

# PEKING REVIEW

25

June 16, 1967

## Mass Publication of Chairman Mao's Works

The infinitely brilliant thought of Mao Tse-tung  
illuminates the whole of China and the world.

## We Firmly Stand by the Arab People

Mass demonstrations in Peking and other cities.

## Stride Forward Along Chairman Mao's Revolutionary Line On Literature and Art

Comrade Chi Pen-yu's speech at closing session of seminar  
sponsored by Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau to commemorate 25th  
anniversary of Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yanan Forum  
on Literature and Art*.

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# QUOTATIONS FROM CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG

The raging tide of the people of the world against the U.S. aggressors is irresistible. Their struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys will assuredly win still greater victories.

*Statement Supporting the Panamanian People's Just Patriotic Struggle Against U.S. Imperialism (January 1964)*

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All revolutionary struggles in the world are aimed at seizing political power and consolidating it. The desperate struggles waged by counter-revolutionaries against revolutionary forces are likewise solely for the sake of maintaining their political power.

*This Year's Election (September 1933)*

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The enemy will not perish of himself. Neither the Chinese reactionaries nor the aggressive forces of U.S. imperialism in China will step down from the stage of history of their own accord.

*Carry the Revolution Through to the End (December 1948)*



Chairman Mao Tse-tung

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





## Chairman Mao Meets Comrade Sanmugathasan

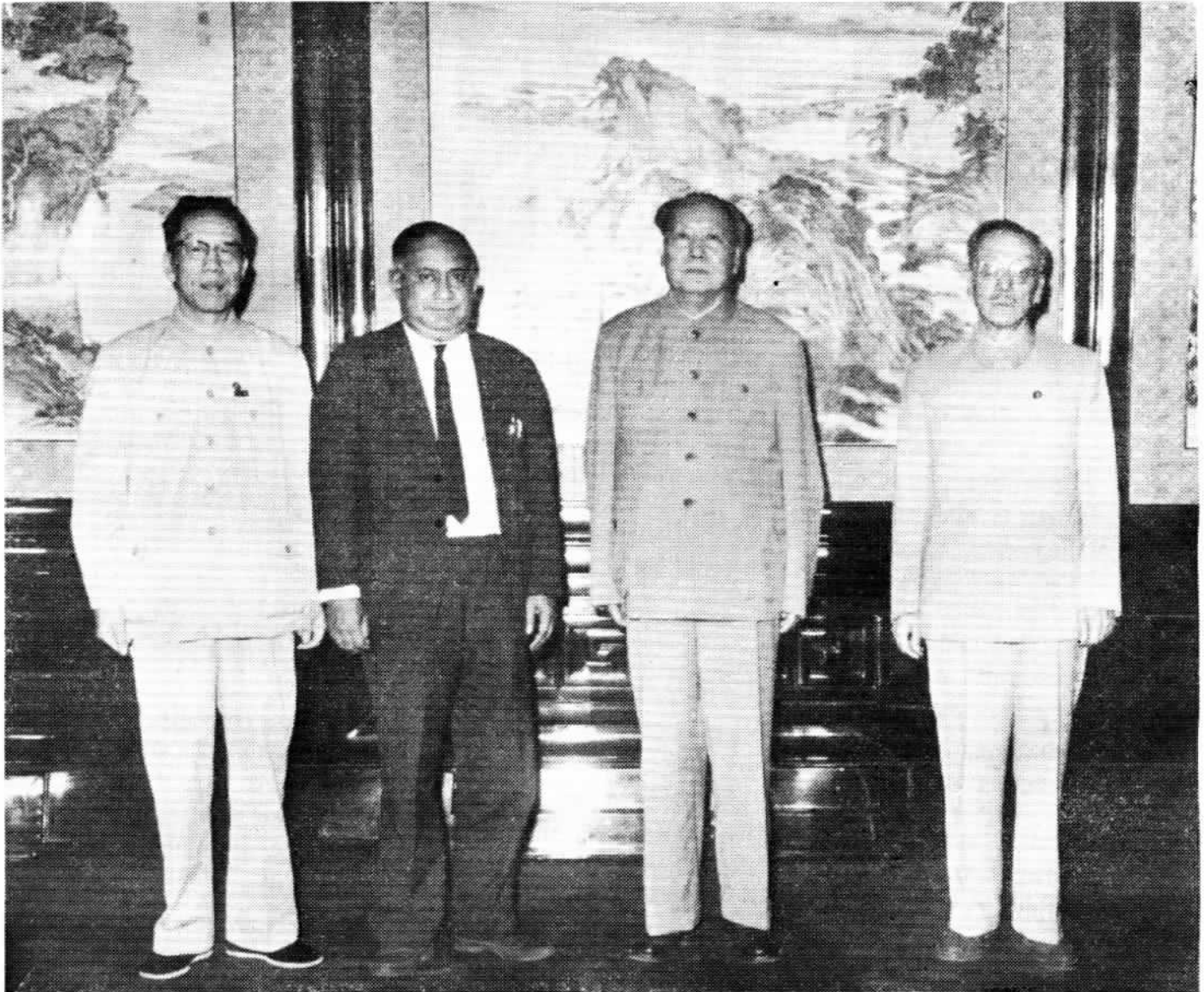
Comrade Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the great leader of the Chinese people, on June 6 met Comrade N. Sanmugathasan, Member of the Political Bureau and of the Secretariat of the Central Com-

mittee of the Communist Party of Ceylon, and had an extremely cordial talk with him.

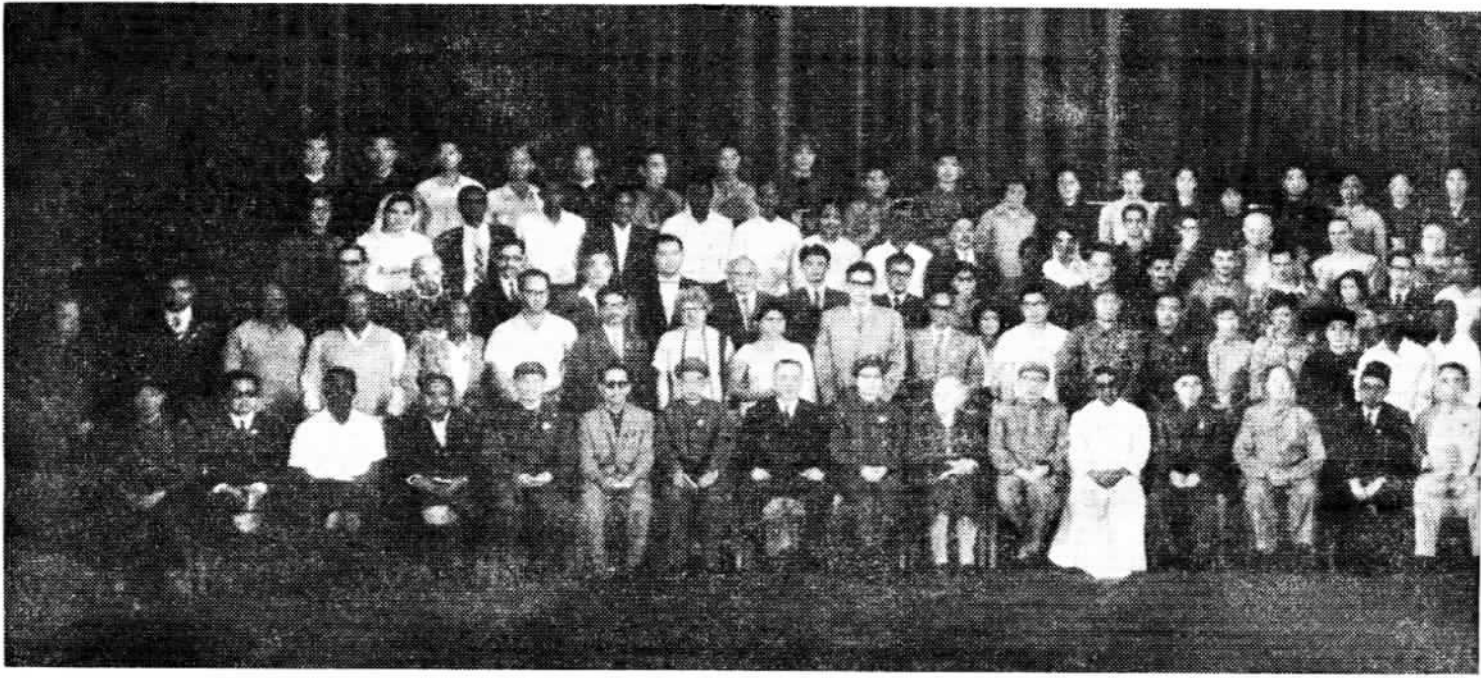
Present at the meeting were Comrade Kang Sheng, Member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Chinese Communist

Party's Central Committee, and Comrade Liu Ning-I, Member of the Secretariat of the Party's Central Committee.

Comrade Sanmugathasan and his wife left Peking for home on June 9 after concluding their visit to China.



Chairman Mao with Comrade N. Sanmugathasan (second from the left).



## Chairman Mao and Comrade Lin Piao Receive Writers and Friends From Many Countries

Chairman Mao, our great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman, and his close comrade-in-arms Comrade Lin Piao received on the afternoon of June 9 writers and friends from various countries in Asia, Africa and the rest of the world who had attended the seminar held by the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau in commemoration of the 25th anniversary of Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art*.

Radiant with smiles, Chairman Mao, the red sun in the hearts of the world's people, walked briskly into the reception hall amid cheers and cordially greeted the more than 80 writers and friends from 32 countries and regions throughout the world. Waving their red-covered copies of *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, the foreign friends enthu-

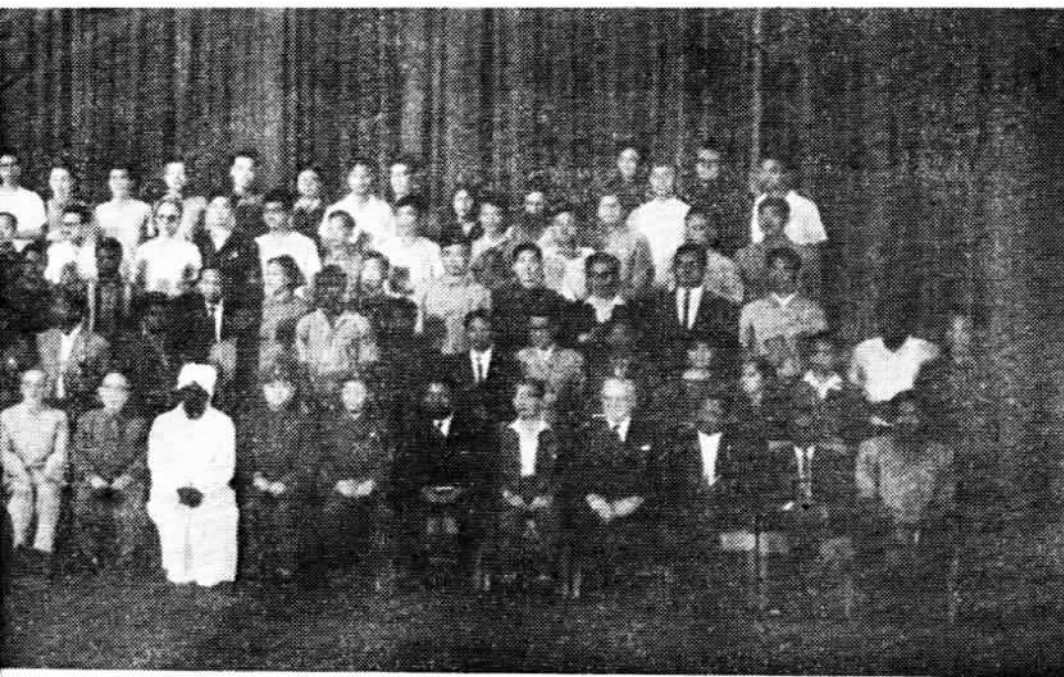
siastically shouted "Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to Chairman Mao!" again and again. The foreign friends, who were overwhelmed with happiness, extended their hands towards Chairman Mao. Chairman Mao and Comrade Lin Piao warmly shook hands with everyone and posed for a photograph with them.

Present on the occasion were leading members of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and members of the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Party's Central Committee Chou En-lai, Chen Po-ta, Kang Sheng, Chiang Ching, Wang Li, Kuan Feng, Chi Pen-yu and Yao Wen-yuan.

Members of the seminar's presidium were present: Senanayake and his wife, and Manuweera of Ceylon; Kuo Mo-jo and Chin Ching-mai of

China; Djawoto, F.L. Risakotta and his wife, and Afif of Indonesia; Kinkazu Saionji and Kiyoshi Inoue of Japan; Ahmed Mohamed Kheir and his wife, Osman Hassan Ahmed, Hamid Mahmoud Wafi and his wife of Sudan; Fidelia of Haiti; H.M. Petrela of Albania; Anna Louise Strong and Robert Williams of U.S.A.; and Rewi Alley of New Zealand.

Also present were: Minn Latt Yekhaun of Burma; Hu Wan-chun, Wang Hsing-yuan, Li Ying-ju, Yu Hui-yung, Shu Shih-chun, Li Chi-kai and Yang Yi of China; Supeno, Umar Said, A.L. Rasjid, Rondang E. Marpaung, Sarmadji and Darmini of Indonesia; Khosrawi, P. Parvizi and Khorasani of Iran; Norio Shirato, Ichihei Sugiyama, Hiroshi Yagi, Kenji Asakawa and Katsuhiko Yamamoto of Japan; P.V. Sarma and Lin Kean Chong of Malaya; Wen Ming Chuan of North



Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Comrade Lin Biao and Comrades Chou En-lai, Chen Po-ia, Kang Sheng, Chiang Ching and others with writers and friends from various countries throughout the world.



Chairman Mao warmly shakes hands with R.D. Senanayake (Ceylon), Secretary-General of the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau.

Kalimantan; Samir Hakim and Basim Hakim of Palestine; Jose Ma Sison and his wife of the Philippines; Bhayom Chulanond and Wugtaiwan of Thailand; Saleh Dahhan of Yemen; Ahmed Gora Ebrahim and Deliza Lande of Azania; friends from Botswana; Loumouamou Dieudonne,

Ouenabio Michel, Lehault Samvel and Atsoutsoula Paul of the Congo (B); Mukenge Dieudonne and Ismail Bin Mselem of the Congo (K); Odilon Tea and Toure Samba of Guinea; Amada Bachard of Niger; Mohamed Mao Abu Baker of Somalia; Nandaveja Kasuto and Albert Tjizoo of

South West Africa; Mohamed Daba Ahmed of Sudan; Salim Said and Abeid Salim of Tanzania; J. Martins of Brazil; Edmundo Palacios of Chile; Monique Pairoux of Belgium; Denise Li of France; Michael Shapiro and Joshua Horn of Britain; and Sidney Rittenberg of U.S.A.



# Mass Publication of Chairman Mao's Works This Year

More than 29 million sets of the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* came off the press in China in the first five months of this year.

This figure is two and a half times the total number of copies published in the 15 years preceding the great proletarian cultural revolution. It is about 6 million sets more than the number printed last year.

The unprecedented mass publication of Chairman Mao's works in China signifies a great victory for the proletarian cultural revolution and for the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung. It means that the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought is already flying over the command posts in the field of printing and publication throughout the country and that the proletarian revolutionaries have become the true masters in publishing Chairman Mao's works.

The mass publication of the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* is the result of the victory of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line over the bourgeois reactionary line. Previously, the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists in the former Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the former Ministry of Culture, backed by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, rabidly opposed Mao Tse-tung's thought and were mortally afraid that the revolutionary people would master Mao Tse-tung's thought. They tried in a hundred and one ways to obstruct the publication of Chairman Mao's works, the revolutionary treasured books deeply loved by the revolutionary people.

In the 15 years since 1951, when the publication of these works began, to June 1966 when the great cultural revolution was launched, they only issued 11 million sets of the *Selected Works*.

However, they spared no effort to mass publish that poisonous book on "self-cultivation" written by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. Incomplete statistics kept in the periods between 1949 and 1953 and between 1962 and 1966 show that a total of 20.5 million copies of this book came off the press in 12 languages and in various editions. They were distributed to over 80 countries and regions and their poison spread all over the world.

In this unprecedented great proletarian cultural revolution, the proletarian revolutionaries heroically exposed the towering crimes of the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists of the former Propaganda Department of the Party's Central Committee and the former Ministry of Culture, backed by that top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, and seized power from them. Thus publication was henceforth truly in the firm control of the proletarian revolutionaries.

Filled with boundless love for and faith in our great leader Chairman Mao, the proletarian revolutionaries say with pride: "The treasured books of Chairman Mao are the life-blood for revolutionary people the world over. They are a spiritual atom bomb. We want to print Chairman Mao's works in large numbers and

print them for generations to come. Let the resplendent thought of Mao Tse-tung spread all over China and over the whole world as well."

In the first five months of 1967, at the same time as they were putting their efforts into printing the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, the proletarian revolutionaries published several hundred million pamphlets of Chairman Mao's works and *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*. They have also improved distribution, sending people to the countryside, factories and other places to supply peasants, workers and soldiers with the works of their great leader Chairman Mao as quickly as possible.

In the last few months, the proletarian revolutionaries in the publication departments have overcome many difficulties through close cooperation with the revolutionary workers in paper making, printing oil, printing machinery and transportation departments.

The printing workers have supported and helped each other. They launched a technical innovation movement and improved the printing machines. They also succeeded in inventing a new binding method. All this helped to greatly speed up the printing of Chairman Mao's works.

## "Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung" Published in Foreign Languages

*Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, the treasured book long in demand by the revolutionary people of the world, has been translated and published in a number of foreign languages by the Foreign Languages Press of Peking. From September 1966 to May 1967, the F.L.P. has published the *Quotations* in 14 foreign

languages: English, French, Spanish, Russian, Japanese, German, Vietnamese, Arabic, Indonesian, Burmese, Swahili, Italian, Persian and Nepalese. Esperanto, Thai, Hindi, Urdu, Portuguese, Norwegian, Albanian and Tamil editions will be published in the near future. The foreign language editions of this cherished book have

a red plastic cover. The title page is followed by a photograph of the great leader Chairman Mao and a facsimile of an inscription by Comrade Lin Piao.

The publication of *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* in different foreign languages is a great event in the political life of the revolutionary people of the whole world and

has been warmly received by large numbers of readers in many countries. This treasured book contains penetrating scientific theses on a whole range of important problems concerning the contemporary world revolutionary movement. It is a beacon guiding the world's revolutionary people to victory in the struggle for national liberation, people's democracy and socialism.

## Vice-Chairman Lin Piao See Theatrical Performance by P.L.A. Fighters

Revolutionary fighter-performers of units of the Chinese People's Liberation Army's three services stationed in Peking jointly gave a theatrical performance in the Great Hall of the People on the evening of June 9. Attending the performance were Vice-Chairman Lin Piao, close comrade-in-arms of our great leader Chairman Mao, and Chou En-lai, Chen Po-ta, Kang Sheng, Li Fu-chun, Li Hsien-nien, Nieh Jung-chen, Hsieh Fu-chih, Chiang Ching, Yang Cheng-wu and other comrades. The programme included the full-length song and dance items *Hail the 25th Anniversary of Chairman Mao's Brilliant "Talks at the Yen'an Forum on Literature and Art," Long Live Chairman Mao's Revolutionary Line on Literature and Art, Revolutionary Historical Songs with Actions*, and the dances *Chairman Mao*

*Visits Our Warship* and *Fiercely Open Fire on the No. 1 Party Person in Authority Taking the Capitalist Road*. Rich fruits of the great proletarian cultural revolution, all the items shine with the splendour of the great thought of Mao Tse-tung.

After the performance, Vice-Chairman Lin Piao and Comrades Chou En-lai, Chen Po-ta, Kang Sheng, Li Fu-chun and Chiang Ching went on stage. They warmly shook hands with the revolutionary fighter-performers, congratulated them on their successful performance and had a photograph taken together with them. Filled with great joy, the performers held up their red-covered *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* and shouted with all their hearts: "Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!"

## Chou En-lai and Other Comrades See "On the Docks," Revolutionary Peking Opera on a Contemporary Theme

Responsible members of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and of the departments concerned, Comrades Chou En-lai, Chen Po-ta, Kang Sheng, Hsieh Fu-chih, Chiang Ching and others, saw *On the Docks*, a model revolutionary Peking opera on a contemporary theme performed on the evening of June 10 in the Great Hall of the People by the Peking Opera Theatre of Shanghai. When Comrades Chou En-lai, Chen Po-ta, Kang

Sheng, Chiang Ching and the others entered the hall, the audience rose and gave them an enthusiastic ovation.

*On the Docks*, staged to commemorate the 25th anniversary of the publication of Chairman Mao's brilliant work *Talks at the Yen'an Forum on Literature and Art*, is the first model revolutionary Peking opera on a contemporary theme to reflect the lofty qualities of the working

class in the socialist era. Heroic figures from the working class in the socialist era are successfully portrayed on the Peking opera stage for the first time. Shining with the brilliance of the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, *On the Docks* is a splendid fruit of the great proletarian cultural revolution. Since its first performance, the opera has been warmly received by audiences, both Chinese and foreign.

After the performance, the actors and actresses waved their red-covered *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* and gave prolonged shouts of "Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!" Comrades Chou En-lai, Chen Po-ta, Kang Sheng, Chiang Ching and others went on stage, warmly shook hands with the revolutionary performers, congratulating them on their successful performance, and posed for a group photograph with them.

## Comrade Lin Piao Grets Shooting Down of 2,000 U.S. Planes by Vietnam

Vice-Premier and Minister of National Defence Lin Piao, in his June 9 message to General Vo Nguyen Giap, Vice-Premier and Minister of National Defence of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, greeted the Vietnamese army and people for their resounding success in having shot down 2,000 U.S. bandit planes by June 5 in their great struggle of resistance to U.S. aggression and for national salvation. The message pointed out that this splendid achievement and the great victories repeatedly scored by the south Vietnamese army and people in their dry season operations had greatly deflated the arrogance of the U.S. aggressors and greatly raised the morale of the revolutionary people of all countries.

"At present," the message said, "the Vietnamese people have taken a firm hold of the initiative in the war, while the U.S. aggressor troops, in a passive position and beaten everywhere, are in a real predicament. Our great leader Chairman Mao has said: 'What is a true bas-

tion of iron? It is the masses, the millions upon millions of people who genuinely and sincerely support the revolution.' 'The mobilization of the common people throughout the country will create a vast sea in which to drown the enemy.' The repeated, remarkable victories won by the entire Vietnamese people in their struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation have proved that people's war is the most effective weapon in dealing mortal blows at the U.S. imperialist colossus.

"U.S. imperialism has been vainly trying to find a way out by stepping up its war escalation. This is hoping for the impossible and it will never succeed. We firmly believe that the heroic Vietnamese people and our comrades-in-arms in the Vietnam People's Army, under the correct leadership of the Vietnam Workers' Party and President Ho Chi Minh, will surely reply to any war adventure by the U.S. aggressors and their accomplices with doubly heavy blows. Final victory will certainly belong to the valiant and indomitable people of Vietnam.

"The Chinese people and the Chinese People's Liberation Army, armed with the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, have always regarded supporting and assisting the Vietnamese people's struggle of resistance to U.S. aggression and for national salvation as their sacred internationalist duty. Closely following developments in the Vietnam situation, they are ready at all times to take necessary actions in accordance with the demands of the Vietnamese Government and people. No matter how many steps U.S. imperialism may escalate its war of aggression and no matter how extensive the area to which it may spread the flames of aggression, the Chinese people are resolved to support the Vietnamese people in carrying their great struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation through to the end!"

In conclusion, the message expressed the hope that the fraternal Vietnamese people and the comrades-in-arms in the Vietnam People's Army would continue to achieve new and still greater victories in their

great struggle to resist U.S. aggression and save their country.

### Premier Chou Greet South Vietnamese People on Defeating U.S. Imperialist 2nd "Dry-Season Offensive"

Premier Chou En-lai sent a message on June 12 to Nguyen Huu Tho, President of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation. On behalf of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, Vice-Chairman Lin Piao and the Chinese people, Premier Chou extended the warmest congratulations to the south Vietnamese people for having given full play to the infinite power of people's war, defeated U.S. imperialism's second "dry-season offensive," wiped out large numbers of effectives of the U.S. aggressor troops, inflicted an unprecedented, disastrous defeat on the enemy and won a great victory of tremendous strategic significance.

The message said: "The Vietnamese are a staunch, heroic people. The 14 million south Vietnamese people are repulsing over a million American and puppet troops and are inflicting disastrous defeats on them on their 170,000 square kilometres of land. This is a miracle in the history of mankind's liberation wars and is the pride of the revolutionary people of the whole world!

"The people in north Vietnam, too, are growing in strength in battle. Highly militant, they have amassed a resounding victory by shooting down 2,000 U.S. bandit planes. The tremendous victories won by the Vietnamese people in their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation have greatly inspired the Chinese people who are successfully carrying on their great proletarian cultural revolution, and are a brilliant example for the people of the Arab countries who are fighting valiantly against U.S. imperialist aggression.

**"Chairman Mao has said: 'Make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again . . . till their doom; that is the logic of the imperialists and all re-**

**actionaries the world over in dealing with the people's cause, and they will never go against this logic.'** No matter how desperately the U.S. imperialists carry on their death-bed struggle, they can never escape the fate of ultimate defeat in the face of the heroic Vietnamese people.

"Armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, the 700 million Chinese people stand firm on the side of the fraternal Vietnamese people, giving all-out support to the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation to completely defeat the U.S. aggressors. We are firmly convinced that the Vietnamese people will in the near future win still more brilliant and greater victories in their war to resist U.S. aggression and save their country."

### Vice-Premier Chen Yi Reiterates Support for Arab Struggle Against U.S.-British-Israeli Aggression and Condemns Soviet Revisionism

Vice-Premier Chen Yi made a strong speech at a reception given on June 12 by the Nepalese Ambassador in celebration of the King of Nepal's birthday. Premier Chou En-lai attended the reception.

Speaking on Middle East developments, Vice-Premier Chen Yi declared once again that the 700 million Chinese people armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought stand firmly on the side of the Arab people and resolutely support them in their just struggle against U.S., British and Israeli aggression. The whole world, he said, is closely watching developments in the Middle East. The dirty war of aggression, launched by that running dog Israel at the instigation of U.S. imperialism working in collaboration with British imperialism and with U.S. imperialism taking a direct part, is another grave war provocation against the Afro-Asian people and people the world over.

United as one in hatred against their common enemy and fighting shoulder to shoulder, Vice-Premier Chen Yi said, the people of the Arab

*(Continued on p. 38.)*



# Arab People, Unite, Make Sustained Efforts, and Fight Imperialism To the End!

AS a result of the large-scale armed aggression suddenly unleashed by the U.S.-Israeli aggressors and the pressure being exerted on the Arab countries by the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union working in collusion, the Governments of the United Arab Republic, Syria and Jordan have been compelled to announce their acceptance of the U.N. Security Council's "ceasefire resolution." But under cover of the U.N. "ceasefire," U.S. imperialism's lackey, Israel, continues to launch large-scale attacks against Syria. The Arab people's struggle of resistance to U.S. imperialism and its lackey is now at a critical stage.

The struggle of the Arab people against U.S. imperialism and its lackey has merely suffered a temporary setback; the flames have not been extinguished and they never will.

Ever since the war of aggression was launched by the United States and Israel, a wave of extensive mass struggle against the United States has been sweeping through the Arab world. This is an expression of the unprecedented awakening of the Arab people. Although a "cease-fire" has been announced, the spirit of the Arab people remains high and they continue to strike at U.S. imperialism and its lackey in various ways; they are determined to fight the aggressors to the end.

For many years, the Arab people have waged heroic struggles to win and safeguard national independence. Despite repeated setbacks in their struggles, they have nonetheless achieved tremendous successes. Neither the setback in the Arab-Israeli war of 1948, nor the 1950 "tripartite declaration," in which the United States, Britain and France jointly interfered in Arab affairs, have been able to halt the development of the Arab national-liberation struggles. The imperialists were quite arrogant for a while after forming the 1955 Baghdad military bloc, but the Arab people continued to forge ahead. When the Suez war of aggression was launched by the imperialists in 1956, the Arab people closed their ranks and firmly countered the imperialist aggressors. The Arab people were not intimidated when the imperialists plotted aggression against Syria in 1957 or when U.S. imperialism landed its troops in Lebanon and staged armed intervention in the Iraqi revolution in 1958. Facts have demonstrated that the great Arab people have a dauntless fighting spirit and

that temporary setbacks only serve to boost their fighting will.

The great leader of the Chinese people Chairman Mao Tse-tung has said: "Fight, fail, fight again, fail again, fight again . . . till their victory; that is the logic of the people." This is a law of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought. The Chinese people's revolution has followed this law. The national-liberation struggles of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples have followed this law. The Arab people's struggle against imperialism and its lackey will also inevitably follow this law.

All the political forces in the world have undergone a test through the developments in the Middle East, especially in the face of the Arab people's just war against aggression. Imperialism, headed by the United States, Soviet modern revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries have in a thousand and one ways instigated and encouraged the Israeli aggression, and tried to suppress the Arab people's struggle against aggression. The Chinese people and the peoples of the world have stood firmly by the Arab people, fully exposed the U.S.-British-Soviet big counter-revolutionary scheme and extended their all-out support to the Arab people in their struggle against aggression. This is the clear line of demarcation between the two camps. This is a fact which has opened wide the eyes of the Arab people and enables them to recognize even more clearly who are their sinister enemies and who their loyal, reliable comrades-in-arms.

The ferocious features of U.S. imperialism have been completely revealed. Cold facts have proved that U.S. imperialism is the chief culprit in the staging of this war of aggression, the arch criminal suppressing the Arab people, the biggest aggressor pushing ahead with neo-colonialism in the Arab world, and the No. 1 sworn enemy of the 100 million Arab people.

The aggressive features of British imperialism have also been thoroughly exposed. It was Britain which joined with the United States in engineering and supporting Israel's armed attacks on the Arab countries and which engaged in all sorts of cunning political manoeuvres to bring pressure to bear on them. This senile, decrepit old-style imperialism has gone utterly mad in promoting its neo-colonialism in an attempt to maintain its shaky colonialist position in Asia and Africa.

French imperialism, which claimed to be "neutral" during these events, has actually played "big power politics" along with the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union and shown itself as standing on the side of the U.S.-Israeli aggressors.

Through the recent developments in the Middle East, the Arab people have learnt an important lesson. They have come to gradually recognize the sinister features of the Soviet revisionist clique as those of a false and treacherous friend. Israel's armed aggression against the Arab people was in essence a frantic attack jointly plotted by the United States and the Soviet Union. It was also a joint U.S.-Soviet political manoeuvre to trap the Arab countries. Examine the facts! The Soviet revisionist clique on the one hand "guaranteed" that Israel would not attack and on the other, working hand in glove with the United States, instigated Israel to launch a surprise attack on the Arab countries and catch them unawares. One day it voiced "support" for the Arab people and the next day it engaged in behind-the-scenes dealings with the United States and cooked up a so-called "ceasefire" resolution in the U.N. Security Council, a most shameful betrayal of the Arab people. It publicly issues one statement after another, one note after another, in "condemnation" of Israel, while secretly flirting with Israel. When Israel took over control of the Tiran Strait, a Soviet vessel was the first ship to pass the Gulf of Aqaba. The Soviet revisionist clique is a heinous swindler specializing in double-dealings, a big traitor to the Arab people and, in collusion with U.S. and British imperialism, a butcher suppressing the Arab people's struggle against aggression.

The Arab people's struggle against imperialist aggression will be a protracted one. Looked at in essence and from a long-term point of view, it is the Arab people who are really powerful. U.S. imperialism, British imperialism, Soviet revisionism, Israel—all are paper tigers. It is only a temporary phenomenon that Israel, by relying on the assistance of U.S. and British imperialism and Soviet revisionism, has been able to occupy some Arab territory by force of arms. The Arab people will sooner or later liberate all their

territory now under forcible occupation by imperialism and its lackey. Without fail the debt owed by imperialism to them will be repaid. No force on earth can stop the Arab people from exercising their sacred right!

An excellent revolutionary situation now prevails throughout the whole world. Anti-U.S. struggles are growing vigorously everywhere. The heroic Vietnamese people, giving full play to the infinite power of people's war, have badly mauled the nearly 500,000 U.S. aggressor troops. Over the vast expanses of Asia, Africa and Latin America the people are more awakened than ever before and the flames of anti-imperialist revolution burn ever higher. The imperialist bloc is heading towards disintegration, and the modern revisionist clique is beset with difficulties. The world situation is extremely favourable to the revolutionary people of all countries and most unfavourable to imperialism. It is favourable to the Arab people for persistence in their fight against aggression. Whatever desperate struggles imperialism, headed by the United States, may make and whatever despicable treacherous activities the Soviet modern revisionists may conduct, this general trend of the world situation can never be changed. The zigzags which the Arab people encounter in the course of their anti-imperialist struggle can under no circumstances halt their continuous advance.

**Chairman Mao has said: "The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history."** The Arab people are the makers of Arab history. No encroachment on or violation of Arab land by imperialism and its lackey will be tolerated. So long as the 100 million Arab people raise their political consciousness, adopt correct policies and persevere in struggle, they will certainly be able to drive away the old and new colonialists, headed by the United States, and to wipe out all aggressor bandits!

Arab people! Be united! Make sustained and redoubled efforts! Plunge into long-term fierce struggles! The 700 million Chinese people support you. So do all the revolutionary people the world over. Final victory will surely belong to the heroic Arab people!

*("Renmin Ribao" editorial, June 11.)*

# We Firmly Stand by the Arab People

## Mass Demonstrations in Peking and Other Cities

FOR three days beginning from June 7, revolutionary masses in Peking and other cities poured into the streets to demonstrate support for the Arab people's just struggle against aggression by U.S. imperialism and Israel. In the capital alone, more than 1.2 million people took part in demonstrations. They came from

factories, government offices, schools and universities and from rural people's communes outside the city proper. From morn till dusk, procession after long procession of demonstrators streamed to the embassies of the Arab countries and to the Mission of the Palestine Liberation Organization to express the staunch support



Proletarian revolutionaries denounce U.S.-British-Israeli banditry



Foreigners working in Peking join in demonstrations

of the Chinese people for the 100 million Arabs fighting the U.S.-Israeli aggression. They pledged to stand by the Arab people no matter what and to support their struggle to the finish.

Holding aloft portraits of our great leader Chairman Mao and carrying red banners, placards, cartoons and the red-covered *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, revolutionary workers, cadres, Red Guards and revolutionary students and teachers marched through the streets in angry protest over the armed aggression against the Arab countries by U.S. imperialism and its stooge Israel. When they reached the Arab embassies, the protesters stood at attention and in one voice repeated the teaching of the great leader Chairman Mao: **"All reactionaries are paper tigers. In appearance, the reactionaries are terrifying, but in reality they are not so powerful. From a long-term point of view, it is not the reactionaries but the people who are really powerful."** The great thought of Mao Tse-tung is the sharpest weapon with which Peking's proletarian revolutionaries support the Arab people in their struggle against U.S.-Israeli banditry.

Rain failed to dampen the ardour of the protest marchers. Three hundred thousand turned out to show their solidarity with the Arab people on the first day. Huge phalanxes of demonstrators converged on the eastern section of the city and then headed for the embassies of the United Arab Republic, Syria, Iraq, Yemen, Algeria, Morocco and the Mission of the Palestine Liberation Organization where they staged a stirring demonstration in support of the Arab cause.

The demonstrators vehemently condemned the ruling Soviet revisionist clique's treachery in working hand in glove with U.S. imperialism and putting forward a "ceasefire" proposal in the United Nations to compel the Arab countries to cease resistance. Contingent after contingent massed in front of the Office of the British Charge d'Affaires to protest the criminal part British imperialism was playing in the U.S.-Israeli aggression on the Arab countries as well as against the

fascist atrocities it had committed against their compatriots in Hongkong. Down with U.S. imperialism! Down with Israel, the stooge of U.S. imperialism! Down with British imperialism! Down with Soviet modern revisionism! These militant slogans resounded through Peking.

Letters of support were presented by groups of Red Guards to the U.A.R. and other Arab embassies. These expressed the strong belief that the 700 million Chinese people and the Red Guards, armed with the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, provide powerful backing for the Arab people, always stand with the 100 million heroic Arab people and unflinchingly support the Arab people's struggle against aggression.

On receiving these letters, U.A.R. Ambassador Imam, in the name of the 100 million Arab people and every fighter, thanked the Chinese people for their all-out support to the Arab people. We are, he declared, not 100 million Arab people but 800 million Arab and Chinese people.

Syrian Charge d'Affaires Farah said that the struggle to crush U.S. and British imperialism and their tool Israel is not just the cause of the Arab people, it is also the cause of the Chinese people and the cause of all progressive mankind. The Arab people's struggle is linked with the struggle of the Chinese people to liberate Taiwan. We fight alongside all in the world who oppose imperialism and, he added, with the support of the world's progressive people headed by the Chinese People's Republic, we are confident that we shall finally smash U.S. and British imperialism and all the forces of imperialism on earth.

Rashid Said Gerbou, Head of the Mission of the Palestine Liberation Organization in Peking, declared that the Chinese people's support has strengthened the Arab people's confidence in struggle. The people of Palestine and all the Arab people would continue their study of Chairman Mao's works. "We are convinced," said Gerbou, "that Chairman Mao's works are the most powerful weapon in the fight against imperialism and



Zionism. The Palestine people believe that the Chinese people are their closest friends."

Foreigners from more than 20 countries working in Peking marched shoulder to shoulder with the angry demonstrators to the Office of the British Charge d'Affaires. With raised fists they shouted: Down with U.S. imperialism! Down with British imperialism! Down with Soviet revisionism! They chanted the song based on a quotation from Chairman Mao: "Be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory." When they came to the U.A.R., Syrian and Iraqi Embassies and the P.L.O. Mission they were so moved that they began making impassioned speeches.

They vowed to fight with the Arab people against the U.S. imperialist aggressors to the finish.

Hundreds of thousands of revolutionary people in the coastal cities of Kwangchow and Foochow and in other parts of the country held meetings and demonstrations at the same time. As in Peking, they condemned U.S. and British imperialism and their stooge Israel for carrying out armed aggression against the Arab countries, and they pledged firm support for the Arab cause. The ruling Soviet revisionist clique which all along has been ganging up with the U.S. imperialists to betray the Arab people was condemned in similar terms for its vile deceit.

## **The Angry Flames of the Arab People's Anti-U.S. Struggle Cannot Be Extinguished**

**F**ROM the east coast of the Mediterranean to the shores of the Red Sea, broad sections of the Arab people, inflamed with righteous indignation, launched a powerful and tempestuous struggle against the U.S. imperialist-instigated war of aggression started by the U.S. running dog Israel against the Arab countries, and against the Soviet revisionists' big betrayal and selling out of the Arab people in this war of aggression. Although the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union have now compelled the United Arab Republic and Syria to accept a "ceasefire," the Arab people who are victims of the U.S.-British-Israeli aggression and who have been sold out by the Soviet revisionist ruling clique have become all the more militant and stand as one against their common enemy. Wherever there is oppression, there is resistance, and wherever there is aggression, there is opposition to aggression. The angry flames of the Arab people's anti-U.S. struggle can never be extinguished. This is a new upsurge in the Arab people's anti-U.S. tidal waves over the last ten years. Just as the press in the Arab countries has pointed out, the present situation in the Middle East has turned into a confrontation between the entire Arab nation and U.S. imperialism.

### **Anti-U.S. Storm Sweeps Arab World**

Since its armed intervention in Lebanon in 1958, U.S. imperialism has intensified its subversion, intervention, aggression and other conspiratorial activities in the lands of the Arabs. The Arab people have been

struggling fiercely against U.S.-led imperialism for a long time. Before Israel flagrantly launched its surprise attack on the United Arab Republic, Syria and other Arab countries on June 5, the Arab people had already seen through the wild ambitions of U.S. imperialism and its stooge and had begun to mobilize, ready to go to the front at any time to repel the aggressors at any cost. On May 25, some 3,000 workers and employees held demonstrations in Cairo. On May 28, 3,000 workers and students in Sanaa came out on the streets and demonstrated. On June 1, 100,000 workers took part in anti-U.S. demonstrations in Baghdad, and 30,000 demonstrated in Khartoum. On June 2, 50,000 demonstrated in Jerusalem (Jordanian sector), and 2,000 university students and teachers did the same in Beirut. During the ten days ending June 3, more than 200,000 people held 15 big anti-U.S. demonstrations.

After the news that U.S. imperialism and Israel had started the war of aggression against the Arab countries, the Arab people demonstrated on an even larger scale, and angry tidal waves against the United States followed one another. The slogan "Down with U.S. imperialism!" rocked the Arab countries.

In Baghdad, capital of Iraq, thousands of Iraqi people demonstrated before the U.S. Embassy on June 5.irate Iraqi youth tore the "stars and stripes" to shreds and trampled on it.

In Cairo, capital of the United Arab Republic, demonstrators on June 6 shouted in front of the U.S. Embassy: "Down with Johnson!" "Down with Wilson!"

and other slogans. Anti-U.S. demonstrations were also held in Alexandria before the U.S. and British Consulates on the same day. The demonstrators stormed the two consulates and burnt consulate property.

In Damascus, capital of Syria, several hundred citizens demonstrated before the Embassies of the United States and Britain on June 6. They threw stones at the Embassies. In the important Syrian city of Aleppo, several hundred people took part in an anti-U.S. demonstration on June 7. The demonstrators shouting "U.S. and British imperialism is the enemy of the Arabs!" set fire to the U.S. and British Consulates there.

In Algiers, thousands of Algerians demonstrated and angrily wrecked completely the American Cultural Centre in the capital on June 5. They stormed that centre of U.S. imperialist cultural penetration for three hours. Among their slogans was "Johnson is a murderer!"

In Tunis, capital of Tunisia, several thousand people held an anti-U.S. demonstration which lasted five hours. The demonstrators shouted "Down with U.S. imperialism!" "Johnson murderer!" and other slogans in front of the U.S. Embassy. They rushed into the Embassy, overturned and smashed ten cars, broke windows and threw books and documents out into the street. They also stormed the American Cultural Centre and the office of the U.S. International Development Agency.

In Beirut, capital of Lebanon, some 3,000 people held an anti-U.S. demonstration on June 6. They shouted anti-U.S. slogans and tore down the American flag. The American imperialists in the Embassy went so far as to open fire on the demonstrators and wounded a number of them. The enraged Lebanese set fire to the U.S. Embassy.

Sudanese people demonstrated for three days from June 5 in Khartoum against U.S. imperialism. On June 7 angry demonstrators shouting: "Oppose U.S.-British collaboration with Israel!" once again stormed into the American Club in the Sudanese capital, destroyed furniture and set it on fire. They then destroyed the American theatre and cinema there.

In Taiz, a major city in Yemen, the people held a demonstration and a rally on June 8. They shouted: "Long live the Arab nation!" and "Down with the American and British colonialists and their running dog Israel!" The demonstrators stormed into the U.S. Embassy, smashed all the windows and destroyed all the embassy cars. Earlier, in Sanaa, the capital of Yemen, the people wrecked the American Cultural Office.

In British-occupied south Yemen, the nationalist organizations, Front for the Liberation of South Yemen (FLOSY) and the National Liberation Front, issued separate calls to the people to blow up the British oil refinery and other British installations. Strikes by many workers and shopkeepers half paralysed the town of Aden on June 6.

During this period, in Nouakchott, Benghazi, and Rabat, capitals of Mauritania, Libya and Morocco, mammoth anti-U.S. demonstrations took place.

### **"Down With U.S. Imperialism!" "Down With Soviet Revisionism!"**

After the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union had compelled the United Arab Republic and Syria to announce their acceptance of the "ceasefire," the fighting will of the people of the Arab countries rose still higher and they held still greater demonstrations in rapid succession. In these, they not only shouted "Down with U.S. imperialism!" and "Down with Johnson!" but also "Down with Soviet revisionism!" and "Down with Kosygin!" This proves that as a result of this war, they have not only further recognized the essence of their sworn enemy, U.S. imperialism, but have also further recognized the traitorous features of Soviet modern revisionism. They say: "The Soviet revisionists have stabbed us in the back. Now we know what the Soviet revisionists are."

In Cairo, crowds of demonstrators gathered in the roads and streets, angrily shouting: "Down with Johnson!" "Down with Wilson!" "Down with Kosygin!" "We demand to go to the front!" "We want to fight!" Their deafening cries resounded throughout the city. Groups of workers and students living in the suburbs and outlying towns of Cairo drove or walked to the capital and joined in the demonstrations. In the heroic city of Port Said, another large-scale demonstration took place on June 10 to condemn U.S. and British participation in the war of aggression. The British Consulate and a U.S. library once again were set on fire.

In Algeria, militant rallies and demonstrations were held in many places on June 9. Several thousand demonstrators in Algiers, who had assembled spontaneously, marched to the Soviet Cultural Centre there, shouting along the way: "Down with U.S. imperialism!" "Johnson is the assassin!" "U.S.S.R. is the traitor!" and "Send Kosygin to the garbage-heap!" Thousands of people marched to the Algerian Ministry of Defence and asked the Government to issue arms to them and shouted: "The war has only begun!" and "We will fight to the last drop of our blood!" A group of demonstrators passing in front of the Chinese Embassy asked the embassy staff for *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, for Chairman Mao badges and photos of Chairman Mao. They shouted: "Long live Chairman Mao!" "Long live the Chinese people!" and "China stands by us!"

About 3,000 people in the Sudanese capital Khartoum held a big demonstration on June 9. The paraders shouted: "Down with America!" "Down with Kosygin!" and "Break off relations with the Soviet Union!" in front of the U.A.R. Embassy. A U.A.R. diplomat received the demonstrators and told them that the Soviet revisionist ruling clique had betrayed the U.A.R. The demonstrators then shouted: "Down with Kosygin the traitor!" and "Smash the Soviet Embassy!"

In Beirut, thousands of people paraded on June 10, shouting slogans against imperialist aggression and against the Soviet revisionists' betrayal of the Arab people's interests. The incensed demonstrators set fire to some shops run by Americans and Englishmen, and attacked the Soviet Embassy in the Lebanese capital.

In Mauritania, the people demonstrated on June 9 and 10 in front of the Soviet Embassy in Nouakchott, shouting slogans condemning Soviet revisionism.

In the Yemeni city of Taiz, 5,000 people took part in a huge demonstration on June 10 against the U.S.-Israeli armed aggression against the Arab countries. The demonstrators shouted: "We are for Palestine, down with U.S. imperialism!" The angry crowd pelted the Soviet Embassy in Taiz with stones and shouted: "Soviet revisionists are traitors, China is our real friend!" In the important Yemeni city of Hodeida on the same day, thousands of workers marched through the streets to denounce the Soviet revisionists' crime of betraying the Arab people's interests. With righteous indignation, the workers stormed into the Soviet Consulate and smashed the glass on the doors and in the windows. They shouted: "Down with U.S. imperialism!" "Down with the traitor Kosygin!" All the Yemeni workers employed at the Soviet repair shop in Hodeida called a protest strike against the Soviet revisionists' betrayal of the Arab people's interests.

On June 10 the people of Baghdad held a mammoth street demonstration to oppose U.S. imperialist and Israeli aggression against the Arab countries. Thousands of irate Iraqis went to the Soviet Embassy. They pointed at the embassy building and shouted: "The Soviet revisionists are cowards!" "We will fight together with our Syrian brothers until final victory!"

On the same day the Executive Bureau of the General Federation of the Iraqi Trade Unions wrote a letter to the Soviet Ambassador in Iraq strongly condemning the Soviet revisionist ruling clique's betrayal of the Arab people's struggle against imperialism. The letter pointed out that "the Soviet Government's stand is a capitulationist one. It is an obvious capitulation before the forces of world imperialism." The letter also said that the workers of Iraq clearly and frankly believe that the Soviet Union must be held responsible for all imperialist aggression resulting from its act of capitulation.

### Traitorous Features of Soviet Revisionism Unmasked

Besides demonstrations, Arab people from all circles and newspapers have strongly condemned the Soviet revisionists' shameless act of betrayal in statements and commentaries. Following is the report of Hsinhua correspondents about Arab opinion on the situation.

A U.A.R. journalist said, "We will never forget the (Soviet) betrayal of our struggle against aggression." No Arab will forget the latest big betrayal by Soviet revisionism, he added. "We begin to understand every-

thing China has said about the Soviet revisionists. China's stand towards them is correct," he said.

Another Egyptian said, "We have come to know who is our true friend — People's China, and who is our false friend — the Soviet Union." A driver asked: "Where was Russia during the fighting? The Russians have done the same as they did during the Cuban crisis and even worse. We will never forget and forgive them."

An Algerian said: "We have now seen clearly what kind of stuff revisionism is. The Soviet revisionists are dirty scoundrels, just like the Yankees. They made sweet promises about giving support to us Arabs! But when the U.S. imperialists and Israel started aggression, they did nothing. Instead of coming to our aid, they forced us Arabs to cease fire."

Hassan Mohamed, a Yemeni, heatedly told a Hsinhua correspondent: "At the critical moment when the Arab people were subjected to U.S.-Israeli aggression, the Soviet Union, far from supporting us, has stabbed us in the back. The Soviet Union is abominable. Now we have seen clearly Soviet double-dealing tactics — selling out the Arab people under the pretense of support."

Another Yemeni said: "The Soviet Union is the same as the United States. We don't need a 'friend' like the Soviet Union. Like the U.S., the Soviet Union should get out!"

Exposing the Soviet revisionist ruling clique's criminal betrayal of the Arab people, the Iraqi paper *Sawtul Arab* pointed out on June 9 that "this country which is believed to be friendly has promised to help the Arab people. But when the time came for fulfilling its obligation, it acted exactly like our enemy." The paper angrily told the Soviet revisionist ruling clique: "We shall no longer seek anything from you. The battle against Israel is a battle of a hundred million people. . . . You have given us a lesson which we shall never forget."

The Sudanese paper *El Umma* in a commentary on June 9 said that the "ceasefire resolution" engineered by the Soviet revisionist ruling clique in collaboration with U.S. and British imperialism was meant to put the Arab people to death. The commentary added: "We shall never lay down our arms whether Kosygin likes it or not."

Another Sudanese paper *El Sudan El Gedid* denounced the Soviet revisionist ruling clique and said, "Your stand is ignoble. . . . Those who ran away at the critical moment are our enemy, the worst enemy. . . ."

The commentary of a third Sudanese paper, *Al Ayam*, said, "This stand of the Soviet leaders is not strange. They took a similar stand on Cuba in the past and are taking it on Vietnam at present."

The Syrian paper *Al Saoura* said on June 8 that although the imperialists used a vicious international trick of a "ceasefire," the people and the peace-loving forces have seen through it. "We are the victims of aggression and have every right to hit back at the aggressors," it declared.



# The More They Whitewash, the Dirtier The Image of the Soviet Revisionist Renegades Becomes

by "RENMIN RIBAO" COMMENTATOR

**I**N an attempt to cover up its treacherous betrayal of the Arab people, the Soviet revisionist ruling clique mustered the Tito renegade group and others and on June 9 issued a seven-nation joint statement on the Middle East situation. The use of this empty document of sham support was another vain attempt to hoodwink the Arab people. However, this clumsy manoeuvre of the Soviet revisionist clique has only served to further expose their shameless features as fake supporters but real betrayers of the Arab people.

Everybody knows that U.S. imperialism is the arch-criminal which instigated Israel to start the war of aggression. It not only engineered, supported and directed Israel in launching the surprise attack on the Arab countries, but with its air force even took a direct hand in Israel's acts of aggression. However, the Soviet revisionist clique's "joint statement," like its previous statements, did not contain a single word of condemnation of U.S. imperialism. What does this show if not that these revisionists are bent on absolving the U.S. imperialists from their crimes and continuing their "co-operation" with them?

The joint statement sponsored by the Soviet revisionist clique hypocritically proclaimed their full support for the just struggle of the Arab countries, and declared that they would "do everything necessary to help the people of the Arab countries to administer a resolute rebuff to the aggressor." This worthless, empty talk is simply sickening!

Didn't you Soviet revisionists ostentatiously declare in your statement of May 23 that "those who launch aggression" would be countered by the Soviet Union's "resolute action against aggression?" But what "action" did you take after Israel launched its aggression? You simply looked on with folded arms while the Arab countries were under Israeli attack. True enough, you did take some action: you co-operated fully with U.S. imperialism, shielded Israel and brought pressure to bear on the Arab countries in the United Nations; you protected the U.S. and British Embassies in Moscow by obstructing the protest demonstrations of the Arab, Asian, African and Latin-American students. Can such acts of yours be called "action against aggression?" Is it not really connivance with and support for aggression by U.S. imperialism and Israel? After having betrayed the Arab people in the most despicable way, you have the effrontery to boast unashamedly of being "loyal to our internationalist obligations." What shameless gall!

What is especially ridiculous is that, after issuing the joint statement, the Soviet revisionist clique with affected seriousness announced the severance of diplomatic relations with Israel. They did not do so when Israel was carrying out its war threats against the Arab countries, nor did they do so after Israel had launched the surprise attack on the Arab countries. On the contrary, they have all along been flirting with this running dog of U.S. imperialism and secretly working in collusion with it. Now they want to use this trick to placate the indignant Arab people. How can it work? Moreover, the reason they gave for breaking off relations with Israel was not that Israel had committed aggression against the Arab countries but that it had "ignored" the "Security Council resolution" cooked up by them in partnership with U.S. imperialism. This only serves to show that what they are trying to uphold is not at all the interests of the Arab countries but, on the contrary, the power of the United Nations, a tool jointly manipulated by the Soviet revisionists and the U.S. imperialists. They want to use this tool to force the Arab countries to come to terms. It is not surprising then that the Israeli aggressors simply shrugged their shoulders at the Soviet decision to break off relations.

This betrayal of the Arab people by the Soviet revisionist ruling clique in collusion with U.S. imperialism constitutes a new debt owed to the Asian, African and Latin-American people. They are a pack of hardened renegades. For many years they have been engaging in betrayals and acting as accomplices of U.S. imperialism wherever there is revolution and struggle against aggression.

In the Security Council, they have time and again voted to support U.S. imperialism in its use of "U.N. forces" to suppress the revolutionary struggle of the Congolese (Kinshasa) people.

They bowed to U.S. imperialist threats of war and openly betrayed the Cuban people.

They supported U.S. imperialism in using the United Nations to interfere in the internal affairs of Cyprus.

In Pakistan's struggle against Indian aggression, they showed their partiality to the Indian reactionaries and forced Pakistan to accept a "ceasefire" favourable to India.

When U.S. imperialism carried out armed suppression of the Dominican people's anti-U.S. patriotic

struggle, the Soviet revisionists supported U.S. imperialism in using the United Nations to carry out further intervention.

On the Vietnam question, they are doing their utmost to serve the U.S. imperialist schemes of "forcing peace talks through war" and "inducing peace talks through a pause in the bombing" in an attempt to stamp out the flames of the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation.

The Asian, African and Latin-American people will sooner or later settle accounts with them for their acts of betrayal. No matter what tricks they play they can never escape being punished by history.

This act of betrayal by the Soviet revisionist clique has aroused the bitter indignation of the Arab people. During demonstrations, they shouted "Down with Ko-

sygin!" and "Soviet Union, get out of the Middle East!" The Arab people have now come to see clearly that the Soviet revisionist ruling clique are false friends with honey on their lips and murder in their hearts, and that they are faithful accomplices of U.S. and British imperialism.

Chairman Mao has said, "Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of the first importance for the revolution." The Arab people in their current war against aggression have seen more clearly who their enemies and friends are. They will certainly be able to win complete victory by relying on their own strength, uniting with their true friends, and carrying through to the end the struggle against U.S. imperialism and its accomplices.

("Renmin Ribao," June 13.)

# Stride Forward Along Chairman Mao's Revolutionary Line on Literature And Art

— Speech on June 5 at the Closing Session of the Seminar Sponsored  
By the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau to Commemorate the 25th  
Anniversary of Chairman Mao's Talks at the Yen-an Forum on  
Literature and Art

by CHI PEN-YU

## Comrades and Friends,

Allow me to extend warmest congratulations to the Seminar in Commemoration of the 25th Anniversary of Chairman Mao's Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art held by the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau. In the last few days, you have made many outstanding speeches which have greatly inspired and educated us.

This meeting has fully demonstrated the ardent love of the revolutionary people of the world for our great leader Chairman Mao and the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung. The leading comrades of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Central Committee express their thanks to the comrades and friends taking part in this meeting. Comrade Chiang Ching would have liked to address the meeting but she is unable to do so because these past few days she has been suffering from a cold. She ought to be resting today, but despite that she has come here to offer congratulations to this meeting and meet our comrades and friends. She specifically asked me to extend her

greetings to our comrades and friends and a revolutionary salute to the fighters on the cultural front coming from the six continents.

## (1)

Chairman Mao's Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art was born amid the storm and stress of the struggle for national liberation. It was at the most difficult time for China in the War of Resistance Against Japan; it was also at the time when our Party was combating Wang Ming's Right opportunism and unfolding the great rectification movement. After the outbreak of the War of Resistance Against Japan, large numbers of patriotic and revolutionary intellectuals broke through heavy blockade lines to get to Yen-an, the sacred centre of the revolution. To undermine the people's war of resistance against Japan, the Kuomintang reactionaries also sent a handful of spies and Trotskyites sneaking into Yen-an to work in collusion with a handful of anti-Party elements and renegades and stir up on the cultural front a reactionary adverse current co-ordinated with the military attacks of the

Japanese aggressors and Chiang Kai-shek. In order to incite others against the Party and the people they energetically advocated bourgeois theories on literature and art, and spread around such absurd arguments as "even the sun has spots" and "the task of literature and art has always been to expose." A very sharp question was thus put before the literary and art workers: Should literature and art serve the struggle for national liberation and the people's liberation or should they serve the reactionaries who undermined the War of Resistance and tried to betray the country and capitulate? Should they serve the revolution or the counter-revolution?

It was at this very time that our great leader Chairman Mao convened in Yen-an a forum on literature and art at which he delivered the *Talks* which is of epoch-making historic significance. On the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, Chairman Mao in the *Talks* developed creatively and with genius Marxist-Leninist theory on literature and art, and thereby formulated a most comprehensive, systematic and correct proletarian revolutionary line on literature and art for the proletariat engaged in struggle.

In this brilliant work Chairman Mao first of all raised and solved the question of the relationship between literature and art on the one hand and politics on the other. Chairman Mao pointed out: **Proletarian literature and art are part of the whole proletarian revolutionary cause. Revolutionary literary and art forces are an army for winning national liberation and the people's liberation and seizing political power.** Chairman Mao added: **"In our struggle for the liberation of the Chinese people there are various fronts, among which there are the fronts of the pen and of the gun, the cultural and the military fronts. To defeat the enemy we must rely primarily on the army with guns. But this army alone is not enough; we must also have a cultural army, which is absolutely indispensable for uniting our own ranks and defeating the enemy."** Proletarian literature and art **"operate as powerful weapons for uniting and educating the people and for attacking and destroying the enemy."**

In order to fundamentally solve the question of the relationship between literature and art and politics, Chairman Mao has pointed out in his *Talks* that it is necessary first of all to solve the problem of the class stand of literary and art workers. Revolutionary literary and art workers must hold to the stand of the proletariat and the masses of the people. With regard to the enemy, they must expose his cruelty and deceptions and point out the inevitability of his defeat. As for the people, revolutionary literary and art workers must extol their labours and struggles and not ridicule or be hostile to their shortcomings and errors but should help them to fight these shortcomings and errors and to unite and make progress, and strengthen their confidence in the victory of their struggle.

On the basis of the solution of the problem of class stand, Chairman Mao raised the fundamental problem

of orientation that literature and art must serve the workers, peasants and soldiers and serve proletarian politics. Chairman Mao called upon literary and art workers to go into the very midst of the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, learn from them, bring about a thorough change in world outlook and **"move their feet over to the side of the workers, peasants and soldiers, to the side of the proletariat."** Chairman Mao said: **"If . . . writers and artists who come from the intelligentsia want their works to be well received by the masses, they must change and remould their thinking and their feelings. Without such a change, without such remoulding, they can do nothing well and will be misfits."**

Creatively applying and developing the Marxist theory of knowledge, Chairman Mao gave a penetrating exposition of the relationship between source and stream in literature and art. He pointed out: **The life of the people is the only source of literature and art. The literary and artistic works of ancient times and of foreign countries are not a source but a stream. Taking over literary and artistic works of the past and using them as examples must never replace our own creative work. Writers and artists of promise must go among the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, go to the only source, the broadest and richest source, and create genuine revolutionary literary and artistic works.**

Chairman Mao has pointed out the orientation of the proletarian literary and art criticism and set forth the principle of **putting the political criterion first and the artistic criterion second.** Chairman Mao's *Talks* relentlessly refutes such reactionary fallacies as "the theory of human nature" and "love of humanity."

After the publication of this brilliant work of Chairman Mao, revolutionary literary and art workers, guided by this revolutionary line on literature and art, have seen clearly the objectives of their struggle, found their orientation, liquidated the influence of Wang Ming's Right opportunism and repulsed the anti-Party adverse current whipped up by a handful of anti-Party elements, Trotskyites and traitors. Acting in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions and with literature and art as their weapon, many fine literary and art workers have served the War of Resistance Against Japan and the War of Liberation and have tempered themselves into staunch revolutionary fighters in the flames of national liberation and the people's liberation.

## (II)

Chairman Mao's *Talks* is the programme for the current great and unprecedented proletarian cultural revolution; comprehensively and systematically it provided the theories, the line, principles and policies for our great proletarian cultural revolution.

After the proletariat seizes political power, the overthrown exploiting classes will by no means be reconciled to their doom. Relying on their broad and



extensive international contacts, on the spontaneous trend of small production towards capitalism and, in the ideological sphere, on positions in culture, art, philosophy, law, etc., which they still occupy, they will work strenuously for a restoration. Lenin has said: **"The transition from capitalism to Communism represents an entire historical epoch. Until this epoch has terminated, the exploiters inevitably cherish the hope of restoration, and this hope is converted into attempts at restoration. And after their first serious defeat, the overthrown exploiters—who had not expected their overthrow, never believed it possible, never conceded the thought of it—throw themselves with energy grown tenfold, with furious passion and hatred grown a hundredfold, into the battle for the recovery of the 'paradise,' of which they have been deprived, on behalf of their families, who had been leading such a sweet and easy life and whom now the 'common herd' is condemning to ruin and destitution (or to 'common' labour . . .)." In order to defeat the class enemy's activities for a counter-revolutionary restoration, the proletariat must use the dictatorship of the proletariat to fight the enemy. In this struggle between restoration and counter-restoration under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, ideology is a front-line position. The revolutionary and counter-revolutionary forces clash in the first place on this front. After the seizure of political power by the proletariat, the Soviet Union and some East European countries did not carry out the revolutionary movement in the ideological field very effectively and failed to destroy the ideology of the exploiting classes; on the contrary, bourgeois and revisionist ideas were allowed to spread unchecked, undermining the socialist economic base and corroding proletarian political power, and this led to today's capitalist restoration. On the basis of the historical lessons of the Soviet Union and some East European countries, Chairman Mao has summed up the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat at home and abroad, and has personally initiated and led the movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution.**

China's great proletarian cultural revolution is a great revolution which has been staged under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat by arousing hundreds of millions of the masses to practise mass proletarian democracy, that is, a free airing of views, the use of big-character posters and great debates; it is a great revolution which uses the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung to arouse the masses to liberate themselves. This great revolution is a major decisive battle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist and capitalist roads. One of the great historical contributions made by this great revolution is that a handful of top persons in authority taking the capitalist road who have entrenched themselves in key departments of the Party Central Committee have been dragged out, and the powers of the Party, government, finance and culture usurped by them have been recovered thus smashing their scheme for a capitalist restoration.

China's great proletarian cultural revolution has greatly developed Marxism-Leninism. It has revealed to the people an entirely new universal truth: In a socialist society and during the entire historical period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, class struggle by no means dies out, but continues to develop in depth with the struggle between restoration and counter-restoration as its main content; revolution does not end, but goes on in a new form. Living in the new epoch in which imperialism is heading for total collapse while socialism is advancing towards worldwide victory, a genuine Marxist-Leninist should not only recognize class struggle but also the dictatorship of the proletariat, and should recognize the existence of the struggle between restoration and counter-restoration under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao's theory on the great cultural revolution carried out under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat has pointed out the orientation for the international communist movement and serves as a beacon showing the way for the world proletariat in its struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism.

The revolutionary people all over the world warmly acclaim China's great proletarian cultural revolution. Our comrades, the proletarian revolutionaries, say: "The great proletarian cultural revolution which has won a decisive victory will go down in the annals of history as an event of the greatest epoch-making significance in the world. In the great proletarian cultural revolution, Comrade Mao Tse-tung with rare talent and prophetic insight solved many hitherto unsolved problems, thereby greatly enriching the treasury of Marxism-Leninism." It was well said by many comrades at this seminar: "China's great proletarian cultural revolution has smashed the pipe dream of the counter-revolutionary revisionists in China, the Soviet Union and the other countries. It has turned China into an even more powerful stronghold of the world proletarian revolution, and a more glorious pathbreaker for the oppressed nations and the oppressed peoples."

The world-shaking great proletarian cultural revolution in China has frightened the U.S. and British imperialist and Soviet revisionist overlords out of their wits. In the irresistible torrent of the great proletarian cultural revolution they see their inevitable doom. Picking up the rotten weapons of the German fascist Goebbels, they have resorted to all kinds of slanders and vilification against China's great proletarian cultural revolution.

It must be noted in particular that in this wild chorus of abuse, the Soviet revisionist clique has played a most despicable role. It has attacked our most respected and beloved leader Chairman Mao in the foulest language of U.S. imperialism and the Chiang Kai-shek gang. It has directed a notorious cultural clown to write a host of foul poems, frantically vilifying Chairman Mao. The Soviet revisionists have recently called a sinister meeting of writers and artists to hurl wanton attacks on Chairman Mao, a meeting symbolic of the approaching doom of the decadent culture of

modern revisionism. To be opposed by our enemy is not a bad thing but a mighty good thing. Their vile attacks on Chairman Mao testify all the more to the greatness and correctness of Chairman Mao — the Lenin of our times. Chairman Mao, the great helmsman of the proletarian revolution, has pointed out the orientation and road for the Chinese revolution; the revolutionary people under the rule of modern revisionism have also recognized the fact that Chairman Mao has pointed out the orientation and road for their revolution. The modern revisionists fear that under the impact of China's great proletarian cultural revolution, the people under their rule will grasp the weapon of the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, rise in rebellion against them and drive them out of office. Therefore, they do not hesitate to resort to all sorts of base means to smear and attack Chairman Mao. Is this not true? Well then, Brezhnev, Kosygin and company! Do you have the courage to publish the writings of Chairman Mao and the editorials and documents concerning China's great proletarian cultural revolution and let the Soviet people know the whole truth about this revolution? Do you have the courage to let the Soviet people criticize you with a free airing of their views, big-character posters and great debates as weapons? No. You don't! What sort of "heroes" are you hiding yourselves in dark corners and screeching all the time?

Chairman Mao has said in one of his poems: **"On this tiny globe a few flies dash themselves against the wall, humming without cease, sometimes shrilling, sometimes moaning."** In hurling attacks and abuse at our great leader Chairman Mao, the Soviet revisionists are nothing but a few flies shrilling and moaning in their death-throes, unable in the least to tarnish the splendour of the great thought of Mao Tse-tung.

The imperialist and revisionist lords are mouthing such nonsense as "you have destroyed traditional culture" and "you have adopted a sectarian attitude of contempt for the achievements of world culture." This is pure virulent slander against China's great proletarian cultural revolution.

We have always adopted an analytical attitude towards past and foreign culture. Chairman Mao teaches us: **"We must take over all the fine things in our literary and artistic heritage, critically assimilate whatever is beneficial, and use them as examples when we create works out of the literary and artistic raw materials in the life of the people of our own time and place. It makes a difference whether or not we have such examples, the difference between crudeness and refinement, between roughness and polish, between a low and a high level, and between slower and faster work. Therefore, we must on no account reject the legacies of the ancients and the foreigners or refuse to learn from them, even though they are the works of the feudal or bourgeois classes. But taking over legacies and using them as examples must never replace our own creative work; nothing can do that."** Chairman Mao also teaches us: **"It is imperative to separate the fine old culture of the people which had a more**

**or less democratic and revolutionary character from all the decadence of the old feudal ruling class."**

Following Chairman Mao's instructions, we critically take over what is revolutionary, progressive and fine in traditional culture, that is, absorb its quintessence on the one hand, and on the other hand, criticize and do away with what is decadent, backward and reactionary in it, that is, discard the dregs. With regard to decadent, backward and reactionary feudal culture and capitalist culture, i.e., the dregs of "traditional culture," we will indeed destroy them utterly. Without their destruction, capitalism will be restored, revisionism will spread unchecked and the revolutionary cause of the proletariat will be defeated. Without their destruction, it is impossible to build up a proletarian, revolutionary new culture. Chairman Mao teaches us: **"There is no construction without destruction, no flowing without damming and no motion without rest; the two are locked in a life-and-death struggle."** **"Destruction means criticism and repudiation; it means revolution. It involves reasoning things out, which is construction. Put destruction first, and in the process you have construction."** But it is a complete fabrication to assert that in destroying the decadent, backward and reactionary cultures of feudalism and capitalism, and the culture of imperialism and modern revisionism, we also want to destroy all that is fine in the cultural heritage of the past.

Critically inheriting the "traditional culture" is, in Chairman Mao's words, **"to make the old serve the present."** Facts have proved that only by critical inheritance can we remove the impediments to our progress, absorb what is useful to us and create a brand new culture of the people. Was not the old Peking opera already on the decline? But under the personal leadership of Comrade Chiang Ching, the pathbreakers of China's great proletarian cultural revolution have given a vigorous new life to this declining Peking opera, and created fine models of Peking opera on contemporary themes, such as *The Red Lantern*, *Taking the Bandits' Stronghold*, *Shachiapang*, *On the Docks*, and *Raid on the White-Tiger Regiment*. Have not these model pieces critically inherited this traditional Chinese art form and implemented the principle of "making the old serve the present"? As soon as they appeared on the stage, these models were warmly received by the masses of the workers, peasants and soldiers. Does not this contrast with the poor reception given to the old Peking operas demonstrate the complete bankruptcy of the imperialists' and modern revisionists' shameless fabrication that China's great cultural revolution is meant to "destroy traditional culture"?

Comrade Chiang Ching creatively studies and applies Chairman Mao's works. Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art, she applies whatever she learns, works hard and assiduously, and has turned this ancient art form into a shining pearl dispelling the darkness which dominated the stage in the past. The emperors, kings, generals, ministers, scholars and beauties, the lords and ladies as well as their pampered sons and daughters have all been driven

off the stage which they had dominated, and heroic images of workers, peasants and soldiers have been brought to the stage in all their splendour; the reversal of history has thus been reversed. This fact fully demonstrates that it is Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art, and this line alone, which is the true defender of all that is best in traditional culture.

As for "taking a sectarian attitude of contempt for the achievements of world culture," it is not we who do this but the imperialists and modern revisionists. Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, is the peak of the world's cultural achievements. The imperialists, however, have banned its propagation. The modern revisionists are distorting, adulterating and emasculating Marxism-Leninism, and have prevented distribution of the works of the great Marxist-Leninist Stalin by locking them up. They have even rejected the dialectics and materialism of ancient times, not to speak of the revolutionary teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Chairman Mao. Is this respect for the cultural achievements of the world? The imperialists and modern revisionists have discarded the genuine traditional art of the people of the world and blatantly advocate decadent, reactionary bourgeois "art." Is this respect for the cultural achievements of the world?

It is precisely China, who is slanderously accused by the imperialists and modern revisionists of "sectarianism," that genuinely respects the cultural achievements of the world. Chairman Mao has taught us: **"To nourish her own culture China needs to assimilate a good deal of foreign progressive culture. . . . We should assimilate whatever is useful to us today . . . for example, from the culture of the various capitalist countries in the Age of Enlightenment. However, we should not gulp any of this foreign material down uncritically, but must treat it as we do our food—first chewing it, then submitting it to the working of the stomach and intestines with their juices and secretions, and separating it into nutriment to be absorbed and waste matter to be discarded—before it can nourish us."** "As for foreign culture, it would be a wrong policy to shut it out, rather we should as far as possible draw on what is progressive in it for use in the development of China's new culture." Taught by Chairman Mao, the Chinese people modestly learn and critically absorb what is progressive in foreign culture. Another group of cultural revolutionary fighters, under the leadership of Comrade Chiang Ching, have transformed the old arts of foreign ballet and symphonic music and produced brilliant treasures of art: the ballets *Red Detachment of Women* and *The White-Haired Girl* and the symphonic work *Shachiapang*. Are these not eloquent proof? Iron-clad facts show that the assertion that we "take a sectarian attitude of contempt for the achievements of world culture" is bold-faced slander.

The imperialists and revisionists, with one voice, attack our great proletarian cultural revolution as being

intended to "knock down all intellectuals." This is sheer slander. Intellectuals belong to different classes and take different political stands. There is one category which is composed of proletarian intellectuals who have accepted Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, and integrated themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers. They are a force at the core of the great proletarian cultural revolution. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, we must energetically train intellectuals of this category. Another category of intellectuals are those who have not undergone a basic or an adequate change in their world outlook, but who are in the main patriotic and support the Party and socialism. These two categories constitute the great majority of the intellectuals. There is still another category of intellectuals who are counter-revolutionary revisionists, traitorous and reactionary, stubbornly persisting in taking the capitalist road. They are only a small handful. It is only this handful of reactionary intellectuals opposing communism and the people that we want to knock down in the great proletarian cultural revolution. No "benevolence" must be shown to them, for they are the **"enemies without guns"** who undermine socialism and are a special detachment of the imperialists and modern revisionists in socialist China. If these anti-Party, anti-socialist reactionary intellectuals are not exposed, if their counter-revolutionary revisionist words and deeds are not thoroughly criticized and repudiated, and if they are not fully refuted, overthrown and completely discredited, then capitalist restoration like that carried out by the Soviet revisionist leading clique will occur and our socialist cause will be harmed.

Our Party has always attached importance to revolutionary intellectuals. Chairman Mao has always taught us: **"Without revolutionary intellectuals the revolution cannot triumph,"** and that **"it is an important and indeed an essential policy to win over all progressive intellectuals and bring them under the influence of the Party."** China's great proletarian cultural revolution has unfolded precisely with the warm support and active participation of tens of millions of revolutionary intellectuals. It is using Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, to form a mighty army of Left-wing revolutionary intellectuals to fulfil the great and glorious task of socialist revolution.

We have always strictly adhered to the stipulations of our policy in dealing with the question of intellectuals in general. Diametrically opposed to the reactionary bourgeois line which "hits hard at many in order to protect a handful," we follow the proletarian revolutionary line. Following our great leader Chairman Mao's teachings, we take care in the struggle to distinguish strictly between the anti-Party, anti-socialist Rightists and those who support the Party and socialism but have said or done something wrong or have written some bad articles or other works and between the reactionary bourgeois scholar-despots and "authorities" on the one hand and people who have ordinary bourgeois academic ideas on the other. A strict



distinction is also made between the two different types of contradictions, and great efforts are made to prevent contradictions among the people being dealt with as contradictions between ourselves and the enemy. With regard to the intellectuals who came over from the old society, we have always adopted the policy of unity, education and remoulding. As to bourgeois scholars in general, so long as they are not anti-Party, anti-socialist, anti-communist and anti-people, we provide them with suitable working conditions and let them continuously remould their world outlook in the course of their work. As for those who have had this or that kind of shortcoming or mistake, so long as they correct their mistakes they are welcomed by the masses. The actress Tu Chin-fang, who played a role in the bad opera *Peach-Blossom Fan*, has been welcomed by the masses as she has corrected her mistake and is willing to make revolution together with them. She has now been elected a leading member of the revolutionary committee of the China Peking Opera Theatre. The imperialists and modern revisionists slandered our great proletarian cultural revolution as intending "to knock down all intellectuals" and to "throw the elite of the intelligentsia of the country into deep miseries." This is the most shameless slander. What "elite"? Their so-called "elite" are actually counter-revolutionary revisionists and cultural special agents such as Hsia Yen, Tien Han, Wu Han, Teng To and their like. The reason why they go all out concocting slanders and lies on the question of intellectuals is simply because with these people pulled down, their hopes of a capitalist restoration in China have been utterly dashed, so there is nothing else for them to do but to flare up, bluster and try to vindicate these persons.

"You have no freedom of speech, no democracy." This is another slander by the imperialists and modern revisionists against the great proletarian cultural revolution of our country.

Chairman Mao says: **"Freedom and democracy do not exist in the abstract, only in the concrete. In a society rent by class struggle, if there is freedom for the exploiting classes to exploit the working people, there is no freedom for the working people not to be exploited, and if there is democracy for the bourgeoisie, there is no democracy for the proletariat and other working people."** What kind of freedom and democracy do the imperialists and modern revisionists advocate? Is it freedom and democracy for the working people? Certainly not. The freedom and democracy they want is freedom and democracy for the overthrown exploiting classes to engage in activities for a counter-revolutionary restoration. Can such freedom and democracy be allowed? No! In China, a country under the dictatorship of the proletariat, there is no freedom or democracy for the landlords, rich peasants, the counter-revolutionaries and bad elements and the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists who have been dragged out. But the overwhelming majority of the people—the workers, peasants and soldiers and the revolutionary masses—enjoy freedom and democracy to the

fullest extent. China's great proletarian cultural revolution led by our great supreme commander Chairman Mao is itself extensive democracy and freedom under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Our unprejudiced foreign friends have all seen that "this great ideological polemic in which the entire people of the country are participating is conducted in a democratic way." Hundreds of millions of the revolutionary masses dare to put forth opinions, make criticisms, hold debates and put up big-character posters. We would like to ask the imperialists and the modern revisionists: Has any one of your countries ever witnessed such freedom and democracy as is enjoyed by the Chinese people now? Does the United States have them? No. Does Britain have them? No. Does the revisionist Soviet Union have them? No again. Far from having such freedom and democracy, they are brutally suppressing the people every day through bourgeois dictatorship. There, freedom and democracy has long become an irony of history. If the imperialist and modern revisionist overlords had allowed the people to enjoy this freedom and democracy, they would long ago have been done for.

The imperialist and modern revisionist overlords slanderously accuse our great proletarian cultural revolution of "xenophobia." We would ask: what foreign things are we against? We always adopt a friendly attitude towards the people of the world. We warmly welcome people from any country who come to China for friendly visits, although their thinking and customs are different from ours. We give strong support to the struggle of the oppressed nations and oppressed people of the world for liberation. And, as for proletarian revolutionary comrades-in-arms, we not only extend a sincere welcome to them but will also fight shoulder to shoulder with them against imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction. The Asian and African friends are particularly well aware of this point.

But if this "xenophobia" means struggle against the imperialists, revisionists and special agents who endanger the cause of the Chinese revolution, then we have swept them away and will go on sweeping them away lock, stock and barrel like we clear away old garbage. Such "xenophobia" is excellent! Without this "xenophobia" against the imperialists and modern revisionists, they will bully us. Today the great Chinese people have stood up, and the imperialists and modern revisionists must not think that they can ride roughshod over China once again. Recently, British imperialism has stage-managed the sanguinary incidents of May 6, 11 and 22 in Hongkong, unwarrantedly arresting our patriotic compatriots in Hongkong and Kowloon and suppressing the revolutionary masses, and has imposed a fascist reign of white terror. Several days ago, a few wretched warships were sent to the coast off Hongkong to make a blustering show of force. Overrating himself, stupid John Bull has clean forgotten the times, so much so that he does not know what age he is in now. We must warn the British imperialists that the era of the imperialist piratical "gunboat

policy" has long since ended. You are now at the end of your tether and have fully revealed your features as a paper tiger. You had better recall how the *Amethyst* sneaked away in a most unseemly manner. Today, in the face of the powerful socialist China, it is really pitiable and ludicrous that you should vainly try to intimidate the great Chinese people with a few wretched warships. We hereby warn the British imperialists: The old debt you owe us for launching the dirty Opium War and forcibly occupying Hongkong by taking advantage of the corruption of the Ching court is not yet repaid. Today you are again perpetrating fascist atrocities in Hongkong. This is a grave provocation against the great People's Republic of China. The 700 million Chinese people will absolutely not tolerate it. British imperialists, if you do not lower your heads and own up to your crimes, we will let you have a taste of the Chinese people's iron fist!

### (III)

Comrades and Friends!

The Seminar in Commemoration of the 25th Anniversary of Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art* sponsored by the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau, is a most successful and unprecedentedly grand one. More than 80 writers and friends from 34 countries and regions of the six continents are gathered here specially to discuss this brilliant work by Chairman Mao. This symbolizes the great unity of the revolutionary people of the world and a new development in the cause of national liberation of Asia and Africa. The success of this seminar is a concrete manifestation of the fact that the people of the world are entering a completely new era in which Mao Tse-tung's thought is its great banner, marks the entry into a new stage of the Afro-Asian writers' movement, and shows that Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and theories on literature and art are becoming a powerful ideological weapon for the peoples of the world in their fight against imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries.

China is one of the countries in the Afro-Asian region. The today of those Asian and African peoples who are still under the rule of imperialism and reaction, is China's yesterday. The Chinese people have suffered enough of the miseries of oppression and exploitation from which the Afro-Asian peoples are suffering today. We Chinese people can most clearly understand the revolutionary sentiments of the Afro-Asian peoples and are most concerned about their cause of national liberation and the people's revolution. At the present time, the revolutionary situation is excellent in the Afro-Asian region where various sharp contradictions of the present-day world are concentrated and which is the weakest link of imperialist domination as well as the storm centre of world revolution. In order to occupy this vast intermediate zone, U.S. imperialism is carrying out large-scale cultural aggression parallel with its military aggression. The U.S. imperialists have time

and again declared that "ideology is as important as bread and guns" and that "every dollar used for propaganda is worth five dollars spent on national defence." They have clamoured about so-called "ideological offensives" and "winning the battle for men's minds." They have utilized, on an unprecedented scale, their manpower and material resources to carry out all-out cultural aggression against the Afro-Asian peoples in all aspects of ideology through the media of the press, cinema, radio, education, religion, etc.

The Soviet revisionist clique is an accomplice of the imperialist aggressors. Under the guise of "sympathy" and "aid," they are carrying out intensive cultural infiltration in the Afro-Asian region, peddling the literature of traitors and advocating capitulationism and so helping the imperialists suppress and undermine the Afro-Asian people's revolutionary movement. They are utter hypocrites with honey on their lips and murder in their hearts.

Under such circumstances, a task of the first importance confronting Afro-Asian progressive writers is to use Chairman Mao's *Talks*, an infinitely powerful ideological weapon, to combat imperialist cultural aggression, modern revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries.

Chairman Mao teaches us: A tit-for-tat struggle must be waged in dealing with the enemy. It is necessary to use revolutionary dual tactics to counter-attack the enemy's counter-revolutionary dual tactics. The enemy has the fronts of the pen and of the gun, therefore, the revolutionary people must also establish the fronts of the pen and of the gun. If we want to defeat the imperialists and the reactionaries of all countries we must first of all build up and strengthen a people's army and rely on this people's army with guns. The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution. Without a people's army the people have nothing. **"Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."** Only with guns will it be possible to seize power and to consolidate it. But this army alone is not enough; we must also have a cultural army, which is absolutely indispensable for uniting our own ranks and defeating the enemy. For the Afro-Asian region, such an army is one of the powerful instruments both for seizing political power and for smashing imperialist cultural aggression.

A Japanese writer has said: The *Talks* is revolutionary theory on literature and art of the highest Marxist-Leninist level. It is the sharpest weapon for us in our struggle against the bourgeois and revisionist lines on literature and art. It is a guide to action for all revolutionary literary and art workers. Some Japanese revolutionary writers have already gone into action. Surmounting all kinds of obstacles, they have gone to mountain villages and to factories and mines to learn from the peasants and workers, and write revolutionary scripts. This is a very auspicious beginning.

From this we can see that Chairman Mao's *Talks* is not only the programme for building up China's pro-

letarian cultural army, but also a programme for the Asian and African peoples in establishing their cultural armies. It clearly points out the basic orientation for Afro-Asian literary and art workers and their fighting tasks.

Comrades and Friends!

The Afro-Asian region is the birthplace of world culture. Because of imperialist aggression, it has lagged behind during the past century. But the Asian and African peoples have now awakened and are waging vigorous revolutionary struggles. We are convinced that a new era of a progressive, brilliant culture

of the Afro-Asian peoples will surely emerge out of the midst of the raging flames of the struggle for national liberation and of the people's revolution!

Let us advance with giant strides along the revolutionary line on literature and art laid down by our great leader Chairman Mao!

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

Long live the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung!

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

# Strive to Strengthen the Dictatorship Of the Proletariat

— Excerpts from the June 2 Resolution of the Shanghai  
Municipal Revolutionary Committee

**T**HE situation with respect to the great proletarian cultural revolution in Shanghai is excellent. Holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, the masses of proletarian revolutionaries and other revolutionary people have developed the spirit of the "January Revolution," adhered to the general orientation of the struggle, taken firm hold of the revolution and promoted production and have made important contributions on all fronts. The Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee (S.M.R.C.) has been firmly established. Our road ahead is bright.

Our experience in the four months since the founding of the S.M.R.C. has shown that, after winning basic victory in their struggle to seize power, the proletarian revolutionaries' central problem remains that of political power, of consolidating and strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Those four months have seen intense class struggle. Even after the establishment of the S.M.R.C., the principal contradiction continues to be the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the socialist and the capitalist roads and between the masses of revolutionary people and the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. The struggle for and against capitalist restoration continues. **As Chairman Mao has pointed out, our class enemies "will certainly not take their defeat lying down and they will struggle to the last ditch."** The handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road and the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements, Rightists, ghosts and monsters in society will never step down from the stage of history of their own accord. Acting in collusion, in one way or another, either

overtly or from behind the scenes, they instigate a number of people who do not know the real facts to attack socialism and put all sorts of pressure on the proletarian political power in an attempt to undermine and subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat. Moreover, our class enemies are trying by every means to discover weaknesses within our revolutionary ranks, incite splits and struggle by violence, wreck state property and sabotage the new revolutionary order. They are doing their utmost to divert the general orientation of the struggle and vainly trying to undermine the foundation of the dictatorship of the proletariat by crushing the revolutionaries one by one.

On the other hand, among the proletarian revolutionaries now in power, many comrades still lack experience in holding and exercising it effectively. We are confronted with the task of learning. An urgent problem now facing the proletarian revolutionaries is to learn in the course of the revolution how to consolidate and exercise proletarian political power, transform society, remould people's thinking, and take firm hold of the revolution and promote production and other work, all in accordance with Mao Tse-tung's thought.

In the light of this situation, we must unswervingly follow the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and continue to arouse the masses boldly to launch a fierce overall general offensive against the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road and win new victories in the decisive battle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines. In the course of all-out criticism and repudiation, we must promote, consolidate and develop the



revolutionary great alliance and the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination. We must push ahead with struggle-criticism-transformation on all fronts, consolidate and strengthen the great unity of the revolutionary people and enable the proletarian revolutionaries to truly seize, control and exercise power effectively. All this is the central link today in consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is the general orientation of the current struggle.

In accordance with this general orientation, we set forth the following tasks which we hope the revolutionary committees at all levels, the revolutionary mass organizations and all the people in the municipality will strive to fulfil:

### **(1) Develop Revolutionary All-Out Criticism in Depth and Push Ahead With Struggle-Criticism-Transformation in Every Unit**

The most important current fighting task is to develop further the all-out criticism and repudiation of the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, promote the revolutionary great alliance and the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination and push ahead with the struggle-criticism-transformation in every unit.

Shanghai has always been an important battleground in the life-and-death struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The whole range of the revisionist bill of goods which the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road peddled through his agents in Shanghai still has its social basis. Developing the revolutionary all-out criticism and repudiation must be integrated with the struggle against the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road in Shanghai. The pernicious influence of this handful in all fields of work in Shanghai must be eliminated. The absolute authority of Mao Tse-tung's thought must be established in all spheres so that all fronts in Shanghai will take on a completely new look.

The revolutionary workers, peasants and soldiers should become the main force in the all-out criticism and repudiation, and the revolutionary Red Guards should strive to be the hard-hitting vanguards. The proletarian revolutionary masses should make new contributions in this campaign and raise their class consciousness and political and ideological level in the course of the struggle.

In order to carry out revolutionary all-out criticism and repudiation in depth, the masses must be boldly aroused, extensive democracy must be practised, great debates undertaken and the mass movement vigorously developed. People in all departments and units must use Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line as their weapon in penetratingly and concretely criticizing and repudiating the bourgeois reactionary line and the pernicious influence of revisionist ideas, and they should link all this with the history of the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines over the 18 post-liberation years. Through such

criticism and repudiation they should achieve a clear understanding of the direction in which the transformation is to be made.

Developing the revolutionary all-out criticism and repudiation must also be linked with the attack on the present capitalist forces in society and with the present struggle between the two roads. The handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road are the chief representatives of the bourgeoisie within the Party. While criticizing and repudiating their bourgeois reactionary line, it is both possible and necessary to educate the masses so that they will take the socialist road more firmly, recognize the capitalist forces and tendencies with greater acumen and rise up to struggle against them more consciously.

### **(2) Further Strengthen the Revolutionary Great Alliance and the Revolutionary "Three-in-One" Combination**

The revolutionary great alliance and the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination constitute the most valuable experience of our "January Revolution." It is a powerful weapon for defeating the enemy, the proletarian revolutionaries' basic guarantee for winning and consolidating victory, and the urgent current demand of the broad masses.

At present, in some districts, counties, departments and units in Shanghai, power has already been seized on the basis of a "three-in-one" combination and alliance; in others, power is held by one or several revolutionary organizations, while in a few isolated cases power has not yet been seized and is not in the hands of the proletarian revolutionaries. Different measures should be taken in the light of the different conditions.

In all units where it is necessary to seize power and where the revolutionary great alliance has not yet been realized, the proletarian revolutionaries should step up political and ideological work, and bring about the revolutionary great alliance through revolutionary all-out criticism and repudiation and rectification campaigns in the revolutionary organizations so that they can set up provisional organs of power at an early date.

It is normal that there should be contradictions among various revolutionary mass organizations in the course of seizing and exercising power. The key to whether these contradictions are handled correctly is whether or not both sides apply the "conscientious practice of self-criticism." All differences among revolutionary mass organizations should be settled through discussions and consultations provided that they have the same general orientation, and they should seek common ground on cardinal issues while reserving minor differences. They should do more to facilitate the revolutionary great alliance and revolutionary "three-in-one" combination — and do them better — and refrain from doing things which harm them. Questions of principle, too, should be discussed in a

normal way by presenting the facts and reasoning things out. Those units which have already achieved the revolutionary great alliance and "three-in-one" combination should value their accomplishments all the more, and strengthen and consolidate their revolutionary great alliance and "three-in-one" combination.

Only by emancipating the whole of mankind can the proletariat finally emancipate itself. Proletarian revolutionaries in Shanghai should be aware that they are now in a position of leadership and have power in their hands, and they have the obligation to carry out political and ideological work well and carefully among the broad masses. With regard to the masses who were once hoodwinked into joining conservative organizations, the proletarian revolutionaries should patiently help them raise their class consciousness and come over to the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line as soon as possible. As for those who once joined conservative organizations, they should put strict demands on themselves, rectify their errors and draw useful lessons. They should learn from the proletarian revolutionaries, unite with them, distinguish between the enemy and ourselves and direct their spearhead against the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road so as to make their due contributions to the great proletarian cultural revolution.

We should continue to implement Chairman Mao's policy on cadres and handle the question of cadres correctly. We should continue to criticize the bourgeois reactionary line of "hitting hard at many in order to protect a handful" on the question of cadres. At present the emphasis should be placed on solving the question of those leading cadres who committed errors. We should adopt the attitude of examining their future conduct and helping them in order to encourage them to return to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line sooner rather than later.

It is the duty of the public security departments and of the other organs of dictatorship to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and consolidate the new revolutionary order. All revolutionary comrades in the public security departments and the organs of dictatorship should heighten their revolutionary vigilance a hundred-fold, stick to their jobs, boldly take on responsibility, rely on the masses and do their work well. Revolutionary mass organizations and masses should give all-out support to the work of the public security departments and to the other organs of dictatorship, resolutely uphold their authority, strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and deal the counter-revolutionary sabotage of the class enemy smashing blows.

The People's Liberation Army is a powerful support to the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination and a powerful backing to the proletarian revolutionaries. The P.L.A. troop stationed in Shanghai have made outstanding contributions to the work of establishing the S.M.R.C., and of supporting the masses of the Left, supporting industry and agriculture, exercising military

control and undertaking military and political training of revolutionary students and faculty. We proletarian revolutionaries, revolutionary masses and People's Liberation Army units in Shanghai will resolutely respond to Chairman Mao's great call and unfold a movement to support the army and cherish the people, and will always unite, fight and be victorious together.

### **(3) Take Firm Hold of the Revolution, Promote Production and All Other Work**

The victories in the great proletarian cultural revolution and the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat are spurs to a new leap forward on various fronts. Proletarian revolutionaries should be models at taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production and all other work.

Particular attention should be paid to giving prominence to politics in industry, agriculture, communications, finance and commerce, and science and technology. Revolution should be given first place and efforts should be made to turn the various systems and units into great schools for the creative study and application of Mao Tse-tung's thought. There should be a new leap forward in quality and quantity in industrial production.

In agricultural production, work should be done well and with a new revolutionary spirit in summer planting, harvesting and field management to guarantee rich summer and autumn harvests.

Schools must respond to Chairman Mao's call for resuming classes and making revolution, and resolutely carry out Chairman Mao's instruction of March 7 and other relevant decisions of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. All Red Guard organizations and revolutionary organizations of the teaching staffs and ancillary workers should advance the great proletarian cultural revolution on this front on to the correct path under the new circumstances.

All units and organizations must firmly respond to Chairman Mao's great call for "practising economy in making revolution" and strive to be economical with their manpower, material and expenditures and vigorously explore and use all production potential.

### **(4) Strengthen the Revolutionary Ranks Ideologically and Energetically Promote the Revolutionization of Leading Organs**

Outstanding results have been achieved by carrying on rectification while fighting to promote ideological revolutionization. This should become one of our fine traditions. We should continue to strengthen the revolutionary spirit, scientific approach and sense of organization and discipline among proletarian revolutionaries, and overcome the influence of anarchism, small-group mentality, splittism, individualism and other erroneous trends of thought. Members of the various revolutionary mass organizations should regularly study and apply Chairman Mao's works in a creative way with definite problems in mind — ideological problems or problems in daily work. Comrades

holding power should listen not only to opinions same as their own, but also to those that are at variance with their own ideas. They should do this patiently and accept what is correct and painstakingly do ideological work among those with incorrect opinions. In dealing with differences in opinion within the revolutionary ranks, their approach should be one of persevering in principle and at the same time uniting with the comrades. This is an important condition for the consolidation of the proletarian leadership and the vigorous development of our revolutionary cause. All revolutionary mass organizations should strengthen themselves ideologically and organizationally, and purify the proletarian revolutionary ranks.

Both the old and the new leading cadres taking part in the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination should continue to revolutionize their own thinking and perform new meritorious services for the Party and the people. Leading members and cadres of the revolutionary committees at various levels must hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, regularly take part in productive labour at the grass roots level, maintain close contact with the masses and be as one with them in their ideology, work and working style and resolutely do away with the bureaucrat's lordly airs. Revolutionary committees at different levels should hold regular meetings to hear the opinions of the masses, humbly and with an open mind, gather in the wisdom of the masses, attach importance to their written opinions and interviews, accept their criticism and supervision, and constantly improve their work. In units where the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination has been established, a mass movement should be launched specially to discuss and bring about the simplification, remoulding and revolutionization of the organization so as to serve the proletarian power and the broad masses better.

Chairman Mao has pointed out that the revolutionary committee should be "a provisional organ of power that is revolutionary and representative and has proletarian authority." In accordance with this instruction, the leadership of the revolutionary committees at various levels must be in the hands of the revolutionary Left and a clear-cut revolutionary spirit must be maintained. Responsible members of the revolutionary committees at various levels should carry out the policy of "Remaining ordinary people while serving as 'officials.'" Responsible members of the revolutionary mass organizations who serve on the standing committees of the revolutionary committees at various levels should, in addition to being present in the office when on duty, return to their grass roots units to work, study, or do productive labour so as always to keep in close touch with the masses.

\* \* \*

Chairman Mao teaches us that "all revolutionary struggles in the world are aimed at seizing political power and consolidating it." No matter how many things remain for us to do, we should never forget political power. We must always bear in mind, as a life-long maxim, this latest instruction of Chairman Mao:

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

## Hold Fast to the General Orientation of Struggle; Strengthen the Dictatorship Of the Proletariat

THE Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee's resolution "Strive to Strengthen the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" is a well-written document which firmly grasps the principal contradiction and holds fast to the general orientation of the struggle.

The resolution correctly points out: "After winning basic victory in their struggle to seize power, the proletarian revolutionaries' central problem remains that of political power, of consolidating and strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat." Following the for-

mation of the Revolutionary Committee, "the principal contradiction continues to be the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the socialist and capitalist roads and between the masses of revolutionary people and the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. The struggle for and against capitalist restoration continues."

In order to consolidate and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and crush the class enemy's scheme for a counter-revolutionary comeback, the pro-



letarian revolutionaries must firmly grasp the principal contradiction, hold fast to the general orientation of the struggle and direct the spearhead of the struggle at the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road.

This handful who have been overthrown will never step down from the stage of history of their own will. As the Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee points out in its resolution, after the proletarian revolutionaries have won a fundamental victory in the struggle to seize power, the class enemy resorts to particularly cunning measures in an attempt to retrieve its lost power; they "are trying by every means to discover weaknesses within our revolutionary ranks, incite splits and struggle by violence, wreck state property and sabotage the new revolutionary order. They are doing their utmost to divert the general orientation of the struggle and are vainly trying to undermine the foundation of the dictatorship of the proletariat by crushing the revolutionaries one by one." On the other hand, the influence of all sorts of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideas in the revolutionary ranks and the forces of habit from the old society provide conditions for the counter-revolutionary restoration of capitalism by the class enemy. If the proletarian revolutionaries now in power do not soberly see this, lose sight of the enemy, and fail to recognize the class struggle and its new manifestations, they will certainly make big blunders, get led astray and lose firm hold of the general orientation of the struggle.

The status of the proletarian revolutionary comrades has changed—from that of the suppressed to that of the holders of power. If with this change they do not pay attention to remoulding the bourgeois world

outlook still in their minds, if they do not place greater stress on the task of clearing out the concept of self-interest from their own minds, then they will not be able to correctly carry out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and hold fast to the general orientation of the struggle. They are liable to repeat mistakes of orientation and line, and to be used by the class enemy to weaken and even undermine the dictatorship of the proletariat from the Right or from the "ultra-Left."

The proletarian revolutionaries are faced with sterner tests after they hold power. If they want to stand up to these tests, they should, in the first place, conscientiously study the May 16, 1966 Circular of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the recently published series of important instructions by Chairman Mao, deeply grasp their meaning and resolutely carry them out. They should persevere in Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and take firm hold of the general orientation of the struggle. They should correctly deal with the proletarian headquarters, with themselves, with the masses and with their comrades-in-arms and allies. They should strive to achieve political maturity step by step in the great storms of the class struggle, and, with the aid of the weapon of criticism and self-criticism, constantly overcome their own shortcomings and mistakes and forge themselves into staunch, reliable successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat. We firmly believe that the overwhelming majority of the proletarian revolutionaries who have fought their way through in the great proletarian cultural revolution will be able to stand up to these stern tests.

(*"Renmin Ribao"* editorial, June 8.)

## Foreign Ministry Spokesman on Serious Hongkong Situation

*A spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China has served serious warning on the British Government and the British authorities in Hongkong over the new crimes of sanguinary suppression of Chinese compatriots committed by the British authorities in Hongkong on June 8 and 9. His statement follows. — Ed.*

On June 8 and 9, the British authorities in Hongkong again carried out fascist suppressions of Chinese compatriots in Hongkong surpassing the persecutions of May 6, 11 and 22 both in scale and in brutality. In these latest suppressions, the British authorities in Hongkong again turned out large numbers of troops, policemen and "riot-police," used tear bombs and other poison gases, barbarously beat up Chinese compatriots and created grave sanguinary incidents in which at

least two Chinese compatriots were found to have been killed in cold-blood, scores were seriously wounded and more than five hundred were arrested. What is even more intolerable is that in a premeditated raid on the Silver Theatre in Kowloon, the British authorities in Hongkong committed the outrage of smashing a bust of our greatest leader Chairman Mao and tearing down pictures and big-character posters propagating Mao Tse-tung's thought. This is a grave political provocation against the 700 million Chinese people. We hereby lodge the strongest and most emphatic protest with the British Government.

Before these latest fascist suppressions, the British authorities in Hongkong had taken a series of criminal steps in order to intensify the persecution of our patriotic compatriots. They had promulgated a series of

so-called "emergency decrees" in a vain attempt to create a "legal basis" for their fascist atrocities. They had resorted to such vile tactics as suspension of jobs, discharge, beating, arrest, kidnap, sentencing and deportation to intimidate our patriotic compatriots, trying in vain to put out the great anti-imperialist fire set ablaze by our compatriots in Hongkong. They had called in a few wretched warships to hold manoeuvres at our threshold in a provocation against the Chinese people. In appearance the British Government and the British authorities in Hongkong are blustering, but in reality they are petrified with fear. British imperialism has found itself sitting on the volcano of the struggles of our patriotic compatriots in Hongkong against imperialism and its atrocities! Thus, in a panicky desperate struggle it is behaving like a dashing and biting mad dog in its wanton suppressions. This has fully revealed the nature of British imperialism as a paper tiger.

Our greatest leader Chairman Mao teaches us that **"In the final analysis, their [all reactionaries'] persecution of the revolutionary people only serves to accelerate the people's revolutions on a broader and more intense scale."** Purblind owing to its lust for profits and stupid to the extreme, British imperialism has totally misjudged the situation. The Chinese compatriots in Hongkong who have a tradition of struggles against imperialism absolutely will not tolerate imperialist bullying and oppression. Still less can the 700 million great Chinese people, who are unfolding the great proletarian cultural revolution, sit idly by. The Chinese compatriots in Hongkong have now risen still more vigorously in action. A mounting revolutionary mass movement is sweeping over Hongkong and Kowloon and the surging tides of the struggles of the revolutionary masses are violently pounding at British imperialism's reactionary rule in Hongkong. Armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought and having the great motherland as their power-

ful backing, the patriotic compatriots in Hongkong nurse an intense hatred for the common enemy and show the high militant spirit and all-conquering heroism of the revolutionary people. They are ready at all times to respond to the call of their motherland and launch still more extensive counter-attacks against British imperialism, smash its reactionary rule and consign it to the dustbin of history. The people of their great motherland, on their part, are fully prepared too and will at all times support the patriotic compatriots in Hongkong with actual deeds until total victory is won in the struggle.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China issued a statement on May 15, in which it lodged the strongest protest with the British Government and raised the five solemn and just demands. However, far from lowering its head and admitting its guilt, the British Government has redoubled its efforts and resorted to even broader suppressions. We must seriously warn the British Government and the British authorities in Hongkong: The present situation in Hongkong is entirely of your own making. Chairman Mao says: **"We will not attack unless we are attacked; if we are attacked we will certainly counter-attack."** Since you have so savagely and brutally carried out sanguinary suppressions of our compatriots in Hongkong and pushed the situation to such a grave stage regardless of the consequences, the Chinese people and their compatriots in Hongkong certainly have the right to give you a powerful rebuff and mete out redoubled punishment to you.

The accounts of the heinous crimes of British imperialism must be settled. And its innumerable debts of blood must be repaid. The situation in which British imperialism can do whatever it likes in Hongkong must be ended. Our patriotic compatriots in Hongkong will surely win! The Chinese people will surely win! British imperialism will surely be defeated!

## **Hongkong's Revolutionary Mass Movement on the Upsurge**

**F**OLLOWING the bloody incidents of May 6, May 11 and May 22, organized, planned and premeditated by Hongkong's British authorities who have been viciously persecuting our compatriots in Hongkong and Kowloon (see *Peking Review*, Nos. 21 & 22), patriots there, armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, have gone into action, become organized and grown stronger in the struggle. People there were especially inspired greatly after the *Renmin Ribao* June 3 editorial "Resolutely Repel British Imperialist Provocations," (see our last issue) taking it as the voice of Chairman Mao, the programme of action sent them by Chairman Mao.

Since May 22, more and more workers have downed their tools in protest against the outrages by these British authorities. In the four days beginning May 23 alone more than 20,000 workers from 13 establishments and premises, who had formed a huge army against persecution, recited aloud quotations from Chairman Mao, sang revolutionary songs and put up big-character posters and messages of protest on buses, trams, ferries and factory buildings during their work stoppages. And there were the postal workers, who, for the first time in Hongkong's history, suspended work, and the 200 letters hastily sent from the "governor's house" were set aside for 30 hours. . . .

Workers of the Yaumati Ferry Company stopped both the passenger and motor vehicle ferry service for three hours on May 29. Together with textile mill hands, 4,500 workers quit work the same day.

Large-scale work-stoppages took place again on June 6. More than 1,000 workers of the Hongkong-Kowloon Wharf and Godown Company went on strike for half a day. Three thousand and eight hundred workers in the tailoring trade also ceased work that day.

Chinese workers in British organizations, including the Marine Department Chinese Employees' Union; Government, Armed Forces and the Hospitals' Chinese Workers' Union; Hongkong Postal Workers' Union; and Hongkong Government Waterworks' Chinese Employees' Union, united, got together for a meeting on June 4. They declared that the British authorities would never succeed in suppressing their anti-persecution struggle by their so-called "establishment regulation."

### Huge Anti-British Force

On June 10, more than 10,000 Chinese workers in British organizations and British-run enterprises began a joint big strike. Among them were public utilities workers, and dairymen and cold storage workers who refused to supply the oppressors with milk and meat. These strikers, as *Renmin Ribao* Commentator pointed out on June 13, "have been bled white by British imperialism and have had enough of enemy oppression and bullying. With profound national and class hatred, they now rise to charge at vicious British imperialism." Holding aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, they persevered in the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works in the course of their strike, and used the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung as a guide to their every action in the struggle.

*Renmin Ribao* Commentator described this joint big strike as "a new, important development" in this great struggle. "The workers' struggle," the paper noted, "has advanced from the existing forms of struggle, namely, work-stoppages and protest meetings by various trades—in which one ends and another comes up—towards the joint big strike under concentrated and unified leadership. Thus, the struggle is exerting a greater influence, is greater in scale and its power to crush is more formidable."

Commentator's article also pointed out: "In face of this great struggle, every man must make his choice and make clear where he stands. Those who have done some evil things in the enemy camp but have not yet proved to be incorrigible, should quickly draw back and do good deeds to make up for their crimes." It warned: "British imperialism is in no way reconciled to its doom. It will continue to madly trample on our patriotic compatriots. It is plotting a new, bloody suppression of them, it is also attempting to divide the Hongkong-Kowloon workers and undermine the big strike by such shameless means as intimidation, like

closing down the enterprises and making workers 'register anew,' and by material lures. Let British imperialism know that its fascist atrocities and all plots and schemes are of no avail. The enemy's brutality and cunning can only serve still more to provoke our Hongkong workers and patriotic countrymen to fight."

The article, entitled "Form a Gigantic Force to Oppose British Imperialism and Its Brutality," also quoted the following teaching of our great leader Chairman Mao issued on the eve of the Chinese people's War of Resistance Against Japan: "In order to attack the forces of the counter-revolution, what the revolutionary forces need today is to organize millions upon millions of the masses and move a mighty revolutionary army into action." It foretold that the current big strike was a prelude to a new high tide in the struggle against British imperialism and its brutality.

Today, vast numbers of patriotic students in Hongkong and Kowloon have also organized themselves; the students' movement is being integrated with the workers' movement. The establishment of the committee of Hongkong-Kowloon students to fight against persecution by the British authorities in Hongkong was announced on June 1. At the inauguration meeting, the students firmly showed their contempt for British imperialism, which is a paper tiger, saying that they would hold British imperialism to account for its debts, both old and new, and that they would defend Mao Tse-tung's thought and make a red new world in Hongkong.

The peasant masses in the rural areas of Hongkong and Kowloon are actively joining the ranks against British imperialism and its brutality. Inhabitants of five villages in the Tai Po District held meetings to condemn the fascist atrocities by the British authorities.

Fishermen too have joined the struggle. Following the example of the Cheung Chau and Aberdeen fishermen, fishermen from Castle Peak Bay formed their own committee for the struggle against British persecution. On June 10, representatives of the fishermen, peasants, women and businessmen in the Tai O area of Lantau Island near Hongkong met to set up a local committee for the struggle against British persecution.

### British Imperialism's New Fascist Suppression

Following the bloody May 22 suppression, the British authorities issued a number of fascist "decrees," forbidding meetings, demonstrations, the use of loudspeakers for propaganda purposes and the posting of big-character posters and slogans. Abjectly and cowardly, they sent police to tear down the big-character posters late at night. But the reply of the Hongkong-Kowloon workers to the so-called "decree" prohibiting "incitive slogans" was: "You issue your emergency decree, we have our freedom of action against brutality!" They valiantly protected the big-character posters, posted still more so that they appeared in even larger numbers in Hongkong, Kowloon and the New Territories.



During this tit-for-tat struggle, the British authorities again sent riot police on June 8 to savagely attack workers at the vehicles plant and electrical workshops of the Public Works Department's Kowloon factory and the Hongkong and China Gas Co. who were protesting the tearing down of their big-character posters by special agents. The riot police fired many tear-gas bombs and a kind of toxic gas which can cause the victim to become unconscious; they also sprayed quantities of poisonous liquid-chemicals which eat the skin away. Dozens were injured and more than 500 workers were arrested. One of the latter was Hsu Tien-po, a coppersmith in the Kowloon factory, who was beaten to death at the Wong Tai Sin Police Station. In the last six months, Hsu had been a devoted student of Chairman Mao's works and had served his fellow workers with greater zeal than ever. He was thus regarded as a thorn in their flesh by the enemy.

The next day, police and special agents raided the Silver Theatre in Kun Tong, smashing, among other things, a bust of Chairman Mao. Against these fresh atrocities and political provocation, Liang Wei-lin, Director of the Hongkong Branch of the Hsinhua News Agency lodged a most serious, most emphatic and urgent protest with "governor" David Trench.

*Renmin Ribao* Commentator published an article entitled "Give Tit for Tat, Fight on Resolutely" (June 10). The article says, our great leader Chairman Mao teaches us that in dealing with the imperialists and all reactionaries, our principle is to give them tit for tat and fight on resolutely. It points out emphatically that "the enemy is sharpening his sword, and we too must sharpen ours. Our patriotic countrymen in Hongkong and Kowloon shall deal seriously with the new threats and provocations of British imperialism. We will certainly make a thorough reckoning for the towering crimes of British imperialism for more than a century in committing aggression against China, in forcibly occupying Hongkong, invading and annexing Kowloon and seizing the New Territories." *Renmin Ribao* calls on our patriotic compatriots in Hongkong to start a new upsurge in the struggle against British imperialism and its brutality and make a still more powerful counter-attack against the enemy. The paper also declares: "The workers, peasants, fighters in the People's Liberation Army and all revolutionary masses throughout the country must make full preparations to support the struggle of our compatriots in Hongkong with concrete actions."

### Support of the Motherland

Everywhere in the motherland, people expressed their firm support for *Renmin Ribao's* June 3 editorial. The whole nation, they said, was determined to smash British imperialism's reactionary rule in Hongkong, destroy this hell under British colonial domination and support the struggle of their compatriots in Hongkong to the end. In Kwangchow and its vicinity, beginning



Patriotic compatriots in Hongkong plaster the "governor's house" with protest messages calling David Trench to account.

June 6, there was to be ten days of action in protest against the crimes of the British authorities. On June 11, nearly 100,000 people in Kwangchow demonstrated. The following day, seamen in this area staged a boat demonstration on the Pearl River. On both occasions, the most recent crimes of Hongkong's British authorities were condemned.

On June 8, descendants of the heroes of the Ping Ying Tuan (Quell the British Corps) at Sanyuanli, which is infused with a glorious anti-imperialist tradition, and other revolutionary masses and fighters and commanders of a Liberation Army unit under the Kwangchow Command held a meeting before the monument to the heroes who fell while fighting British imperialist aggression in 1841. They condemned British imperialism and declared their support for their patriotic compatriots in Hongkong and Kowloon. They sent souvenir badges inscribed with two lines from a poem by Chairman Mao to their patriotic countrymen in Hongkong. These lines say:

"Only heroes can quell tigers and leopards

And wild bears never daunt the brave."

# New Paean of Victory for People's War

**H**EARTENING news of victory have come one after another from the battlefield in Vietnam. The south Vietnamese people and their army have smashed the second "dry-season offensive" of the U.S. aggressors, wiping out more than 170,000 enemy troops in seven months. The people and their army in north Vietnam have brought down the 2,000th U.S. pirate plane and have shattered the U.S. imperialists' scheme of forcing "peace talks" through bombing. The brilliant successes in the south and the north complement one another and together they make up a paean of victory for people's war. The 700 million Chinese people warmly hail and heartily congratulate their Vietnamese brothers on the new successes in their struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation.

These new splendid victories of the Vietnamese people are the most convincing proof that on the Vietnam battlefield today, it is the heroic Vietnamese people, not the U.S. imperialists, who are really strong. Despite their "formidable" weapons and their wanton bombing of the north and offensives in the south, the U.S. imperialists cannot escape suffering ever bigger defeats. On the other hand, the Vietnamese people, though inferior in their weapons and equipment, hold the initiative firmly in their hands and have grown stronger with each battle. Through their arduous and valiant struggle, the 31 million Vietnamese people have brought about an excellent situation, while U.S. imperialism is hopelessly heading for complete defeat.

The victory of the Vietnamese people is a victory for people's war. It is the outcome of the heroic battles of the Vietnamese people. **Chairman Mao Tse-tung has said: "The people are the decisive factor. Reliance on the unity and struggle of the people is bound to bring about the defeat of imperialism and its lackeys."**

The troop strength that U.S. imperialism has thrown into south Vietnam has far exceeded that during its war of aggression against Korea. The U.S. troops, together with its puppet and satellite troops, total well over one million. But surrounded by the 14 million south Vietnamese people and their armymen, they are in a passive and vulnerable position. During the recent rabid "dry-season offensive," U.S. imperialism has thrown in a heavy concentration of forces armed with all sorts of modern weapons. They had vainly hoped to take advantage of the dry weather to wipe out the main force of the south Vietnamese people's armed forces and turn the tide in their favour. But their fond hope to stave off danger and defeat was

shattered by the south Vietnamese people and army who give full play to revolutionary heroism and skilfully employ the strategy and tactics of people's war. Brave and undaunted, the south Vietnamese people and army have badly mauled the enemy and wiped out large numbers of enemy effectives.

In north Vietnam, U.S. imperialism has intensified its wanton bombing in support of its "peace talks" fraud, vainly hoping to force "peace talks" through bombing. But the 17 million people and army of north Vietnam are fully mobilized and fighting like one man. They have set up an extensive and closely knit network of air defence with different types of weapons to guard the sacred airspace of their fatherland. U.S. pirate planes cannot escape punishment by the Vietnamese people whether they fly over in the day or at night, rain or shine, from high or low altitude, in large or small numbers. The more U.S. imperialism intensifies its bombing, the more aircraft it loses. Two thousand U.S. aircraft have been turned into scrap metal over north Vietnam. This is eloquent proof of the utter bankruptcy of the "air superiority" of U.S. imperialism.

A war between the forces of aggression and the forces of anti-aggression is raging on the Vietnam battlefield. The Vietnamese people are fighting against aggression. The longer the war drags on, the more pronounced the weaknesses of U.S. imperialism such as the shortage of troops and low morale, will become. As to the Vietnamese people, their hatred for U.S. imperialism has become deeper and deeper, their experience in struggle richer and their initiative in war greater. They have grasped the most effective magic weapon — people's war — to cope with U.S. imperialism. So long as they persist in a protracted war, fight to the finish, pin down U.S. imperialism, and wipe out its effective strength bit by bit, they can surely defeat the U.S. aggressors completely.

The new victory won by the Vietnamese people in their struggle to resist U.S. aggression and save their country is a great encouragement to the peoples of the world engaged in the revolutionary struggle against imperialism. The heroic Vietnamese people have tied down ever more U.S. troops. They have upset the U.S. imperialist counter-revolutionary global strategy, and contributed valuably to the revolutionary struggle of the peoples. The Vietnamese people who are forging ahead with redoubled vigour and getting stronger as they fight on will certainly give a still more powerful

impetus to the anti-U.S. imperialist struggles of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples.

The situation is becoming ever better for the Vietnamese people's struggle to resist U.S. aggression and save their country. The 31 million Vietnamese people are high in morale and are fighting heroically with redoubled confidence. However desperately U.S. impe-

rialism may struggle and whatever tricks it may resort to, it can never save itself from complete defeat. The great cause of the people of south and north Vietnam to reunify their fatherland will certainly be accomplished.

(*"Renmin Ribao" editorial, June 8.*)

## INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

# Our Era Is the Great Era of Mao Tse-tung

— Report by Comrade N. Sanmugathan at the Peking Geological Institute

Comrade N. Sanmugathan, Member of the Political Bureau and of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ceylon, made an important, lengthy report to 5,000 revolutionary teachers and students and Red Guards when he visited the Peking Geological Institute on May 26. In his report, N. Sanmugathan warmly praised Comrade Mao Tse-tung as the greatest teacher, the greatest leader and the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era. He said that Chairman Mao had inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism with genius, creatively and in an all-round way, and had raised it to a completely new stage. "Today, whoever attacks the thought of Mao Tse-tung is fundamentally attacking Marxism-Leninism." "Today, the touchstone of a Marxist-Leninist is his attitude to the thought of Mao Tse-tung."

Comrade N. Sanmugathan delivered this report at the invitation of the Revolutionary Committee of the "East Is Red" Commune at the institute.

He said: "The era in which we live has correctly been characterized as the era of Mao Tse-tung. It is indeed a joy and an honour for all of us to be able to live in this era in which the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung illuminates and guides the path of all revolutionaries, an era in which world imperialism is nearing its doom and world socialism is approaching victory."

He described Peking as the centre of the world revolution, the heart of the great proletarian cultural revolution, and the place where the beloved Chairman Mao lives. It is indeed a great fortune not only for the Chinese people but for the peoples of the whole world that at the head of the international communist movement stands a genius of the calibre of Comrade Mao Tse-tung who has creatively developed Marxism-Leninism to new heights.

Warmly praising China's great proletarian cultural revolution, Comrade N. Sanmugathan said: "The great proletarian cultural revolution now reaching its victorious crucial stages will go down in history as the greatest epoch-making event that the world has seen. In the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution

Comrade Mao Tse-tung, with rare genius and foresight, found solutions to problems that had never before been solved and thereby added immensely to the vast treasure-house of Marxism-Leninism.

"Marx and Engels discovered the eternal truths of scientific socialism. Lenin applied their teachings to lead the first victorious socialist revolution in the world. His closest ally and disciple Stalin consolidated that victory, built socialism for the first time in the world and defended it against imperialist and fascist attacks. It was left to Comrade Mao Tse-tung to show us how to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and to carry out an ideological remoulding of men's minds to conform to the changed socialist economic base and thus ensure the prevention of the restoration of capitalism — a calamity that has already overtaken the first country where socialism was victorious. The greatness of the teachings of Comrade Mao Tse-tung can be realized particularly in the context of the disaster that has overtaken the land of Lenin and Stalin." He pointed out: The success of the great proletarian cultural revolution is not a matter that concerns merely the Chinese people but a matter of great importance to the people of the whole world. By ensuring the prevention of the restoration of capitalism in China the great proletarian cultural revolution has safeguarded the base of the world revolution. It has thereby also made sure of the ultimate defeat of world imperialism and the worldwide victory of socialism. By dealing a crushing blow at modern revisionism it has given new life and leadership to the international communist movement. That is why the imperialists and reactionaries of all kinds as well as the modern revisionists have combined in an unholy alliance to attack China and her great proletarian cultural revolution.

Comrade N. Sanmugathan stated: Comrade Mao Tse-tung has taught us that "to be attacked by the enemy is not a bad thing but a good thing." If, therefore, the imperialists and reactionaries of all kinds and the modern revisionists attack and vilify the great proletarian cultural revolution of China, then it must be good. He added that imperialism and modern revisionism had attempted to isolate China, but through



the great proletarian cultural revolution China had got closer to the masses of the whole world.

"The present correct and revolutionary guidance of the Communist Party of China and its great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung is all the more important to the international revolutionary movement because of the shameful betrayal of the revolutionary cause of Marxism-Leninism by the modern revisionists whose leading centre is in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union."

He said: It is the duty of all genuine revolutionaries to struggle against those classes and forces that are attempting to bring about the peaceful transition back to capitalism and to eliminate this poison from the ranks of the international communist movement if we are to succeed in the task of winning victory in the world revolution. As Lenin and Chairman Mao have taught us, revisionism is the influence of the bourgeoisie inside the working class movement and represents today the chief danger to the international communist movement.

Modern revisionism "has degenerated to the position of being a subservient tool of world imperialism. It is the last reserve that world imperialism has called up from within the working class movement to prop up its tottering regime," he said. "It must thus be realized that it is impossible to carry out a fight against imperialism without at the same time struggling against modern revisionism."

N. Sanmugathasan pointed out that the Soviet modern revisionist clique was the greatest betrayer in modern history. It has distorted and betrayed Marxism-Leninism and everything that Lenin and Stalin stood for and has, following the example of the Tito clique of Yugoslavia, transformed the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and has taken decisive steps leading towards the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. It has undermined and split the revolutionary unity of the international communist movement and has joined the imperialists and reactionaries in slandering revolutionary China and Albania. It has betrayed the national-liberation movement in all parts of the world and befriended the world's reactionaries. "In short, it has become a No. 1 accomplice of the world's worst gangster imperialism."

He said: The fight against world imperialism and that against modern revisionism are inseparable and are part of the same process. He who does not struggle against modern revisionism will at some stage or other cease to struggle against world imperialism. That is why the theory of neutrality or of a middle way between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism is completely erroneous and must be firmly condemned. There is no such centre path. One is either a Marxist-Leninist or a modern revisionist. There can be no compromise between the two.

N. Sanmugathasan related how the Ceylonese people, under the leadership of the Ceylonese working class and the Ceylonese Communist Party, had waged struggle and won victories against the U.S. and British

imperialists, feudalism and the bureaucratic and comprador bourgeoisie and modern revisionism. He said: "We look forward to the future with confidence. In this connection our main cause for encouragement is the invaluable guidance we have received from the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung which is the Marxism-Leninism of the modern era."

"Our Party completely and unreservedly endorses the estimate of the 11th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China that 'Comrade Mao Tse-tung is the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism with genius, creatively and in an all-round way, and has raised it to a completely new stage. 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.'"

Today, he said, the attitude towards the thought of Mao Tse-tung is the touchstone for a genuine or fake Marxist-Leninist. "During the time of Lenin, whoever attacked Leninism was fundamentally attacking Marxism, so today, whoever attacks the thought of Mao Tse-tung is fundamentally attacking Marxism-Leninism. Just as in the days after the October Revolution the touchstone of a Marxist was his attitude towards the Soviet Union, so today the touchstone of a Marxist-Leninist is his attitude to the thought of Mao Tse-tung. It is the dividing line between a revolutionary and a reformist, a Marxist-Leninist and a modern revisionist."

"Inspired and guided by the revolutionary thought of Mao Tse-tung we are determined to build a revolutionary Party in Ceylon which shall lead the revolutionary movement to success and thus play our part in making world socialism a reality."

At the end of his report, N. Sanmugathasan shouted: "Long live the revolutionary friendship of the working class and people of Ceylon and China!" "Long live the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung!" "Long live the great proletarian cultural revolution!" "Long live Comrade Mao Tse-tung!" and "Long live proletarian internationalism!"

N. Sanmugathasan's report won repeated thunderous applause, and the whole audience time and again shouted: "Workers of the world, unite!" "Down with U.S. imperialism!" "Down with Soviet revisionism!" "Down with all reactionaries!" "Long live the militant friendship between the Chinese and Ceylonese Parties!" "Long live the great leader Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!"

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CORRECTION: In our issue No. 21, the sentence beginning on the third line, right-hand column, p. 6, should read: "He did not ask any local Party committee for its opinion, nor did he make it clear that the outline report would be sent to the Central Committee for examination as its official document, and still less did he get the approval of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee."

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# ROUND THE WORLD

U.S.-SOVIET CONSPIRACY

## New Aggression Against the Arab Countries

U.S. imperialism is putting into effect a most vicious scheme to further its neo-colonialist expansion in the Middle East. Having instigated and supported its watch-dog Israel in unleashing a sudden attack against the Arab countries, it has, in collusion with British imperialism and the Soviet revisionist clique, manipulated the U.N. into serving up one "cease-fire" resolution after another to bring pressure to bear on the Arab countries in order to impose humiliating conditions on them.

### U.S. Imperialist Ambitions

This aggressive design of U.S. imperialism is clearly revealed in Johnson's June 8 letter to Senator Mansfield in which he wrote: "... a ceasefire will be only a beginning and (that) many more fundamental questions must be tackled promptly if the area is to enjoy genuine stability." In introducing a draft resolution in the Security Council on June 8, U.S. delegate to the United Nations Goldberg called for "prompt discussions among the parties concerned" following the "ceasefire." He advocated a "dual approach in which the completion of the ceasefire is combined with a call for longer-range discussions," stressing that "no outstanding question should be excluded."

Canadian Prime Minister Pearson, who had had secret talks with Johnson prior to the Israeli aggression, put forward a "6-point plan" on June 8 which spelt out the U.S. scheme in still clearer terms. This U.S.-inspired plan demanded that a solution to the Middle East problem must be reached at the United Nations and that "the main responsibility" should fall on the "big powers" — the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain and France. The "6-point plan" makes the following unreasonable demands on the Arab countries: a guarantee of safe passage to all Israeli shipping in the Gulf of Aqaba and agreement to Is-

rael's right to navigate the Suez Canal, agreement to U.N. handling of the problem of the Arab refugees displaced by Israel, and the stationing of a big "U.N. force" on the territories of the Arab countries.

As always, the master's intentions are best understood by his hound. Following his return from the United Nations, Israeli Foreign Minister Eban arrogantly cried on June 9: "Israel will not squander her opportunities. She will translate them into a new national and regional reality." The next day, Israeli Minister of Information Galili blusteringly declared that "Israel cannot return to the 1949 armistice agreement and boundaries determined by those agreements." Dayan, Israeli Defence Minister, was even more outspoken on June 11 when he listed Israel's territorial and other demands as follows: occupation of the entire city of Jerusalem which had been divided between Jordan and Israel prior to the latter's invasion, of the Gaza strip and the western part of Jordan, and the right of passage through the Suez Canal and the straits of Tiran. If the Arab nations rejected Israel's demands, Dayan threatened, "then we shall stay where we are."

A UPI report from London on the same day disclosed that Washington and London are mapping out a 9-point plan in support of Israel. It envisages some territorial "adjustments" in favour of Israel, support for Israel's other demands and a call for "the recognition by the Arabs of the existence of the state of Israel." This bolsters Zionism and opens the way for U.S. and British intervention in Middle East affairs under the name of the United Nations.

All this has made it very clear that from Israel's opening of fire to the U.N. calls for a "ceasefire," from the so-called "mediation" by a few powers to Israel's expanded aggression and growing demands — these

are all part of a great conspiracy carefully hatched up by U.S. and British imperialism. It is part of a U.S. imperialist plan to push ahead with neo-colonialism in the Middle East. U.S. imperialism has long plotted to bring imperialist forces back to the Suez Canal and throughout the Arab world so that it can once again ride roughshod over the Arab countries and enslave the Arab people. This is another attempt to put into effect the "Eisenhower Doctrine," something which Eisenhower failed to do in 1958.

### Soviet Double-Dealing

Without an accomplice like the Soviet revisionist leading clique, U.S. and British imperialism and their flunkey Israel would not have dared launch the aggressive war against the Arab states, or having launched it, to raise their demands higher and higher. In the entire course of the Middle East events, the Soviet revisionists have collaborated with the U.S. imperialists and engaged in underhand political deals with the latter to the detriment of the Arab people's vital interests.

Washington and Moscow have kept up busy, confidential consultations on the Middle East situation ever since the latter part of May. After Israel launched its nefarious attack, Kosygin and Johnson more than once discussed their schemes over the White House-Kremlin "hot line."

To hoodwink the Arab people, the Soviet revisionist clique issued a statement on May 23 which two-facedly declared that, should Israel launch aggression, it would have to face "the resolute resistance to aggression on the part of the Soviet Union and all peace-loving states." But the Soviet revisionists did not dare say a word about U.S. imperialism, Israel's backstage boss. At the same time, the American newspapers carried report after report noting that it was clear to the United States from its "private talks with Moscow" that "the Kremlin does not want to go very far, lest it be embroiled in direct military action."

Again, when Israel flagrantly unleashed the war of aggression against the Arab countries on June 5, the

Soviet revisionist leading clique issued its second statement which once more failed to condemn U.S. imperialism and evaded the question of helping the Arab people in their struggle against aggression. Moreover, the Soviet propaganda machine went so far as to publish Israeli war releases while withholding the news about the Arab countries' denunciation of the participation by the U.S. and British air forces in the aggression.

Meanwhile, the Soviet revisionist clique has intensified its counter-revolutionary collusion with U.S. and British imperialism, trying its best to suppress through U.N. or big-power intervention the Arab countries' measures of self-defence and counter-attack actions. At the U.N. Security Council meeting on June 5, the Soviet revisionist clique at first hypocritically expressed dissent to an immediate ceasefire. But after an exchange of messages between the White House and the Kremlin over the "hot line," Soviet delegate Fedorenko in his talks with U.S. delegate Goldberg changed his stand. A Moscow report by UPI disclosed that the Politburo of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee discussed the Middle East situation on the morning of June 6 and in the afternoon Fedorenko talked to Goldberg again and quickly agreed to the U.S. demand for Security Council action.

The Security Council's unjust resolution was rejected by most of the Arab countries. But, disregarding the will of these countries, the Soviet revisionist clique went even further to serve U.S. imperialism. On June 7, it introduced in the Security Council a draft resolution calling on "the belligerent governments to cease fire and all military activities" within a stipulated time. The resolution was heartily acclaimed by U.S. and British imperialism and Israel, since it was aimed at stopping the Arab countries' actions against aggression and allowing Israel to occupy large tracts of Arab land.

On June 9, the United States and the Soviet Union manipulated the Security Council into passing another resolution asking Syria and

Israel to cease fire at once. Subsequently, on the proposal of Fedorenko, the Security Council approved a motion requiring the Middle East countries concerned to "give all possible co-operation to U.N. observers and permit them freedom of movement."

This proposal of the Soviet revisionists was tailored to meet the demands of U.S. imperialism which had earlier tabled a motion of its own in the Security Council for further U.N. penetration into the Middle East. Meanwhile, according to a June 9 UPI report from London, "intensive big-power summit consultations are in progress to set the scene" for a U.S.-British-Soviet scheme to force the Arab nations to meet Israel's expansionist claims. "Urgent messages are being exchanged between Washington, London and Moscow 'on the top level' in an effort to pave the way for international action to follow the end of the fighting in the Middle East," the report said.

Through its treachery and capitulation, the Soviet revisionist clique not only aims at working in league with U.S. imperialism to put out the anti-U.S. conflagration in the Arab lands, but also intends to strike a deal with Washington at the expense of the Arab people—all in pursuit of the counter-revolutionary line of Soviet-U.S. collaboration for world domination. In a Washington report, the *London Times* stated on June 8 that there are many people in the United States who "believe that a package deal comprising settlement for the Middle East and Vietnam is the only solution." Some U.S. Congressmen were also reported to have suggested that "co-operation with Russia in the Middle East could lead to co-operation in ending the Vietnam war."

\* \* \*

Despite the Soviet revisionists' collaboration, U.S. and British imperialism's sinister plot for further aggression against the Arab countries is meeting with unprecedentedly strong opposition from the Arab people. U.S.-British imperialism's direct support for Israel in launching the

aggressive war and the thorough exposure of the traitorous features of the Soviet revisionists in betraying the Arab people are events arousing a wave of indignation against U.S. and British imperialism and the Soviet revisionist clique throughout the whole Arab world.

In these circumstances, even the U.S. imperialist press has expressed concern about whether these new plots can succeed. The *Christian Science Monitor* wrote editorially on June 9: "Both the United States and the Soviet Union have undergone shattering blows throughout the Arab world," "Soviet policy appears to lie scattered across the landscape in broken, tragic pieces," Soviet "prestige" has suffered "tremendous damage" and the American future in the area is "deeply and lengthily damaged" due to the Arab people's resentment. The paper had to admit that all this had "vastly complicated" the efforts of the United States to "rebuild its position" in the Arab world.

NO. 1 ACCOMPLICE OF U.S. IMPERIALISM

### Soviet Revisionists Betray Arab Students

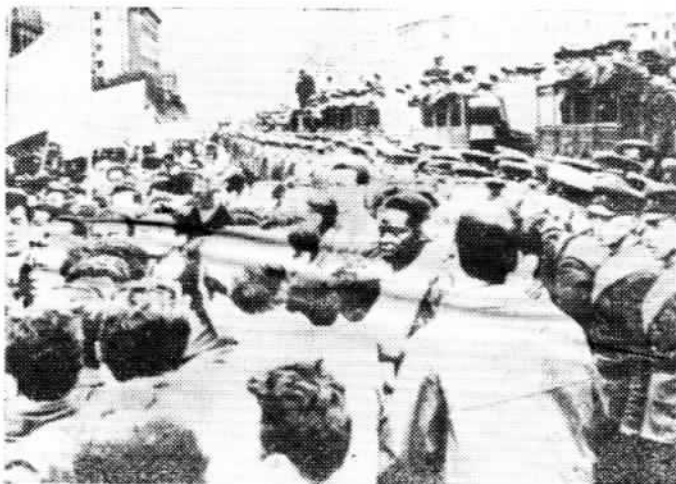
More evidence of the Soviet revisionist ruling clique's cynical sellout of the Arab people is provided by the shameful way it treated foreign students in Moscow. On June 6, Arab students decided to hold a demonstration in front of the British Embassy to protest against the armed aggression launched by U.S. and British imperialism and their lackey Israel against the Arab countries.

But the Soviet revisionist authorities, instead of supporting this revolutionary action, refused them permission and from June 7 took a series of measures to protect the U.S. and British Embassies. Finally, however, more than 1,000 Arab, Vietnamese and Cuban as well as other Asian, African and Latin American students staged their protest. Carrying placards and shouting anti-imperialist slogans, they marched towards the U.S. and British Embassies on June 9.

This revolutionary action so alarmed the Soviet revisionist ruling



clique that it concentrated some 5,000 troops and police around the U.S. Embassy. Over 160 heavy military trucks and dozens of big water trucks were stationed in the vicinity. Police vans were placed at all approaches and the neighbouring streets were filled with troops and policemen.



Students from Asia, Africa and Latin America protesting in front of the heavily guarded U.S. Embassy in Moscow.

The embassy entrance was guarded by closely packed rows of troops and police as well as 10 big water trucks. In front of them was another thick wall of police and, about 20 to 30 metres from the embassy, still a third line. Beyond it again were fourth and fifth lines formed respectively

by 60 to 70 military trucks and about 1,000 cadets. With their way thus blocked, the demonstrators could only march past along a narrow lane at a distance of 60 to 70 metres from the embassy.

The student demonstrators, stopping in front of the embassy, angrily shouted slogans and made several attempts to break

through. But senior officers perched on the military trucks directed the troops and police to block them. Burning with hatred for imperialism and angered by the Soviet revisionists' treachery, the demonstrators threw ink bottles at the military trucks and police.

Through the widely opened windows on the top floors of the U.S. Embassy, a number of Yankees leisurely watched this ugly performance by the Soviet revisionists in the service of U.S. imperialism.

Pretty much the same scene was enacted in front of the British Embassy.

In Belgrade also, the Tito clique revealed its true renegade face. On June 6, when Arab students demonstrated before the local U.S.I.S. office, it used armed police to suppress them. Many students were beaten up, including five Arab students who were severely injured.

## THE WEEK

(Continued from p. 10.)

countries have given a powerful rebuff to the U.S., British and Israeli aggressors. A mighty storm of struggle against U.S. aggression has arisen in the entire Arab region. After taking a direct part in setting the Middle East ablaze with a war of aggression, the U.S. imperialists cooked up a so-called "ceasefire resolution" at the United Nations. This was an attempt to force the Arab people into surrender and let Israel, the U.S. stooge, ride roughshod over the Arab people. Under no circumstances would such bullying of the Arab people be tolerated.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi pointed out that the ruling Soviet revisionist clique, taking the stand and attitude as it did over the Vietnam question, has again played the ignominious role of sham supporter but real betrayer of the Arab people who were fighting a war of resistance against aggression waged by U.S. and British

imperialism and Israel. Before that war was launched, the Soviet clique did not condemn the U.S. imperialist plot of aggression, nor did it support the Arab states in taking action to fight back in self-defence; instead, it carried out backstage bargaining with U.S. imperialism and blunted the vigilance of the Arab states. After the war of aggression was launched, it still refused to condemn U.S. imperialism for its crime of aggression, nor did it give support to the Arab people to resist aggression; instead, it worked hand in glove with U.S. imperialism in the United Nations in calling for an "immediate ceasefire," or a ceasefire with a time limit to sell out the Arab people. This is another big exposure of the Soviet revisionists.

Through their experience in the present struggle against aggression, Vice-Premier Chen Yi continued, the Arab people have come to realize more clearly than ever that U.S. imperialism is the mortal enemy of the Arab people and that Soviet revisionism is the No. 1 accomplice of U.S. imperialism. In league with

each other, U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism are trying hard to control the destiny of the Arab people. But it is only a pipe dream. The Arab nation is a nation with a long history and a glorious anti-imperialist tradition. The Arab people are a heroic people. In their just struggle against U.S., British and Israeli aggression, they are winning increasingly wide sympathy and support from the people of the world. Whether it is war by the U.S. and British imperialists and their lackeys, or betrayal and deception by the Soviet revisionists, nothing can ever stamp out the raging flames of the Arab people's struggle against imperialism. Whatever it is, it can only serve as teaching material by negative example. As the greatest leader of the Chinese people Chairman Mao has pointed out: **"The raging tide of the people of the world against the U.S. aggressors is irresistible. Their struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys will assuredly win still greater victories."** We believe, Vice-Premier Chen Yi said in conclusion, that it is certain that the

Arab people will win at last if they persevere in their fight against imperialism, persevere in struggle and persevere in unity.

## Public Trial of Indian Spy

On June 12, a responsible member of the Chinese Foreign Ministry summoned R.D. Sathe, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Indian Embassy in China, and handed to him a note lodging the strongest protest with the Indian Government against the espionage activities illegally carried out in Peking by members of the Indian Embassy. The Chinese Foreign Ministry notified the Indian Embassy in China as follows: "The Chinese Government shall henceforth cease to recognize the diplomatic status of K. Raghunath, and K. Raghunath shall not be allowed to leave China before the Chinese judicial organs take sanctions against his crimes according to law."

The Foreign Ministry's note says: "On the afternoon of June 4, 1967, Second Secretary K. Raghunath and Third Secretary P. Vijai of the Indian Embassy drove to a place in the western suburbs of Peking where, in brazen violation of China's laws and decrees known to all, they surreptitiously peered at and took photographs of a prohibited military area in the vicinity. Upon discovering them, soldiers of the Chinese People's Liberation Army guarding the area immediately urged them to desist and asked them to leave. K. Raghunath and P. Vijai, however, paid no heed whatsoever and continued to hang around and take photographs of the prohibited area stealthily. Finding the actions of these two men highly suspicious, the Chinese People's Liberation Armymen detained them and sent them to an organ of public security for interrogations. The public security personnel ordered them to hand over the films, but they behaved in a most untoward manner and tried hard to play the fox and they were compelled to hand over the films only after they were severely rebuked by the public security personnel. After the films were developed on the spot, it was discovered that the ten and more photographs taken clearly constituted

a complete topographical map of the prohibited area and adjacent areas. Caught red-handed with their spoils complete, K. Raghunath and P. Vijai could no longer deny their guilt and had to admit the facts and sign on the minutes of the interrogations."

The note points out: Investigation has established that this was not the first time that K. Raghunath illegally engaged in espionage activities on Chinese territory. Since the beginning of the great proletarian cultural revolution in China, thinking that he could make use of this opportunity, K. Raghunath has been collecting everywhere political and military intelligence about China in brazen violation of its laws and decrees.

The note states: "The facts have shown that K. Raghunath is an out-and-out spy under the cloak of a diplomat and has committed grave crimes against the Chinese people.

"The Chinese Government is most indignant at such barefaced espionage activities by members of the Indian Embassy in China and lodges the strongest protest with the Indian Government. The Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs hereby solemnly notifies the Indian Embassy in China: The Chinese Government shall henceforth cease to recognize the diplomatic status of K. Raghunath, and K. Raghunath shall not be allowed to leave China before the Chinese judicial organs take sanctions against his crimes according to law."

On June 13, the Peking Municipal Higher People's Court conducted a public trial of Indian spy K. Raghunath which was attended by more than 15,000 people. Fearing punishment, the accused did not appear at the trial. Thus judgment was passed in default in this spy case. Raghunath was strongly denounced at the trial for his crime of espionage. The verdict was that Raghunath had committed the crime of espionage and was sentenced to deportation. The sentence was to be carried out immediately.

In the afternoon of the same day, Chinese Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs Han Nien-lung summoned R.D. Sathe, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Indian Embassy in

China, and announced the following: Investigations and examinations made by the Special People's Tribunal of the Peking Municipal Higher People's Court established that Raghunath, in the guise of a diplomat, had flagrantly carried out espionage on China's territory, thus gravely jeopardizing China's state security. In accordance with the law of the People's Republic of China, the tribunal convicted the accused of espionage and sentenced him to deportation to be carried out immediately. The criminal, Raghunath, must leave China under the escort of Chinese public security personnel and Red Guards in strict accordance with the time and route designated. Otherwise, he will be responsible for all the grave consequences arising therefrom. Vice-Minister Han Nien-lung also announced that P. Vijai, Third Secretary of the Indian Embassy in China, who was tied up with Raghunath in espionage activities, was declared *persona non grata* by the Chinese Foreign Ministry, and that he must leave China within three days.

## Chinese Air Force Downs Unmanned U.S. Military Reconnaissance Plane

A Chinese People's Liberation Army air force unit shot down over Kwangsi on the afternoon of June 12 an unmanned military reconnaissance plane of U.S. imperialism which had intruded into China's air space for reconnaissance and provocation. This is a victory for the heroic Chinese air force, holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, at a time when the great proletarian cultural revolution is marching forward triumphantly. It is the result of the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works to promote ideological revolutionization and is a fresh victory won by the heroic air force in defending the motherland's air space and safeguarding the great proletarian cultural revolution.

The Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party issued an order on June 12 commending the air force unit concerned. "While intensifying the expansion of its war of aggres-

sion in Vietnam recently," the order pointed out, "U.S. imperialism has supported British imperialism in suppressing patriotic Chinese compatriots in Hongkong and Kowloon in an attempt to turn Hongkong into a base for its aggressive war against Vietnam and for anti-China activities. At the same time, U.S. imperialism has directed Israel to brazenly launch a war of aggression against the Arab people. **Chairman Mao has taught us: 'Make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again . . . till their doom; that is the logic of the imperialists and all reactionaries the world over in dealing with the people's cause, and they will never go against this logic.'** In the present excellent situation existing in our nation's great proletarian cultural revolution, you must firmly respond to the great leader Chairman Mao's great call to take firm hold of the revolution and promote war preparedness, never slacken your vigilance and make new contributions in defence of the air space of the motherland and the great proletarian cultural revolution."

### Chinese Foreign Ministry Protests Against Bulgaria's Anti-China Action

The Chinese Foreign Ministry delivered a note to the Bulgarian Embassy in China on June 10, strongly protesting against the Bulgarian Government for crudely undermining the Sino-Bulgarian agreement on the exchange of students and deliberately aggravating relations between the two countries by unwarrantedly declaring three Chinese students in Bulgaria "personae non grata." The note also lodged the strongest protest against the Bulgarian revisionist leading clique for viciously attacking Chairman Mao, the great leader of the Chinese people and the red sun in their hearts.

On May 29 Marinov, second secretary of the 5th Department of the Bulgarian Foreign Ministry met by appointment Wang Ming-hsiu, second secretary of the Chinese Embassy in Bulgaria. On the pretext that three Chinese students in Bulgaria had published their so-called

"anti-Bulgaria" article in the *Red Guard Paper* of the Peking Foreign Languages Institute on February 21 and that China "had actually driven away the Bulgarian students in China," Marinov announced that should the three Chinese students return to Bulgaria, they would be regarded as "personae non grata."

The Chinese Foreign Ministry's note refuted the Bulgarian Government's reasons for declaring the three Chinese students "personae non grata" and drew attention to the series of grave steps recently taken by the Bulgarian authorities to worsen relations between the two countries. The Chinese note said: "We must tell you in all seriousness: the Bulgarian revisionist leading clique headed by Zhivkov has gone too far down the anti-China road. If you continue to act the anti-China clown of the Soviet revisionists and persist in being hostile to the 700 million Chinese people in disregard of the friendship between the two peoples, you will surely come to no good end."

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