

PEKING REVIEW

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Renmin Ribao editorial.

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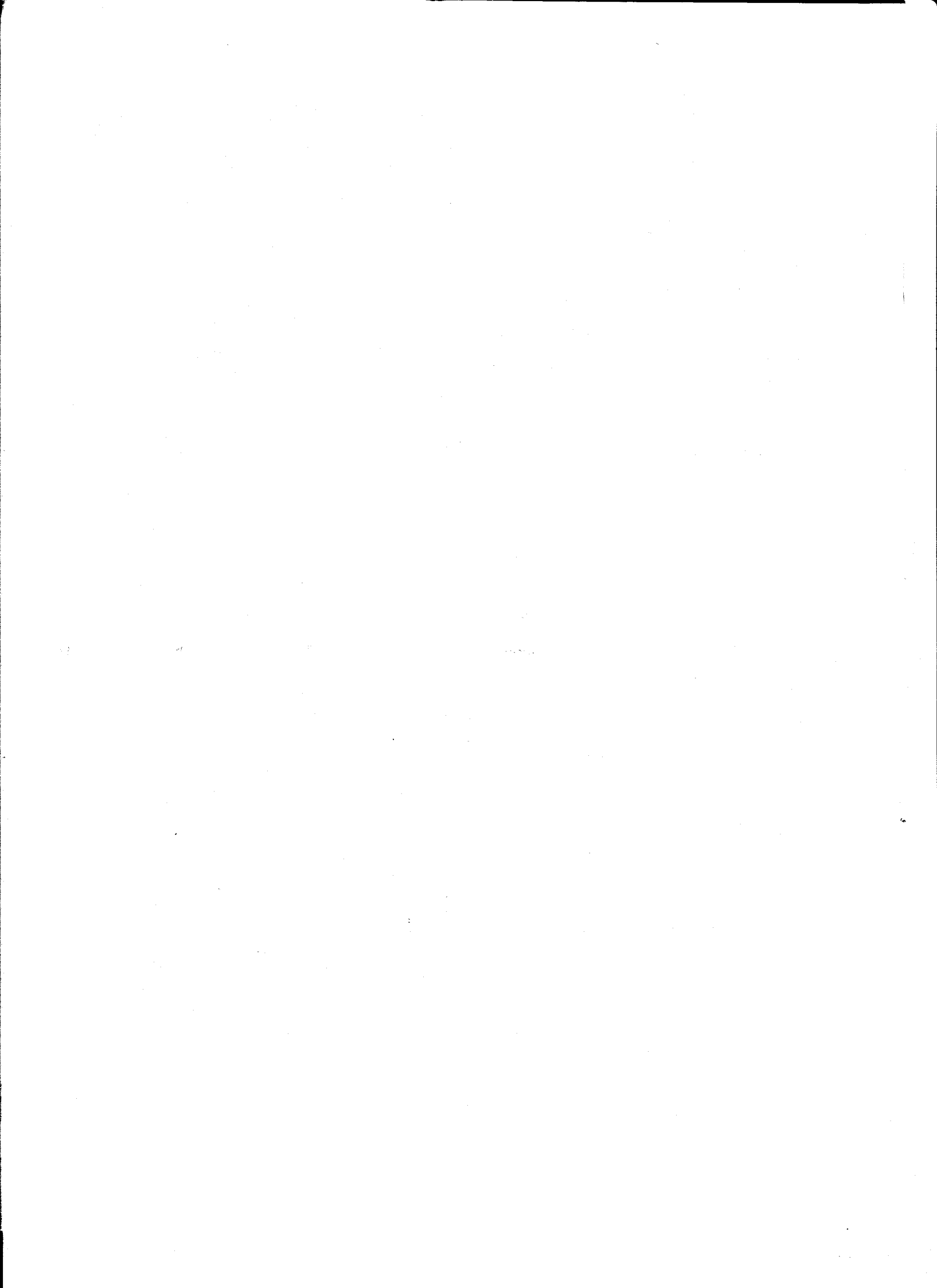
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**Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the great teacher, great leader, great
supreme commander and great helmsman, on the Tien An Men rostrum**



Somali National Assembly Delegation Arrives in Peking

Sheikh Mukhtar Mohamed Hussein, President of the Somali National Assembly, and the Somali parliamentary friendship delegation he led arrived in Peking by special plane on September 8 on a friendly visit to China at the invitation of Chu Teh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. Chairman Chu Teh and over 1,000 people from all walks of life in the capital gave the distinguished guests from Somalia a warm welcome at the airport.

That evening, Chairman Chu Teh gave a banquet in honour of the delegation. In his speech, Chu Teh said that the steady development of friendly relations between China and Somalia completely accorded with the interests of the Chinese and Somali peoples and was conducive to enhancing the great unity of the Asian and African peoples in their struggles against imperialism.

Chairman Chu Teh paid tribute to the Somali people for their great efforts in consolidating their national independence and building their country since the founding of the Somali Republic. He said that the friendship between the peoples of China and Somalia had been established in their common struggles against imperialism and colonialism.

Chairman Chu Teh pointed out that imperialism and old and new colonialism, headed by the United States, were pushing ahead with their domination, interference, subversion and aggression everywhere. He condemned U.S. imperialism for recklessly pressing ahead with its plot to "force peace talks through bombing" while expanding its aggression in Vietnam.

Chu Teh quoted Chairman Mao's statement that "the oppressed peoples and nations must not pin their hopes for liberation on the 'sensible-ness' of imperialism and its lackeys.

They will only triumph by strengthening their unity and persevering in their struggle." He added that the might of the people was invincible. So long as the people of Asia, Africa and the rest of the world were united, daring to fight and fearless of difficulties and advancing wave upon wave, they would certainly be able to bury imperialism and colonialism completely.

President Sheikh Mukhtar Mohamed Hussein, in his speech, said that the Somali people greatly admired the great Chinese people for their history and that the Somali people admired the great Chinese people who were carrying on a courageous struggle for their dignity, progress and prosperity. The People's Republic of China, he went on to say, had consistently worked for strengthening its friendly relations with the whole of Africa because the Chinese people, like the African peoples, had suffered from the hardships and bitterness brought by imperialism.

President Sheikh Mukhtar Mohamed Hussein noted that, since Somalia achieved independence, the People's Republic of China had given it support at every opportunity and in every field. Referring to accepting foreign aid for national construction, he said that the best help—help without any political strings attached—was the help given to the Somali people by the People's Republic of China in all fields. He praised the work of the Chinese doctors in his country. In conclusion, he wished eternal friendly co-operation between Somalia and China and long life to Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of the Chinese people.

On September 10, the Somali guests visited the National Agricultural Exhibition Centre in Peking. Writing in the visitors' book, President Sheikh Mukhtar Mohamed Hussein said: "I am astonished by

the Chinese peasants' achievements in overcoming poverty and improving the land. May they continue to advance with their determination to realize their bright future and for the good life of the next generation." Mustafa Scek Hassan Mohallim, a member of the Somali delegation, said that what evoked his admiration was that "Mao Tse-tung's thought has taken root in many ways, bringing the Chinese people great achievements in all fields. Agriculture, too, has developed enormously. The Chinese people have applied Mao Tse-tung's thought to their practical struggles."

Chen Yi Denounces U.S. Imperialism's "Peace Talks" Fraud

Kim Jai Sook, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Embassy of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in China, gave a reception in Peking on September 9 to celebrate the 18th anniversary of the founding of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Chinese Party and state leaders Chu Teh, Chen Yi and Li Hsien-nien were among those who attended.

Charge d'Affaires Kim Jai Sook gave an account of the Korean Democratic People's Republic's achievements in various fields in the 18 years since its founding. He reiterated the Korean people's active support for the fraternal Chinese people in the latter's just struggle to liberate Taiwan. He said that the Korean people were determined to struggle to the end side by side with the Vietnamese people.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi, in his speech, said that the Korean people had, under the leadership of the Korean Workers' Party and Government headed by Comrade Kim Il Sung, achieved fresh successes in opposing U.S. imperialist aggression and in building socialism.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi strongly condemned U.S. imperialism for its frantic efforts in reviving Japanese militarism, suppressing the Japanese people and committing aggression against Asian countries. The Sato government, he said, was the most reactionary Japanese Government since World War II. It had increasingly become an obedient tool in the hands of U.S. imperialism. It had concluded the so-called "Japan-ROK Treaty" with the Pak Jung Hi clique to enslave the people of south Korea and to threaten the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. It was bent on qualifying as a member of the new "Holy Alliance" in Asia against China plotted by U.S. imperialism and modern revisionism. The Chinese people, together with the Korean people, were firmly opposed to the criminal activities of the Japanese reactionaries headed by Sato.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi said: "We must warn the Sato government: we are not in the least afraid of these activities of yours. U.S. imperialism is not terrifying at all, nor is modern revisionism. Nor is it terrifying to have Japanese reaction added to the lot. The wilful and arbitrary actions of the Sato government can only plunge it into an abyss of disasters."

Vice-Premier Chen Yi also denounced U.S. imperialism for ceaselessly playing with the "peace talks" fraud while intensifying and expanding its war of aggression against Vietnam. More and more countries in the world, he said, have come to see clearly that the so-called peace talks of the United States are nothing but a means of preserving the vested interests of the U.S. aggressors. The Chinese people resolutely support the Appeal of President Ho Chi Minh, the great leader of the Vietnamese people. The only way left to the Vietnamese people is to fight through to the end and there is no possibility of making compromises half way. The only way to bring about peace is for the U.S. aggressors to get out of Vietnam immediately, totally, thoroughly and completely; otherwise, all the talk about peace negotiations is rubbish designed to deceive the people. The

"Chairman Mao With a Million Members of the Cultural Revolutionary Army" Being Shown

Chairman Mao With a Million Members of the Cultural Revolutionary Army, a full-length documentary colour film produced by the Central Newsreel and Documentary Film Studio, has been showing in the capital and other parts of the country since September 7. The film vividly recaptures the great historic moment on August 18 when Chairman

Mao — our great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman — met a million revolutionary people in the capital, including those from other parts of the country, in majestic Tien An Men Square to celebrate the great proletarian cultural revolution. The film has given added tremendous inspiration to the revolutionary masses.

700 million Chinese people, determined to undertake the greatest national sacrifices, firmly support the heroic Vietnamese people in carrying their sacred war of resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salvation through to the end.

Referring to the present excellent revolutionary situation throughout the world, Vice-Premier Chen Yi said that the modern revisionists had betrayed Marxism-Leninism, slandering it as being outdated. They advocated peaceful coexistence with imperialism and vigorously pressed ahead with their counter-revolutionary policy of collaborating with the United States for joint world domination. Chen Yi said that the modern revisionists had become the accomplices and props of U.S. imperialism in carrying out its policies of aggression and war throughout the world. To oppose imperialism, therefore, it was imperative to oppose modern revisionism. All true revolutionaries must draw a clear line of demarcation between themselves and the modern revisionists, resolutely expose their features as scabs and must not under any circumstances take "united action" with them.

E.F. Hill Arrives in Peking

Comrade E.F. Hill, Chairman of the Australian Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), and his wife arrived in Peking on September 12 for a friendly visit at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

Among those greeting them at the airport were Comrades Chou En-lai and Kang Sheng, Members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

Congolese (B) National Assembly Delegation Visits Chairman Mao's Birthplace

Mouyabi Andre Georges, President of the National Assembly of the Congo (Brazzaville), his wife and the National Assembly delegation he led visited Shaoshan, Chairman Mao's birthplace, in Hsiangtan County of Hunan Province on September 9. The next day, they went to the Hunan No. 1 Teachers' School and Chingshuitang (Clear Water Pool), both associated with Chairman Mao's early revolutionary activities. In the evening, the guests were honoured at a banquet given by Hsu Ming, Vice-Governor of Hunan. Speaking at the banquet, President Mouyabi Andre Georges said: "Not only is Chairman Mao the great leader of the Chinese people, but he is also the sun of progressive mankind."

During the Congolese guests' visit to Shaoshan, President Mouyabi wrote in the visitors' book, warmly praising Chairman Mao. He said: "Our world can look with more optimism to the future, because we have Chairman Mao Tse-tung who, as no one else, has grasped the key

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A Quotation From Chairman Mao Tse-tung

Make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again . . . till their doom; that is the logic of the imperialists and all reactionaries the world over in dealing with the people's cause, and they will never go against this logic.

"Cast Away Illusions, Prepare for Struggle"

The Chinese People, Armed With Mao Tse-tung's Thought, Do Not Fear U.S. Intimidation or Believe Its Lies

— Full Text of Ambassador Wang Kuo-chuan's Main Statement at the 131st Meeting of the Sino-U.S. Talks

I

Mr. Ambassador, today I would like first of all to speak on the question of Sino-U.S. relations.

(1) Throughout the past 17 years the U.S. Government has all along pursued a policy of hostility and aggression with respect to China. This policy has met with the strongest condemnation by the Chinese people and the people of the world and has gone completely bankrupt. However, unreconciled to its failure, the U.S. Government is employing its counter-revolutionary dual tactics in every possible way in order to cover up its criminal acts of hostility against the Chinese people.

Of late, one U.S. official after another has indicated a wish for "reconciliation," "building a bridge" and entering into "peaceful co-operation" with China. The U.S. Government thinks that the Chinese people and the people of the world will be hoodwinked by these high-sounding words it has uttered. This is sheer wishful thinking. Armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, the 700 million Chinese people neither fear intimidation by the United States nor believe in its lies. The ironclad facts in the past 17 years, and particularly in the recent period, prove that the U.S. Government's talk about "easing" Sino-U.S. relations is not worth a penny.

(2) The U.S. Government's military provocation and war threats against China have not only never stopped, they have become more and more unbridled. Since the last meeting, U.S. military aircraft and warships have again intruded into China's airspace and territorial waters on many occasions. Against this, the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs has served the 403rd-411th serious warnings on the U.S. Government. In the meantime, U.S. military aircraft have repeatedly harassed and attacked Chinese merchant ships and fishing boats on the high seas. On May 28, U.S. military aircraft wildly attacked Chinese fishing boats engaged in fishing in the high seas fishing area of the Bac Bo Gulf, killing and wounding as many as 21 Chinese fishermen. On August 29, U.S. military aircraft flagrantly attacked small Chinese cargo ships sailing along a normal route in the western part of the Bac Bo Gulf, sinking one Chinese cargo ship and damaging another, and killing nine Chinese crew members and wounding seven. The Chinese Ministry of National Defence has made the strongest protest against the U.S. Government on this. **The great Chinese people are not to be trifled with. The debts of blood incurred by the U.S. Government must be cleared and repaid. I am now instructed once again to address the most serious warning and the strongest protest to you and through you to the U.S. Government against its above-mentioned military provocations against China.**

Ambassador Wang Kuo-chuan's Statement on Sino-U.S. Talks

The 131st session of the Sino-U.S. Ambassadorial Talks was held in Warsaw at 2 p.m. on September 7. The meeting lasted three hours. The two sides agreed that the next session will take place at 2 p.m. on January 11, 1967.

After the meeting, Wang Kuo-chuan, Representative of the People's Republic of China and Chinese Ambassador to Poland, held a press conference at the meeting place where he made a statement, saying that **the whole world sees that the Chinese people have all along held high the banner opposing U.S. imperialism, and that the deceptive propaganda worked out jointly by the United States and the Soviet Union further exposes the collusion between the two of them.** The main statement he made at the meeting was distributed on the same occasion.

Ambassador Wang Kuo-chuan's statement at the press conference reads as follows:

The U.S. Government is still occupying Chinese territory, the province of Taiwan, by armed force and has increasingly turned it into a colony and military base. Not long ago, U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk personally went to Taiwan for secret talks with the Chiang Kai-shek gang to hatch criminal plots against the Chinese people. It was at this juncture that the Chiang Kai-shek gang clamoured for "counter-attack on the mainland." The forcible occupation of the Chinese province of Taiwan by the U.S. Government absolutely cannot be tolerated by the Chinese people. The recent scheming activities of U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk in Taiwan have further aroused the boundless indignation of the Chinese people. I am now instructed to reaffirm that **the Chinese people are determined to liberate Taiwan and that the U.S. Government must withdraw all its armed forces from Taiwan and the Taiwan Straits.**

The U.S. Government's invasion and occupation of Taiwan not only cannot be tolerated by the liberated Chinese people but also can under no circumstances be tolerated by their compatriots in the Chinese territory of Taiwan still under U.S. occupation. **Taiwan is an inalienable part of Chinese territory. The strong desire of our compatriots in Taiwan to return to the embrace of their motherland is certain to be attained and can never be repressed.** The U.S. Government's attempt to employ the small handful of Chiang Kai-shek's gang to prevent our compatriots in Taiwan from realizing their aspirations is doomed to ignominious failure.

For a long time, the U.S. Government has set up military bases around China and rigged up military

Recently, the U.S. Government has time and again violated the agreement between China and the United States by unilaterally revealing the contents of the Sino-U.S. Ambassadorial Talks. The Soviet revisionist leading clique has followed up by conducting a great deal of propaganda about a "Sino-U.S. dialogue." Singing a duet, they have spread deceptive propaganda in a vain attempt to create an impression of Sino-U.S. reconciliation, cover up the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war and obscure the banner of opposition to U.S. imperialism held aloft by the Chinese people. I am now instructed to make public my main statement at the 131st meeting of the Sino-U.S. Talks held today. From this statement all the just-minded people of the world will surely be able to see clearly the solemn and just stand taken by the Chinese Government in the Sino-U.S. Talks. The U.S. Government's deceptive propaganda and the Soviet revisionist leading clique's profuse nonsense will only serve further to expose their sinister features.

Furthermore, it is now energetically tightening its military encirclement of China. Recently, it summoned some of its vassals in Asia and the Pacific region, including the Chiang Kai-shek gang, for a meeting in Seoul, in an attempt to organize a new military alliance directed against China. Immediately afterwards, it collaborated with the Soviet revisionist leading clique and Japanese militarism in plotting a new "Holy Alliance" against communism, against the people, against revolution and against China. **The U.S. Government's attempt to encircle China is futile. The Chinese people who hold high the banner of opposition to U.S. imperialism will never be encircled. It is definitely not China, but the United States, which has been besieged ring upon ring by the people of the whole world. The Chinese people are confident that together with the oppressed peoples and nations of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the rest of the world, they can thoroughly smash any scheme of the U.S. Government for aggression, and are determined to do so.**

The U.S. Government's clamour for the establishment of a military encirclement of China is by no means a new trick. Didn't Japanese militarism formerly give much publicity to the "Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere" and play the trick of making "Asians fight Asians"? The U.S. Government's machination is merely something it has picked up from the garbage heap of Japanese militarism. The purpose of the U.S. Government in all this is to oppose China and at the same time to subject the entire Asian people to aggression and enslavement. The people of China and Asia will never be duped by you.

(3) What the U.S. Government has done to China irrefutably proves that the U.S. Government does not have the slightest sincerity about easing Sino-U.S. relations. On the contrary, it is carrying out its policies of hostility and aggression against China with redoubled efforts, shifting the centre of gravity of its global strategy eastward and regarding the Chinese people as its main enemy.

Twenty years ago, Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of the Chinese people, put forward his brilliant thesis that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers. We would like to take this opportunity to warn the U.S. Government: The Chinese people have already had trials of strength with you and we know full well what you are capable of. We have made preparations. Should you dare to impose a war on the Chinese people, we will surely take you on and keep you company to the end.

Mr. Ambassador, the affairs of any country in the world should be managed by its people themselves. Asian affairs should be managed by the Asian people themselves and definitely not by the United States. U.S. aggression against Asia can only arouse the broad and resolute resistance of the Asian people. In coming to Asia to perform its so-called duty, the United States will only run against a brick wall and have itself badly battered. It is now high time that the U.S. Government should realize this point. The U.S. aggressors must get out of Taiwan and the Taiwan Straits. They must get out of Asia.

II

Mr. Ambassador, I would now like to make some comments on the U.S. Government's expansion of its war of aggression against Vietnam.

(1) Make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again . . . till their doom; that is the logic of the imperialists and all reactionaries the world over in dealing with the people's cause. The U.S. Government will never go against this logic in its actions in Vietnam.

Since the last meeting, the U.S. Government has flagrantly extended its bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam to Hanoi, the capital of Vietnam, and Haiphong, its important harbour, carrying out the most despicable and most shameless war blackmail against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and pushing its war of aggression against Vietnam to a new and still graver stage. At the same time, the U.S. Government has increased the number of its aggressor troops in southern Vietnam to over 300,000 and with increasing vigour pursued its scorched earth policy of "burn all, kill all, destroy all" against the south Vietnamese people. Furthermore, the U.S. Government has instigated its south Vietnamese puppets, the Thai reactionaries and the Laotian Rightists to make military provocations against Cambodia and launch frantic

attacks on the liberated areas of Laos in its attempt to spread the flames of war to the whole of Indo-China.

The U.S. Government has done its utmost to make trouble in Vietnam, but all it gains or can gain is the most disgraceful failure. U.S. pirate planes have been dealt head-on blows over northern Vietnam by the heroic Vietnamese people. The U.S. aggressor troops have been badly beaten in southern Vietnam. The U.S. aggressors have suffered defeats at the hands of the Vietnamese people and are foredoomed to failure in Vietnam.

It is a pity that the U.S. Government has failed to draw the lessons and become a bit cleverer. Like a gambler, the more it loses, the more desperate and reckless it becomes. All indications show that the U.S. Government is speeding up recruitment and preparing to increase its aggressor troops in Vietnam to 400,000, 500,000 or even 750,000. In a word, it is still trying to save itself from defeat by means of war expansion.

But history has always proved merciless to the aggressor. The more the U.S. Government expands the war, the more disastrous will be its defeat. Each time the U.S. Government suffers a defeat, it escalates the war; and each time it escalates the war, it suffers a correspondingly heavier defeat. The U.S. Government has been inescapably caught in a vicious circle in Vietnam.

(2) In order to maintain their rule and carry out expansion abroad, reactionary ruling classes have always resorted to the dual tactics of butcher-like suppression and priest-like deception. This is exactly what the U.S. Government has been doing in Vietnam.

Each time the U.S. Government throws a faggot into the flames of war in Vietnam, it always follows this up with a prayer for peace. Recently, while widening the war the U.S. Government has spread another smokescreen of "peace talks" with the collaboration of the Soviet revisionist leading clique and reactionaries in various countries. They plead energetically for "de-escalation" of the Vietnam war. They loudly advocate a settlement of the Vietnam question on the basis of the Geneva agreements.

The heroic and long-tested Vietnamese people are neither to be cowed nor to be duped. However glibly the U.S. Government talks and however actively the Soviet revisionist leading clique lends you its supporting voice, the Vietnamese people will never believe that a treaty on paper alone will make U.S. imperialism lay down its butcher's knife and suddenly become a Buddha or behave a little better. They have exposed the U.S. peace talk swindles one after another.

As everyone knows, escalation or de-escalation, the U.S. war against Vietnam is a war of aggression. **The crux of the Vietnam question at present is absolutely not the gradual de-escalation of the war, but the immediate and complete withdrawal of the U.S. aggressors from southern Vietnam. The U.S. Government can never succeed in its scheme of "forcing peace**

talks through bombing." As everyone knows, the Geneva agreements were torn to shreds by the U.S. Government long ago. The attempt to use the Geneva agreements to tie the hands of the people of Vietnam, China and the whole world will never succeed.

The U.S. Government's peace talks swindle has already been discredited, and is bound to be thoroughly discredited. The U.S. Government will never be able to obtain at the conference table what it has failed to obtain on the battlefield. By playing its counter-revolutionary dual tactics, the U.S. Government absolutely cannot deceive the Vietnamese people and the people of the world; on the contrary, it will only further reveal its sinister features before the whole world.

(3) The Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation is a just one; it has won the firm support of the people throughout the world and is sure to be victorious. The Vietnamese people's war is an iron bastion which it is impossible, and absolutely impossible, for any force on earth to smash.

On July 17, President Ho Chi Minh of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam issued an Appeal in which he solemnly declared: "Johnson and his clique should realize this: They may bring in 500,000 troops, one million or even more to step up the war of aggression in south Vietnam. They may use thousands of aircraft for intensified attacks against north Vietnam. But never will they be able to break the iron will of the heroic Vietnamese people to fight against U.S. aggres-

sion, for national salvation. . . . The war may still last 5, 10, 20 years or longer. Hanoi, Haiphong and other cities, and enterprises may be destroyed, but the Vietnamese people will not be intimidated! Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom." This sublime and heroic declaration of President Ho Chi Minh's is the most powerful answer to the U.S. imperialist policy of war blackmail.

The Chinese people most warmly and most resolutely support the Appeal of President Ho Chi Minh of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and firmly support the Vietnamese people in carrying the fight through to the end until not a single American soldier remains on the sacred soil of Vietnam and final victory is won in the war of resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. The Chinese Government has time and again solemnly stated that U.S. imperialist aggression against Vietnam is aggression against China. The 700 million Chinese people provide powerful backing for the Vietnamese people. The vast expanse of China's territory is the reliable rear area of the Vietnamese people. In order to support the Vietnamese people in winning thorough victory in the war of resistance against U.S. aggression, the Chinese people are ready to undertake maximum national sacrifices.

The Chinese people mean what they say. If you underestimate the strong determination of the Chinese people to support the Vietnamese people in carrying the fight through to the end and if you underestimate the actions which the Chinese people will take to this end, then you will be committing a grave historical blunder and will find it too late to repent.

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Take Firm Hold of the Revolution and Stimulate Production

THE 16-point decision [of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution—*Ed.*] which was drawn up under the guidance of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, correctly points out: "The great proletarian cultural revolution is a powerful motive force for the development of the social productive forces in our country."

The great proletarian cultural revolution in our country is powerfully promoting the revolutionization of people's ideology, is further liberating the social pro-

ductive forces and unleashing the productive initiative and creativeness of the mass of workers and of rural people's commune members on an increasing scale, so creating new, favourable conditions for a vigorous development of industry and agriculture.

Towards the end of the War of Resistance Against Japan, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out: "The widespread movements for rectification and for production which began in 1942 and 1943 respectively have played and are still playing a decisive role, the one in our ideological and the other in our material life. Unless we

grasp these two links at the right time, we shall be unable to grasp the whole chain of the revolution, and our struggle will not advance."

The rectification movement initiated by Comrade Mao Tse-tung at that time was in fact a movement for the revolutionization of ideology. His explanation of the role of the movements for rectification and for production and his views on the need for a timely grasping of these two links so that our struggle would continue to advance are entirely applicable for us today.

The movement for proletarian cultural revolution and the movement for socialist production are inter-related. The aim of the great proletarian cultural revolution is to revolutionize people's ideology and consequently to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in all fields of work. We must look upon the great proletarian cultural revolution as the key link and take a firm hold of the revolution on the one hand and of production on the other so as to guarantee that both the cultural revolution and production go forward without a hitch.

In building socialism, we have both an ideological front and a material front. On the ideological front we remould old ideas and enhance our socialist revolutionary consciousness. On the material front we transform nature and develop our socialist national economy. Progressive thought takes the lead. Mao Tse-tung's thought is the engine for our advance on both fronts. By using Mao Tse-tung's thought to remould the very souls of men and promote the revolutionization of their ideology, victory will be won on the ideological front. As a consequence, this will inspire people to use their initiative consciously and guarantee the winning of still greater victories on the material front too.

This year is the first year of China's Third Five-Year Plan. The broad masses of our workers, commune members, scientific and technical personnel and other working people should carry their soaring revolutionary enthusiasm, called up by the great cultural revolution, into the struggles for industrial and agricultural production and scientific experiment. Acting as masters, we should stand firm at our posts in production and grasp the links in production promptly at the proper time, so that industrial and agricultural production will show still newer features and still greater prosperity.

Leaders of all factories, mines, enterprises, people's communes, units engaged in capital construction and scientific research establishments must take firm hold of these two links—the cultural revolution and the promotion of production—and arrange their work well. There must be a proper division of work. Two appropriate leading groups are needed; one mainly in charge of the cultural revolution, the other of production, of output, variety and quality, with special attention being paid to quality. The group in charge of production must also take part in the cultural revolution, but their main efforts must be in leading production. A unified leadership over these two groups is necessary; each should not act on its own. Once the masses are

fully mobilized and proper arrangements are made, victories are assured in both the cultural revolution and production.

The cultural revolution movement in factories, mines, enterprises, units engaged in capital construction, scientific research establishments and service trades, and the socialist education movement in the countryside, i.e., the "four clean-ups" movement [to clean things up in the fields of politics, ideology, organization and economy — *Ed.*], should be carried out by the revolutionary masses there. If the original arrangements for the "four clean-ups" movement in the countryside or in the cities are considered appropriate by the masses and the movement is going well, then no change is necessary. The Red Guards from the schools and the revolutionary students ought not to go there to interfere in those arrangements. They need not take part in the debates there. Workers, poor and lower-middle peasants are the main force of the revolution. They are fully capable of handling the revolutionary movement in their own organizations well. Besides, conditions in these units differ and they have very big tasks in production. Interference from outsiders who do not understand the situation can easily affect the normal progress of production.

The autumn harvest is drawing near. It promises to be a year of good harvests. Leaders at all levels, and particularly those at county level and leaders of the rural people's communes, must be sure not to let the farm season slip by them and must concentrate all their efforts on making a good job of this year's autumn harvest. When the farm work is heavy, the "four clean-ups" movement may be temporarily suspended. The Red Guards from the schools and the revolutionary teachers and students should organize themselves to go to the countryside to take part in manual labour there, help with the autumn harvest and learn from poor and lower-middle peasants their diligence, revolutionary enthusiasm and other fine qualities as working people.

The important task before the whole Party and the entire people is to take firm hold of the revolution and stimulate production by raising aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and taking the 16-point decision as their ideological weapon. We firmly believe that with the upsurge of the great proletarian cultural revolution, a new upsurge in socialist production and construction will surely emerge.

In the later stage of the Anti-Japanese War, Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: ". . . there can be no doubt of the historic importance of the two great movements for rectification and production."

He also said: "Let us go forward and spread these two great movements everywhere as a foundation for the fulfilment of other tasks in our struggle. If we can do so, the complete liberation of the Chinese people will be assured."

The victory of the Chinese People's Liberation War and the victory of the great revolution of the Chinese

people have fully confirmed this brilliant thesis of Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

Now, if we act unswervingly in accordance with Comrade Mao Tse-tung's instructions and take further steps to spread these two great movements of cultural revolution and of developing production throughout

the country, we will win even greater victories in our great cause of socialist revolution and socialist construction. Can there be any doubt about this? We hold that there can be no doubt about it.

(*"Renmin Ribao" editorial, September 7.*)

Great Cultural Revolution Spurs Big Development in Production

"The great proletarian cultural revolution is a powerful motive force for the development of the social productive forces in our country."

— Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

THE great proletarian cultural revolution, without parallel in history, has promoted the ideological revolutionization of the people and become a powerful motive force for the advancement of production. Workers, rural commune members, scientific and technical personnel and other working people are raising high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, grasping the great proletarian cultural revolution as the key link and taking firm hold of the revolution to give fresh stimulus to production. They are out to seize victory in revolution as well as in production and construction. An invigorating revolutionary atmosphere prevails throughout the country and a situation is emerging in which a new all-round leap forward is developing.

On the Industrial Front

The situation in industry is excellent. Having overcome hot weather difficulties, which continued through July and August, and difficulties with lower-grade raw materials, the textile workers of Shanghai broke the usual pattern of declining output in the hot third quarter. They kept output on the rise and maintained quality.

In both July and August Shanghai's per unit output of cotton yarn (output per 1,000 spindles per hour) and cloth (output per loom per hour) exceeded the figures for the second quarter and set new records for China's textile industry. Cotton yarn and cotton cloth output topped last year's corresponding figures by 12.7 per cent and 13.8 per cent respectively. The output of chemical fibres, woollen and silk textiles also increased while quality remained firm.

In the great cultural revolution, the broad masses of workers overturned the old bourgeois technical

"authorities," established new proletarian technical authorities and became true masters of technology. In the Shanghai No. 11 Cotton Mill, the old technical "authorities" maintained that the new drafting process could not be done on the old machines. Refusing to be taken in by this myth, the workers succeeded in introducing the new process on nine spinning frames which are more than 40 years old and thus nearly doubled drafting efficiency.

The great proletarian cultural revolution has given fresh stimulus to the communist style of mutual help and co-operation among the broad masses of workers. Workshops, work teams and different shifts supported and co-operated with each other in overcoming many difficulties and boosting production. When the spinning shop of the Shanghai No. 21 Cotton Mill faced a shortage of manpower, workers in the processing shop promptly lent a hand. They declared: "The imperialists and modern revisionists are afraid of the development of our great proletarian cultural revolution and of the rise in our socialist production. So we will work with one mind and co-operate to win victory in both revolution and production."

In Pingdingshan Coalfield, Honan Province, in the first eight months of this year the production capacity of the pits was increased by 47 per cent compared with the same period in 1963; coal output and average efficiency of all personnel were 51.37 per cent and 108.89 per cent higher respectively; and costs were reduced by 25.54 per cent.

Workers and staff members of the coalfield, raising high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and putting daring above all, have hit out sharply at un-

reasonable rules and regulations, arrangements that do not give prominence to proletarian politics, and all old ideas, working styles, customs and forces in management, and proposed a series of new, revolutionary measures. Various measures were taken to strengthen political and ideological work at the actual point of production: some mines reformed their labour organization, others introduced a system by which cadres at the grassroots go down the pits and work together with the miners, still others made arrangements for engineering and technical personnel to work by turns for a spell as miners. These measures have notably promoted the revolutionization of industrial management.

In production technique, workers and staff members, showing contempt for the bourgeois "authorities" and daring to think, act, make revolution and create, have since last year proposed 1,100 innovations. Of these, 830, including 180 innovations of major importance, have already been put into operation. This has materially raised the degree of mechanization of coal production and transformed the technical face of the shafts.

The tremendous drive of the broad masses of workers and staff members stemming from the socialist education movement and the great cultural revolution has been channelled into coal production. Many new people and new things have come to the fore. Many people mined coal for the revolution without any consideration of personal gain. Some came forward to deal with underground hazards, others climbed high pylons in a gale to repair high-tension transmission lines, still others remained at their underground posts during a stoppage of electricity supply to ensure the safety of the shafts and swiftly restore operations afterwards.

At the famous Taching Oilfield, as the great cultural revolution goes deeper, the ideological revolutionization of people is enhanced and production is developing at an even faster rate. The No. 1205 drilling crew bored five wells in May, seven in June, nine in July and ten in August. In 218 days, they drilled a total of 50,000 metres, reaching an advanced world level.

Workers at the Tientsin No. 3 Rolling Mill, using Mao Tse-tung's thought as their weapon, have exposed those in authority who were taking the capitalist road and the "ghosts and monsters" hidden in the mill. Their revolutionary drive soared. They overfulfilled rolled stock production goals for the first eight months of this year and improved quality too.

On the Agricultural Front

The situation on the agricultural front is also excellent. This year's autumn harvest is approaching and in all likelihood this will be another good year following four successive years of good harvests.

Good tidings are coming in from areas where early and semi-late rice and other early-autumn crops have been gathered in. Preliminary statistics show that both in terms of total output and per *mu* yield Kiangsi Prov-

ince's more than 25 million *mu* of land gave an increase of 10 per cent or more in early and semi-late rice compared with last year. In Suichi County, Kwangtung Province, the early rice crop this year was exceptionally good, topping by 44 per cent last year's record, which itself was a 60 per cent advance on 1964. In Shantung, fairly good early autumn crops of sorghum, maize, millet, etc., have been gathered in from the more than 20 million *mu* planted to such crops. In Szechuan, the province with the largest population and a great rice area, the early rice crop is 10 per cent bigger than that of last year. News of good semi-late rice and maize crops, both now being harvested, is also coming in. The cotton-producing areas in both south and north, report that the cotton is doing well with full stands of sturdy seedlings, and budding, flowering and fruiting earlier than usual. All this promises a rich cotton crop.

All these achievements come as a result of the zealous study of Chairman Mao's works by the broad masses of commune members and cadres who thus acquired the idea of farming for the revolution. Many cadres and commune members have put up in the fields wooden boards inscribed with quotations from Chairman Mao or they carry Chairman Mao's works with them so that whenever a difficult problem crops up they can immediately study and apply what they have studied. This has enabled them to find timely solutions for many difficulties and problems in production. As many peasants have pointed out: "Men follow Chairman Mao's teachings and the land in turn works according to men's will." In the cotton-producing regions in the north, this year there was a general spring drought at sowing time, while in the south not a few cotton regions suffered from drought and outbreaks of pests after the sowing; some places were hit by hail as well. Faced with such natural calamities, the broad masses of cadres and commune members again and again studied Chairman Mao's writings — "The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains," "Serve the People" and "Cast Away Illusions, Prepare for Struggle." This greatly strengthened their courage and confidence in conquering their difficulties. Inspired by Chairman Mao's words: "Resolute and unafraid of sacrifice, they will surmount every difficulty to win victory," cadres and commune members in Honan Province with boundless enthusiasm triumphed over the drought. They worked out many ingenious measures to finally ensure the normal growth of their cotton plants.

At the present time, the great proletarian cultural revolution is heading towards a new upsurge. The broad masses of workers and peasants have declared that they are determined to follow Chairman Mao's teachings and forge ahead courageously along the two fronts, the ideological and the material. They are determined to serve as the main force in the cultural revolution and the shock force in the struggle for production. They are convinced that, following the high tide of the cultural revolution, there will be a new upsurge in our socialist production and construction.

Long Live the Revolutionary Rebel Spirit Of the Proletariat (II)*

In the last analysis, all the truths of Marxism can be summed up in one sentence: "To rebel is justified." . . . According to this principle, stand up and resist, struggle, build socialism.

— Mao Tse-tung

IN the past, when the workers overthrew the capitalists and the peasants overthrew the landlords, the exploiting classes vilified this as rebellion. Proletarian rebellion, what a glorious designation!

Have old ideas and old culture, old customs and old habits, which give rise to revisionism, been completely eliminated today?

No!

Have the black lines and sinister gangs in every place and every unit been completely eliminated?

No!

Will new black lines and sinister gangs appear in the future after the present ones are eliminated?

Yes!

Have imperialism, modern revisionism and all reactionaries been eliminated?

No! No!! No!!!

Under these circumstances, shouldn't we, the proletarian class, rise up and rebel? Shouldn't the revolutionary rebel spirit of the proletariat live for ever?

*This and the following are two more revolutionary big-character posters on "Long live the revolutionary rebel spirit of the proletariat" written by the Red Guards of the Middle School Attached to Tsinghua University. Their first poster on the same subject appeared in our last issue. — Ed.

Bourgeois Rightist gentlemen, we rebels have leadership, weapon, organization, "ambition," and powerful backing. We are not to be taken lightly.

We have the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao to lead us!

We have the great invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung as our weapon!

Our organization is the thoroughgoing revolutionary Red Guards!

Our "ambition" is to sweep away all ghosts and monsters!

It is easier to shake mountains than the Red Guards!

Bourgeois Rightist gentlemen, we can understand very well your special mood: We have exercised dictatorship over you. You find it hard to bear, and you too want to shout, "rebel." No wonder there has been this recent queer phenomenon of both the Left and the Right shouting "rebel" in unison.

Let us tell you frankly that the eyes of a fish cannot be confused with pearls. We are permitting only the Left to rebel, not the Right! If you dare to rebel we will immediately suppress you! This is our logic. After all, the state machine is in our hands.

Long live the revolutionary rebel spirit of the proletariat!

Red Guards
Middle School Attached to
Tsinghua University

July 4, 1966

Long Live the Revolutionary Rebel Spirit Of the Proletariat (III)

ALL present day reactionaries and those of antiquity, in China and in other countries, say: Exploitation is justified; oppression is justified; aggression is justified; and revisionist rule is justified; but it is

unjustifiable for the proletariat to rebel. It is Chairman Mao, our most respected and beloved leader and the greatest revolutionary teacher, who turned this pig-headed theory right side up. Chairman Mao has said:

"In the last analysis, all the truths of Marxism can be summed up in one sentence: 'To rebel is justified.'" The current great proletarian cultural revolution is a great revolutionary rebellion. We will stage a great rebellion against whoever is revisionist and opposed to Mao Tse-tung's thought.

We, Chairman Mao's most faithful Red Guards, are boundlessly loyal to Chairman Mao. We shall most resolutely, bravely and faithfully carry out the supreme directive for the great proletarian cultural revolution — Chairman Mao's supreme directive concerning rebellion.

The attitude towards revolutionary rebellious actions is a watershed dividing people who are faithful to the supreme directive from those who are against the supreme directive, and dividing revolution from counter-revolution.

You are a revolutionary? Then you must welcome, support and take part in revolutionary rebellion and rebel to the end.

You are a counter-revolutionary? Then, from your class instincts, you will inevitably curse, oppose, resist and suppress rebellions.

The revolutionary proletarian Left lives by revolutionary rebellion! The bourgeois revisionists are staging rebellions against us every day. If you don't rebel against them, they will rebel against you. Sitting on the fence and being eclectic won't do! We must stage a great revolutionary rebellion against the sinister gang, the old world, old ideas, old culture, old customs and old habits, and everything that is opposed to Mao Tse-tung's thought!

Those gentlemen who tremble with fear, frown, fly into a rage, curse, or go into hysterics when they

hear of revolutionary rebellion are either counter-revolutionaries or muddle-headed fools. These scoundrels only allow themselves to rebel against the proletariat but forbid us proletariat to rebel against them. That is to say "while magistrates are allowed to burn down houses the common people are forbidden even to light lamps." This is preposterous and bullying people too much!

To rebel is in the tradition of us proletarian revolutionaries, the tradition which the Red Guards must carry on and develop. We rebelled in the past, rebel now and will rebel in the future! We will rebel as long as there are classes and class struggle! We will rebel as long as there are contradictions! The revolutionary rebel spirit is needed for a hundred years, a thousand years, ten thousand years, and 100 million years to come!

The current great proletarian cultural revolution is a great storm filled with the revolutionary rebel spirit of the proletariat. Red Guard fighters and all revolutionary comrades, let us fly into this great storm like courageous sea gulls!

Red Guard fighters, since we have already staged a rebellion, let us carry it through to the end! Go ahead, and let the revolutionary storm blow more fiercely!

Long live, long live the revolutionary rebel spirit of the proletariat!

Red Guards
Middle School Attached to
Tsinghua University

July 27, 1966

THE WEEK

(Continued from p. 6.)

to the world in our 20th century, and because we have the outstanding thought that he has advanced for the building of socialism." He added that Chairman Mao was a man "with outstanding and ever fresh ideas."

President Mouyabi went on to say: "Shaoshan has significance not only for the Chinese people but also for the people of the world." During their flight from Nanking to Changsha, some of the guests asked the interpreters to help them study *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, while others said that they would take the translated version of

the *Quotations* back home, study it well and actively propagate it. The distinguished guests were warmly welcomed by the people of Shaoshan and by workers, peasants, soldiers and Red Guards who had come from various places to visit Chairman Mao's birthplace.

Afterwards, the guests hurried to buy busts of Chairman Mao in the shops of Shaoshan. Holding a newly purchased bust in his hands, one of them said with great feeling: "I'll take this bust of Chairman Mao back with me and put it on my desk in the office to express my deep love for Chairman Mao."

In the museum nearby, the distinguished guests saw the spears used

by the Chinese people during the First Revolutionary Civil War. When the guide in the museum told them that these simple weapons, once in the hands of the people, had great power and could be used to destroy the old world and create a new one, the guests were extremely interested. Some of them said that they would tell their people back home what they had seen in China. President Mouyabi said: "I agree with Chairman Mao's thesis that imperialists are paper tigers. They look powerful and have big inflated bellies. But they shrink to nothing as soon as they feel a puff of wind." He added: "We are determined to wage an unflagging struggle against imperialism headed by the United States."

Foreign Ministry's Note to Indonesian Embassy

Sept. 5, 1966

- The Chinese Government demands that the Indonesian Government ensure the smooth carrying out of the work of transporting back the persecuted Chinese nationals.
- The note informs the Indonesian Government that the first ship for transporting persecuted Chinese nationals will arrive at Port Belawan of Medan around September 20.

ON September 2, Mr. Mardjuni, Deputy Director of the Department of Asian and Pacific Affairs of the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, gave a reply to Mr. Yao Teng-shan, Charge d'Affaires a.i. of the Chinese Embassy in Indonesia, to the effect that the Indonesian Government has agreed to the dispatch of ships by the Chinese Government to Medan and Banda Atjeh to transport back those persecuted Chinese nationals who desire to return to China of their own will.

Back on May 18, the Chinese Government notified the Indonesian Government of the Chinese Government's decision to send ships to Indonesia to transport back those persecuted Chinese nationals who desire to return to China of their own will. For several months, the Indonesian Government kept on delaying the answer, thus preventing Chinese ships for this purpose from setting sail. Now, in accordance with the above reply of the Indonesian Government, the Chinese Government has decided that the first Chinese ship for transporting the Chinese nationals will arrive at Port Belawan of Medan around September 20, 1966. The said ship is capable of receiving some 700 persons.

In view of the fact that large numbers of persecuted Chinese nationals have lost their means of subsistence and have no guarantee for their safety as a result of the Indonesian Government's rabid activities of opposing China and persecuting Chinese nationals, the Chinese Government raises the following demands in order to ensure the smooth carrying out of the work of transporting back the persecuted Chinese nationals:

1. The Indonesian Government must immediately stop its persecution of Chinese nationals, release all those who have been arrested and detained, and effectively protect the lives and property of the Chinese nationals.

2. As there are large numbers of persecuted Chinese nationals who desire to return to China of their

own will and as they are in various parts of Indonesia, they have to be transported back to China by stages and groups. The Chinese Government will send ships in succession to Djakarta, Surabaya, Makasar and other relevant Indonesian ports to transport back those persecuted Chinese nationals who desire to return to China of their own will.

3. The Indonesian Government must effectively ensure the safety of the Chinese ships and their crews going to transport back the Chinese nationals during their entry into and departure from the Indonesian territorial waters as well as their stay at Indonesian ports, and provide them with the necessary assistance and facilities.

4. The dispatch of ships by China to Indonesia to transport back the persecuted Chinese nationals is an important matter affecting the relations between the two countries and must be discussed and settled by the representatives of the two Governments. The Chinese Consul-General to Djakarta Hsu Jen, Consul Shih Chin-kan and Vice-Consul Kuang Shu-ming will immediately proceed to Medan together with the necessary working personnel to arrange for the transportation of the first group of persecuted Chinese nationals. The Chinese Government demands that the Indonesian Government effectively ensure their safety and provide them with the necessary facilities. It also demands that the Indonesian Government send its officials to Medan to join in the work.

5. The Indonesian Government should ensure the safety of the returning Chinese nationals while they are travelling to or staying in ports, provide them with such necessary facilities as transportation, food, accommodation, etc., simplify the procedures for their departure and must not hinder them from bringing back their personal effects and funds.

Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau Statement on Baku Splittist Meeting

- **Points out that the Baku splittist meeting, thrown together by the Soviet revisionists, was a miserable failure.**
- **Appeals to all writers of Asia and Africa to heighten their vigilance, strengthen their unity and thoroughly destroy the Soviet splittists' sabotage plot.**

The following statement censuring the Baku splittist meeting was read by Secretary-General R.D. Senanayake on behalf of the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau at an enlarged meeting of the Bureau's Executive Secretariat.

Representatives of the Bureau's member nations and representatives of some of the countries and regions which took part in the Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting attended the September 9 enlarged meeting of the Executive Secretariat. They consisted of representatives from Ceylon, China, Cameroon, Indonesia, Japan, the Sudan, Angola, Iran, Malaya, Malgache, Niger, North Kalimantan, Tanzania, Thailand and the Yemen.

Senanayake gave a report at the meeting on the work of the Bureau's Executive Secretariat since its founding, and also announced that the first issue of the Bureau's organ "The Call" (English edition) had come off the press. — Ed.

THE Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau considers it necessary to issue a further statement to keep all writers and peoples of our two continents informed of what actually happened at the Soviet splittist meeting in Baku.

First of all let us convey our profound respect and highest considerations to all writers of Asian and African countries who, responding to our appeal made on August 15, 1966, have dealt a severe blow on the Soviet revisionist splittists in ignoring their call to attend this conspiracy and plot against the revolutionary Afro-Asian writers' movement and thereby made this splittist meeting a miserable failure.

Attending this Baku splittist meeting were only some persons from 17 Afro-Asian countries. Among them were some persons who were misinformed and were unaware of the underlying plot and the scheme of the Soviet splittists, while some others were renegades and reactionaries who were accomplices of the splittists. Yet some others were of very insignificant representative character. To cover up the weakness of the response to their call from Asia and Africa, the Soviet splittists had to invite a few guests from Latin

American and European countries and even from the United States of America, to make up the number of participants. Even then they had not been able to cover up their miserable failure.

An analysis of the utterances of the Soviet revisionist splittists before the Baku splittist meeting and at the meeting itself and the response to them of even those few who had participated, shows the utter helplessness into which the Soviet splittists have slipped down in their isolation.

The Soviet revisionist splittists had announced on August 16, in Moscow, that all participants would take part in all the debates at Baku. Chugunov, secretary in charge of the Soviet Afro-Asian Writers' Liaison Committee, according to TASS, reporting from Baku on September 1, had appealed to both Soviet and foreign men of letters to support the resolutions adopted at the Cairo splittist meeting in June. In a sorrowful tune, he had also said at this splittist meeting that failure or success of the Cairo splittist resolutions would depend on the effective support rendered by them and the other member countries to the fake Secretariat in Cairo.

But it is of significance to note that not a single country outside the Soviet Union had supported or associated itself with the resolutions adopted or statements issued at the conclusion of the Baku splittist meeting. At the end of the Baku splittist meeting the Soviet splittists had to act single-handed and issue an "appeal," a "statement" and a "resolution" in the name of the Soviet Writers' Union.

In the "appeal," the Soviet splittists hypocritically say that "they are opposing everything which causes splits in the friendly ranks of men of letters of various continents."

Any sensible person can see how ridiculous and shameless these utterances are, in the light of the splittist activities initiated by these dishonest men of the Soviet Writers' Union. Everyone knows that they are the very splittists who engineered the Cairo splittist meeting in June this year, when the Afro-Asian Writers'

Bureau sought their approval to hold the Emergency Meeting of Afro-Asian Writers in Peking to support the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression. They preach unity and practise splittism. They preach opposition to U.S. imperialism and practise capitulationism. They are in fact serving the U.S. imperialists by their criminal activities of splitting the Afro-Asian writers' movement.

In their "statement," the Soviet revisionists reveal the true nature of the so-called support they are extending to the Vietnamese people. The "statement" says: "In our view the four points of the Government of the D.R.V. and the five points of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, are the *reasonable basis for the political settlement of the Vietnam question.*" This indicates their desire to sell out the interest of the Vietnamese people in a so-called negotiated settlement on that basis with the U.S. imperialists and their reluctance to support the Vietnamese people in their determined fight against the U.S. aggressors till they are driven out of Vietnam, and till final victory.

This is the sham support and genuine betrayal the Soviet revisionists are extending to the heroic people of Vietnam. This becomes more and more evident by the fact that quite apart from supporting it, the Soviet revisionists have not even mentioned a word about the "Appeal" made by President Ho Chi Minh on July 17, 1966.

While appealing to the whole nation to continue the struggle to the very end and soliciting vigorous support and help of all friendly countries to the Vietnamese people until total victory in the struggle against U.S. aggressors, President Ho Chi Minh said that the four points of the D.R.V. and the five points of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation are the *only solution* for the Vietnam problem. *There is no alternative.* But the Soviet revisionists say that these points can only be *a reasonable basis for a political settlement.* Thus, once more, the Soviet revisionists expose themselves as the No. 1 accomplice of the U.S. imperialists in trying to "force peace negotiation through bombing."

In their "resolution," the Soviet splittists regarded it as "their most important task" to give all-out support to the fake "Secretariat of the Bureau based in Cairo." This is yet another instance where they openly expressed their determination to continue the splittist activities while hypocritically appealing for unity. Splitting the Afro-Asian writers' movement has become their most important task!

In addressing the Baku splittist meeting, Chugunov has also said that the Executive Committee of the writers' organization will convene a meeting to endorse the resolutions adopted at the Cairo splittist meeting and settle the problem of the time and venue of the Third Conference of Afro-Asian Writers.

This only shows that Chugunov is the real Secretary-General of the fake Bureau in Cairo. He seems to have forgotten the fact that 53 countries and regions including 20 of the 23 Executive Committee countries and five Afro-Asian international organizations have, at the Emergency Meeting held in Peking, already condemned and denounced the Cairo splittist meeting and decided that the Third Conference of Afro-Asian Writers be held in China. Now he speaks of convening another Executive Committee meeting to endorse the Cairo splittist meeting. This shows how desperate they are!

The Executive Committee meeting held in Bali, Indonesia, in 1963 which Chugunov himself attended as a Soviet writer, approved the agenda for the Third Conference. It also entrusted the Bureau and the host country (Indonesia) with the task of making necessary preparations for the Third Conference. Due to the terrorist and anti-popular campaign carried out by the Nasution and Suharto fascist military regime in Indonesia at present and their betrayal of the cause of the anti-imperialist struggle of the Afro-Asian peoples, the writers of Indonesia, the host country, submitted a proposal to the Emergency Meeting held in Peking, participated by 53 countries and regions in Africa and Asia which included 20 countries of the Executive Committee, that the Third Conference be held in China. Twenty countries of the Executive Committee supported by 33 other countries of Asia and Africa accepted this proposal. The regularity, validity and legality of this decision cannot be questioned. The news of holding the next conference of the Afro-Asian writers in China has received the warm welcome of the writers and peoples of Asia and Africa.

The Executive Secretariat set up in Peking last month is making all preparations to hold the Third Conference in accordance with this decision. All are well aware of these facts. To disregard and ignore these solemn decisions and speak of convening another Executive Committee meeting to decide about the Third Conference is, therefore, not only illegal, highhanded and outrageous, but also a deliberate and intentional attempt of the Soviet splittists to further extend their splittist activities. Before the mighty revolutionary tide of the Afro-Asian writers, cannot the Soviet splittists themselves see the dark prospects ahead of them? Cannot they understand that what awaits them is more miserable failure than that of the Baku splittist meeting?

We appeal to all writers of Asia and Africa to heighten their vigilance, strengthen their unity and carefully watch the illegal and preposterous manoeuvres and activities of sabotage by these Soviet revisionist splittists and deal yet heavier blows on them, so that their schemes will be thoroughly and completely destroyed.

Giving Prominence to Politics Is Fundamental To Making Our Cultural Team Function Well

Following is the second half of an abridged translation of an article originally published in "Jiefangjun Bao" (Liberation Army Daily) on May 23. The first half appeared in our last issue. — Ed.

Without Proletarian Politics, There Will Be No Proletarian Literature and Art; Work in Literature and Art Depends Mainly on Politics, on the Revolutionization of People; There Are Many Skills to Acquire, but the Most Basic, the Most Important Is Ideological Skill

HOW to give prominence to politics within the ranks of literary and art workers? It is mainly by establishing the correct relationship between politics and vocational skill. Where this has not been done correctly, "I" has been the main cause of trouble in the work. In the course of our debate, we met the following problems:

"Is One Doing 'All Right' if One Is Good at One's Work?" Some comrades believed that no matter how good one was ideologically, one would not be doing "all right" if one was not good vocationally. But, if one was good vocationally, one would be doing "all right" in every respect. Those holding such a view have evidently forgotten that they are revolutionaries. If anything, "doing all right" in our revolutionary ranks, means serving the people. But it is not "all right" if one looks after one's own self. What we mean by vocation is service to the workers, peasants and soldiers, not looking after the selfish interests of any one individual. If proletarian politics is not inside one's head, then it must be bourgeois politics that is there, and the better that person is vocationally, the more arrogant he becomes and the less "all right" he is. In a socialist society, one will accomplish much by giving prominence to politics, but if one does not do so, one will have a very difficult time. Those who say that "any cat is a good cat if it catches mice" are talking nonsense. Without proletarian politics in its head, it can only be a blind cat which cannot catch mice and which will cause disaster.

Those who emphasize vocation and disdain politics put vocation first in everything, whether considering persons or things. They are sarcastic towards those comrades who are less vocationally capable and they disparage them. They think themselves above the others, think themselves ever so clever. But who is really clever? It is those who have armed themselves ideologically with Mao Tse-tung's thought. It is those who give prominence to politics. If one departs from this, then one will become befuddled and confused and will head down the slippery path.

The view held by these people regarding "ability" is also questionable. In their eyes, those who have distinguished themselves and made a name or fortune for themselves are the ones who have "ability." They describe manual labour and collective endeavours as "miscellaneous work." Such thinking appears to be very "pure and lofty," but in actual fact this is the ideology of the exploiting classes — that "nothing is superior to book learning." When it comes to selecting personnel for training, they would choose those who are politically weaker but with so-called "talent" rather than those who are politically stronger. This is departing from the class line of the Party. Is "ability" among the five requirements* listed for bringing up successors to the revolution?

From the above it can be seen that those who stress vocational skill and disdain politics do have politics in their heads, that is, they stress, in fact, bourgeois politics and disdain proletarian politics. If these people do not conscientiously remould their bourgeois world outlook, they will not be able to differentiate between right and wrong; they will not know which way they are going, and one fine day they will fall into the mire of revisionism.

"Is Vocation Politics?" Some comrades believed wrongly that putting on a good show is good politics, that writing a good piece of work is good politics. By equating the two, they are in fact negating politics.

Every revolutionary endeavour has its political significance. But, while vocation having political significance is one thing, understanding or not understanding this political significance, and doing it consciously or not, is altogether another thing. For instance, a song well sung is equivalent to a political lesson, but if the person who sang it has not put politics in com-

*The five requirements are: 1) They must be genuine Marxist-Leninists; 2) they must be revolutionaries who wholeheartedly serve the overwhelming majority of the people of China and the whole world; 3) they must be proletarian political leaders capable of rallying and working with the overwhelming majority. Not only must they unite with those who agree with them, but they must also be good at uniting with those who disagree and even with those who formerly opposed them and have since been proved wrong; 4) they must set an example in applying the Party's democratic centralism, must master the method of leadership based on the principle of "from the masses and to the masses," and must cultivate a democratic style of work and be good at listening to the masses; 5) they must be modest and prudent and guard against arrogance and impetuosity; they must be imbued with the spirit of self-criticism and have the courage to correct mistakes and shortcomings in their work. — Tr.

mand and personally dislikes the song, then he could not have sung it with feeling. And no matter how rich the singer's voice and how brilliant his technique may be, he cannot fulfil the political task.

From the point of view of the work of our cultural team, our task is not purely to perform. We are a team for spreading Mao Tse-tung's thought, a team for doing political work. Presenting performances is only fulfilling a part, not the whole, of our political task. When we stress giving prominence to politics it is not merely to get the task on hand done but, more important, to fundamentally raise people's political consciousness. Some believed that those who are good vocationally are those who have given prominence to politics, and that by throwing themselves into improving their work they are giving prominence to politics. Such people have completely forgotten that politics is the supreme commander, the soul, the basis for getting any work done well.

In short, to confuse politics with vocation, to equate the two and to disregard political and ideological work means inadequate recognition of the great strategic significance of giving prominence to politics; it means lack of understanding of the fact that the relationship between politics and vocation is that the former is the commander of the latter, and lack of understanding of the fact that stress on giving prominence to politics is an important measure for preventing and opposing revisionism. This is failure to understand that giving or not giving prominence to politics, working or not working for the revolutionization of people's minds are questions of whether or not to carry out class struggle and to persist in revolution, as well as questions affecting the progress or retrogression of our society. If we do not give prominence to politics, do not pay attention to class struggle and use Mao Tse-tung's thought to arm ourselves, then we will forget who are our enemies, and we will be corrupted by bourgeois ideology, lose battles in the class struggle and come a mighty cropper.

"Can One Serve the People Only If One Has 'Ability'?"

Some people say: "In practising to improve my work, am I not doing it in order to serve the soldiers? If Mai Hsien-teh [P.L.A. naval hero] hadn't been very capable and practised at his job, could he have become a hero?" This idea of depending on "ability" for a living is in essence an expression of bourgeois individualism. "Ability" has its class character. The bourgeoisie has its bourgeois "ability," counter-revolutionary "ability," which serves the interests of the bourgeoisie. What we need is revolutionary ability which serves the interests of the proletariat. What do we mainly depend on in serving the people? Above all, we depend on giving prominence to politics, on raising proletarian consciousness. What enabled Mai Hsien-teh to become a hero was that he devoted himself wholeheartedly to the service of the people and was filled with hatred for the enemy. As to our army, men armed ideologically with Mao Tse-tung's thought constitute the strongest fighting force, men who are

courageous and not afraid of death. As to our literary and art workers, what is their strongest fighting strength? It is the revolutionary spirit of men armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought and devoted wholeheartedly to serving the workers, peasants and soldiers without any thought of fame or fortune, unafraid of hardships or death. Of what use is skill, however wonderful, without these qualities? Lacking these qualities, they would be unwilling to go to places where conditions are arduous, they would be scared to go to the battlefield, and on stage they would think first of all of their voices and would refuse to respond to an encore no matter how tremendous the applause. Consequently, on the literary and art front the strength to fight rests primarily on whether one is willing or unwilling to go for long periods of time, unreservedly and wholeheartedly, into the heat of the struggle and merge with the workers, peasants and soldiers.

Is it necessary to improve one's skill and make improvements? Of course it is. There are many skills we need to practise, such as skilful use of the waist and legs and voice . . . , but, as fighters on the literary and art front, we must never forget that the most important and fundamental skill is political and ideological "skill." To become thoroughly proficient depends on putting politics in command; ideology heads the list of three things (studying Chairman Mao's works, going deep into life and practice in the basic skills) that must pass the test outstandingly on all occasions. If the question of practising to serve whom, and of improving for whom is not solved, then the slide down the bourgeois and the revisionist road is inevitable.

Why do we say that giving prominence to politics is the basis for the proper functioning of the cultural team? This is because our work itself is political action. Problems in work are not purely questions of skill. More important, they are questions of politics. Whether it is writing, performing, coaching, taking photographs or selling books, none of them can be separated from politics. It is politics and the struggle between two roads when solving the questions of whom to serve, with what to serve and in what way to give the service.

Our practice over the past year has fully borne this out. Of our 21 members, 16 are performers and of these one half are pupils. But over the past year, we sold more than 15,000 copies of Chairman Mao's works, put on over 400 performances, film, and lantern-slide shows, helped to coach more than 1,500 activists in literary and art work at the company level, created 80 items and took 46,000 photos. We were welcomed by the army units with great enthusiasm. Was it because our skill was of a very high standard? Did we devote much time to practising? Not at all. We relied on Mao Tse-tung's thought in setting ourselves up: we relied on giving prominence to politics to get ourselves established. We seized hold of this fundamental factor, and persisted in using politics to build up our team.

We persisted in giving prominence to politics at all times, in everything and everywhere. We infused politics into our thinking and into our lives, infused politics into our rehearsals and brought politics into everything we did on the stage, into every note of music and every dance movement. By doing so, we gave our art orientation, soul and strength.

"Alternately Giving Prominence to Politics and Vocation?" Some comrades say: "We will spend the whole of the first half of the year diligently studying Chairman Mao's writings, putting aside creative writing and learning to compose. In the latter half of the year we will devote ourselves to our work, writing or composing." This amounts, in essence, to alternately giving prominence to politics and vocation. Those holding this view have not yet taken politics as the commander and the soul in all work. Giving prominence to politics is by no means a matter of expediency, but is a matter of basic importance. Giving prominence to politics is to revolutionize people's thinking, to counter zeal for practising for the sake of personal fame and gain, to stimulate the urge to practise for the sake of the revolution. We must note that in the relationship between politics and vocation, politics means political and ideological leadership; politics is the basic, not a technical, guarantee. Putting on a good show, or singing a song well, is one kind of result from giving prominence to politics, but a more important result is the spiritual one, that is, getting Mao Tse-tung's thought to take roots in our minds so that we will follow the Party all our lives and prevent the emergence of revisionism. Therefore, it is not a question of half a year of this and half a year of that. Alternately giving prominence to politics and vocation will not work. We must be revolutionaries throughout our lives; we must give prominence to politics throughout our lives.

Some people worry how others can see or hear it when one gives prominence to politics. Actually whether or not one gives prominence to politics can be readily seen at any time, in everything and everywhere, and it cannot be concealed in the slightest. This must be proved by deeds, not by words. Giving prominence to politics chiefly finds expression in one's ideological level and political consciousness. Revolutionaries must have high aims, daring to scale the summits of art. The question is that we want to raise our standards on the basis of popularization and along the line of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers. Giving prominence to politics enables a man to revolutionize his ideology, have keen political discernment and be in high spirits. He will scale the correct summit because he can distinguish between the bourgeois "summit" and the proletarian summit. Even when he encounters difficulties in scaling the summit, he will have courage and confidence.

As long as we resolutely take the road of giving prominence to politics and establish the correct relationship between politics and work, a new situation

in our spiritual outlook and work will emerge. Giving prominence to proletarian politics will produce proletarian art, revolutionary art. There is no doubt about this. We must have the lofty aim to achieve this. We must give prominence to politics and use this as our motivating force and bring about a new leap forward in our work!

To Give Prominence to Politics Means to Regard Mao Tse-tung's Thought As the Guiding Principle for All Work and to Study and Apply Them in the Course of Struggle; to Serve the Workers, Peasants and Soldiers Without Eradicating Bourgeois Individualism Remains Empty Talk

CREATIVELY study and apply Chairman Mao's works and, in particular, make the utmost effort to apply them; regard Chairman Mao's works as the supreme directive in all fields of work in the army." This is the first point in Comrade Lin Piao's five-point principle on continuing to give prominence to politics, and it is also the vital part in giving prominence to politics.

That was why at the time when our cultural team was founded, the organization at a higher level explicitly instructed us that we should take the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works as our most fundamental and most important task, and that we must study Mao Tse-tung's thought well in order to be its good propagandists. Therefore, in the past year we have given priority to the study of Chairman Mao's writings in our work. At the same time, we have given attention to closely following Mao Tse-tung's thought, our Party's Central Committee, the Military Commission of the Party's Central Committee and Comrade Lin Piao, following them closely, quickly, accurately and with fruitful results. Important documents and editorials have been relayed and studied in good time. When we went into the very midst of the soldiers in the companies, we learnt from Chairman Mao's worthy fighters and, in co-ordination with our work as reporters, composers, writers and performers, we wrote about heroes, sang of them and learnt from them. In the form of small-scale rectification campaigns, we often held forums, studied and applied Mao Tse-tung's thought in the course of struggle. We launched the "four-good" movement and paid special attention to ideas currently existing in men's mind so as to create a strong political atmosphere.

Whether or not writers and artists study Chairman Mao's works, whether or not their study is fruitful is by no means a question which only concerns individuals but is a question concerning which direction and what road literature and art should take. It is an issue concerning whether literature and art promote the progress of the socialist political system and its economic base or drag them back. Therefore, we must regard the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's writings as a required course of prime importance and as the most fundamental element in basic training; we must take it as our life-long fighting task and the duty incumbent on a revolutionary fighter.

We have come to understand through our study that:

In Studying Chairman Mao's Works, One Must Truly Understand the Importance of Study in Order to Have the Thirst for Studying Them. Mao Tse-tung's thought is Marxism-Leninism of the era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to worldwide victory. It is the Marxism-Leninism at the highest level in the present era. It is the most powerful ideological weapon of the proletariat. It is the demand of our epoch that we study and master it. Whatever work we do, we are, in the first place, doing revolutionary work. To make revolution, we must study Chairman Mao's works and study them all our life. This is a matter of cardinal importance affecting the success or failure of our socialist revolution and socialist construction as well as the destiny of mankind.

Class struggle on the literary and art front has time and again proved that mistakes in orientation occur if the work of literature and art departs from Mao Tse-tung's thought. Whether one studies Chairman Mao's works conscientiously or not is a question of whether one is a genuine or sham revolutionary.

Learn From Outstanding Individuals Who Have Distinguished Themselves in the Study of Chairman Mao's Writings. One of the experiences to be gained from the workers, peasants and soldiers in the study of Chairman Mao's works is that, while studying, they take the images of heroes for imitation. We are quite familiar with some well-known heroes and even regularly portray them and extol them, but more often than not we fail to pay adequate attention to learning seriously from them. It has become crystal clear that in our study of Chairman Mao's works, we have not studied with such deep class sentiment as have the workers, peasants and soldiers. What should we do if we lack this sentiment? We should go among the workers, peasants and soldiers, shed the mantle of pretentiousness and become willing pupils, modestly learn from others, serve the workers, peasants and soldiers with wholehearted warmth and join them in their struggle. In this way, we will be able to gradually bring about a fundamental change in our own class sentiment.

Eradicate Bourgeois Individualism. In making the utmost effort to apply what we have learnt, we should first of all make the utmost effort to transform our world outlook. And the central link in the transformation of one's world outlook is to resolutely combat individualism.

Why are some people not firmly implementing the Party's line on literature and art? Why do they not approach correctly the relationship between politics and professional activities? Why are they doing their work in accordance with their likes and dislikes and why do they become faint-hearted before difficulties? They all stem from bourgeois individualism.

As far as the ranks of our writers and artists are concerned, we must resolutely combat bourgeois individualism, and particularly the thought of fame and gain

which is most harmful and most poisonous. Bourgeois and revisionist literature and art put money and personal interest in command. We must draw a distinct line of demarcation between them and ourselves. As proletarian fighters in literature and art, what we want is class interests, the people's interests and the Party's interests. We should in no circumstances practise individualism.

Chairman Mao has told us: "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." This means that to transform one's world outlook is a process of thoroughgoing remoulding of one's ideology. The correct way to do this is to dare to use Chairman Mao's teachings to analyse one's thinking, earnestly criticize all erroneous ideas, repeatedly combat them and start to do this bit by bit. Only by so doing can we gradually become one with the workers, peasants and soldiers in thought and feeling, wholeheartedly serve them and truly master Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Mao Tse-tung's thinking on literature and art is an important component of his great thought; it is the acme of contemporary Marxist-Leninist world outlook and theory on literature and art, the supreme directive for our literary and art work and the powerful weapon for smashing the bourgeois and revisionist trends in literature and art. Our practice over the past year has proved that literary and art work cannot for a moment depart from Mao Tse-tung's thought. For us to be proletarian fighters in literature and art, the most fundamental condition is to arm ourselves with Mao Tse-tung's thought, conscientiously follow his teachings, repeatedly study his works and assiduously act in accordance with his instructions. We should persist in using Mao Tse-tung's thought to build up our team and unswervingly take the road of giving prominence to politics.

In the past decade and more since liberation, an anti-Party, anti-socialist black line running counter to Mao Tse-tung's thought has existed in our literary and art circles. A handful of anti-Party and anti-socialist elements have stirred up trouble everywhere and surreptitiously peddled their black batch of goods in a vain attempt to seize our people's political power and exercise dictatorship over us. They are indeed daydreaming. We must hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and actively participate in the great socialist cultural revolution to thoroughly uproot this black line, completely destroy all anti-Party and anti-socialist gangs and totally eradicate bourgeois and revisionist influence. We should not only be propagandists but also defenders of Mao Tse-tung's thought. We should be courageous fighters in the great socialist cultural revolution and be good disseminators of proletarian revolutionary literature and art. Standing on these small island stages and with the interests of the world in our hearts, we will advance victoriously for ever in the struggle for the road of socialism against the road of capitalism and in the battle to foster proletarian ideology and liquidate bourgeois ideology.

ROUND THE WORLD

INDIA AND INDONESIA

Stepped-Up Collusion

During his visit to India from September 3 to 7, Indonesian Foreign Minister Adam Malik held talks with Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and External Affairs Minister Swaran Singh on jointly rendering service to U.S. imperialism, opposing China and other matters.

The communique issued at the end of Malik's visit shows that the reactionary Indian Government and the Indonesian Rightists openly serve U.S. imperialism in its "peace talks" scheme on the Vietnam question. It said that the two parties were of the opinion that "all efforts should be continued to bring about a peaceful solution [of the Vietnam question] through negotiations within the shortest possible time." It called for "cessation" of U.S. bombings to lead to the opening of such negotiations. As a P.T.I. report revealed, the "Indonesian attitude on the Vietnam question is practically the same as that of India."

At a press conference held after his New Delhi talks, Malik venomously attacked China. He vilified China as "interfering in Indonesia's internal matters" while reactionary Indian papers made use of the occasion to again slander China as "waging aggression" against India.

The Indonesian Rightists and the Indian reactionaries heaped praises on and encouraged each other. Malik gave open support to the Indian reactionaries by advocating that the Kashmir question should be settled in accordance with the "Tashkent declaration," the product of a U.S.-U.S.S.R. conspiracy in favour of India. Singh praised the Indonesian Right-wing military regime for joining forces with neo-colonialism's offspring, "Malaysia," to conduct anti-communist activities in accordance with the dictates of U.S. imperialism. He also welcomed its readiness to rejoin the U.S.-controlled United Nations.

The "identity of views on many subjects" (P.T.I.) between the Indonesian Rightists and the Indian reactionaries merely shows that they are birds of a feather.

THE "REPORT" ON LAOS

A Despicable Political Plot

On August 22 the British Government illegally published a slanderous "report" by the Indian and Canadian representatives in the International Commission on Laos alleging the "presence of north Vietnamese troops in Laos." This is a despicable political plot.

The Indian and Canadian representatives made up this false report. The British Government publicized it. And the U.S. State Department immediately expressed America's "special interest" in it. This is an unsought confession that U.S. imperialism is the ringleader in hatching this political plot.

The Central Committee of the Neo Lao Haksat and the spokesman of the Foreign Ministry of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam have both made statements exposing this contemptible collusion by Britain, India and Canada to serve U.S. expansion of its aggression against Laos.

At present, U.S. imperialism, which is being badly trounced and can find no way out in Vietnam, is striving to spread its aggressive war there to Laos, particularly to Central and Lower Laos so as to link Thailand, Laos and southern Vietnam into one battlefield. In suddenly now spreading such a fabrication on U.S. instructions, the British Government and the Indian and Canadian representatives are trying to find a pretext for U.S. imperialism and its lackeys to do so.

The International Commission on Laos long ago degenerated into a tool for shielding and abetting U.S. aggression in that country. It has forfeited all rights to carry on and the activities and statements of the Indian and Canadian representatives in the name of the commission are

completely illegal. The British Government has become a notorious accomplice of U.S. aggression in Vietnam, Laos and throughout Indo-China. These are debts that must be paid. Neither U.S. imperialism, the ringleader, nor Britain the accomplice, nor the Indian and Canadian representatives who are willing pawns can get away with it.

SOVIET REVISIONIST CLIQUE

Mortal Fear of Marxism-Leninism

The delegation of "Clarte," a Swedish society for Marxist research, which visited China in August, has recently lodged with the Soviet Embassy in Stockholm a protest against unjustifiable confiscation by the Soviet border authorities at Zabaysk of more than 500 volumes of Marxist-Leninist writings it carried on its way back from China.

Most of the books were Chairman Mao Tse-tung's works. Others included books published in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and by the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation.

The delegation's letter of protest said: "The desperate attempts made by the Soviet authorities to prevent the spread of Marxism clearly show the present trend of the ideological development of the Soviet Union. Evidently the leaders of the Soviet Union prefer to see Marxist classics and the modern Marxist debate suppressed rather than risk a single work of Marxist criticism of the leaders of the C.P.S.U. being read."

"An interesting comparison is that China has published all Soviet criticism of the Chinese policy, as well as statements by Khrushchov. The Chinese maintain that Marxism fears no criticism but on the contrary demands criticism and can only develop in the struggle against erroneous ideas."

The protest letter noted that the Soviet border authorities did not touch those coming from the West. Books which members of the delegation classified as "American propaganda" for the information of the Soviet border officials were promptly returned together with Leon Trotsky's works.

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