary movement in literature and art since the May 4th Movement — its great contributions to the revolution during the last twenty-three years and its many shortcomings; the anti-Japanese democratic base areas of the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies and the integration of large numbers of writers and artists with these armies and with the workers and peasants in these areas; the difference in both environment and tasks between the writers and artists in the base areas and those in the Kuomintang areas; and the controversial issues concerning literature and art which have arisen in Yen-an and the other anti-Japanese base areas. These are the actual, undeniable facts in the light of which we have to consider our problems.

What then is the crux of the matter? In my opinion, it consists fundamentally of the problems of working for the masses and how to work for the masses. Unless these two problems are solved, or solved properly, our writers and artists will be ill-adapted to their environment and their tasks and will come up against a series of difficulties from without and within. My concluding remarks will centre on these two problems and also touch upon some related ones.

The first problem is: literature and art for whom?

This problem was solved long ago by Marxists, especially by Lenin. As far back as 1905 Lenin pointed out emphatically that our literature and art should "serve . . . the millions and tens of millions of working people".<sup>1</sup> For comrades engaged in literary and artistic work in the anti-Japanese base areas it might seem that this problem is already solved and needs no further discussion. Actually, that is not the case. Many comrades have not found a clear solution. Consequently their sentiments, their works, their actions and their views on the guiding principles for literature and art have inevitably been more or less at variance with the needs of the masses and of the practical struggle. Of course, among the numerous men of culture, writers, artists and other literary and artistic workers engaged in the great struggle for liberation together with the Communist Party and the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies, a few may be careerists who are with us only temporarily, but the overwhelming majority are working energetically for the common cause. By relying on these comrades, we have achieved a great deal in our literature, drama, music and fine arts. Many of these writers and artists have begun their work since the outbreak of the War of Resistance; many others did much revolutionary work before the war, endured many hardships and influenced broad masses of the people by their activities and works. Why do we say, then, that even among these comrades there are some who have not reached a clear solution of the problem of whom literature and art are for? Is it conceivable that there are still some who maintain that revolutionary literature and art are not for the masses of the people but for the exploiters and oppressors?

Indeed literature and art exist which are for the exploiters and oppressors. Literature and art for the landlord class are feudal literature and art. Such were the literature and art of the ruling class in China's feudal era. To this day such literature

and art still have considerable influence in China. Literature and art for the bourgeoisie are bourgeois literature and art. People like Liang Shih-chiu,<sup>2</sup> whom Lu Hsun criticized, talk about literature and art as transcending classes, but in fact they uphold bourgeois literature and art and oppose proletarian literature and art. Then literature and art exist which serve the imperialists—for example, the works of Chou Tso-jen, Chang Tzu-ping<sup>3</sup> and their like—which we call traitor literature and art. With us, literature and art are for the people, not for any of the above groups. We have said that China's new culture at the present stage is an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal culture of the masses of the people under the leadership of the proletariat. Today, anything that is truly of the masses must necessarily be led by the proletariat. Whatever is under the leadership of the bourgeoisie cannot possibly be of the masses. Naturally, the same applies to the new literature and art which are part of the new culture. We should take over the rich legacy and the good traditions in literature and art that have been handed down from past ages in China and foreign countries, but the aim must still be to serve the masses of the people. Nor do we refuse to utilize the literary and artistic forms of the past, but in our hands these old forms, remoulded and infused with new content, also become something revolutionary in the service of the people.

Who, then, are the masses of the people? The broadest sections of the people, constituting more than 90 per cent of our total population, are the workers, peasants, soldiers and urban petty bourgeoisie. Therefore, our literature and art are first for the workers, the class that leads the revolution. Secondly, they are for the peasants, the most numerous and most steadfast of our allies in the revolution. Thirdly, they are for the armed workers and peasants, namely, the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies and the other armed units of the people, which are the main forces of the revolutionary war. Fourthly, they are for the labouring masses of the urban petty bourgeoisie and for the petty-bourgeois intellectuals, both of whom are also our allies in the revolution and capable of long-term co-operation with us. These four kinds of people constitute the overwhelming majority of the Chinese nation, the broadest masses of the people.

Our literature and art should be for the four kinds of people we have enumerated. To serve them, we must take the class stand of the proletariat and not that of the petty bourgeoisie. Today, writers who cling to an individualist, petty-bourgeois stand cannot truly serve the masses of revolutionary workers, peasants and soldiers. Their interest is mainly focused on the small number of petty-bourgeois in-

tellectuals. This is the crucial reason why some of our comrades cannot correctly solve the problem of "for whom?" In saying this I am not referring to theory. In theory, or in words, no one in our ranks regards the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers as less important than the petty bourgeois intellectuals. I am referring to practice, to action. In practice, in action, do they regard petty-bourgeois intellectuals as more important than workers, peasants and soldiers? I think they do. Many comrades concern themselves with studying the petty-bourgeois intellectuals and analysing their psychology, and they concentrate on portraying these intellectuals and excusing or defending their shortcomings, instead of guiding the intellectuals to join with them in getting closer to the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, taking part in the practical struggles of the masses, portraying and educating the masses. Coming from the petty bourgeoisie and being themselves intellectuals, many comrades seek friends only among intellectuals and concentrate on studying and describing them. Such study and description are proper if done from a proletarian position. But that is not what they do, or not what they do fully. They take the petty-bourgeois stand and produce works that are the self-expression of the petty bourgeoisie, as can be seen in quite a number of literary and artistic products. Often they show heartfelt sympathy for intellectuals of petty-bourgeois origin, to the extent of sympathizing with or even praising their shortcomings. On the other hand, these comrades seldom come into contact with the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, do not understand or study them, do not have intimate friends among them and are not good at portraying them; when they do depict them, the clothes are the clothes of working people but the faces are those of petty-bourgeois intellectuals. In certain respects they are fond of the workers, peasants and soldiers and the cadres stemming from them; but there are times when they do not like them and there are some respects in which they do not like them: they do not like their feelings or their manner or their nascent literature and art (the wall newspapers, murals, folk songs, folk tales, etc.). At times they are fond of these things too, but that is when they are hunting for novelty, for something with which to embellish their own works, or even for certain backward features. At other times they openly despise these things and are partial to what belongs to the petty-bourgeois intellectuals or even to the bourgeoisie. These comrades have their feet planted on the side of the petty-bourgeois intellectuals; or, to put it more elegantly, their innermost soul is still a kingdom of the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia. Thus they have not yet solved, or not yet clearly solved,

the problem of "for whom?" This applies not only to newcomers to Yen-an; even among comrades who have been to the front and worked for a number of years in our base areas and in the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies, many have not completely solved this problem. It requires a long period of time, at least eight or ten years, to solve it thoroughly. But however long it takes, solve it we must and solve it unequivocally and thoroughly. Our literary and art workers must accomplish this task and shift their stand; they must gradually move their feet over to the side of the workers, peasants and soldiers, to the side of the proletariat, through the process of going into their very midst and into the thick of practical struggles and through the process of studying Marxism and society. Only in this way can we have a literature and art that are truly for the workers, peasants and soldiers, a truly proletarian literature and art.

This question of "for whom?" is fundamental; it is a question of principle. The controversies and divergences, the opposition and disunity arising among some comrades in the past were not on this fundamental question of principle but on secondary questions, or even on issues involving no principle. On this question of principle, however, there has been hardly any divergence between the two contending sides and they have shown almost complete agreement; to some extent, both tend to look down upon the workers, peasants and soldiers and divorce themselves from the masses. I say "to some extent" because, generally speaking, these comrades do not look down upon the workers, peasants and soldiers or divorce themselves from the masses in the same way as the Kuomintang does. Nevertheless, the tendency is there. Unless this fundamental problem is solved, many other problems will not be easy to solve. Take, for instance, the sectarianism in literary and art circles. This too is a question of principle, but sectarianism can only be eradicated by putting forward and faithfully applying the slogans, "For the workers and peasants!", "For the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies!" and "Go among the masses!" Otherwise the problem of sectarianism can never be solved. Lu Hsun once said:

A common aim is the prerequisite for a united front... The fact that our front is not united shows that we have not been able to unify our aims, and that some people are working only for small groups or indeed only for themselves. If we all aim at serving the masses of workers and peasants, our front will of course be united.<sup>4</sup>

The problem existed then in Shanghai; now it exists in Chungking too. In such places the problem can hardly be solved thoroughly, because the rulers oppress the revolutionary writers and artists and deny

them the freedom to go out among the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers. Here with us the situation is entirely different. We encourage revolutionary writers and artists to be active in forming intimate contacts with the workers, peasants and soldiers, giving them complete freedom to go among the masses and to create a genuinely revolutionary literature and art. Therefore, here among us the problem is nearing solution. But nearing solution is not the same as a complete and thorough solution. We must study Marxism and study society, as we have been saying, precisely in order to achieve a complete and thorough solution. By Marxism we mean living Marxism which plays an effective role in the life and struggle of the masses, not Marxism in words. With Marxism in words transformed into Marxism in real life, there will be no more sectarianism. Not only will the problem of sectarianism be solved, but many other problems as well.

## II

Having settled the problem of whom to serve, we come to the next problem, how to serve. To put it in the words of some of our comrades: should we devote ourselves to raising standards, or should we devote ourselves to popularization?

In the past, some comrades, to a certain or even a serious extent, belittled and neglected popularization and laid undue stress on raising standards. Stress should be laid on raising standards, but to do so one-sidedly and exclusively, to do so excessively, is a mistake. The lack of a clear solution to the problem of "for whom?", which I referred to earlier, also manifests itself in this connection. As these comrades are not clear on the problem of "for whom?", they have no correct criteria for the "raising of standards" and the "popularization" they speak of, and are naturally still less able to find the correct relationship between the two. Since our literature and art are basically for the workers, peasants and soldiers, "popularization" means to popularize among the workers, peasants and soldiers, and "raising standards" means to advance from their present level. What should we popularize among them? Popularize what is needed and can be readily accepted by the feudal landlord class? Popularize what is needed and can be readily accepted by the bourgeoisie? Popularize what is needed and can be readily accepted by the petty-bourgeois intellectuals? No, none of these will do. We must popularize only what is needed and can be readily accepted by the workers, peasants and soldiers themselves. Consequently, prior to the task of educating the workers, peasants and soldiers,



there is the task of learning from them. This is even more true of raising standards. There must be a basis from which to raise. Take a bucket of water, for instance; where is it to be raised from if not from the ground? From mid-air? From what basis, then, are literature and art to be raised? From the basis of the feudal classes? From the basis of the bourgeoisie? From the basis of the petty-bourgeois intellectuals? No, not from any of these; only from the basis of the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers. Nor does this mean raising the workers, peasants and soldiers to the "heights" of the feudal classes, the bourgeoisie or the petty-bourgeois intellectuals; it means raising the level of literature and art in the direction in which the workers, peasants and soldiers are themselves advancing, in the direction in which the proletariat is advancing. Here again the task of learning from the workers, peasants and soldiers comes in. Only by starting from the workers, peasants and soldiers can we have a correct understanding of popularization and of the raising of standards and find the proper relationship between the two.

In the last analysis, what is the source of all literature and art? Works of literature and art, as ideological forms, are products of the reflection in the human brain of the life of a given society. Revolutionary literature and art are the products of the reflection of the life of the people in the brains of revolutionary writers and artists. The life of the people is always a mine of the raw materials for literature and art, materials in their natural form, materials that are crude, but most vital, rich and fundamental; they make all literature and art seem pallid by comparison; they provide literature and art with an inexhaustible source, their only source. They are the only source, for there can be no other. Some may ask, is there not another source in books, in the literature and art of ancient times and of foreign countries? In fact, the literary and artistic works of the past are not a source but a stream; they were created by our predecessors and the foreigners out of the literary and artistic raw materials they found in the life of the people of their time and place. We must take over all the fine things in our literary and artistic heritage, critically assimilate whatever is beneficial, and use them as examples when we create works out of the literary and artistic raw materials in the life of the people of our own time and place. It makes a difference whether or not we have such examples, the difference between crudeness and refinement, between roughness and polish, between a low and a high level, and between slower and faster work. Therefore, we must on no account reject the legacies of the ancients and the foreigners or refuse to learn from them, even though they are the works of the feudal or

bourgeois classes. But taking over legacies and using them as examples must never replace our own creative work; nothing can do that. Uncritical transplantation or copying from the ancients and the foreigners is the most sterile and harmful dogmatism in literature and art. China's revolutionary writers and artists, writers and artists of promise, must go among the masses; they must for a long period of time unreservedly and whole-heartedly go among the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, go into the heat of the struggle, go to the only source, the broadest and richest source, in order to observe, experience, study and analyse all the different kinds of people, all the classes, all the masses, all the vivid patterns of life and struggle, all the raw materials of literature and art. Only then can they proceed to creative work. Otherwise, you will have nothing to work with and you will be nothing but a phoney writer or artist, the kind that Lu Hsun in his will so earnestly cautioned his son never to become.<sup>5</sup>

Although man's social life is the only source of literature and art and is incomparably livelier and richer in content, the people are not satisfied with life alone and demand literature and art as well. Why? Because, while both are beautiful, life as reflected in works of literature and art can and ought to be on a higher plane, more intense, more concentrated, more typical, nearer the ideal, and therefore more universal than actual everyday life. Revolutionary literature and art should create a variety of characters out of real life and help the masses to propel history forward. For example, there is suffering from hunger, cold and oppression on the one hand, and exploitation and oppression of man by man on the other. These facts exist everywhere and people look upon them as commonplace. Writers and artists concentrate such everyday phenomena, typify the contradictions and struggles within them and produce works which awaken the masses, fire them with enthusiasm and impel them to unite and struggle to transform their environment. Without such literature and art, this task could not be fulfilled, or at least not so effectively and speedily.

What is meant by popularizing and by raising standards in works of literature and art? What is the relationship between these two tasks? Popular works are simpler and plainer, and therefore more readily accepted by the broad masses of the people today. Works of a higher quality, being more polished, are more difficult to produce and in general do not circulate so easily and quickly among the masses at present. The problem facing the workers, peasants and soldiers is this: they are now engaged in a bitter and bloody struggle with the enemy but are illiterate and uneducated as a result of long years of rule by the feudal and bourgeois

classes, and therefore they are eagerly demanding enlightenment, education and works of literature and art which meet their urgent needs and which are easy to absorb, in order to heighten their enthusiasm in struggle and confidence in victory, strengthen their unity and fight the enemy with one heart and one mind. For them the prime need is not "more flowers on the brocade" but "fuel in snowy weather". In present conditions, therefore, popularization is the more pressing task. It is wrong to belittle or neglect popularization.

Nevertheless, no hard and fast line can be drawn between popularization and the raising of standards. Not only is it possible to popularize some works of higher quality even now, but the cultural level of the broad masses is steadily rising. If popularization remains at the same level for ever, with the same stuff being supplied month after month and year after year, always the same "Little Cowherd"<sup>6</sup> and the same "man, hand, mouth, knife, cow, goat",<sup>7</sup> will not the educators and those being educated be six of one and half a dozen of the other? What would be the sense of such popularization? The people demand popularization and, following that, higher standards; they demand higher standards month by month and year by year. Here popularization means popularizing for the people and raising of standards means raising the level for the people. And such raising is not from mid-air, or behind closed doors, but is actually based on popularization. It is determined by and at the same time guides popularization. In China as a whole the development of the revolution and of revolutionary culture is uneven and their spread is gradual. While in one place there is popularization and then raising of standards on the basis of popularization, in other places popularization has not even begun. Hence good experience in popularization leading to higher standards in one locality can be applied in other localities and serve to guide popularization and the raising of standards there, saving many twists and turns along the road. Internationally, the good experience of foreign countries, and especially Soviet experience, can also serve to guide us. With us, therefore, the raising of standards is based on popularization, while popularization is guided by the raising of standards. Precisely for this reason, so far from being an obstacle to the raising of standards, the work of popularization we are speaking of supplies the basis for the work of raising standards which we are now doing on a limited scale, and prepares the necessary conditions for us to raise standards in the future on a much broader scale.

Besides such raising of standards as meets the needs of the masses directly, there is the kind which meets their needs indirectly, that is, the kind which

is needed by the cadres. The cadres are the advanced elements of the masses and generally have received more education; literature and art of a higher level are entirely necessary for them. To ignore this would be a mistake. Whatever is done for the cadres is also entirely for the masses, because it is only through the cadres that we can educate and guide the masses. If we go against this aim, if what we give the cadres cannot help them educate and guide the masses, our work of raising standards will be like shooting at random and will depart from the fundamental principle of serving the masses of the people.

To sum up: through the creative labour of revolutionary writers and artists, the raw materials found in the life of the people are shaped into the ideological form of literature and art serving the masses of the people. Included here are the more advanced literature and art as developed on the basis of elementary literature and art and as required by those sections of the masses whose level has been raised, or, more immediately, by the cadres among the masses. Also included here are elementary literature and art which, conversely, are guided by more advanced literature and art and are needed primarily by the overwhelming majority of the masses at present. Whether more advanced or elementary, 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.

Now that we have settled the problem of the relationship between the raising of standards and popularization, that of the relationship between the specialists and the popularizers can also be settled. Our specialists are not only for the cadres, but also, and indeed chiefly, for the masses. Our specialists in literature should pay attention to the wall newspapers of the masses and to the reportage written in the army and the villages. Our specialists in drama should pay attention to the small troupes in the army and the villages. Our specialists in music should pay attention to the songs of the masses. Our specialists in the fine arts should pay attention to the fine arts of the masses. All these comrades should make close contact with comrades engaged in the work of popularizing literature and art among the masses. On the one hand, they should help and guide the popularizers, and on the other, they should learn from these comrades and, through them, draw nourishment from the masses to replenish and enrich themselves so that their specialities do not become "ivory towers", detached from the masses and from reality and devoid of content or life. We should esteem the specialists, for they are very valuable to our cause. But we should tell them that no

revolutionary writer or artist can do any meaningful work unless he is closely linked with the masses, gives expression to their thoughts and feelings and serves them as a loyal spokesman. Only by speaking for the masses can he educate them and only by being their pupil can he be their teacher. If he regards himself as their master, as an aristocrat who lords it over the "lower orders", then, no matter how talented he may be, he will not be needed by the masses and his work will have no future.

Is this attitude of ours utilitarian? Materialists do not oppose utilitarianism in general but the utilitarianism of the feudal, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois classes; they oppose those hypocrites who attack utilitarianism in words but in deeds embrace the most selfish and short-sighted utilitarianism. There is no "ism" in the world that transcends utilitarian considerations; in class society there can be only the utilitarianism of this or that class. We are proletarian revolutionary utilitarians and take as our point of departure the unity of the present and future interests of the broadest masses, who constitute over 90 per cent of the population; hence we are revolutionary utilitarians aiming for the broadest and the most long-range objectives, not narrow utilitarians concerned only with the partial and the immediate. If, for instance, you reproach the masses for their utilitarianism and yet for your own utility, or that of a narrow clique, force on the market and propagandize among the masses a work which pleases only the few but is useless or even harmful to the majority, then you are not only insulting the masses but also revealing your own lack of self-knowledge. A thing is good only when it brings real benefit to the masses of the people. Your work may be as good as "The Spring Snow", but if for the time being it caters only to the few and the masses are still singing the "Song of the Rustic Poor",<sup>8</sup> you will get nowhere by simply scolding them instead of trying to raise their level. The question now is to bring about a unity between "The Spring Snow" and the "Song of the Rustic Poor", between higher standards and popularization. Without such a unity, the highest art of any expert cannot help being utilitarian in the narrowest sense; you may call this art "pure and lofty" but that is merely your own name for it which the masses will not endorse.

Once we have solved the problems of fundamental policy, of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers and of how to serve them, such other problems as whether to write about the bright or the dark side of life and the problem of unity will also be solved. If everyone agrees on the fundamental policy, it should be adhered to by all our workers, all our schools, publications and organizations in the field of literature and art and in all our literary and

artistic activities. It is wrong to depart from this policy and anything at variance with it must be duly corrected.

### III

Since our literature and art are for the masses of the people, we can proceed to discuss a problem of inner-Party relations, *i.e.*, the relation between the Party's work in literature and art and the Party's work as a whole, and in addition a problem of the Party's external relations, *i.e.*, the relation between the Party's work in literature and art and the work of non-Party people in this field, a problem of the united front in literary and art circles.

Let us consider the first problem. In the world today all culture, all literature and art belong to definite classes and are geared to definite political lines. There is in fact no such thing as art for art's sake, art that stands above classes or art that is detached from or independent of politics. Proletarian literature and art are part of the whole proletarian revolutionary cause; they are, as Lenin said, cogs and wheels<sup>9</sup> in the whole revolutionary machine. Therefore, Party work in literature and art occupies a definite and assigned position in Party revolutionary work as a whole and is subordinated to the revolutionary tasks set by the Party in a given revolutionary period. Opposition to this arrangement is certain to lead to dualism or pluralism, and in essence amounts to "politics — Marxist, art — bourgeois", as with Trotsky. We do not favour overstressing the importance of literature and art, but neither do we favour underestimating their importance. 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, and though in comparison with certain other and more important parts they may be less significant and less urgent and may occupy a secondary position, nevertheless, they are indispensable cogs and wheels in the whole machine, an indispensable part of the entire revolutionary cause. If we had no literature and art even in the broadest and most ordinary sense, we could not carry on the revolutionary movement and win victory. Failure to recognize this is wrong. Furthermore, when we say that literature and art are subordinate to politics, we mean class politics, the politics of the masses, not the politics of a few so-called statesmen. Politics, whether revolutionary or counter-revolutionary, is the struggle of class against class, not the activity of a few individuals. The revolutionary struggle on the ideological and artistic fronts must be subordinate to the political struggle because only through politics can the needs of the class and the masses

find expression in concentrated form. Revolutionary statesmen, the political specialists who know the science or art of revolutionary politics, are simply the leaders of millions upon millions of statesmen — the masses. Their task is to collect the opinions of these mass statesmen, sift and refine them, and return them to the masses, who then take them and put them into practice. They are therefore not the kind of aristocratic “statesmen” who work behind closed doors and fancy they have a monopoly of wisdom. Herein lies the difference in principle between proletarian statesmen and decadent bourgeois statesmen. This is precisely why there can be complete unity between the political character of our literary and artistic works and their truthfulness. It would be wrong to fail to realize this and to debase the politics and the statesmen of the proletariat.

Let us consider next the question of the united front in the world of literature and art. Since literature and art are subordinate to politics and since the fundamental problem in China's politics today is resistance to Japan, our Party writers and artists must in the first place unite on this issue of resistance to Japan with all non-Party writers and artists (ranging from Party sympathizers and petty-bourgeois writers and artists to all those writers and artists of the bourgeois and landlord classes who are in favour of resistance to Japan). Secondly, we should unite with them on the issue of democracy. On this issue there is a section of anti-Japanese writers and artists who do not agree with us, so the range of unity will unavoidably be somewhat more limited. Thirdly, we should unite with them on issues peculiar to the literary and artistic world, questions of method and style in literature and art; here again, as we are for socialist realism and some people do not agree, the range of unity will be narrower still. While on one issue there is unity, on another there is struggle, there is criticism. The issues are at once separate and interrelated, so that even on the very ones which give rise to unity, such as resistance to Japan, there are at the same time struggle and criticism. In a united front, “all unity and no struggle” and “all struggle and no unity” are both wrong policies — as with the Right capitulationism and tailism, or the “Left” exclusivism and sectarianism, practised by some comrades in the past. This is as true in literature and art as in politics.

The petty-bourgeois writers and artists constitute an important force among the forces of the united front in literary and art circles in China. There are many shortcomings in both their thinking and their works, but, comparatively speaking, they are inclined towards the revolution and are close

to the working people. Therefore, it is an especially important task to help them overcome their shortcomings and to win them over to the front which serves the working people.

#### IV

Literary and art criticism is one of the principal methods of struggle in the world of literature and art. It should be developed and, as comrades have rightly pointed out, our past work in this respect has been quite inadequate. Literary and art criticism is a complex question which requires a great deal of special study. Here I shall concentrate only on the basic problem of criteria in criticism. I shall also comment briefly on a few specific problems raised by some comrades and on certain incorrect views.

In literary and art criticism there are two criteria, the political and the artistic. According to the political criterion, everything is good that is helpful to unity and resistance to Japan, that encourages the masses to be of one heart and one mind, that opposes retrogression and promotes progress; on the other hand, everything is bad that is detrimental to unity and resistance to Japan, foments dissension and discord among the masses and opposes progress and drags people back. How can we tell the good from the bad — by the motive (the subjective intention) or by the effect (social practice)? Idealists stress motive and ignore effect, while mechanical materialists stress effect and ignore motive. In contradistinction to both, we dialectical materialists insist on the unity of motive and effect. The motive of serving the masses is inseparably linked with the effect of winning their approval; the two must be united. The motive of serving the individual or a small clique is not good, nor is it good to have the motive of serving the masses without the effect of winning their approval and benefiting them. In examining the subjective intention of a writer or artist, that is, whether his motive is correct and good, we do not judge by his declarations but by the effect of his actions (mainly his works) on the masses in society. The criterion for judging subjective intention or motive is social practice and its effect. We want no sectarianism in our literary and art criticism and, subject to the general principle of unity for resistance to Japan, we should tolerate literary and art works with a variety of political attitudes. But at the same time, in our criticism we must adhere firmly to principle and severely criticize and repudiate all works of literature and art expressing views in opposition to the nation, to science, to the masses and to the Communist Party, because these so-called works of literature and art proceed from the motive and produce the effect of

undermining unity for resistance to Japan. According to the artistic criterion, all works of a higher artistic quality are good or comparatively good, while those of a lower artistic quality are bad or comparatively bad. Here, too, of course, social effect must be taken into account. There is hardly a writer or artist who does not consider his own work beautiful, and our criticism ought to permit the free competition of all varieties of works of art; but it is also entirely necessary to subject these works to correct criticism according to the criteria of the science of aesthetics, so that art of a lower level can be gradually raised to a higher and art which does not meet the demands of the struggle of the broad masses can be transformed into art that does.

There is the political criterion and there is the artistic criterion; what is the relationship between the two? Politics cannot be equated with art, nor can a general world outlook be equated with a method of artistic creation and criticism. We deny not only that there is an abstract and absolutely unchangeable political criterion, but also that there is an abstract and absolutely unchangeable artistic criterion; each class in every class society has its own political and artistic criteria. But all classes in all class societies invariably put the political criterion first and the artistic criterion second. The bourgeoisie always shuts out proletarian literature and art, however great their artistic merit. The proletariat must similarly distinguish among the literary and art works of past ages and determine its attitude towards them only after examining their attitude to the people and whether or not they had any progressive significance historically. Some works which politically are downright reactionary may have a certain artistic quality. The more reactionary their content and the higher their artistic quality, the more poisonous they are to the people, and the more necessary it is to reject them. A common characteristic of the literature and art of all exploiting classes in their period of decline is the contradiction between their reactionary political content and their artistic form. What we demand is the unity of politics and art, the unity of content and form, the unity of revolutionary political content and the highest possible perfection of artistic form. Works of art which lack artistic quality have no force, however progressive they are politically. Therefore, we oppose both the tendency to produce works of art with a wrong political viewpoint and the tendency towards the "poster and slogan style" which is correct in political viewpoint but lacking in artistic power. On questions of literature and art we must carry on a struggle on two fronts.

Both these tendencies can be found in the thinking of many comrades. A good number of comrades

tend to neglect artistic technique; it is therefore necessary to give attention to the raising of artistic standards. But as I see it, the political side is more of a problem at present. Some comrades lack elementary political knowledge and consequently have all sorts of muddled ideas. Let me cite a few examples from Yen-an.

"The theory of human nature." Is there such a thing as human nature? Of course there is. But there is only human nature in the concrete, no human nature in the abstract. In class society there is only human nature of a class character; there is no human nature above classes. We uphold the human nature of the proletariat and of the masses of the people, while the landlord and bourgeois classes uphold the human nature of their own classes, only they do not say so but make it out to be the only human nature in existence. The human nature boosted by certain petty-bourgeois intellectuals is also divorced from or opposed to the masses; what they call human nature is in essence nothing but bourgeois individualism, and so, in their eyes, proletarian human nature is contrary to human nature. "The theory of human nature" which some people in Yen-an advocate as the basis of their so-called theory of literature and art puts the matter in just this way and is wholly wrong.

"The fundamental point of departure for literature and art is love, love of humanity." Now love may serve as a point of departure, but there is a more basic one. Love as an idea is a product of objective practice. Fundamentally, we do not start from ideas but from objective practice. Our writers and artists who come from the ranks of the intellectuals love the proletariat because society has made them feel that they and the proletariat share a common fate. We hate Japanese imperialism because Japanese imperialism oppresses us. There is absolutely no such thing in the world as love or hatred without reason or cause. As for the so-called love of humanity, there has been no such all-inclusive love since humanity was divided into classes. All the ruling classes of the past were fond of advocating it, and so were many so-called sages and wise men, but nobody has ever really practised it, because it is impossible in class society. There will be genuine love of humanity — after classes are eliminated all over the world. Classes have split society into many antagonistic groupings; there will be love of all humanity when classes are eliminated, but not now. We cannot love enemies, we cannot love social evils, our aim is to destroy them. This is common sense; can it be that some of our writers and artists still do not understand this?

"Literary and artistic works have always laid equal stress on the bright and the dark, half and

half." This statement contains many muddled ideas. It is not true that literature and art have always done this. Many petty-bourgeois writers have never discovered the bright side. Their works only expose the dark and are known as the "literature of exposure". Some of their works simply specialize in preaching pessimism and world-weariness. On the other hand, Soviet literature in the period of socialist construction portrays mainly the bright. It, too, describes shortcomings in work and portrays negative characters, but this only serves as a contrast to bring out the brightness of the whole picture and is not on a so-called half-and-half basis. The writers and artists of the bourgeoisie in its period of reaction depict the revolutionary masses as mobs and themselves as saints, thus reversing the bright and the dark. Only truly revolutionary writers and artists can correctly solve the problem of whether to extol or to expose. All the dark forces harming the masses of the people must be exposed and all the revolutionary struggles of the masses of the people must be extolled; this is the fundamental task of revolutionary writers and artists.

"The task of literature and art has always been to expose." This assertion, like the previous one, arises from ignorance of the science of history. Literature and art, as we have shown, have never been devoted solely to exposure. For revolutionary writers and artists the targets for exposure can never be the masses, but only the aggressors, exploiters and oppressors and the evil influence they have on the people. The masses too have shortcomings, which should be overcome by criticism and self-criticism within the people's own ranks, and such criticism and self-criticism is also one of the most important tasks of literature and art. But this should not be regarded as any sort of "exposure of the people". As for the people, the question is basically one of education and of raising their level. Only counter-revolutionary writers and artists describe the people as "born fools" and the revolutionary masses as "tyrannical mobs".

"This is still the period of the satirical essay, and Lu Hsun's style of writing is still needed." Living under the rule of the dark forces and deprived of freedom of speech, Lu Hsun used burning satire and freezing irony, cast in the form of essays, to do battle; and he was entirely right. We, too, must hold up to sharp ridicule the fascists, the Chinese reactionaries and everything that harms the people; but in the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region and the anti-Japanese base areas behind the enemy lines, where democracy and freedom are granted in full to the revolutionary writers and artists and withheld only from the counter-revolutionaries, the style of the essay should not simply be like Lu

Hsun's. Here we can shout at the top of our voices and have no need for veiled and roundabout expressions, which are hard for the people to understand. When dealing with the people and not with their enemies, Lu Hsun never ridiculed or attacked the revolutionary people and the revolutionary Party in his "satirical essay period", and these essays were entirely different in manner from those directed against the enemy. To criticize the people's shortcomings is necessary, as we have already said, but in doing so we must truly take the stand of the people and speak out of whole-hearted eagerness to protect and educate them. To treat comrades like enemies is to go over to the stand of the enemy. Are we then to abolish satire? No. Satire is always necessary. But there are several kinds of satire, each with a different attitude, satire to deal with our enemies, satire to deal with our allies and satire to deal with our own ranks. We are not opposed to satire in general; what we must abolish is the abuse of satire.

"I am not given to praise and eulogy. The works of people who eulogize what is bright are not necessarily great and the works of those who depict the dark are not necessarily paltry." If you are a bourgeois writer or artist, you will eulogize not the proletariat but the bourgeoisie, and if you are a proletarian writer or artist, you will eulogize not the bourgeoisie but the proletariat and working people: it must be one or the other. The works of the eulogists of the bourgeoisie are not necessarily great, nor are the works of those who show that the bourgeoisie is dark necessarily paltry; the works of the eulogists of the proletariat are not necessarily not great, but the works of those who depict the so-called "darkness" of the proletariat are bound to be paltry—are these not facts of history as regards literature and art? Why should we not eulogize the people, the creators of the history of mankind? Why should we not eulogize the proletariat, the Communist Party, New Democracy and socialism? There is a type of person who has no enthusiasm for the people's cause and looks coldly from the side-lines at the struggles and victories of the proletariat and its vanguard; what he is interested in, and will never weary of eulogizing, is himself, plus perhaps a few figures in his small coterie. Of course, such petty-bourgeois individualists are unwilling to eulogize the deeds and virtues of the revolutionary people or heighten their courage in struggle and their confidence in victory. Persons of this type are merely termites in the revolutionary ranks; of course, the revolutionary people have no need for these "singers".

"It is not a question of stand; my class stand is correct, my intentions are good and I understand all



right, but I am not good at expressing myself and so the effect turns out bad." I have already spoken about the dialectical materialist view of motive and effect. Now I want to ask, is not the question of effect one of stand? A person who acts solely by motive and does not inquire what effect his action will have is like a doctor who merely writes prescriptions but does not care how many patients die of them. Or take a political party which merely makes declarations but does not care whether they are carried out. It may well be asked, is this a correct stand? And is the intention here good? Of course, mistakes may occur even though the effect has been taken into account beforehand, but is the intention good when one continues in the same old rut after facts have proved that the effect is bad? In judging a party or a doctor, we must look at practice, at the effect. The same applies in judging a writer. A person with truly good intentions must take the effect into account, sum up experience and study the methods or, in creative work, study the technique of expression. A person with truly good intentions must criticize the shortcomings and mistakes in his own work with the utmost candour and resolve to correct them. This is precisely why Communists employ the method of self-criticism. This alone is the correct stand. Only in this process of serious and responsible practice is it possible gradually to understand what the correct stand is and gradually obtain a good grasp of it. If one does not move in this direction in practice, if there is simply the complacent assertion that one "understands all right", then in fact one has not understood at all.

"To call on us to study Marxism is to repeat the mistake of the dialectical materialist creative method, which will harm the creative mood." To study Marxism means to apply the dialectical materialist and historical materialist viewpoint in our observation of the world, of society and of literature and art; it does not mean writing philosophical lectures into our works of literature and art. Marxism embraces but cannot replace realism in literary and artistic creation, just as it embraces but cannot replace the atomic and electronic theories in physics. Empty, dry dogmatic formulas do indeed destroy the creative mood; not only that, they first destroy Marxism. Dogmatic "Marxism" is not Marxism, it is anti-Marxism. Then does not Marxism destroy the creative mood? Yes, it does. It definitely destroys creative moods that are feudal, bourgeois, petty-bourgeois, liberalistic, individualist, nihilist, art-for-art's sake, aristocratic, decadent or pessimistic, and every other creative mood that is alien to the masses of the people and to the proletariat. So far as proletarian writers and artists are concerned, should not these kinds of creative moods be

destroyed? I think they should; they should be utterly destroyed. And while they are being destroyed, something new can be constructed.

## V

The problems discussed here exist in our literary and art circles in Yenan. What does that show? It shows that wrong styles of work still exist to a serious extent in our literary and art circles and that there are still many defects among our comrades, such as idealism, dogmatism, empty illusions, empty talk, contempt for practice and aloofness from the masses, all of which call for an effective and serious campaign of rectification.

We have many comrades who are still not very clear on the difference between the proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie. There are many Party members who have joined the Communist Party organizationally but have not yet joined the Party wholly or at all ideologically. Those who have not joined the Party ideologically still carry a great deal of the muck of the exploiting classes in their heads, and have no idea at all of what proletarian ideology, or communism, or the Party is. "Proletarian ideology?" they think. "The same old stuff!" Little do they know that it is no easy matter to acquire this stuff. Some will never have the slightest Communist flavour about them as long as they live and can only end up by leaving the Party. Therefore, though the majority in our Party and in our ranks are clean and honest, we must in all seriousness put things in order both ideologically and organizationally if we are to develop the revolutionary movement more effectively and bring it to speedier success. To put things in order organizationally requires our first doing so ideologically, our launching a struggle of proletarian ideology against non-proletarian ideology. An ideological struggle is already under way in literary and art circles in Yenan, and it is most necessary. Intellectuals of petty-bourgeois origin always stubbornly try in all sorts of ways, including literary and artistic ways, to project themselves and spread their views, and they want the Party and the world to be remoulded in their own image. In the circumstances it is our duty to jolt these "comrades" and tell them sharply, "That won't work! The proletariat cannot accommodate itself to you; to yield to you would actually be to yield to the big landlord class and the big bourgeoisie and to run the risk of undermining our Party and our country." Whom then must we yield to? We can mould the Party and the world only in the image of the proletarian vanguard. We hope our comrades in literary and art circles will realize the seriousness of this great debate and join actively in this struggle, so that every comrade may become sound and our entire

ranks may become truly united and consolidated ideologically and organizationally.

Because of confusion in their thinking, many of our comrades are not quite able to draw a real distinction between our revolutionary base areas and the Kuomintang areas and they make many mistakes as a consequence. A good number of comrades have come here from the garrets of Shanghai, and in coming from those garrets to the revolutionary base areas, they have passed not only from one kind of place to another but from one historical epoch to another. One society is semi-feudal, semi-colonial, under the rule of the big landlords and big bourgeoisie, the other is a revolutionary new-democratic society under the leadership of the proletariat. To come to the revolutionary bases means to enter an epoch unprecedented in the thousands of years of Chinese history, an epoch in which the masses of the people wield state power. Here the people around us and the audience for our propaganda are totally different. The past epoch is gone, never to return. Therefore, we must integrate ourselves with the new masses without any hesitation. If, living among the new masses, some comrades, as I said before, are still "lacking in knowledge and understanding" and remain "heroes with no place to display their prowess", then difficulties will arise for them, and not only when they go out to the villages; right here in Yen-an difficulties will arise for them. Some comrades may think, "Well, I had better continue writing for the readers in the Great Rear Area;<sup>10</sup> it is a job I know well and has 'national significance'." This idea is entirely wrong. The Great Rear Area is also changing. Readers there expect authors in the revolutionary base areas to tell about the new people and the new world and not to bore them with the same old tales. Therefore, the more a work is written for the masses in the revolutionary base areas, the more national significance will it have. Fadayev in *The Debacle*<sup>11</sup> only told the story of a small guerrilla unit and had no intention of pandering to the palate of readers in the old world; yet the book has exerted world-wide influence. At any rate in China its influence is very great, as you know. China is moving forward, not back, and it is the revolutionary base areas, not any of the backward, retrogressive areas, that are leading China forward. This is a fundamental issue that, above all, comrades must come to understand in the rectification movement.

Since integration into the new epoch of the masses is essential, it is necessary thoroughly to solve the problem of the relationship between the individual and the masses. This couplet from a poem by Lu Hsun should be our motto:

*Fierce-browed, I coolly defy a thousand  
pointing fingers,  
Head-bowed, like a willing ox I serve the  
children.*<sup>12</sup>

The "thousand pointing fingers" are our enemies, and we will never yield to them, no matter how ferocious. The "children" here symbolize the proletariat and the masses. All Communists, all revolutionaries, all revolutionary literary and art workers should learn from the example of Lu Hsun and be "oxen" for the proletariat and the masses, bending their backs to the task until their dying day. Intellectuals who want to integrate themselves with the masses, who want to serve the masses, must go through a process in which they and the masses come to know each other well. This process may, and certainly will, involve much pain and friction, but if you have the determination, you will be able to fulfil these requirements.

Today I have discussed only some of the problems of fundamental orientation for our literature and art movement; many specific problems remain which will require further study. I am confident that comrades here are determined to move in the direction indicated. I believe that in the course of the rectification movement and in the long period of study and work to come, you will surely be able to bring about a transformation in yourselves and in your works, to create many fine works which will be warmly welcomed by the masses of the people, and to advance the literature and art movement in the revolutionary base areas and throughout China to a glorious new stage.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>See V. I. Lenin, "Party Organisation and Party Literature", in which he described the characteristics of proletarian literature as follows:

It will be a free literature, because the idea of socialism and sympathy with the working people, and not greed or careerism, will bring ever new forces to its ranks. It will be a free literature, because it will serve, not some satiated heroine, not the bored "upper ten thousand" suffering from fatty degeneration, but the millions and tens of millions of working people — the flower of the country, its strength and its future. It will be a free literature, enriching the last word in the revolutionary thought of mankind with the experience and living work of the socialist proletariat, bringing about permanent interaction between the experience of the past (scientific socialism, the completion of the development of socialism from its primitive, utopian forms) and the experience of the present (the present struggle of the worker comrades). (*Collected Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1962, Vol. X, pp. 48-49.)

<sup>2</sup>Liang Shih-chiu, a member of the counter-revolutionary Nationalist Party, for a long time propagated reactionary American bourgeois ideas on literature and art.

He stubbornly opposed the revolution and reviled revolutionary literature and art.

<sup>3</sup>Chou Tso-jen and Chang Tzu-ping capitulated to the Japanese aggressors after the Japanese occupied Peking and Shanghai in 1937.

<sup>4</sup>Lu Hsun, "My View on the League of Left-Wing Writers" in the collection *Two Hearts, Complete Works*, Chin. ed., Vol. IV.

<sup>5</sup>See Lu Hsun's essay, "Death", in the "Addenda", *The Last Collection of Essays Written in a Garret in the Quasi-Concession, Complete Works*, Chin. ed., Vol. VI.

<sup>6</sup>The "Little Cowherd" is a popular Chinese folk operetta with only two people acting in it, a cowherd and a village girl, who sing a question and answer duet. In the early days of the War of Resistance Against Japan, this form was used, with new words, for anti-Japanese propaganda and for a time found great favour with the public.

<sup>7</sup>The Chinese characters for these six words are written simply, with only a few strokes, and were usually included in the first lessons in old primers.

<sup>8</sup>"The Spring Snow" and the "Song of the Rustic Poor" were songs of the Kingdom of Chu in the 3rd century B.C. The music of the first was on a higher level than that of the second. As the story is told in "Sung Yu's Reply to the King of Chu" in Prince Chao Ming's *Anthology of Prose*

and *Poetry*, when someone sang "The Spring Snow" in the Chu capital, only a few dozen people joined in, but when the "Song of the Rustic Poor" was sung, thousands did so.

<sup>9</sup>See V. I. Lenin, "Party Organisation and Party Literature": "Literature must become *part* of the common cause of the proletariat, 'a cog and a screw' of one single great Social-Democratic mechanism set in motion by the entire politically-conscious vanguard of the entire working class." (*Collected Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1962, Vol. X, p. 45.)

<sup>10</sup>The Great Rear Area was the name given during the War of Resistance to the vast areas under Kuomintang control in southwestern and northwestern China which were not occupied by the Japanese invaders, as distinguished from the "small rear area", the anti-Japanese base areas behind the enemy lines under the leadership of the Communist Party.

<sup>11</sup>*The Debacle* by the famous Soviet writer Alexander Fadeyev was published in 1927 and translated into Chinese by Lu Hsun. The novel describes the struggle of a partisan detachment of workers, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals in Siberia against the counter-revolutionary brigands during the Soviet civil war.

<sup>12</sup>This couplet is from Lu Hsun's "In Mockery of Myself" in *The Collection Outside the Collection, Complete Works*, Chin. ed., Vol. VII.



# The Compass for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

—Editorial Note on Reprinting "Talks at the Yen'an Forum on Literature and Art"

by "HONGQI" EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT

**I**N commemoration of the 45th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of China, *Hongqi* is reprinting Comrade Mao Tse-tung's *Talks at the Yen'an Forum on Literature and Art* with a view to promoting the development of China's great proletarian cultural revolution.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's *Talks at the Yen'an Forum on Literature and Art* was first published 24 years ago. With genius, Comrade Mao Tse-tung in this article creatively developed the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and the Marxist-Leninist theory on literature and art. This is an important, epoch-making document. It scientifically sums up not only the basic experience of

the movement for revolutionary literature and art in China since the May Fourth Movement, but also the basic experience of the movement for revolutionary literature and art of the international proletariat. It most completely, most comprehensively and most systematically sums up the struggle between the two lines on the cultural front. It offers, for the first time in the history of the proletarian revolution, the most complete, most thoroughgoing and most correct Marxist-Leninist line on literature and art.

The sum of practice in struggle over the past 24 years has proved that the question of whether one supports or opposes Comrade Mao Tse-tung's line on liter-

ature and art establishes the line of demarcation between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism and between revolution and counter-revolution.

These talks of Comrade Mao Tse-tung made a systematic criticism of the bourgeois line on literature and art of the 1930s represented by Comrade Chou Yang. Politically, the bourgeois line on literature and art of the 1930s represented by Chou Yang was the product of Wang Ming's Right capitulationism and "Left" opportunism; ideologically, it was the manifestation of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois world outlook; and organizationally, it was sectarianism, working for the interests of the individual or of a small group.

For 24 years Chou Yang and company have consistently refused to carry out Comrade Mao Tse-tung's line on literature and art and stubbornly adhered to the bourgeois, revisionist black line on literature and art.

Since liberation, Chou Yang and company, bourgeois representatives within the Party, who usurped the leadership of literary and art circles, have stubbornly insisted on carrying through their bourgeois line on literature and art which is against the Party, against socialism and against Mao Tse-tung's thought. Under the control and influence of this black line came a spate of absurd theories and a profusion of poisonous weeds, creating a miasma in literary and art circles. They turned literature and art into tools to attack the dictatorship of the proletariat and into means to restore capitalism.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out in December 1963 that in all forms of art — drama, ballads, music, the fine arts, the dance, the cinema, poetry and literature, etc., — problems abounded; the people engaged in them were numerous; and in many departments very little had been achieved so far in socialist transformation. The "dead" still dominated in many departments. Wasn't it absurd that many Communists showed enthusiasm in advancing feudal and capitalist art, but no zeal in promoting socialist art, Comrade Mao Tse-tung added.

In June 1964, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out that in the past 15 years the literary and art circles for the most part (this did not apply to every individual) had not carried out the policies of the Party and had acted as high and mighty bureaucrats, had not gone to the workers, peasants and soldiers and had not reflected the socialist revolution and construction. In recent years, they had even slid to the verge of revisionism. If serious steps were not taken to remould them, they were bound at some future date to become groups like the Hungarian Petofi Club.

These statements of Comrade Mao Tse-tung were directed precisely at Chou Yang and company.

In the course of the past few months the great proletarian cultural revolution, launched and led by the Party's Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, has lifted the lid covering the dominance of the black line in literary and art circles during the 16 years since the founding of the Chinese People's Republic, has brought out into the open and exposed to

the light of day one group of monsters after another, and has conducted a vast and powerful campaign of criticism and struggle against them. This great proletarian cultural revolution is a struggle in defence of Mao Tse-tung's thought concerning cardinal issues of right and wrong; it is an extremely intense, extremely sharp and extremely profound class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. It is an issue of prime importance which affects the destiny and future of our Party and country.

It is most important at this moment to make a new study of these talks of Comrade Mao Tse-tung. This is of immense practical and far-reaching significance.

The *Talks* are a compass which, in complex and acute class struggle, gives us guidance in finding our direction, and in distinguishing between fragrant flowers and poisonous weeds, between revolution and counter-revolution and between true revolution and sham revolution.

The *Talks* are a "magic mirror" to detect demons, the sharpest weapon for thoroughly destroying all monsters. Facing it, all words and deeds which oppose the Party, oppose socialism and oppose Mao Tse-tung's thought will be shown up in their true form and will have no place to hide themselves.

The *Talks* are the clarion that sounds the advance. They call on the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers to act as the main force, and on those who work in the field of literature and art to go among the workers, peasants and soldiers, to go into the heat of the struggle, to take an active part in this great proletarian cultural revolution, to repudiate thoroughly the reactionary culture of feudalism, capitalism and revisionism and to create an entirely new proletarian, socialist culture.

In this great proletarian cultural revolution, which touches the people to their very souls, when we master this sharpest of weapons, we shall be able to defeat all of the old ideology and culture and all of the old customs and habits and we shall be able to establish a thoroughly revolutionary proletarian world outlook.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has elevated Marxism-Leninism to a completely new stage under the new conditions of the domestic and international class struggle, under the new conditions of the struggles being waged against imperialism and modern revisionism in the present era by the proletariat, the oppressed peoples in all countries and the oppressed nations. Mao Tse-tung's thought is the acme of Marxism-Leninism in the present era. Comrade Mao Tse-tung's four brilliant works — *Talks at the Yen'an Forum on Literature and Art*, *On New Democracy*, *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* and *Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work* — are programmatic documents for the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Here we are reprinting this great work, *Talks at the Yen'an Forum on Literature and Art*, so that it may be studied by a broad readership.

# China's Aid to Vietnam in Fighting U.S. Aggression Further Ceases to Be Subject To Any Bounds or Restrictions

The statement condemns in the strongest terms U.S. imperialism's repeated brazen bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong and points out: With the breaking of the line of demarcation by the United States, the Vietnamese people have ceased to be subject to any restrictions. All the countries and people that genuinely support the Vietnamese people's war of resistance against U.S. aggression have also ceased to be subject to any restrictions. It is not up to the United States to decide how the war should be fought next. Since the U.S. imperialists have come from the sky and the sea, why can't others fight back on the ground?

**B**EGINNING from June 29, 1966, U.S. imperialism has brazenly and repeatedly bombed the city of Hanoi, the capital of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and the city of Haiphong, its second largest city. The Chinese Government and people express their boundless indignation at and their strongest condemnation of this barbarous, wanton and criminal act of aggression and war by U.S. imperialism.

With its first bombing of northern Vietnam, U.S. imperialism started a general war of aggression against the 31 million people of Vietnam. It has now extended the flames of war to the capital of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and has thus raised this war of aggression to a new and still graver stage.

The bombing of Hanoi by U.S. imperialism is an indication not of its strength but of its weakness; it shows that U.S. imperialism has come to the end of its tether in its war of aggression against Vietnam. Johnson's order to bomb Hanoi reflects the predicament of U.S. imperialism beset as it is with internal and external difficulties, and is the desperate act of a cornered beast.

By bombing Hanoi U.S. imperialism is attempting to coerce the Vietnamese people into submission and into accepting its "peace talks" swindle. It wishfully thinks that it can "force peace talks through bombing" so that it can perpetuate its occupation of southern Vietnam and turn the latter into its base of aggression against northern Vietnam, against the whole of Indo-China, against China and against the whole of Asia. This is a sheer dream. Whether in the south or in the north, whether on the ground or in the sky, the whole heroic Vietnamese people are constantly dealing U.S. imperialism telling blows. This is their mighty answer to the U.S. bandits.

In the circumstances in which U.S. imperialism refuses to withdraw its aggressor troops totally and

completely but accelerates the expansion of its war of aggression against Vietnam, whoever peddles in whatever way "peace talks" on the Vietnam question, or even strikes a behind-the-scenes bargain with the United States and acts in co-ordination with the United States to realize its scheme of "forcing peace talks through bombing" — whoever does these things is selling out the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation and serving U.S. imperialism.

U.S. imperialism long ago completely violated the Geneva agreements and broke the line of demarcation between southern and northern Vietnam. It has now further broken this line by its bombing of the capital of the heroic Vietnamese people. The United States must be held responsible for all the serious consequences arising therefrom.

With the breaking of the line of demarcation by the United States, the Vietnamese people have ceased to be subject to any restrictions. All the countries and people that genuinely support the Vietnamese people's war of resistance against U.S. aggression have also ceased to be subject to any restrictions. It is not up to the United States to decide how the war should be fought next. Since the U.S. imperialists have come from the sky and the sea, why can't others fight back on the ground?

It is entirely just for the 31 million people of the whole of Vietnam to adopt all measures to defend their motherland. All support and aid rendered by the north Vietnamese people to southern Vietnam are within the sacred right of the Vietnamese people.

It is entirely just for all countries and people of the world that genuinely oppose U.S. imperialism to adopt all measures to support and aid the Vietnamese people in their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. At any time they may take such

actions as they deem most effective to support and aid the Vietnamese people. This is entirely their sacred right.

The Chinese Government and people firmly support the June 30 statement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. They firmly support the just call issued by President Ho Chi Minh on behalf of the Government and people of Vietnam. On December 8, 1965, President Ho Chi Minh said: "Vietnam is one, the Vietnamese people are one. As sons and daughters of the same fatherland, our people in the north are bound to extend wholehearted support to the patriotic struggle waged by the people of the south against U.S. aggression. Likewise, our people in the south are duty-bound to fight with all their forces to contribute to the defence of the northern part of their fatherland." He added: "We are determined not to submit to U.S. imperialist aggression," and "our people are determined to persevere in the fight, and undergo sacrifices for ten or twenty years or a longer time, till final victory."

China and Vietnam are neighbours as closely related as lips and teeth and are most intimate fraternal socialist countries. China has consistently and unre-

servedly done its utmost to support and aid Vietnam politically, morally and materially and in other fields. The development by U.S. imperialism of its war of aggression to a new and still graver stage has now further freed us from any bounds or restrictions in rendering such support and aid. In accordance with the interests and demands of the Vietnamese people, we will at any time take such actions as we deem necessary. This is our unshirkable proletarian internationalist duty.

The Chinese Government and Premier Chou En-lai have solemnly stated many times that the Chinese people mean what they say, that China is prepared and that once the war breaks out, it will have no boundaries. We must tell the U.S. imperialists in all seriousness: Wherever you extend the war and however heavy the price, we will unswervingly support the fraternal Vietnamese people in fighting through to the end, till they thoroughly and completely drive the U.S. aggressors out of Vietnam and win final victory.

U.S. imperialism is sure to be defeated! The Vietnamese people are sure to win!

July 3, 1966

人民日报  
RENMIN RIBAO

## U.S. Aggression Has No Bounds, and Our Counter to Aggression Has No Bounds Either

SINCE June 29, the U.S. imperialists have again and again made massive bombing raids on Hanoi, the capital of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and Haiphong, the second largest city. This is a most barbarous and reckless war move by U.S. imperialism. Throughout the world the people must maintain supreme vigilance and resolutely smash the frenzied war ventures of the U.S. imperialists.

The Government of the People's Republic of China on July 3 issued a statement expressing the strongest condemnation of U.S. imperialism's heinous act of aggression and war and reaffirming the unshakable resolution of the 700 million Chinese people to assist Vietnam in its resistance to U.S. aggression. The people of our country firmly support this statement of our Government, and their wrath at the maniacal aggression by U.S. imperialism against our most intimate and fraternal socialist neighbour is boundless. They are ready at any moment to take all necessary action to support the

fraternal Vietnamese people in accordance with their interests and demands.

By its aggression against Vietnam, U.S. imperialism long ago wrecked the Geneva agreements. From the day it dropped its first bomb on north Vietnam, it destroyed the line of demarcation between south and north Vietnam. And now, by bombing the capital of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, it has pushed its war of aggression against Vietnam to a new and still graver stage. Thus it has scrapped the Geneva agreements in their entirety, so that today more than ever the war has no bounds.

While substantially escalating its war of aggression against Vietnam by bombing Hanoi and Haiphong, the Johnson Administration is again brazenly coming forward with its oft-repeated rubbish describing the north Vietnamese people's support for their compatriots in the south as "aggression," and its bombing of north Vietnam as mere "retaliation attacks" and not "aggres-



sion" or "war moves." It alleges that the U.S. "objectives" in Vietnam are "limited" and that it is exercising "military restraint." The fantastic nature of these lies is obvious.

The logic of U.S. imperialism is out-and-out gangster logic. Nearly 300,000 troops have been sent by the United States across the ocean to south Vietnam, which is thousands of miles away, to kill and burn there. If this is not "aggression," can the Vietnamese people be committing "aggression" when they are fighting on their own territory in defence of their own homeland? The U.S. air marauders are indiscriminately bombing north Vietnam from the 17th Parallel up to the Vietnamese-Chinese border, including the capital of the Vietnamese people. If this is not a "war move," what more must be done to warrant the name? How is it that you may commit aggression against others while the Vietnamese people are not to be allowed to support their own compatriots? How is it that you may escalate your war of aggression without limit while others are to be subject to restrictions in resisting your war of aggression? You want to attack, bomb, escalate and restrict others as you please—but there is no such thing in this world as having everything your own way! You, U.S. aggressors, must realize that the days when you imperialists could commit aggression without allowing others to strike back have gone for ever.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "When we say 'imperialism is ferocious,' we mean that its nature will never change, that the imperialists will never lay down their butchers' knives, that they will never become Buddhas, till their doom." This is an incontrovertible truth. There is an abundance of evidence that U.S. imperialism sets no bounds to its aggressive designs. Since World War II, following a global counter-revolutionary strategy, U.S. imperialism has extended its talons to all parts of the world to suppress the revolutionary movements of the people, and it has perpetrated every kind of evil. We saw through this rapacious, aggressive nature of U.S. imperialism a long time ago.

By its war of aggression against Vietnam, U.S. imperialism fondly hopes to occupy south Vietnam for ever and ever and turn it into a base for aggression against north Vietnam, against the whole of Indo-China, against China, and against all Asia. All its cries about its actions being "limited," about "restraint" and "retaliation" are a smokescreen, they are synonyms for expanded aggression, for escalated, wild aggression. They cannot in the least cover up the aggression and war that are in the very nature of U.S. imperialism.

We want to warn the U.S. aggressors in very clear terms: Since by your aggressive acts of war you have destroyed the bounds of the war, the entire Vietnamese people have ceased to be subject to any restrictions in hitting back at the U.S. aggressors. All the countries and people that genuinely support the Vietnamese people's war of resistance against U.S. aggression have also ceased to be subject to any restrictions. It is not up to you to decide how the war should be fought next.

Since you have come from the skies and the sea, why can't others fight back on the ground?

The people of the world see quite clearly that U.S. imperialism is the aggressor, the Vietnamese people are the victims of its aggression. The war in Vietnam is a war of aggression waged by U.S. imperialism and its accomplices on the one hand and a war against aggression being fought by the entire Vietnamese people and the revolutionary people of the whole world on the other. Whatever measures the Vietnamese people may adopt to defend their fatherland, whatever measures the people in north Vietnam may adopt to support their kith and kin in the south, are just and their sacred right. Whatever measures all countries and people that genuinely oppose U.S. imperialism may adopt in support of the Vietnamese people's war of resistance against the U.S. aggressors and for national salvation are just and their sacred right.

Chairman Mao has said: "All reactionaries are paper tigers. In appearance, the reactionaries are terrifying, but in reality they are not so powerful."

Bombing Hanoi and Haiphong. U.S. imperialism appears rather fearsome, but in reality, this is a manifestation of its hopeless defeat in its war of aggression in Vietnam, its difficulties at home and abroad, of its efforts, like a cornered dog, to get out of its predicament; a manifestation of the fact that U.S. imperialism has come to the end of its tether under the powerful blows of the staunch and dauntless Vietnamese people; a manifestation of the fact that U.S. imperialism is having an increasingly tough time; and another glaring exposure of its nature as a paper tiger, outwardly strong but inwardly weak. The U.S. aggressors have sunk deeper and deeper into the vast ocean of the Vietnamese people's war and their effectiveness have been wiped out in ever greater numbers. One after another the various kinds of "peace talks" swindles tried by the Johnson Administration have burst like soap bubbles. It cannot win by fighting and its swindles do not work. Trying to find a way out of their dilemma in these circumstances, the U.S. aggressors are using bombing blackmail to scare the Vietnamese people into ceasing their struggle against U.S. aggression and to force a "peace talks" situation. This is indeed wishful thinking.

The statements by Johnson in the past few days are his most open confession to date of the policy he is pursuing to intimidate people into capitulation. On the one hand, he is bullying the Vietnamese people with the cry that "we will carry on" and raise the war of aggression against Vietnam to any necessary level. On the other, he is making a big noise about "peace talks" with his chatter about being ready to send "my closest and most trusted associates" to a meeting place in a matter of hours. The wretched and stupid U.S. imperialists completely underestimate the firm determination of the Vietnamese people to combat aggression, completely underestimate the powerful strength of the support given by the Chinese people and the revolutionary people of the whole world to the Vietnamese people in their struggle to resist U.S.

aggression. The heroic Vietnamese people can never be overwhelmed by pressure, can never be intimidated. U.S. imperialism has been waging its war in Vietnam for seven years using means more inhuman and brutal even than those employed by Hitler, yet it has not been able to intimidate the Vietnamese people. Can it intimidate them by what it is doing now?

President Ho Chi Minh of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam solemnly declared in December 1965: "Vietnam is one, the Vietnamese people are one. As sons and daughters of the same fatherland, our people in the north are bound to extend wholehearted support to the patriotic struggle waged by the people of the south against U.S. aggression. Likewise, our people in the south are duty-bound to fight with all their forces to contribute to the defence of the northern part of their fatherland." He added: "We are determined not to submit to U.S. imperialist aggression," and "Our people are determined to persevere in the fight, and undergo sacrifices for 10 or 20 years, or a longer time, till final victory." These remarks of President Ho Chi Minh fully express the unshakable will and determination of the entire Vietnamese people to resist U.S. imperialist aggression.

The current bombing raids by U.S. imperialism on Hanoi and Haiphong are a product of the filthy political deal concluded between the United States and the Soviet Union, which are working hand in glove. The Johnson Administration confessed that before the bombing it had informed "various key interested governments" of its decision to bomb Hanoi and Haiphong and that the Soviet Union was a "key interested government." In addition, it admitted that it was "in continuous touch" with the Soviet Union and other countries on "all aspects of the struggle in Vietnam." It added that "there have been cautious approaches" between the United States and the Soviet Union. On June 30, the day after the first bombing raid, A. Roshchin, the Soviet representative to the disarmament conference in Geneva, made it clear that the U.S. air attacks would not affect the possibility of the Soviet Union and the United States arriving at an agreement on disarmament. In reply to a question put to him by a reporter, he cynically declared: "If we did not consider there was such a possibility, we would not be here." This removes the screen from the insidious and deadly collusion between the United States and the Soviet Union and their exchange of information on Vietnam. One does the bombing and the other does the pulling, and both the bombing and the pulling are intended to achieve the criminal purpose of "forcing peace talks through bombing."

To gloss over its shameless moves, the Soviet Government has issued a statement pretending to condemn the U.S. bombing raids. However, the revisionist leading clique of the Soviet Union let the cat out of the bag when in that very statement it said — for reasons that do not bear the light of day — "the road to peace in Vietnam lies through an end to foreign aggression and intervention in the domestic affairs of the Vietnamese people." What foreign aggression and inter-

vention is there in Vietnam other than that committed by U.S. imperialism? This statement of the revisionist leading clique of the Soviet Union is intended not only to whitewash U.S. imperialism but also to vilify and attack the Chinese and other peoples who support the Vietnamese people.

Collaborating with U.S. imperialism, the clique of Soviet revisionist leaders is pursuing the big conspiracy of "forcing peace talks through bombing" as a continuation of the consistent Soviet reactionary policy of sham support and real betrayal on Vietnam. Superficially, they deliberately make some petty anti-U.S. gesture in order to throw dust in people's eyes and gain political capital. In fact, they are engaged in betrayal on a grand scale and are energetically serving the U.S. imperialist policy of war blackmail. They are playing at easing tension and reducing armament in Europe in order to give the United States a free hand in its aggression against Vietnam and in its suppression of the national-liberation movements in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. While the United States recklessly extends its war of aggression in Vietnam, they are in every possible way abusing China as "warlike." Everywhere they spread the slander, based on pure invention, that China is obstructing the transit of aid supplies to Vietnam, the purpose being to disrupt the fighting unity between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples and undermine the Vietnamese people's war to resist U.S. aggression and save their country. They sing in unison with the United States and are immersed in "united action" with it, while in the name of "united action" they are violently opposing China. Actually they are attacking us because we do not join them in selling ourselves to U.S. imperialism. Thus they are encouraging the Johnson Administration to enlarge its war ventures and at the same time helping it to push ahead with its "peace talks" fraud. They are accomplice No. 1 of U.S. imperialism in sabotaging the Vietnamese people's revolutionary struggle.

U.S. imperialism is the sworn enemy of the Vietnamese people. How can anyone imagine that the Vietnamese people will hold peace talks with the U.S. robber who is swinging his butcher's knife at them? As long as a single U.S. soldier remains on Vietnamese soil, peace in Vietnam can never come about. In trying in every possible way to make the heroic Vietnamese people accept the capitulationist "peace talks," the Soviet revisionist leading clique is directing the greatest insult at them.

What diabolical scheme has this clique in mind in serving the U.S. imperialist "peace talks" plot so zealously? To put it bluntly, it wants to bring the Vietnam question within the orbit of "U.S.-Soviet collaboration for world domination"; it wants to sell Vietnam down the river in return for a "peace" bestowed by the U.S. overlord. The bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong by the Johnson Administration and its criminal plan for "forcing peace talks through bombing" provide another glaring exposure both of the aggressive features of U.S. imperialism and the renegade features of the Soviet revisionist leading clique.

Chairman Mao said: "Historically, all reactionary forces on the verge of extinction invariably conduct a last desperate struggle against the revolutionary forces, and some revolutionaries are apt to be deluded for a time by this phenomenon of outward strength but inner weakness, failing to grasp the essential fact that the enemy is nearing extinction while they themselves are approaching victory."

There are people in the world who love peace, oppose the U.S. imperialist war of aggression, and have sympathy for the Vietnamese people in their struggle to resist U.S. aggression and save their country. This attitude of theirs deserves to be welcomed. However,

to overestimate the strength of U.S. imperialism and its accomplices and underestimate the strength of the Vietnamese people and the peoples of the world, to fear extension of the flames of war in Vietnam and always hope to bring about "peace talks" is to waver in the face of U.S. imperialist war blackmail and fall into the trap of the U.S. "peace talks" swindle. And the result can only be to benefit the U.S. imperialist aggression against Vietnam and inflate the Johnson Administration's war-making arrogance.

Today, all the oppressed nations and oppressed peoples of the world have been brought face to face  
(Continued on p. 42.)

## Chinese Party and Government Delegation Led by Comrade Chou En-lai Returns To Peking

**T**HE Chinese Party and Government Delegation headed by Comrade Chou En-lai, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Premier of the State Council, returned to Peking on July 1 after visiting Rumania and Albania. Party and state leaders Liu Shao-chi, Teng Hsiao-ping, Li Fu-chun, Ho Lung, Li Hsien-nien, Kang Sheng, Tao Chu, Yeh Chien-ying and other comrades welcomed the delegation at the airport.

Premier Chou En-lai made a brief stopover at Kabul, Afghanistan, on his way to Rumania and paid an unofficial visit to Pakistan on his way home. Premier Chou and his party arrived in Rawalpindi, interim capital of Pakistan, on June 28. He received a warm welcome from President Ayub Khan and other officials of the Pakistan Government as well as the people of Rawalpindi. When Premier Chou drove together with President Ayub Khan to the Presidential Guest House, people lined the streets all along the way to greet him with shouts of "Long live Chairman Mao Tse-tung!" "Long live Pakistan-China friendship!" and "Down with imperialism!"

Premier Chou En-lai and President Ayub Khan held a talk on June 29. In the evening, the President gave a banquet for his guest. Speaking at the banquet, Premier Chou expressed his heartfelt thanks to the Pakistan Government and people for the enthusiastic welcome accorded him and his party. He said: "In recent years, thanks to the common efforts of our two Governments and peoples, the friendly co-operation between our two countries has greatly developed. Both our countries abide by the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. The Chinese people resolutely support the Pakistan people in their just struggle against foreign aggression and in defence of national independence. The Chinese people resolutely support the Kashmiri people's just struggle for the right to self-

determination. The friendship between the Chinese and Pakistan peoples has been tested and will continue to prove that it can stand tests. The imperialists and reactionaries are trying hard to sabotage our friendship. We are confident that their schemes will never succeed. Our friendship is in the fundamental interests of our two peoples and enjoys the support of the broad masses of the two peoples, and therefore cannot be broken."

Premier Chou added: "The visit to China by His Excellency President Ayub Khan in March last year and Chairman Liu Shao-chi's recent visit to Pakistan have made great contributions to the development of friendly relations between the Chinese and Pakistan peoples. I hope that our present short stay here will also be conducive to the strengthening of friendship and co-operation between our two peoples."

President Ayub Khan, in his speech, said that Pakistan-China friendship "is not based on expediency but on principles and will continue to flourish over the years." Noting that Pakistan and China were close neighbours with historical links, he said that the development of friendly relations between them was in their national interests and reflected the desire of their peoples to strengthen good-neighbour ties. The President added: "The people of Pakistan can never forget the invaluable support of the people and Government of China in their hour of need. We also value greatly the support of China for the right of the people of Jammu and Kashmir to decide their own future as pledged to them by India and Pakistan." Referring to Pakistan's foreign policy, he said: "It is a firm principle of our foreign policy to promote friendly relations with all countries of the world, especially our neighbours."

Premier Chou En-lai and his delegation left Rawalpindi on June 30 for home.

# Unprecedented Upsurge in Mass Movement For the Creative Study and Application Of Chairman Mao's Works

- This great and unprecedented event is of epoch-making significance and affects the future of China's revolution and world revolution.
- Learning from the Liberation Army to give prominence to politics and to Mao Tse-tung's thought, the masses are studying Chairman Mao's works, following his teachings and acting in accordance with his instructions.
- Mao Tse-tung's thought, spreading among the 700 million people of China, has successively won brilliant victories in the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment during the past few years and in the current great cultural revolution.

**A** GREAT mass movement for the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works is developing vigorously and ever wider and more deeply among the Chinese people. It is on a scale without precedent in the history of mankind.

"Study Chairman Mao's works, follow his teachings, act in accordance with his instructions!" This has become the watchword of common action among China's vast multitude of workers, peasants, soldiers and other people. This mass movement of the Chinese people for the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works, the popularization of the invincible Mao Tse-tung's thought among 700 million Chinese people, is a great unprecedented event of immense historic significance. It is the fundamental guarantee

for the complete triumph of China's socialist revolution and socialist construction; it is a great measure to prevent the emergence of revisionism and the restoration of capitalism that will have a lasting significance for all the generations to come. It is also an event of epoch-making significance that affects the future of the Chinese revolution and the world revolution.

In recent years, this mass movement has been marked by two salient features. One is that the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals have, by their eagerness to master Mao Tse-tung's thought, demonstrated the strength of their revolutionary consciousness. They study Chairman Mao's works with the strongest class sentiment and most resolute revolution-

ary zeal. They have shown that their love and admiration for and their faith in Mao Tse-tung's thought know no bounds. The other special feature is that an increasing number of people in leading organs and many leading cadres on various fronts and in various places have realized the great significance of giving prominence to politics and to Mao Tse-tung's thought. They have come to understand that to give prominence to Mao Tse-tung's thought or not to do so is a question of paramount importance that will affect the destiny of our whole country and of the



Drillers in the Taching Oilfield study Chairman Mao's works

world. For this reason they are taking the lead in this mass study movement; strengthening their leadership in it and giving first place in all activities to the study of Mao Tse-tung's works on a large scale.

At the present time, on various fronts in our country, from the city to the countryside, from the coast to the frontier regions, there have emerged large numbers of outstanding people who, with strong class sentiment, are studying and applying Chairman Mao's works creatively. These are people like Wang Chin-hsi, the "iron man" of the Taching Oilfield; Chen Yung-kuei of the pace-setting Tachai production brigade; and Liao Chu-chiang, Feng Fu-sheng and Huang Tsu-shih of the People's Liberation Army. In this great mass movement in which the whole nation is studying and applying Chairman Mao's works creatively, there is a lively and heart-stirring scene: the first waves bring along the second waves while the second waves push forward the first. The masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, by grasping Mao Tse-tung's thought, have transformed it into a mighty material force. Everywhere in the country, an ever increasing number of workers, peasants and soldiers have acquired the world outlook of utter devotion and total dedication to the revolution and wholehearted service to the people. They have mastered the law of the unity of opposites — the concept of "one divides into two" — the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge, and have won a succession of victories in the three revolutionary movements of the class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment.

Tsai Tsu-chuan, the Shanghai worker who is now an expert on electrical light sources, went to a factory as an apprentice at the age of 14, and worked as a glass-blower for more than ten years. At the glass factory of Fudan University where he works, hydrogen and xenon lamps were often in demand but this country was then unable to manufacture them. The imperialists and revisionists working against us tried to make difficulties in regard to this. Over and over again, Tsai Tsu-chuan studied *Serve the People*, *In Memory of Norman Bethune* and *The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains*, known as the "three much read articles" in Chairman Mao's works. He said to himself: "When the enemy bullies our country, he is actually bullying the Chinese working class. We must enhance our own determination and suppress the arrogance of our enemy. In the interests of the revolution and the people we must make these lamps ourselves — Let's beat the enemy!"

Working with comrades in the laboratory over the past four years, and following Chairman Mao's teachings expounded in *On Practice* and *On Contradiction* and his ideas about "learning the art of war in war," and with the help of the Party Committee at a higher level and other departments concerned, they manufactured a dozen and more new types of electrical light sources and thus filled in this blank in Chinese work on electrical light sources.

Then there is Hsieh Yueh, the young spinner of the Taiyuan Textile Mill, who for the past few years,



An instructor of the Red Ninth Company of a unit of the Chinese People's Liberation Army distributes copies of Extracts from Chairman Mao's Works to the fighters of the company

following Chairman Mao's teachings, has been probing and mastering the laws governing the rejoining of broken threads of yarn, persistently applying the theory of "one divides into two," and learning other's good points to make up for her own weak points. She never gets swelled-headed in success, nor is she discouraged by failure. By practising constantly and continuously making progress, she is now able to tend 1,600 spindles and has become known as the woman "who rides the horse of objective laws."

Ever since she began studying Chairman Mao's works in the course of the socialist education movement last year, Ku Ah-tao, completely illiterate, an elderly poor peasant and now in her fifties, has persisted in studying them every day by getting others to read them to her. She constantly keeps in mind "the three men and one broom" and come to understand such great things as how to make revolution and how to live. The three men that she keeps in mind are Chang Szu-teh, (a Communist who loyally served the interests of the people as recalled by Chairman Mao in *Serve the People*) Norman Bethune, (the Canadian surgeon whom Chairman Mao praised in the article *In Memory of Norman Bethune*) and the Foolish Old Man, (a character in an ancient Chinese fable whom Chairman Mao spoke about in his article *The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains*) and the broom is criticism and self-criticism. We must, she says, learn every day from Chang Szu-teh, Norman Bethune and

the spirit of the Foolish Old Man and serve the people all our lives. We must every day take up this broom of criticism and self-criticism to sweep away the dirt in our minds. And the more she studies, the more interested she becomes in studying. She can not only recite word by word the many key passages in the "three much read articles" and in *Combat Liberalism* but also makes a daily examination of her activities in the light of these passages. Today, already well over fifty, this ordinary woman from an old poor peasant family has become an outstanding commune member with lofty revolutionary aspirations, determined to make herself a pillar of socialism in the countryside.

Soldiers of the Chagola frontier guards of the Tibetan military region, garrisoning the snow-capped peaks of the Himalayas, have carried with them the works of Chairman Mao Tse-tung while setting up their encampment over 5,000 metres above sea level. Rarefied air, and snow storms notwithstanding, they show enormous zeal in the study of Chairman Mao's works. They say: "True, Chagola lacks everything; there's no water, no grass, only ice and snow and a rubble of weathered stones. But, **armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, the most powerful ideological weapon, we fear nothing.**" In the spirit of the Foolish Old Man who removed the mountains, they carried stones up the mountain on their backs to build their barracks, hacked into the mountain side and dug through rock to find sources of water and have finally settled down in the high mountains with rarefied air where they study Chairman Mao's works every day. When there were **not enough** books to go around, they made copies in their spare time. In one week they copied out more than 100 articles by Chairman Mao. They say: "If you miss reading Chairman Mao's works for a single day, you feel as if you were living on a snow-capped mountain without sunshine. **So long as we study his works every day, the red sun is right in our hearts!**"

Heart-stirring examples such as these are too numerous to be cited. **This soaring revolutionary consciousness of the broad masses of workers, peasants, soldiers and others who urgently want to grasp Mao Tse-tung's thought is an historical current no one can hold in check.** The handful of bourgeois "authorities" who vainly attempt to stay this historical current with their big sticks of "vulgarization," "over-simplification" and "pragmatism" and try to sabotage the nation's mass movement for the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works is like a mantis trying to stop a cart or an ant trying to shake a tree — just daydreaming!

Many leading organs and revolutionary functionaries have taken the initiative and lead in this study and have strengthened the leadership guiding this mass movement. This is a factor of great importance for the great mass movement's consistent development. In the past few years, **people and organizations in different parts of the country, responding to the call of the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao "to learn from the People's Liberation Army," have made serious ef-**

**forts to learn first of all from the great initiative of the P.L.A. in giving prominence to politics and Mao Tse-tung's thought. They have put Mao Tse-tung's thought in command of everything, using it to promote everything and to transform everything. They have popularized in a big way the P.L.A.'s successful experience in creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's works. They have energetically developed the mass movement to study Chairman Mao's works. All this has brought significant results.** In every province and municipality, in every autonomous region of the country, from grass-root units to leading organs, there have come to the fore many exemplary cadres who, like Chiao Yu-lu, late secretary of the Lankao County Committee of the Chinese Communist Party (see *Peking Review*, No. 9, Feb. 25, 1966, p. 5) creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's works. During the socialist education movement that has been launched in city and countryside in recent years, many members of the work teams sent by the central and local governments, especially those from the P.L.A., have taken the lead in the study movement and have imbued the minds of the workers and peasants with Mao Tse-tung's thought. This has exerted a good influence and had a far-reaching effect in transforming the mental outlook of the working people, prompting them to intensify their efforts in changing the objective world.

At the provincial conference of activists in the study of Chairman Mao's works called by the Communist Party's Kwangtung Provincial Committee last year, it was explicitly decided that the study of Chairman Mao's works should be given foremost place in all activities in the province. Following the conference, the Committee, in conjunction with the socialist education movement in the cities and villages, organized groups of activists in the study of Chairman Mao's works to go out to different parts of the province. They gave more than 200 lectures to 430,000 people. This played a great role in promoting the movement for the study of Chairman Mao's works throughout the province. Subsequently, the Committee summed up and popularized the experience of many counties, people's communes and production brigades which had got good results from this study. Eight hundred thousand cadres of the basic rural units and instructors for the study of Chairman Mao's works were trained in groups at different times while another 800,000 to 1,000,000 people are currently receiving training. This has carried the peasants' movement for the study of Chairman Mao's works to a new high. The typical experience of the leading cadres of Tunghuan and Suichi counties in taking a lead in the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works and in strengthening leadership in the counties' study movements is being widely popularized in the province. Recently, in Suichi County every people's commune, production brigade and production team has held a meeting at which experience in the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works has been exchanged. More than 270,000 cadres of the basic rural units and members of the people's communes attended these meetings and over 26,000



people addressed them. Up to the present from 70 to 80 per cent of the adult peasants in many rural areas of the province have taken a regular part in the study of Chairman Mao's works. The broad masses of peasants take Chairman Mao's words as their supreme guide. Following the examples set by Chang Szu-teh, Norman Bethune and the Foolish Old Man who removed the mountains, they are conscientiously changing their world outlook. Their mental outlook and rural production are being transformed day by day.

The experience gained in Kwangtung is another proof that **Mao Tse-tung's thought is the most effective instrument for educating the peasants. By using Mao Tse-tung's thought to educate the peasants and help them to change their old world outlook and establish a communist world outlook, it will certainly be possible to build in China a big agricultural army which is extremely proletarianized and extremely militant.**

Reports from Shansi Province last April showed that 180,000 groups for the study of Chairman Mao's works in the rural areas were organized with a total membership of nearly 3 million peasants and cadres of basic units. By creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's works, leading cadres of Yuhsien County carried out on a big scale the ideological revolutionization of organs and cadres at the county level, launched a widespread mass movement for studying Chairman Mao's works throughout the county and popularized the advanced experience of the Tachai Brigade. This has resulted in tremendous successes in stepping up the ideological revolutionization of the cadres of the basic rural units and the broad masses of peasants in the county and changing the look of the rural areas. The experience of this county has been widely popularized throughout the province of Shansi. Since July last year, more than 1,100 people attended the provincial representative conference of activists in the study of Chairman Mao's works from the provincial organs, more than 4,000 activists took part in conferences at the level of special areas, and 20,000 activists attended conferences at county level. These activists are the propagandists of Mao Tse-tung's thought, the organizers of the movement for studying Chairman Mao's works, the pace-setters in the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works and heroes and model workers on the various fronts of trade and production. Much valuable experience created and accumulated by them in creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's works and in integrating theory with practice is being put to wide use among the broad masses of workers, peasants, soldiers and other people, and is yielding good results.

In the city of Shanghai with its more than one million workers, the mass movement of the working class for studying Chairman Mao's works has always been in the van. By creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's works with revolutionary sentiments, revolutionary zeal and revolutionary methods, the workers have become conscious revolutionary fighters of the proletariat, and achieved one outstanding success after another in the three great revolutionary movements of



**Chou Ming-shan (centre), an activist in the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works and Secretary of the Communist Party Committee of Chianghsien County, Shansi Province, studies Chairman Mao's works with commune members during a break in field work**

class struggle, struggle for production and scientific experiment. Shanghai's workers say: **"Mao Tse-tung's thought is the criterion of correct conduct, the soul of life, the source of strength, the guide to action, the weapon for fighting and the foundation of revolution."** In accordance with a recently promulgated special decision of the Party's Shanghai Municipal Committee which was intended to strengthen the leadership of the mass study movement, the development and experiences of that movement in various units were earnestly reviewed and summed up. Subsequently a meeting to exchange experience in studying Chairman Mao's works was held and attended by more than 2,500 study activists and leading cadres of various units. At the present time the movement for studying Chairman Mao's works is unfolding even more vigorously and in greater depth than before among the workers and the masses of other people throughout the city.

All these facts fully demonstrate that **in the present movement of the Chinese people for the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works, a new situation is arising in various parts of the country and on various fronts, a situation in which "Mao Tse-tung's thought is put in the forefront, and cadres give the lead at every level."**

In reviewing the situation of the movement for the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works by workers, peasants, soldiers, revolutionary intellectuals and revolutionary cadres in China in the past few years, it must be emphasized that a new high tide of this great study movement is arising as the current great proletarian cultural revolution forges ahead both in breadth and depth. **Holding aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought in the great cultural revolution and creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's works, the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers are sweeping away all monsters and displaying an all-conquering revolutionary heroism and a dauntless fighting spirit.** Chen Yung-kwei, Secretary of the Communist Party Branch of the Tachai Brigade and its poor and lower-middle peasants have put it well: "The enemies' opposition to our studying of Chairman Mao's works shows that we

have studied the right thing. Not only our generation, but our children and grandchildren must study them. That study should continue uninterruptedly from generation to generation." "Mao Tse-tung's thought must be safeguarded and the revolutionary cause must never be given up," and "only by reading Chairman Mao's works can we overthrow the old world and build up and defend the new world."

Now the great and ever-victorious Mao Tse-tung's thought has taken deep root among the 700 million Chinese people. It will be carried on and developed constantly through all the generations to come. It can be foretold with complete certainty that this great, unprecedented proletarian cultural revolution will carry the Chinese people's movement for creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's works forward, wave on bigger wave, upsurge after upsurge.

红旗  
HONGQI

## Trust the Masses, Rely On the Masses

**A** GREAT proletarian cultural revolutionary mass movement is now arising throughout the country. In response to the call of the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the revolutionary masses in their tens of millions, with the force of a thunderbolt, have launched a sharp struggle against the anti-Party and anti-socialist representatives of the bourgeoisie. The monsters have been engulfed in the great ocean of the broad masses and been dealt extraordinarily heavy blows.

The fact that this great proletarian cultural revolution is being carried out by mobilizing the broad masses and employing the method of mass movement is a great creation.

A fundamental feature of this great proletarian cultural revolution is this—hundreds of millions of people have risen up and are subjecting the old world to criticism.

Chairman Mao tells us: "The revolutionary war is a war of the masses; it can be waged only by mobilizing the masses and relying on them."

This is a universal truth. It is true of the revolutionary war, it is true of the whole proletarian cause, and, without question, it is also true of the great proletarian cultural revolution. Without a mass movement, there can be no proletarian revolution. Likewise, without a mass movement, there can be no great proletarian cultural revolution.

In the past, our Party relied on the broad masses of the people to wage the revolutionary wars that overthrew the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. It was precisely the organized, broad

masses of the people led by Chairman Mao who overthrew the old China under the rule of the Kuomintang reactionaries and founded New China under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Today, in carrying out this great proletarian cultural revolution which touches the people to their very souls, our Party must also rely on the broad masses of the people. Whether the gun or the pen is used as the weapon in criticizing the old world, it is necessary to rely on the masses.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is the revolutionary cause of the masses. Throughout its whole course it is necessary to rely on the masses and boldly mobilize them. Only by a mass mobilization, an energetic mass movement, the use of big-character posters and a full airing of views and great debates will the great proletarian cultural revolution be able to develop in breadth and depth, will it be able to expose and strike down monsters of all kinds, to really settle the question of who will win in the ideological field—the proletariat or the bourgeoisie, and victoriously fulfil the tasks of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

History has proved that the broad revolutionary masses are the grave-diggers of the reactionary state machine and the reactionary social system. And history will certainly prove the broad revolutionary masses to be the grave-diggers of all exploiting class ideology.

An immense initiative for the cultural revolution resides in the broad masses of the people. In recent years, revolutionary cadres, revolutionary intellectuals and, especially, the broad masses of the workers, peasants and soldiers, have achieved great successes in

their creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works. They have grasped Mao Tse-tung's thought. And they have made good use of Chairman Mao's works in class struggle, in the struggle for production and in scientific experiment. In the current great proletarian cultural revolution, too, they are making good use of Chairman Mao's works. They are the true wall of steel that guards the dictatorship of the proletariat. They are the main force for destroying the ideological and cultural positions in which the representatives of the bourgeoisie have entrenched themselves. To underestimate this would lead to a gross error.

The great proletarian cultural revolutionary movement which has been sweeping ahead magnificently over the past few months has proved:

That the broad masses of the people who have grasped Mao Tse-tung's thought, have the greatest ability to detect monsters, see through them and identify them;

That the broad masses of the people who have grasped Mao Tse-tung's thought, fight most effectively against the monsters and deal them most accurate and heavy blows;

That the broad masses of the people who have grasped Mao Tse-tung's thought, are most skilled in waging struggles and most skilled in thoroughly repudiating the representatives of the bourgeoisie by citing facts and reasoning things out.

The great proletarian cultural revolutionary movement which has been sweeping ahead magnificently over the past few months has proved:

That the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, is the fundamental guarantee for victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Correct Party leadership means to be skilful at following the mass line and to take the bold mobilization of the masses as the fundamental basis of the movement from beginning to end. The inexhaustible strength of our Party stems from its confidence in and reliance on the masses. Confidence in, reliance on and unreserved mobilization of the masses, and the energetic development of the mass movement, constitute an extremely important policy of our Party in carrying out the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Whether one trusts and relies on the masses and dares to mobilize them boldly marks the watershed between the proletarian world outlook and the bourgeois world outlook and fundamentally differentiates a genuine Marxist-Leninist Party from all revisionist parties. Our Party has strength because it trusts and relies on the masses and dares to mobilize them boldly. Only by marching at the head of the mass movement and mobilizing the masses freely can the function of leadership be exercised in the great proletarian cultural revolution. If, on the other hand, there is fear of the masses and the mass movement, leadership is out of the question; besides, this goes against the principle of Party leadership which Chairman Mao has often taught us.

Chairman Mao has taught us that, in the great proletarian cultural revolution, it is essential to organize and expand the ranks of the proletarian Left and to rely on them to mobilize, unite with and educate the masses.

A resolute proletarian revolutionary Left exists in every part of the country. The overwhelming majority of the members of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Communist Youth League are trustworthy and reliable. Under the correct leadership of the Party, they form the nucleus of the proletarian revolutionary Left.

Those of the proletarian revolutionary Left follow most faithfully the teachings of the Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung. They are the bravest and the most resolute people in the revolution. They are the most capable in uniting with the great majority, and they are able to serve as models in the struggle. They are the vanguard in this great proletarian cultural revolution.

Our Party must rely on the resolute Left in all areas and all departments. It must not be trammelled by erroneous, stereotyped ideas about rank, past working experience and age, but must organize the resolute Left as the backbone of the movement and boldly and freely permit them to play the role of vanguard in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Only by relying on the resolute Left and by mobilizing the masses freely will it be possible truly to implement the instructions of Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee and distinguish genuine revolutionaries from sham ones, and revolutionaries from counter-revolutionaries. Only in this way will it be possible to lead the great proletarian cultural revolution and make it develop healthily.

According to Chairman Mao's teachings, it is a fundamental principle of the Party's method of leadership that the leadership should be combined with the masses. This principle must also be persistently adhered to in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

The mass line is the fundamental line of the Party in all work. The masses of the people are the source of strength in all of our revolutionary work. By relying on the masses of the people, we can overcome all difficulties, triumph over all enemies, and do all our work well. Once divorced from the masses, we shall become water without a source, a tree without roots, and we shall accomplish nothing. Chairman Mao has said: "Every comrade must be helped to understand that as long as we rely on the people, believe firmly in the inexhaustible creative power of the masses and hence trust and identify ourselves with them, no enemy can crush us while we can crush every enemy and overcome every difficulty." In the great proletarian cultural revolution, we must follow Chairman Mao's teachings, trust the masses, rely on them, boldly mobilize them and be at one with them, so as to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

(*"Hongqi" editorial, No. 9, 1966.*)

# Thoroughly Criticize and Repudiate the Revisionist Line of Some of the Principal Leading Members of the Former Peking Municipal Party Committee

THE great proletarian cultural revolution is advancing with great rapidity and intensity. One group of monsters and demons after another has been exposed, and one reactionary bastion after another has been shattered. The broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, of Party cadres and revolutionary intellectuals in Peking, with the direct support of Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the Central Committee of the Party, have exposed and overthrown the former Peking Municipal Party Committee, that insidious anti-Party and anti-socialist clique. The counter-revolutionary revisionist true colours of some of the principal leading members of the former Peking Municipal Party Committee have been fully brought out into the open.

This is an excellent, important event in the history of the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country and a new victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought.

A black line opposed to the Party, to socialism and to Mao Tse-tung's thought ran through the leadership exercised by some of the principal leading members of the former Peking Municipal Party Committee. The main point of this black line was opposition to the proletarian revolution, to the dictatorship of the proletariat, and to the correct line of the Central Committee of the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, and the carrying out of a counter-revolutionary, revisionist line. This was manifested in the following respects:

**First, Resistance to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.** Some of the principal leading members of the former Peking Municipal Party Committee deeply feared the great proletarian cultural revolution, and they stubbornly opposed and sabotaged that great cultural revolution. Their counter-revolutionary, revisionist line was exposed precisely in the course of the current great cultural revolution. Under the direct leadership of Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee, the Shanghai Municipal Committee of the Chinese Communist Party started the criticism of Wu

Han's *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office*, and sounded the clarion call for the great proletarian cultural revolution. The Shanghai *Wenhui Bao* printed Comrade Yao Wen-yuan's article "On the New Historical Drama *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office*" and this angered the gang of revisionist lords in the former Peking Municipal Party Committee. They made unscrupulous attacks on the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee, and flagrantly acted against Comrade Mao Tse-tung's instructions. They regarded Comrade Yao Wen-yuan's article as dangerous floods and wild beasts, and used the propaganda organs in their hands to try in every way possible to resist and block the article. They resorted to all sorts of vile and vicious tricks to suppress and deal blows at all proletarian revolutionaries who persist in Comrade Mao Tse-tung's correct line, and to shield the sinister anti-Party and anti-socialist counter-revolutionary gangsters. Even after Comrade Mao Tse-tung criticized the former Peking Municipal Party Committee, they continued to carry out organized and planned resistance in an attempt "to save the queen by sacrificing the knights." The editorial note of *Qianxian* (Frontline) and *Beijing Ribao* (Peking Daily) on April 16 was a concentrated expression of the counter-revolutionary double-dealing tricks they played. Further, they carried out a series of clandestine, underground and illegal activities, clung desperately to their positions and collected information about proletarian revolutionaries in preparation for a counter-offensive. This series of anti-Party activities paved the way for their own complete downfall. Thus, the counter-revolutionary features of the gang of representatives of the bourgeoisie who had long hidden themselves in the Party were brought to light.

**Second, Opposition to the Socialist Education Movement in the Urban and Rural Areas.** The opposition of the former Peking Municipal Party Committee to the great proletarian cultural revolution was the continuation and development of their consistent opposition over

the past few years to the socialist education movement in the urban and rural areas and to the socialist revolution. They opposed and resisted the policy of the urban and rural socialist education movement formulated by Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee; they opposed the full mobilization of the masses to lift the lid on the class struggle; they protected the Party members who were in power at the basic level in the urban and rural areas and were taking the road of capitalism; and they protected the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists. As the urban and rural socialist education movement developed in depth, they lost no time in "applying the brake," and worked vigorously to reverse decisions on closed cases; they backed up the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists; they attacked the poor peasants, lower-middle peasants and revolutionary activists and carried out organized and planned counter-attacks in revenge. This line of the former Peking Municipal Party Committee was precisely a line of opposing socialist revolution and of restoring capitalism.

**Third, Abandonment of the Viewpoint of Classes and Class Struggle in an Attempt to Bring About a "Peaceful Evolution."** The former Peking Municipal Party Committee stubbornly opposed and resisted Comrade Mao Tse-tung's guiding principles regarding classes and class struggle in socialist society. They were opposed to taking class struggle as the key link in all fields of work: in culture, education, industry, agriculture, finance and trade, etc. They were opposed to giving prominence to proletarian politics and, instead, they gave prominence to bourgeois politics. Because they have abandoned the viewpoint of classes and class struggle of Marxism-Leninism, of Mao Tse-tung's thought, they could not but sink into the quagmire of Khrushchov revisionism. What they carried into effect was, in reality, such revisionist rubbish as Khrushchov's "party of the entire people" and "state of the whole people." Their bourgeois nature was clearly revealed. On various fronts, they ruthlessly suppressed and dealt blows at the proletarian revolutionary Left and revolutionary masses, and did all they could to let loose monsters of all kinds. This small handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists carried out "peaceful evolution" in some units and departments of the Peking Municipal Party and government organizations, and, as a result, the leadership of these was usurped by representatives of the bourgeoisie.

**Fourth, Transformation of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat Into a Dictatorship of the Bourgeoisie.** The small handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists in the former Peking Municipal Party Committee waved the flag of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but, in reality, they did their utmost to carry out bourgeois dictatorial rule. Arrogantly, arbitrarily and without any sense of democracy, they suppressed and attacked the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, of Party cadres and revolutionary intellectuals. Their "demo-

cracy" was the democracy of a handful of representatives of the bourgeoisie who opposed the Party, opposed socialism and opposed Mao Tse-tung's thought, the democracy of a handful of reactionary bourgeois "academic authorities," the democracy of a handful of landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists. They were a bunch of despots, a bunch of Lords of Hell.

**Fifth, Preparation of Public Opinion for the Restoration of Capitalism and Subversion of Proletarian Political Power.** The small handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists of the former Peking Municipal Party Committee laid special stress on preparing public opinion for the restoration of capitalism and the subversion of the proletarian political power. They used *Qianxian* (Frontline), *Beijing Ribao* (Peking Daily) and *Beijing Wanbao* (Peking Evening News) as their tools to oppose the Party, socialism and Mao Tse-tung's thought and to spread revisionist poison. Making use of the newspapers, journals, radio broadcasts, books, lectures, literary works, films, plays, operas, etc., which they were able to control, they poured out a great deal of poison to corrode and corrupt the people of the whole country. All this was done with a view to preparing conditions for the restoration of capitalism.

**Sixth, Opposition to the Educational Policy Put Forward by Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee, and Application of a Bourgeois and Revisionist Educational Policy.** Some schools under the control of some of the principal leading members of the former Peking Municipal Party Committee, instead of serving proletarian politics, worked in the interests of a bourgeois restoration. Instead of cultivating successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause, they groomed new bourgeois intellectuals. While showing great care and consideration for bourgeois elements, they discriminated against and persecuted the broad masses of revolutionary teachers and students. Peking University under their control was a typical stubborn stronghold of reaction.

**Seventh, Opposition to the Creative Study and Application of Chairman Mao's Works.** The small handful of members of the former Peking Municipal Party Committee did their utmost to oppose the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works by the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and cadres. Harboured intense hatred for Mao Tse-tung's thought, they reacted against any mention of it and swore and flew into a rage. They attacked and suppressed the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and revolutionary cadres who followed Chairman Mao's teachings and acted in accordance with his instructions. This handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists did all kinds of evil. What they dreaded most was to be shown up in their true colours under the sunlight of Mao Tse-tung's thought. Above all they dreaded mastery by the broad masses of the infinitely powerful

weapon of Mao Tse-tung's thought to overthrow their reactionary rule.

**Eighth, Recruitment of Deserters and Acceptance of Mutineers and Formation of Cliques for Their Own Selfish Interests.** In order to push through their revisionist political line, these principal leading members of the former Peking Municipal Party Committee pursued a "feudal guild" organizational line of forming cliques for their own selfish interests. Using such base means as handing out official posts, lavishing promises, and recruiting deserters and accepting mutineers, they bought over and gained the allegiance of a group of people as a band of loyal confederates who acted as their faithful lackeys.

**Ninth, Erection of a Tight Barricade Against the Party's Central Committee.** The small handful of anti-Party elements in the former Peking Municipal Party Committee regarded the Peking municipality as an "independent kingdom," watertight and impenetrable, and nobody was allowed to intervene or criticize it — it was like a tiger whose backside no one dared to kick. On the other hand, they themselves reached out everywhere with their grasping hands. They were a gang of conspirators and careerists.

**Tenth, Waving "Red Flags" to Oppose the Red Flag.** The main reason why these anti-Party, anti-socialist, revisionist elements were able to conceal themselves for a considerable period of time was that they waved "red flags" to oppose the red flag, carried the signboard of Marxism-Leninism to oppose Marxism-Leninism, carried the signboard of Mao Tse-tung's thought to oppose Mao Tse-tung's thought, carried the signboard of the dictatorship of the proletariat to oppose the dictatorship of the proletariat, and carried the communist signboard to engage in anti-communist intrigues. These manoeuvres by the principal leading members of the former Peking Municipal Party Committee were almost identical with those of Khrushchov. They are persons of the Khrushchov type.

Step by step the Central Committee of the Party perceived the revisionist line of the principal leading members of the former Peking Municipal Party Committee. But the full exposure of their revisionist nature required a certain course of time and certain "soil and weather" conditions. Even a poisonous snake comes out of its hole only in certain weather conditions, and the moment these poisonous snakes came out of their holes, they were captured by Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee and immediately crushed by the broad masses of Party cadres and the people.

The exposure of this sinister gang of some of the principal leading members of the former Peking Municipal Party Committee who were against the Party, against socialism and against Mao Tse-tung's thought is an excellent thing, a normal phenomenon in Party life. Comrade Mao Tse-tung told us long ago that if there were no contradictions and no struggles in the Party, the Party's life would come to an end. Under

certain conditions, the contradictions within the Party can change from being non-antagonistic to being antagonistic ones. The fact that our Party was able in good time to detect and destroy the reactionary bastion of the former Peking Municipal Party Committee, which was completely controlled by a handful of revisionists, is a fine demonstration of the power and strength of our Party and the exceptional wisdom and greatness of the leadership given by Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee.

Some of the principal leading members of the former Peking Municipal Party Committee are very good teachers by negative example. What we learn from all this is that in order to push ahead the great proletarian cultural revolution and wrest back the leadership usurped by the bourgeoisie in the field of culture, we must first of all expose, criticize and struggle against the representatives of the bourgeoisie who have wormed their way into the Party, government, army and various circles in the field of culture. The struggle against these revisionists who are against the Party, against socialism and against Mao Tse-tung's thought is a struggle between attempts at staging a capitalist restoration and efforts to thwart such attempts and a struggle to prevent the dictatorship of the proletariat from changing into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

High in spirit, the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and of the Party cadres and revolutionary intellectuals in Peking are arming themselves with Mao Tse-tung's thought and using it as their weapon for combat and criticism in the great proletarian cultural revolution. Under the leadership of the new Peking Municipal Party Committee, they are sweeping away all monsters with the tremendous force of a thunderbolt.

For a long time, the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, of the Communist Party and the Communist Youth League members, and of the revolutionary intellectuals in Peking resisted and fought against the black anti-Party, anti-socialist line of the former Peking Municipal Party Committee. They cherish boundless love for Chairman Mao and support the Party's Central Committee without reservation. Keeping to the instructions of the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao, they have done a great deal of work and made their own contributions to the cause of socialist revolution and socialist construction. Upwards of 95 per cent of the people, and more than 95 per cent of the cadres in Peking, will certainly unite on the basis of Mao Tse-tung's thought, take what Chairman Mao says as the supreme instruction for all kinds of work and, under the leadership of the new Peking Municipal Party Committee, thoroughly eradicate the influence of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of the former Peking Municipal Party Committee and score new victories on all fronts.

(*"Hongqi"* editorial, No. 9, 1966.)



# Unity Against Imperialism — Historic Mission of Asian and African Writers

Speech by Kuo Mo-jo, Head of the Chinese Delegation, at the Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting On July 4

Mr. Chairman,

Dear Friends,

The Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting has opened in Peking attended by more than 160 delegates from 53 countries and regions and 12 observers from five international organizations. It is an unprecedentedly grand meeting of Afro-Asian writers. As the host country, we are very much honoured and elated. We would like to express our hearty welcome and militant greetings to our staunch comrades-in-arms in the struggle against U.S. imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

The main item on the agenda of our Meeting calls for the strengthening of the solidarity of the Afro-Asian writers and people to give further support and assistance to the Vietnamese people in their just struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. This subject has been exhaustively dealt with at the Meeting over the past few days, in the General Report of the Secretary-General of the Bureau, in various special reports and in the speeches of delegates and guests. These reports and speeches contain many good views which we, the Chinese delegation, wholeheartedly endorse. It is our belief that they will be incorporated as much as possible in the documents to be worked out at this Meeting. Therefore, ours is not only a grand meeting but also a successful one, to which we extend heartfelt congratulations.

The Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation should have the enthusiastic support of the people of the whole world. Demonstrating the mighty force of people's war, the heroic Vietnamese people have annihilated the enemy forces group by group, thus landing the nearly 300,000 aggressor troops of U.S. imperialism in a helpless plight. U.S. imperialism, in its last-ditch struggle, vainly attempts to use the "peace talks" fraud to reverse their defeat on the battlefield and vainly tries to bring about "peace talks" by stepping up its criminal bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. In

the course of our Meeting, the U.S. imperialists have since June 29 unscrupulously bombed Hanoi, the capital of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and Haiphong, its second largest city. With such frenzied and adventurist actions, U.S. imperialism has escalated its war of aggression in Vietnam to a new and still graver stage.

U.S. imperialism has already received punishment for its criminal outrages. The valiant Vietnamese people shot down seven of the marauding aircraft bombing Hanoi and Haiphong on June 29 and knocked out two on June 30 and two more on July 3. The Headquarters of the Vietnamese People's Army has issued a communique strongly condemning these outrages and calling on the Vietnamese armed forces and people to redouble their efforts and strive for more and greater victories.

We wish to express to the heroic Vietnamese people our high respect and congratulations!

U.S. imperialism is at the end of its tether in its war of aggression against Vietnam. Its bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong only betrays its weakness and impetuosity and shows up its "peace talks" manoeuvres as a mere fraud. The ordering for the bombing of Hanoi shows that U.S. imperialism is beset with internal and external difficulties, and is as desperate as a cornered beast. On June 30, our Meeting unanimously adopted the timely "Urgent Appeal Expressing Firm Support to the Vietnamese People" and called on the people of Asia, Africa and the whole world to give firm support to the Vietnamese brothers in their fight to drive U.S. imperialism out of the whole of Vietnam as well as the whole of Indo-China. That is the voice of all the people of Asia and Africa, and it is also the voice of the people of the whole world.

On July 3, the Chinese Government issued a solemn statement, most strongly condemning U.S. imperialism for its barbarous crime of bombing Hanoi and Haiphong. It expresses the will of the entire Chinese people.

The statement stresses: "U.S. imperialism long ago completely violated the Geneva agreements and broke

the line of demarcation between southern and northern Vietnam. It has now further broken this line by its bombing of the capital of the heroic Vietnamese people. The United States must be held responsible for all the serious consequences arising therefrom.

"With the breaking of the line of demarcation by the United States, the Vietnamese people have ceased to be subject to any restrictions. All the countries and people that genuinely support the Vietnamese people's war of resistance against U.S. aggression have also ceased to be subject to any restrictions. It is not up to the United States, to decide how the war should be fought next. Since the U.S. imperialists have come from the sky and the sea, why can't others fight back on the ground?"

In conclusion, the statement declares solemnly: "China and Vietnam are neighbours as closely related as lips and teeth and are most intimate fraternal socialist countries. China has consistently and unreservedly done its utmost to support and aid Vietnam politically, morally and materially and in other fields. The development by U.S. imperialism of its war of aggression to a new and still graver stage has now further freed us from any bounds or restrictions in rendering such support and aid. In accordance with the interests and demands of the Vietnamese people, we will at any time take such actions as we deem necessary. This is our unshirkable proletarian internationalist duty.

"The Chinese Government and Premier Chou En-lai have solemnly stated many times that the Chinese people mean what they say, that China is prepared and that once the war breaks out, it will have no boundaries. We must tell the U.S. imperialists in all seriousness: Wherever you extend the war and however heavy the price, we will unswervingly support the fraternal Vietnamese people in fighting through to the end, till they thoroughly and completely drive the U.S. aggressors out of Vietnam and win final victory.

"U.S. imperialism is sure to be defeated! The Vietnamese people are sure to win!"

We 700 million Chinese people, with one will, fully support our Government's statement and will act in accordance with it. We will do our utmost, free from any bounds or restrictions, to support unswervingly the fraternal Vietnamese people until they wipe out the U.S. aggressors resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely.

## II

Dear friends! The Afro-Asian people are making every effort to increase their support for the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. imperialism and for national salvation. But when the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau, basing itself on the popular demand and taking legitimate measures, decided to hold an Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting in Peking in

support of the Vietnamese people, the Soviet revisionist leading group instigated its writers to rake up a few followers and duped persons to hold an illegal divisive meeting in Cairo. At that meeting they made the illegal and preposterous decisions on the setting up of a bogus "Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau" in Cairo, on the "dismissal" of our respected Secretary-General from his post and on the convening of a so-called Afro-Asian writers' conference at Baku in the Soviet Union. These arbitrary illegal acts fully show that the Soviet leading group is unscrupulously conducting splittist activities in international organizations and is the biggest splitter of our times.

The Soviet leading group is carrying out Khrushchovism without Khrushchov. In order to realize its fond dream of "U.S.-Soviet collaboration for world domination," it does not oppose imperialism, and, moreover, opposes the Asian, African and Latin American people's unity against imperialism; it capitulates to and fraternizes with the United States, and also entices or coerces the people of the three continents to follow suit. We are sure that the people and writers of all Asia and Africa will absolutely not tolerate these vicious acts of the renegades.

The Chinese delegation resolutely supports the decision adopted by the Bureau on June 23, which states: "By such deliberate and intentional sabotaging of the Afro-Asian Writers' Movement, the splittist Soviet writers have totally divorced themselves from the ranks of the Afro-Asian writers and forfeited all rights and place, for ever, in the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau." This completely conforms to the inexorable law of the development of things and is a just and honest conclusion.

The Soviet Union is the first socialist country which the great Lenin founded, and which Stalin did much to consolidate. Unfortunately, the proletarian state power of the Soviet Union was usurped by the revisionist leading group and the Soviet policy of uniting with the oppressed nations of the world in a common struggle against imperialism was switched to that of seeking "U.S.-Soviet collaboration for world domination." This is indeed a volte-face. The Soviet leading group has degenerated at the core. However, waving the banner of Lenin and donning the cloak of socialism, it tries to deceive the Soviet people and the people of the world. We can well understand that friends in some countries have been hoodwinked. We believe that certain friends who attended the splittist meeting in Cairo were hoodwinked. We hope that these friends will look at the essence of the problem, free themselves from the serpent's snare and return to the ranks of the progressive Afro-Asian writers for unity against imperialism.

We want unity, and not a split. But we want to unite with true friends to oppose our common enemy. We cannot seek unity with the U.S. imperialists, nor with the accomplices of U.S. imperialism. Since the

Soviet revisionist leading group is so keen on splitting activities, it will finally reap what it sows.

### III

Friends, U.S. imperialism is the most ferocious common enemy of all the people of Asia, Africa and the whole world. A great thundering storm against U.S. imperialism has broken out in a towering rage and is sweeping across Asia, Africa, Latin America and the whole world. Millions upon millions of the oppressed people are waging heroic struggles against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism headed by the United States. The tidal wave of the national-liberation movement is violently dashing against the reactionary rule of imperialism. A magnificent picture is unfolding itself throughout the world, as is depicted in the following verses:

*The Four Seas are rising,  
clouds and waters raging,*

*The Five Continents are rocking,  
wind and thunder roaring.*

U.S. imperialism is desperately pursuing its policies of war and aggression and its global strategy for the enslavement of mankind. Its military budget has soared to 66,000 million dollars, or five times that of 1947, the second year after the end of World War II. It has set up more than 2,200 military bases all over the world. It has been ceaselessly carrying out activities of aggression, intervention and subversion everywhere. It is the most barbarous aggressor and the most ruthless vampire ever known in history. Its towering crimes surpass those of Hitler, Mussolini and Tojo put together. However, is this most ferocious devil really so powerful? No, a thousand times No! Ten thousand times No! Its nature as a paper tiger has already been fully exposed on the Vietnam battlefield!

The arch-criminals Johnson, Rusk, McNamara and their ilk, U.S. imperialists who concentrate in themselves all the evils of Hitler, Mussolini and Tojo, will certainly come to the same end as that of Hitler, Mussolini and Tojo. The people of the world will sooner or later bring them before a court for the trial of war criminals for final judgment and none of them will escape!

As we all know, the movements of the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism headed by the United States and for national liberation are now developing in depth. The awakened people in many countries and regions such as Laos, Thailand, Malaya, Indonesia, North Kalimantan, South Yemen, the Congo (L), Angola, "Portuguese" Guinea, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Venezuela, Colombia, Guatemala and Peru have taken or are taking the path of armed struggle. Every battle and victory of theirs is a strong support to the people of Asia, Africa

and the world, and to the Chinese people as well. In the name of the Chinese people and the Chinese writers, I pay high tribute to the people of various countries in their heroic fight against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism headed by the United States and for winning and safeguarding national independence.

Friends, we are Afro-Asian writers, and we are fighters who use the pen in our hands to work for unity against imperialism. We have to resist both the enemy's armed aggression and his cultural aggression. We must use our pen to mobilize and unite the people and then to attack and wipe out the enemy. Ours should be militant and anti-imperialist literature and art. It should be the literature and art of the masses in their struggle for national liberation. Therefore, not only are the decadent literature and art of U.S. imperialism our antithesis but so are the reactionary literature and art of the Soviet revisionists.

In recent years, the U.S. imperialist cultural aggression has been rampant in Asia and Africa. Some bigwigs in the United States have blatantly declared that culture is on the same plane with economic and military affairs and that language and thought are as important as bread and guns. This proves to the hilt that cultural aggression is to create spiritual conditions for the colonial rule and armed subversion by U.S. imperialism.

When they carry out aggression, control, intervention and subversion against the Afro-Asian countries, the imperialists always try to enslave us ideologically first. At present, U.S. imperialism is redoubling its efforts in a so-called "ideological offensive" against the Afro-Asian people, mobilizing on an unprecedented scale manpower and material resources to spread poisonous ideas through films, television, radio, newspapers, periodicals, books and "Peace Corps" in an attempt to expand or save its moribund neo-colonialist rule. As a result of the ever rising consciousness of the Afro-Asian people, the various kinds of propaganda media and tricks of U.S. imperialism have been treated as rats running across the street with everyone yelling: Kill them! Kill them!

It is in these circumstances, however, that the Soviet modern revisionists have entered into a reactionary alliance with U.S. imperialism in the field of culture to cater for its needs. The Soviet revisionist writers and Soviet revisionist literature and art serve the revisionist general line of "U.S.-Soviet collaboration for world domination." Though their literature and art still bear the label of socialism, they are actually peddling poison to corrode the anti-imperialist revolutionary will and are playing a role which the decadent imperialist culture cannot play.

The Soviet revisionist literature and art lay special emphasis on the reactionary "theory of human nature." They are doing their utmost to prettify imperialism. They keep on prattling that "men are friends, comrades and brothers to each other," and that Johnson and company, the initiators of aggressive wars, are "sen-

sible," and "peace-loving," and that the murderers whose hands are wet with blood are "benevolent" and "humane."

How can we imagine that a common human nature exists between Johnson who is using napalm bombs and toxic chemicals to slaughter people in Vietnam and the Vietnamese people who are heroically resisting aggression? How can we imagine that a common human nature exists between the Western slave-traders of the old days who brandished blood-stained whips and the Negro brothers who were kidnapped to buccaneering ships? They are not "friends, comrades and brothers" in any sense; they are irreconcilable enemies locked in a life-and-death struggle.

The Soviet revisionist literature and art have done their utmost to smear the image of the revolutionary people, attack the socialist system, misrepresent the October Revolution and vilify the great Lenin and Stalin and the great Soviet people, serving as opium which lulls the revolutionary will of the Soviet people and other peoples of the world. This has aroused the indignation and condemnation among the people in Asia and Africa and throughout the world, and has met with deep dissatisfaction and protests from the Soviet people.

We solemnly declare that we are irreconcilably against the imperialist and revisionist reactionary literature and art!

#### IV

Dear friends, to create an anti-imperialist, revolutionary and national new culture and new literature and art of the masses of the people, the progressive Afro-Asian writers have already made outstanding contributions and created many militant works. This is something we Chinese writers should earnestly learn from. Here, on behalf of the Chinese people and the Chinese writers, I extend warm congratulations to the progressive Afro-Asian writers.

To exchange experience, please allow me to say something frankly about our situation.

Friends, when you set foot on our land, we are in the midst of an upsurge of a vigorous and unprecedented great socialist cultural revolution.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung always teaches us: We must have a firm grip on ideology and the superstructure, consolidate our ideological positions and strengthen our state power; we must create and shape socialist new ideology, new culture and new literature and art in the tit-for-tat struggle against the reactionary ideology and culture.

The overthrown reactionary ruling classes also want to have a firm grip on ideology and the superstructure. Although their reactionary rule has been buried, their ideology still emanates the smell of its

decaying corpse. In a thousand and one ways, they engage in anti-Party and anti-socialist propaganda through radio broadcasting, books and periodicals, films, dramas, dances, music, etc. They are a gang of enemies without guns, and the pens in their hands are weapons which kill without drawing blood. All their reactionary propaganda is designed to clear the way for the come-back of the bourgeoisie. It was with ideology and the superstructure that the Khrushchov revisionist group began its usurpation of the Soviet Party and state leadership and its restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. In the counter-revolutionary riot in Hungary in 1956 it was also a number of revisionist literary men who acted as the shock brigade.

Therefore the great socialist cultural revolution in our country is a struggle between the forces seeking restoration and the forces opposing restoration; it is a great revolutionary movement to dig out the evil root of revisionism, consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and ensure that China will not change colour for thousands of generations to come.

Since the unfolding of the movement, hundreds of millions of workers, peasants and soldiers, revolutionary cadres and intellectuals have launched fierce attacks on all the strongholds of reactionary ideology and culture, sweeping away all obstacles in the way, and proving themselves invincible everywhere. Ruthlessly and penetratingly they have criticized all the old ideology and culture, old customs and habits poisoning the people's mind and smashed to smithereens the reactionary strongholds in the ideological domain. They have written many excellent articles showing their creative study and application of Mao Tse-tung's thought. A new era has begun in which, as has never happened before, the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers have directly grasped and applied Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought.

In the struggle to destroy the rotten ideology and culture, the revolutionary literature and art of the proletariat are shining with extraordinary brilliance. The old Peking opera of China, this most stubborn stronghold, has been taken by storm with the emergence of Peking operas on contemporary revolutionary themes like *Shachiapang*, *Taking the Bandits' Stronghold*, *Raid on the White Tiger Regiment* and *Red Lantern*. Foreign classical art forms like the ballet and symphonic music have undergone a revolutionary transformation with the emergence of the ballet *Red Detachment of Women*, *The White-Haired Girl* and the symphony *Shachiapang*. The sculpture *Rent Collection Courtyard* has ushered in a revolutionary upsurge in the sculptural art. *The East Is Red*, a large-scale revolutionary song and dance pageant, reflects the heroic struggle of the Chinese people to change heaven and earth and ardently sings the praises of the great victory of Mao Tse-tung's thought. The novel *The Song of Ouyang Hai* is an epoch-making work, which shows that socialist literature has an inconceivably vast domain. The plays, *On Guard Beneath the Neon Lights* and *War Drums on the Equator* and the large numbers of poems and songs contributed by the broad

masses of workers, peasants and soldiers to wall- and blackboard-newspapers are all examples of new and original socialist and proletarian works which mark an entirely new age both in ideological content and artistic form.

Our great cultural revolution is still going on unabated, and we are firmly convinced that under the radiance of Mao Tse-tung's thought, a splendid, socialist new literature and art and new culture unprecedented in history will be created continuously.

Some gentlemen abroad are slandering us as "destroying culture." Yes, we are destroying the decadent culture of imperialism, modern revisionism and all exploiting classes. We shall not only destroy such decadent culture but also eliminate it thoroughly. Only by destroying and eliminating these rotten things, will it be possible to really absorb the excellent fruits created in the history of mankind. Our attitude towards the long standing ancient culture of our country is to reject its dregs and assimilate its fine elements and to critically take over what is required by socialism. As for the foreign progressive culture, we advocate critical assimilation of whatever is useful to us today so as to use this as an example. However, taking over legacies and using them as examples can on no account take the place of creative work. This is an encouraging guidance given us by Chairman Mao Tse-tung. The historic mission of our writers and people is to create a socialist new culture and socialist new literature and art. The present great cultural revolution should be regarded as a grand prelude to our creation of a new socialist culture.

Some gentlemen abroad also say that our struggle is "directed against all intellectuals." This is sheer nonsense. As you can see clearly, China's great socialist cultural revolution is directed only against a handful of anti-Party, anti-socialist elements. They are nothing but a few flies in late autumn dashing themselves against the wall everywhere and droning their own pathetic elegies. With regard to the large number of intellectuals from the old society, the Chinese Communist Party has always adopted the policy of uniting with them, educating them and remoulding them, so that all those intellectuals who are really willing to make progress may be prompted to take the road of revolutionization. Under the brilliant light of Mao Tse-tung's thought, the ranks of the new-type intellectuals of the working people are steadily growing, expanding and courageously marching forward in the course of the struggle for production which changes heaven and earth.

## V

Dear friends, permit me to take up some more of your precious time here to denounce the lies and slanders concerning me which those foreign gentlemen hurled at my country.

It happened like this. Two and a half months ago, at a meeting of the Standing Committee of the National

People's Congress on April 14, we heard a report on cultural work by a responsible comrade of the Ministry of Culture. The report dealt with the achievements of the cultural revolution in our country and the great role played by the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and revolutionary cadres in cultural work, pointing out that the contingent of new-type intellectuals had expanded and that many fruitful results had been achieved. I was elated by this and delivered a speech extempore in which I made a frank self-criticism to express my sincere feelings.

I said that in his *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*, Chairman Mao Tse-tung called on us literary and art workers to serve the workers, peasants and soldiers. Today, after a lapse of 24 years, we have not only failed to serve well the workers, peasants and soldiers; on the contrary, it is the workers, peasants and soldiers who have taken a further step and served us even on the literary and art front. Their creative works in literature and art have much greater vitality and are more instructive than those of us, the professional writers. When they discuss philosophy they can do it much better and in a way that suits more the actual situation than some of our professors of philosophy. This is mainly because the workers, peasants and soldiers are adept at studying and applying Mao Tse-tung's thought creatively. Not stopping at learning from books, they learn from practice in life, and from the struggle for production and class struggle. What they have learnt they apply immediately and as soon as they have grasped the knowledge they translate it into action, thus gaining quick and profound results. But the intellectuals, priggish and self-assertive, are incapable of earnestly acting on Chairman Mao's instructions and so they make little headway and lag far behind the workers, peasants and soldiers. Some of them have even degenerated and fallen into the mire of opposing the Party, socialism and Mao Tse-tung's thought and become targets of the great cultural revolution.

Deeply impressed, I rejoiced at the victories scored in the cultural revolution and, at the same time, I was aroused to my responsibility as an intellectual. I made a critical examination of myself, stating that by the standards of today, what I wrote in the past was of little worth and, strictly speaking, should be burnt. This was my sublimated sense of responsibility and what I spoke was from the bottom of my heart. But it did not occur to me that when these words of mine got abroad, they caused a sensation in the world. Not a few sincere friends have shown deep concern for which I am grateful. But in the newspapers and magazines in the capitalist and modern revisionist countries, an anti-China campaign of considerable magnitude was whipped up. They deliberately distorted my speech and used it to attack the great cultural revolution in my country.

It is interesting to note that a Japanese critic alleged that I had been forced to make a self-criticism and to

burn my own books and, according to him, this was an act of brutality and arrogance worse than that of the Emperor Chin Shih Huang who had burnt books and buried scholars alive more than two thousand years ago. That critic accused me of being "morally decadent," and congratulated himself for having been born in Japan where there was "hundred per cent freedom of speech and of the press." This gentleman of high moral standards, I admit, really enjoys "hundred per cent freedom"; but what is regrettable is that his is the "hundred per cent freedom" of rumour- and slander-mongering, of revealing his own ignorance and opposing the people and socialism.

It is absolutely normal in our country for a revolutionary writer, who is responsible to the people, constantly to remould himself and to make serious self-criticism from time to time. It is not at all strange that this is beyond the comprehension of the journalists of the capitalist and revisionist countries. However, they laughed too soon. They said that I, the alleged "morally decadent" person, had surely been dismissed from office and even lost freedom. Just imagine, a Chinese writer who has lost his freedom now heads the Chinese writers' delegation, and was elected by you as Chairman of the current Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting and is free to speak from this august rostrum to the writers from 53 Afro-Asian countries and regions. Isn't this a most interesting tale, the one thousand and second night to the *Arabian Nights*?

There are more interesting mud-throwing and distortions of facts. In my speech of self-criticism which I have just mentioned, I said that I wanted to learn from the workers, peasants and soldiers, that I wished to go to the countryside to get myself covered all over with mud, that I wished to go to a factory to be greased with oil and dirt, and that if U.S. imperialism should dare to impose war on the Chinese people, I would throw a few hand-grenades at the U.S. imperialists and get myself stained with blood. This statement represents the lofty aspirations cherished by all the Chinese people today.

But these remarks were twisted beyond recognition by the journalists in certain countries. They alleged that I had been persecuted and was to undergo ideological remoulding through manual labour, and that I had begged the U.S. imperialists: "Shoot at me first!" How interesting! It is a vivid picture of those miserable souls who hold the United States in great awe, fearing and currying favour with it.

The Soviet journal *Literaturnaya Gazeta* did it in a novel way. It reprinted in its May 5 issue almost the full text of my speech. Since the revisionists usurped state power in the Soviet Union, the Soviet press has, as a rule, never reprinted Chinese articles. Then why is it that I was accorded preferential treatment this time? There was some ulterior motive behind it. They thought that I had fallen into disgrace and so they played up in their press what they believed to be the evidence of my disgrace. They consider it a disgrace

when a writer with a sense of responsibility makes a serious self-criticism, while they feel it an unmatched "honour" when Sholokhov received the gun-powder-smelling Nobel prize. Herein one can see the essence of the modern revisionists. And what difference is there between them and the journalists in the capitalist countries?

Such are the performances of distortion and rumour-mongering by some gentlemen in the capitalist and revisionist countries. They are hostile to China and to our great cultural revolution. Their specialty is to cook up anti-China opinion. They are a handful of "morally decadent" swindlers in the true sense of the term, and loudspeakers for imperialism and revisionism.

The so-called "public opinion" of the imperialists should always be understood in its opposite sense. What the imperialists call "peace" means "aggression," "freedom" means "enslavement" and "aid" means "extortion." What the revisionists say should also be viewed in this light; particularly their so-called "united action" in fact means the splittist action aimed at allying with U.S. imperialism.

But such anti-China hullabaloo has its value in the negative sense. When the imperialists and the revisionists set out to oppose us, it shows that we are constantly advancing. Should the imperialists and the revisionists start praising us, it would prove that we have degenerated. In that event, we would request the progressive Afro-Asian writers to denounce us relentlessly and severely.

## VI

Dear friends,

July 1, three days ago, was the 45th anniversary of the founding of our Party. It is during these 45 years that the Chinese revolution has developed through uninterrupted struggles, and that Comrade Mao Tse-tung has continually developed Marxism-Leninism by creatively integrating the truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. In these 45 years, we went through numerous difficulties and hardships and also experienced the worst setbacks. We can never forget the mass slaughter by Chiang Kai-shek in 1927; we can never forget the 25,000-li Long March and we can never forget the life for more than ten years in the cave residence in Yen-an, which ended 17 years ago. However, our Party has grown in strength amidst hard struggles. Under the beacon light of Mao Tse-tung's thought which has been developing continuously, out of the cave residence in Yen-an has grown the People's Republic of China of today. In our People's Republic of China today, red successors are emerging in an unending flow. We have still more friends everywhere in the world. Can't we then build a great edifice of new culture and new literature and



art which will surpass those of all our ancestors and illuminate the hundreds of generations to come?

We answer in the affirmative: Surely we can! But we must always keep the Yen-an spirit alive and always study and apply Mao Tse-tung's thought creatively and must not slacken in the least for a single moment.

Friends, Mao Tse-tung's thought is undoubtedly the acme of Marxism-Leninism in the present era. Chairman Mao's works are the supreme directives for all our work.

Through our own protracted revolutionary struggle, we Chinese people have understood deeply:

Whenever we act according to Mao Tse-tung's thought, the revolution will go on smoothly; the moment we deviate from Mao Tse-tung's thought to the slightest degree, the revolution will suffer setbacks and failure.

At whatever post, as long as we act according to Mao Tse-tung's thought, the work will go on smoothly; if, at any post, we deviate a bit from Mao Tse-tung's thought, the work will suffer setbacks and failure.

Mao Tse-tung's thought is not only applicable to the revolutionary, political and ideological struggles, but also applicable to the struggle for production, literary creation and scientific researches.

In our country, the creative study and application of Mao Tse-tung's thought by the Tachai peasants has made it possible to change the poor and barren ravine "The Wolf's Lair" into fertile farmland. The creative study and application of Mao Tse-tung's thought by the Taching workers has enabled China to meet its needs in petroleum. The creative study and application of Mao Tse-tung's thought by our scientists has enabled them to produce far better synthetic insulin than West Germany or the United States.

The Chinese People's Liberation Army founded by Chairman Mao is all the more a model in creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's works. By relying on it we have achieved the victory in the Chinese revolution; and also by relying on it we are able to defend the frontiers of our motherland more securely and safeguard world peace. It is not only a combat force, but at the same time an army of production, an army of culture. Together with the entire Chinese people, we Chinese writers are learning from it. Together with the P.L.A., we will "study Chairman Mao's works, follow Chairman Mao's teachings, act in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions and be Chairman Mao's good fighters."

The Chinese writers' practice in struggle and creative activities has fully demonstrated that if we have been able to do something useful to the people, the fundamental reason is no other than the fact that we have got the instructions from our great leader — Chairman Mao.

Dear friends, we are extremely delighted to note that the revolutionary people all over the world also

cherish a boundless love for Chairman Mao. From this grand rostrum, many friends have sung the praises of Chairman Mao from the depth of their hearts. We regard all this as an encouragement and impetus to us. On behalf of the Chinese writers and the Chinese people, I would like to express our heartfelt thanks to you all.

Dear friends,

At the Meeting, the Indonesian delegate proposed to shift the venue for the Third Conference of the Afro-Asian Writers from Djakarta to Peking and this was seconded by the delegates of many countries. We are deeply moved by the importance and trust they attach to China. If this is adopted in the form of a resolution at the Meeting, we will be glad to undertake this glorious task. We will be pleased to do the preparatory work well together with our friends and will surely make the Third Conference of the Afro-Asian Writers another grand and successful meeting.

This Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting in Peking will be an important milestone in the further development of the Afro-Asian Writers' Movement. Our banner has become even brighter and our ranks have further expanded. The 2,000 million people of Asia and Africa and the progressive people all over the world are fixing their eyes on us, all expecting us to make new contributions to the cause of unity against imperialism. We must live up to the people's high expectations. Let us rally under the banner of the international united front against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, constantly exchange experience, constantly inspire each other so as to strengthen our friendship with each passing day and enable our militant works to blossom one after another like the hundred flowers in spring.

**Forward to the battle! The people and the progressive writers of Asia, Africa and the whole world, get further united, march forward in step, oppose splittism and capitulationism and carry the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism through to the end!**

Forward to the battle! Sweep away all obstacles — the imperialist and revisionist decadent culture — in our way forward and advance triumphantly towards the rejuvenation of literature and art in our new era!

Forward to the battle! Let us raise our arms and hail a new world which will surely come into being, a world without imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism!

Vietnam is sure to win and U.S. imperialism is sure to be defeated!

The people of Asia and Africa are sure to win and imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism are sure to be defeated!

Long live the anti-imperialist solidarity of the Afro-Asian writers!

Long live the great unity of the Afro-Asian people!

Long live the great unity of the people of the world!

# China Fully Supports the Laotian People's Struggle Against U.S. Aggression And for National Salvation

- The Laotian people will thoroughly defeat the U.S. aggressors.
- China firmly supports the just stand set out in the statement made jointly by Prince Souphanouvong, Ministers and Secretaries of State of the Neo Lao Haksat and the patriotic neutralist forces and sternly condemns U.S. imperialism for its crimes of aggression against Laos.

*Following is the full text of the July 3 statement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China. — Ed.*

ON June 22, Prince Souphanouvong, Vice-Premier of the Laotian Government of National Union, and Ministers and Secretaries of State of the Neo Lao Haksat and the patriotic neutralist forces issued a joint statement to mark the fourth anniversary of the establishment of the Laotian Government of National Union. The statement sternly condemned U.S. imperialism for its crimes of violating the Geneva agreements, subverting the Laotian Government of National Union and stepping up its aggression against Laos. The statement pointed out that the Vientiane authorities had already become a dependant of U.S. imperialism, serving as its tool for aggression and intervention against Laos. The statement stressed that the United States must stop its aggression and intervention against Laos and let the Laotian people settle the internal affairs of Laos by themselves. The Chinese Government and people firmly oppose and strongly condemn the U.S. imperialist crimes of aggression against Laos and firmly support the just stand set forth in the joint statement by Prince Souphanouvong and Ministers and Secretaries of State of the Neo Lao Haksat and the patriotic neutralist forces.

U.S. imperialism is the arch-criminal in violating the 1962 Geneva agreements and in committing aggression and intervention against Laos. After the establishment of the Laotian Government of National Union in June 1962, U.S. imperialism, in collusion with the Laotian Rightist clique, tried every possible means to undermine this government, and overthrew it through a military coup d'etat on April 19, 1964. At the instigation of the United States, the Laotian Rightist troops have launched incessant military attacks on the liberated areas of the Neo Lao Haksat and the patriotic

neutralist forces. Particularly in the past two years and more, U.S. imperialism has further stepped up its aggression and intervention against Laos in co-ordination with the expansion of its war of aggression against Vietnam. U.S. aircraft have wantonly bombed and strafed the Laotian liberated areas, and direct armed aggression has thus been openly launched against the Laotian people. At the same time, the Laotian Rightist troops have launched a succession of large-scale military attacks on the liberated areas of Central and Lower Laos. At the instigation of the United States, military personnel of Thailand and south Vietnam have successively infiltrated into the areas of Central and Lower Laos, and the U.S. Government is making active preparations for sending its ground forces into Laos. All this shows that U.S. imperialism is plotting to extend its war of aggression against Vietnam to Laos and to the whole of Indo-China.

In the face of the accelerated expansion of aggression and intervention by U.S. imperialism against Laos, the Laotian people have been waging heroic and tenacious struggles under the leadership of the Neo Lao Haksat, winning one important victory after another and dealing telling blows at U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. By the struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation they are waging to win national independence, the Laotian people, like the Vietnamese people, have set for all the oppressed nations and peoples of Asia and the whole world an example of daring to struggle and daring to win victory. This demonstrates to the whole world that it is not the arrogant and ferocious U.S. imperialism, but the united revolutionary people daring to resist aggression, who are really strong. The Chinese Government and people unswervingly and wholeheartedly support and assist the Laotian people in their struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation till they thoroughly defeat the U.S. aggressors and win final victory.

# Chinese Foreign Ministry's Note to Indonesian Embassy

- **Firmly demands that the Indonesian Government immediately make an unequivocal and positive reply with regard to the question of the dispatch of ships by China to transport back from Indonesia the persecuted Chinese nationals who desire to return to China of their own will.**
- **Points out that it is the inalienable right of the Chinese Government to protect its nationals by sending ships to transport the persecuted Chinese nationals back to China.**
- **Once again strongly protests against the crime committed by the Indonesian Government in its further ruthless persecution of Chinese nationals.**

*Following is the full text of the Chinese Foreign Ministry's note on June 29, 1966, to the Indonesian Embassy in China. — Ed.*

**T**HE Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China presents its compliments to the Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia in China and has the honour to state the following:

On May 18, the Chinese Government sent the Indonesian Government a note in which the Chinese Government stated its decision to send ships to Indonesia in the near future to transport back the persecuted Chinese nationals who desire to return to China of their own will and demanded that the Indonesian Government give a speedy reply and make the necessary arrangements. However, despite the constant inquiries by the Chinese Government over the past month and more, the Indonesian Government has deliberately delayed the reply on the repeated pretext that the Indonesian side had to make a study. On June 15 the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs asserted that "no Chinese nationals have made any request for returning to China" and asked the Chinese Embassy to supply a list of the Chinese nationals who desire to return to China of their own will. This fully shows that the Indonesian Government is deliberately placing obstacles and unreasonably creating difficulties and raising obstructions with regard to the urgent problem of the Chinese Government sending ships to transport back the persecuted Chinese nationals.

As everyone knows, the fact that large numbers of Chinese nationals under persecution desire to return to China is caused entirely by the Indonesian Government which is frantically opposing China and persecuting Chinese nationals. It should be the Indonesian Government's unshirkable responsibility to arrange ships to assist in the return of the persecuted Chinese nationals. The Chinese Government has raised this proper and reasonable demand to the Indonesian Government which, however, peremptorily rejected it. In these circumstances, out of concern for the safety of the persecuted Chinese nationals the Chinese Government decided to send its own ships to transport them back to China. But again you are trying hard to raise

obstructions. We would like to ask: what are you up to? Is it that you will not feel satisfied until you have driven to complete destruction those Chinese nationals who have lost their means of livelihood because of persecution? Such a truculent and unreasonable attitude of the Indonesian Government has aroused the great indignation of the Chinese people.

Your assertion that "no Chinese nationals have made any request for returning to China" is a down-right lie. Tens of thousands of the persecuted Chinese nationals, rendered homeless and deprived of all their property or means of subsistence, are in dire distress. It is only natural that in order to survive they should ask to return to China. As a matter of fact, they raised long ago to the Indonesian Government the demand for departure for China, and the Chinese Embassy and consulates have constantly received applications of the persecuted Chinese nationals for return to China. Your fabrication that the Chinese nationals do not desire to return to China can only further expose your scheme of obstructing and sabotaging the dispatch of ships by China to transport back the persecuted Chinese nationals. In asking the Chinese Embassy to supply a list of the persecuted Chinese nationals who desire to return to China of their own will, you actually want to carry out further persecution of the Chinese nationals on the list and force them to give up their demand for returning to China. The Chinese Government firmly opposes this vicious scheme of yours.

While obstructing the sending of ships by China to transport back the persecuted Chinese nationals, the Indonesian Government has taken a whole series of still more venomous measures to persecute them. According to preliminary information, recently you have again committed successive outrageous persecutions of Chinese nationals in Djakarta, Palembang, Atjeh, Padang, Bima and other places, subjecting innocent Chinese nationals to plunder, beating, arrest and even slaughter. You have ordered the Chinese nationals in some localities to leave their places of residence within a set time limit, thus rendering large numbers of them homeless. You have crudely infringed upon the personal freedom of Chinese nationals on the pretext of bringing them under "registration," "screening" and "sur-

veillance." You have also declared your intention to reapply and extend the scope of decree No. 10 of 1959 for discrimination against Chinese nationals, in an attempt to deprive the broad masses of Chinese nationals of their means of subsistence. To put it bluntly, there is no other government in the world which is so perfidious as you are, and which has so ruthlessly subjected foreign nationals to racist persecution and so crudely trampled underfoot the principles guiding international relations as you have done. The Chinese Government once again lodges a strong protest with the Indonesian Government and once again demands that the Indonesian Government immediately stop all its persecution of Chinese nationals.

It must be pointed out in all seriousness that it is the inalienable right of the Chinese Government to protect its nationals by sending ships to transport them back to China in the circumstances in which the Chinese nationals are savagely persecuted and there is no guarantee at all for the safety of their lives and property. Arrangements have already been made for the Chinese ships which are ready to sail at any time. The Chinese

Government firmly demands that the Indonesian Government immediately make an unequivocal and positive reply with regard to the question of the dispatch of ships by China to transport back the persecuted Chinese nationals who desire to return to China of their own will. The Chinese Government once again proposes that the Governments of the two countries should immediately hold negotiations on the question of concrete arrangements for the dispatch of ships by the Chinese Government to transport back its nationals and that the negotiations should start in the second week of July. The Chinese Government has appointed Mr. Yao Teng-shan, Charge d'Affaires a.i. of the Chinese Embassy in Indonesia, as the chief delegate of the Chinese side and Mr. Hsu Jen, the Chinese Consul-General in Djakarta, as the delegate. The Chinese Government demands that the Indonesian Government speedily appoint corresponding delegates for negotiations with the Chinese delegates.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Embassy the assurances of its highest consideration.

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(Continued from p. 23.)

with this reality: They must cast aside illusions about U.S. imperialism, illusions about the revisionist leading clique of the Soviet Union, have confidence in the strength of the masses and rely on it, and resolutely rise to their feet and join the battle. Only so can they achieve their liberation. There is no alternative.

The struggle of the Vietnamese people to resist U.S. aggression and save their country is the focal point of the world struggle today. What attitude one takes to the war in Vietnam is the touchstone telling whether one is a real or sham anti-imperialist, a real or sham revolutionary, a revolutionary or counter-revolutionary, a Marxist-Leninist or a revisionist. All genuine revolutionary forces that oppose U.S. imperialist aggression will certainly use all possible ways and means to support the Vietnamese people's struggle to resist U.S. aggression and save their country.

The Chinese people and the Chinese Government have always unreservedly supported the Vietnamese people in their struggle to resist U.S. aggression and save their country. We have always given them every support, politically, morally, materially and in other fields, and will continue to give this support vigorously until the U.S. aggressors are completely driven out of Vietnam. Today, when U.S. imperialism has pushed its war of aggression to a new and still graver stage, we, a socialist country, a fraternal neighbour of Vietnam with whom we are related as closely as lips are to teeth, will certainly take whatever steps we deem necessary at any time, in accordance with the interests and demands of the Vietnamese people. Since U.S. imperialism sets no bounds to the extension of its war of aggression against Vietnam, China's aid to Vietnam against U.S. aggression also recognizes no bounds.

The Chinese Government and Premier Chou En-lai have stated solemnly on many occasions that the Chinese people mean what they say, that China is prepared, and that once war breaks out it will have no boundaries. Any country falling victim to the aggression of imperialism headed by the United States, whether Vietnam or any other country in Asia, Africa, Latin America or any other part of the world, will certainly have the support and help of the Chinese Government and people. Should such just action bring on U.S. invasion against China, we will resolutely strike back without hesitation. However many U.S. aggressors may come, we certainly will and certainly can wipe them out resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely.

The heroic Vietnamese people have won great victories in their struggle to resist U.S. aggression and save their country. They have made full use of the great might of people's war. In the south, nearly 300,000 U.S. aggressor troops are being bruised and battered and more than 50,000 have already been put out of action. In the north, more than 1,000 U.S. planes have been downed in battles disastrous for the U.S. air marauders. There is an excellent situation ahead for the Vietnamese people. Whether in Vietnam or Asia or the whole world, U.S. imperialism is now isolated as never before and finds itself in an extremely difficult position. A new and still greater anti-U.S. storm is rising. The day is not far off when U.S. imperialism will be buried.

The Vietnamese people are bound to win! U.S. imperialism is bound to fail!

The people of the whole world are bound to win! U.S. imperialism is bound to fail!

## Nepalese Crown Prince Visiting China

**H**IS Royal Highness Birendra Bir Bikram Shah Deva, the Crown Prince of the Kingdom of Nepal, has been visiting China at the invitation of Premier Chou En-lai. He arrived in Peking on June 26 by special plane. The Crown Prince was accompanied by H.R.H. Prince Himalaya Shah and his wife, H.R.H. Princess Princep Shah, and others.

On the evening of June 26, Vice-Premier Chen Yi and his wife gave a banquet in honour of H.R.H. Birendra Shah and his party.

Referring to the deep friendship between the Chinese and Nepalese peoples, Vice-Premier Chen Yi said in his speech: "Nepal is a friendly neighbour of ours. China and Nepal have always lived in harmony and there is between the two peoples a traditional friendship of more than a thousand years. Today, the relations between our two countries, based on the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, have become still closer and more friendly than before. We are convinced that the present visit of His Royal Highness Crown Prince Birendra Shah and the other distinguished Nepalese guests to our country will surely enhance the mutual understanding between our two countries and further promote our friendship."

The Nepalese Crown Prince in his speech said that the old and time-tested relations between Nepal and China "have their base in history and traditions." He added that peace and friendship between the two countries "were forged into reality on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence." Referring to the Nepal-China boundary treaty, he said that the agreement "is a unique example of mutual accommodation, of respect for each other's sovereignty, of equality between states, of mutual benefit, and of peaceful settlement of disputes."

The Nepalese Crown Prince praised the People's Republic of China for the significant progress it had

achieved in economic and other spheres under the leadership of the Chinese people's great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung. He refuted the "two Chinas" doctrine, dismissing it as ridiculous.

On June 28, Chairman Liu Shaoyang received the Crown Prince and

## Strong Protest Against the Indonesian Government's Rabid Anti-China and Anti-Chinese Campaign

**T**HE Indonesian Government has kept up its rabid anti-China and anti-Chinese campaign throughout Indonesia. At its instigation and under its organization, Right-wing hooligans, on a large scale, are raiding and wrecking Chinese shops and homes, looting property, closing down and occupying overseas Chinese associations and schools and slaughtering innocent Chinese nationals in an even more cold-blooded manner than before. They have gone so far as to again attack and harass the Chinese Embassy and beat up Chinese diplomatic officials. The Chinese Embassy in Indonesia has lodged the strongest protests against these outrages.

At 10:00 a.m. on June 28, a group of Indonesian Right-wing hooligans pasted reactionary posters on the door of the Chinese Embassy, battered wildly against the door, and at the same time made a great noise. At 10:15 a.m. when the door was opened for Charge d'Affaires ad interim Yao Teng-shan to go out, more than 200 hooligans swarmed around it hysterically shouting abusive and provocative slogans. The hooligans had the audacity to attack the Charge d'Affaires ad interim and embassy staff member Chen Min-hsiang, and threw stones into the embassy courtyard. The Charge d'Affaires denounced them on the spot. But this outrage went on until 2 p.m.

the other Nepalese guests and later gave a banquet for them. The next day, accompanied by Vice-Premier Chen Yi, the Crown Prince and his party left Peking for a tour of north-east China. When they returned to the capital on July 3, they were welcomed at the airport by Premier Chou En-lai. That evening, the Premier held a banquet in honour of the distinguished guests.

The Chinese Embassy in a note to the Indonesian Government on June 29 demanded that it apologize in all seriousness for this anti-China outrage, severely punish the criminals, effectively guarantee the safety of the Embassy and its staff members and ensure that there will be no recurrence of similar incidents.

The note declared: Obviously, these anti-China outrages were perpetrated by the Indonesian Rightist reactionary forces on purpose and are another serious provocation brazenly staged against Chinese diplomatic institutions. "The Chinese Embassy expresses great indignation at this and lodges a serious protest with the Indonesian Government." The note pointed out that, in the past nine months, the Indonesian Government had continuously set off anti-China and anti-Chinese campaigns, and there had been over 20 cases of attacks and sabotage of Chinese diplomatic institutions.

Right now, tens of thousands of overseas Chinese in Indonesia who have been victims of persecution are pressing to return to China. But the Indonesian Government, while stepping up its persecution of overseas Chinese, has engineered all sorts of plots to prevent the victimized Chinese nationals from returning of their own will to their motherland. The venomous designs of the Indonesian Government to reduce the overseas Chinese to utter destitution stand thoroughly exposed before the world.

# RADIO PEKING

In response to the militant call of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the high tide of the great proletarian cultural revolution has been sweeping through the whole of China in the last few months with tempestuous force. Armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, the several hundred million workers, peasants and soldiers and the masses of revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals are clearing out the many monsters and demons entrenched in ideological and cultural positions. The so-called "Three-Family Village" or "Four-Family Inn," the bourgeois "experts," "scholars," "authorities" and "respected masters" and their like have been routed and their whole prestige has been scattered to the winds. This great cultural revolution has no parallel in scale, in sweep, in strength or in momentum. It is already spurring the socialist cause in China forward with great vigour and undoubtedly is having and will continue to have an immeasurably profound and far-reaching impact on the world revolution. Listeners who wish to know more about this GREAT CULTURAL REVOLUTION, tune in to RADIO PEKING.

## Daily English Language Transmissions

EAST AND SOUTH AFRICA		
Peking Time	Local Standard Time	Metre Bands
00:00-01:00	18:00-19:00 (Cape Town, Salisbury)	30,25,24
01:00-02:00	19:00-20:00 (Dar-es-Salaam) 19:00-20:00 (Cape Town, Salisbury) 20:00-21:00 (Dar-es-Salaam)	30,25,24

WEST AND NORTH AFRICA		
Peking Time	Local Standard Time	Metre Bands
03:30-04:30	18:45-19:45 (Monrovia) 19:30-20:30 (Accra, Freetown) 20:30-21:30 (Lagos)	43,31,25
04:30-05:30	21:30-22:30 (Cairo) 19:45-20:45 (Monrovia) 20:30-21:30 (Accra, Freetown) 21:30-22:30 (Lagos)	43,31,25

SOUTHEAST ASIA		
Peking Time	Local Standard Time	Metre Bands
20:00-21:00	19:00-20:00 (Western Indonesia, Bangkok) 19:30-20:30 (Singapore) 20:00-21:00 (Saigon, Manila) 18:30-19:30 (Rangoon)	252,224 32,31,25,24,19
21:00-22:00	20:00-21:00 (Western Indonesia, Bangkok) 20:30-21:30 (Singapore) 21:00-22:00 (Saigon, Manila) 19:30-20:30 (Rangoon)	224,32 31,25,24,19

SOUTH ASIA		
Peking Time	Local Standard Time	Metre Bands
22:00-23:00	19:30-20:30 (Delhi, Colombo) 19:00-20:00 (West Pakistan) 20:00-21:00 (East Pakistan) 19:40-20:40 (Kathmandu)	41,30,25

23:00-24:00	20:30-21:30 (Delhi, Colombo) 20:00-21:00 (West Pakistan) 21:00-22:00 (East Pakistan) 20:40-21:40 (Kathmandu)	41,30,25
00:00-01:00	21:30-22:30 (Delhi, Colombo) 21:00-22:00 (West Pakistan) 22:00-23:00 (East Pakistan) 21:40-22:40 (Kathmandu)	229

AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND		
Peking Time	Local Standard Time	Metre Bands
16:30-17:30	18:30-19:30 (Aust.S.T.) 20:30-21:30 (N.Z.S.T.)	25,19,16
17:30-18:30	19:30-20:30 (Aust.S.T.) 21:30-22:30 (N.Z.S.T.)	25,19,16

EUROPE		
Peking Time	Local Standard Time	Metre Bands
04:30-05:30	20:30-21:30 (G.M.T.) 21:30-22:30 (Stockholm, Paris)	45,42,31
05:30-06:30	21:30-22:30 (G.M.T.) 22:30-23:30 (Stockholm, Paris)	45,42,31

NORTH AMERICA (EAST COAST)		
Peking Time	Local Standard Time	Metre Bands
08:00-09:00	19:00-20:00 (E.S.T.)	19,16
09:00-10:00	20:00-21:00 (E.S.T.)	25,19,16
10:00-11:00	21:00-22:00 (E.S.T.)	25, 19, 16

NORTH AMERICA (WEST COAST)		
Peking Time	Local Standard Time	Metre Bands
11:00-12:00	19:00-20:00 (P.S.T.)	31,25,19
12:00-13:00	20:00-21:00 (P.S.T.)	31,25,19