

# PEKING REVIEW

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## President Kaunda of Zambia Visits China

Report and Joint Communique.

## Vile Soviet Revisionist Declaration to Persist in Treacherous Policy

Commentary by *Renmin Ribao* Observer.

## *Down With Slavishness; Strictly Observe Proletarian Revolutionary Discipline*

by Lin Chieh

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# QUOTATIONS FROM CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG

In the fight for complete liberation the oppressed people rely first of all on their own struggle and then, and only then, on international assistance. The people who have triumphed in their own revolution should help those still struggling for liberation. This is our internationalist duty.

*Talk With African Friends* (August 1963)

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

*Cast Away Illusions, Prepare for Struggle* (August 1949)

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The comrades must be helped to remain modest, prudent and free from arrogance and rashness in their style of work. The comrades must be helped to preserve the style of plain living and hard struggle.

*Report to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China* (March 1949)



Chairman Mao Tse-tung

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





## Chairman Mao and Vice-Chairman Lin Piao Receive President Kaunda



Chairman Mao and Vice-Chairman Lin Piao have a friendly talk with President Kaunda (second from the right) and Madame Kaunda. Also present is Premier Chou En-lai (first from the left).

Our great leader Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Vice-Chairman Lin Piao on the afternoon of June 24 received Kenneth David Kaunda, President of the Republic of Zambia, his wife and other friends from Zambia who accompanied the President on his visit to China.

The Zambian friends who were received included E.H.K. Mudenda, Minister of Agriculture; H.D. Banda,

Minister of Co-operatives, Youth and Social Development; J.H. Monga, Minister of State for the Barotse Province; A. Chalikulima, Assistant to the Minister of State for the Western Province; J.B.A. Siyomunji, Permanent Secretary (Establishments) and Deputy Secretary to the Cabinet; M.C. Chona, Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; P. Chisanga,

Under Secretary of the Ministry of Co-operatives, Youth and Social Development; and C.J.A. Banda, Director of State Functions.

Chairman Mao and Vice-Chairman Lin Piao had a friendly talk with President Kaunda and the other guests.

Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premiers Chen Yi and Li Hsien-nien were present on the occasion.

# Chairman Mao and Comrade Lin Piao See "On the Docks"

Our most respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Comrade Lin Piao saw *On the Docks*, a Peking opera on a revolutionary contemporary theme, performed by the Peking Opera Theatre of Shanghai on the evening of June 22.

Chairman Mao was in buoyant spirits as he entered the theatre amid enthusiastic cheers and to the strains of *Sailing the Seas Depends on the Helmsman*. When the curtain rose, the actors and actresses lined up in the front of the stage. Demonstrating their boundless respect and love

for the great teacher Chairman Mao, they held up their copies of the revolutionary treasured book *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, read some of his teachings and joined the audience in shouting: "Long live Chairman Mao, the very red sun that shines most brightly in our hearts! A long life to him! A long, long life to him!"

Also present at the performance were Comrades Chou En-lai, Chen Po-ta, Kang Sheng, Li Fu-chun, Tung Pi-wu, Li Hsien-nien, Nieh Jung-chen, Hsieh Fu-chih, Chiang Ching, Hsiao Hua, Yang Cheng-wu, Teng

Ying-chao, Chang Chun-chiao, Wang Li, Kuan Feng, Chi Pen-yu, Yeh Chun and Wang Tung-hsing.

At the end of the performance, Chairman Mao and Comrades Lin Piao, Chou En-lai, Chen Po-ta, Kang Sheng, Li Fu-chun, Tung Pi-wu and Chiang Ching went on stage to shake hands with the performers and to pose for a photograph. Waving their bright red copies of *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, the actors and actresses enthusiastically shouted "Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to Chairman Mao!" over and over again.



Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Comrade Lin Piao and Comrade Chou En-lai with the actors and actresses.

## Premier Chou Condemns Soviet Revisionism's Big Global Gang-Up With U.S. Imperialism

Speaking at the banquet he gave on June 21 in honour of President Kenneth Kaunda of the Republic of Zambia, Premier Chou En-lai said that many signs now indicated that the Soviet revisionist leading clique was actively plotting big global collaboration with the chieftains of U.S. imperialism through the United Nations, in an attempt to sell out the revolutionary interests of the people of Vietnam, the Arab states and Asia, Africa and Latin America. The Premier said that this should call for high vigilance among the people.

While the counter-revolutionary global strategy of U.S. imperialism is speedily heading towards bankruptcy, Premier Chou said, Soviet revisionism, catering to U.S. imperialism's needs, has stepped forth to render it a big service. In his address to a foreign policy conference for American educators on June 19, Lyndon

Johnson stated that the United States had made great progress in enlarging the arena of common action with the Soviet Union. As is well known, the Soviet revisionist leading clique has been busy running errands for U.S. imperialism's "peace talks" plots on the Vietnam question. In the recent war against aggression fought by the Arab states, the Soviet revisionist leading clique further revealed its true features of sham support but real betrayal of the Arab people.

"The revolutionary people of the whole world," Premier Chou stressed, "have learnt through experience in their struggle that to oppose imperialism, it is imperative to oppose revisionism. We must carry through to the end the struggle against U.S.-led imperialism and against modern revisionism with Soviet revisionism as its centre."

## Premier Chou Reiterates: The U.N. Must Be Thoroughly Reorganized and Transformed

Speaking at the banquet given on June 24 by the diplomatic envoys to China of several African states in honour of visiting Zambian President Kaunda, Premier Chou En-lai once again strongly denounced U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism for using the United Nations to carry out extensive collaboration. He reiterated that the United Nations must correct its mistakes and must be thoroughly reorganized and transformed.

The Premier extended his greetings to the fighting people of the Asian and African countries, and expressed his thanks to the many friendly countries in Africa and Asia which had taken the just stand of supporting the restoration of China's legitimate seat in the United Nations and opposing the "two Chinas" plot. He reiterated

that the United Nations must correct all its past mistakes; it must be thoroughly reorganized and transformed, its power politics must be smashed, and equality among all the nations, big and small, must be realized. Many friendly Asian and African countries could wage struggles inside the United Nations while China carried out struggles outside it for this purpose. If this goal could not be reached, then the possibility would increase daily for the establishment of a new, revolutionary United Nations.

Premier Chou said: "In order to achieve complete victory in the struggle against imperialism, the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations in Asia and Africa must first and foremost rely on their own efforts, and second-

ly on mutual support among the Afro-Asian peoples. The people of Asia and Africa must never place their hopes for their own liberation on the 'sensibleness' of imperialism, modern revisionism or their flunkies. Johnson and Kosygin are working out a dirty deal, the result of which will never satisfy the just demands of the Arab people, but will probably continue to damage and sell out the interests of the Vietnamese people and will surely continue to oppose the interests of the Chinese people and the revolutionary people in the rest of the world. The people of all countries, those of Asian and African countries above all, must heighten their vigilance against the use of the United Nations for extensive collaboration by U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism."

## Intruding U.S. Plane Shot Down Over Hainan Island

A U.S. imperialist F-4C fighter plane intruded into China's air space over the southeastern area of Hainan Island on the afternoon of June 26 to carry out war provocations. The plane was instantly shot down by an air unit of the navy of the heroic Chinese People's Liberation Army. This is a new, important victory following the successive downing of six U.S. bandit planes over Kwangsi by the air force of the P.L.A. between April 24 and June 12.

The Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party issued an order commending the unit concerned. The order said that this was a victory for the great proletarian cultural revolution, a victory for the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, and a victory for the great, invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung.

It added: "Coming at a time when the people throughout the country and throughout the world are warmly acclaiming the successful explosion of China's first hydrogen bomb and when the nation's great proletarian cultural revolution has won a decisive victory, the report of your victory has greatly raised the morale of

(Continued on p. 44)



## President Kaunda Visits China

PRESIDENT K.D. Kaunda of the Republic of Zambia arrived in China on a state visit at the invitation of Premier Chou En-lai at a time when China's great proletarian cultural revolution has won great victories. When he arrived in Peking by special plane on the afternoon of June 21, he was given a rousing welcome by hundreds of thousands of revolutionary people of all walks of life in the capital.

Among those present at the airport to welcome him were Premier Chou En-lai, Li Fu-chun, Chen Yi, Li Hsien-nien, Hsieh Fu-chih, Teng Ying-chao, Kuo Mo-jo, Liu Ning-I and other leading comrades.

As President Kaunda and his wife alighted from their plane amid the throb of drums and the crash of gongs, Premier Chou, Teng Ying-chao and other leaders stepped forward and gave a warm plane-side greeting to their Zambian guests. A squad of young Red Guards rushed up, presented the guests with copies of *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* and recited in unison a quotation from Chairman Mao: **"The Chinese people regard the victory in the anti-imperialist struggle of the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America as their own victory and warmly sympathize with and support all their anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggles."**

Among those accompanying President Kaunda on his visit to China were E.H.K. Mudenda, Minister of Agriculture; H.D. Banda, Minister of Co-operatives, Youth and Social Development; J.H. Monga, Minister of State for the Barotse Province; and A. Chalikulima, Assistant to the Minister of State for the Western Province.

After the band played the national anthems of Zambia and China, President Kaunda, accompanied by Premier Chou, reviewed a guard of honour made up of units of the land, navy and air forces of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, people's militia and Red Guards.

Then President Kaunda walked up to the welcoming crowd, and the people shouted lustily as they waved

their copies of *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*: "Welcome President Kaunda!" "Long live the friendship between the Chinese and Zambian peoples!" "Resolutely support the national-liberation struggle of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples!" "Resolutely support the anti-imperialist struggle of the African people!" "Down with imperialism headed by the United States!" "Down with modern revisionism!" "Long live the unity of the Asian and African peoples!" "Long live the great proletarian cultural revolution!" "Long live the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung!" "Long live our great leader Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!" Their cheers expressed the high political enthusiasm and the noble spirit of internationalism of the Chinese people who have been tempered in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

After being presented with bouquets of flowers at the airport, President Kaunda and his party left for the State Guest House in the company of Premier Chou. The passage of their motorcade was marked by rolling shouts of welcome and thunder of slogans and the sound of drums and gongs. On Tien An Men Square, an army of artists from the Chinese People's Liberation Army, the Middle School Red Guard Congress organizations and other revolutionary mass organizations of cultural troupes, performed for their Zambian friends brand-new revolutionary songs and dances created during the great proletarian cultural revolution.

### Premier Chou's Banquet Speech

That evening at the Great Hall of the People Premier Chou gave a grand banquet in honour of President Kaunda, his wife and members of his party.

In his banquet speech Premier Chou said: "At the time of the great victories of the unprecedented, great proletarian cultural revolution in our country, Your Excellency Mr. President and Madame Kaunda have come to our country for a friendly visit, bringing with you new friendship from the Zambian people as well as the people of Africa. First of all, allow me, on behalf of Chairman Mao Tse-tung and Vice-Chairman



**Hundreds of thousands of the revolutionary people in Peking give a rousing welcome to President Kaunda.**

Lin Piao and in my own name, to express heartfelt thanks and warm welcome to Your Excellency Mr. President and Madame Kaunda and all the other Zambian friends."

He said: "The Republic of Zambia has since its founding scored marked achievements in consolidating national independence. In international affairs, Zambia has pursued a foreign policy of non-alignment, opposed imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, the Rhodesian colonial authorities, and supported Zimbabwe and other African brothers in their struggle to win and safeguard national independence."

Premier Chou reiterated: "The Chinese Government and people resolutely support the just struggles of the people of Zambia and Zimbabwe. We firmly believe that the Rhodesian colonial authorities propped up by U.S. and British imperialism will surely be overthrown and that final victory will surely belong to the people of Zambia and Zimbabwe."

Continuing, Premier Chou said: "We are glad to see the growing national awakening of the African people. Confronted with the counter-revolutionary dual tactics of imperialism, the African people have stood the test and emerged even stronger than before." "The great leader of the Chinese people Chairman Mao teaches us: '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.' A genuinely independent new Africa without imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism is bound to arise."

Premier Chou strongly condemned U.S. imperialism for instigating and supporting Israel, in league with British imperialism and working with Soviet revisionism, in launching a large-scale war of aggression against the United Arab Republic, Syria, Jordan and other Arab states. He warmly praised the great victories, victories of great strategic significance won by the Vietnamese people in their struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. He pointed out that U.S. imperialism was a paper tiger and could certainly be defeated. He said: "To whatever extent U.S. imperialism escalates and expands its war 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!" Premier Chou strongly denounced Soviet revisionism for catering to the needs of U.S. imperialism and helping the latter in a big way.

Premier Chou declared: "The great proletarian cultural revolution initiated and led personally by our great leader Chairman Mao has in the past year and more brought about a great earth-shaking change in our political life and mental outlook. This great revolution is vigorously promoting the revolutionization

of our people's thinking, further emancipating the productive forces of society and thus accelerating the building of our country into a great socialist power. Four days ago, the smooth, successful explosion of China's first hydrogen bomb is another great victory for the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung as well as another splendid achievement of the world-shaking great proletarian cultural revolution."

Premier Chou paid warm tribute to the militant friendship between the peoples of China and Zambia. He said that the present visit to China by President Kaunda and the other Zambian friends will add a new chapter to the relations of friendship and co-operation between the two countries. "We firmly believe that in the common struggle to oppose imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and to strengthen Afro-Asian solidarity, the Chinese and Zambian peoples will get further united," he declared.

### President Kaunda's Speech

In his banquet speech, President Kaunda expressed profound and sincere appreciation and gratitude for the tremendous reception given to his party by the Chinese people. He said: "This spontaneous response is great, it is most touching; it is truly friendly. It is my pleasure in return to say that I have brought to you and the people of China warm and friendly greetings from the people of Zambia."

President Kaunda warmly congratulated China on the successful explosion of its hydrogen bomb. He said that this great victory of China was a great achievement for a great nation and that it had ushered the People's Republic of China into a completely new era in playing her role in the preservation of international peace and security. He added that it was hardly possible for him to support a position in international affairs in which the destiny of mankind would be entirely in the hands of one or two nations holding a monopoly of these destructive weapons. "The control of man's destiny on this earth must not be confined to the privileged or powerful few, but must remain the concern and responsibility of all nations," he declared.

He said that there were nations in this world who would have preferred to see Zambia promote friendship with minority regimes in southern Africa — South Africa, the rebel regime of Ian Smith, and Mozambique and Angola still under Portuguese control. "However," he said, "our principles do not permit such a debasing step."

"Colonialism with its twin sisters exploitation and apartheid are all incompatible with our fundamental beliefs and ideals. The minority regimes in South Africa and South West Africa, Rhodesia, Mozambique and Angola consider me and my fellow non-White human beings as less than human, and they are better and more privileged human beings. Whatever friendship is established with them, it cannot be based on honesty, equality, human dignity and mutual respect," he continued.

Turning to the Vietnam question President Kaunda said: "We believe most strongly that Vietnam belongs, in the same way as Zambia belongs to us, to the Vietnam people and that no power on earth can ever hope to crush the Vietnam people. Those who fight in Vietnam to oppress the Vietnam people must know that the Vietnam people are a people with a long background like the Chinese people of resistance to any imperialist or colonialist exploitation." He said the Vietnamese people were bound to win.

On the question of the Middle East, President Kaunda expressed his conviction that the Arab people would win the decisive victory.

In conclusion President Kaunda said that though vast spaces of land, sea and sky lie between China and Zambia, the people of the two countries were getting to know each other.

On the morning of June 22 and the afternoon of June 23 Premier Chou and President Kaunda held talks in a friendly atmosphere. On the evening of June 23 in Peking, they attended the signing of an Agreement on Economic and Technical Co-operation Between the Governments of China and Zambia. Fang Yi, Chinese Minister of the Commission for Economic Relations With Foreign Countries, and Arthur N.L. Wina, Zambian Minister of Finance, signed the agreement on behalf of their respective Governments.

While in Peking President Kaunda toured the Sino-Vietnam Friendship People's Commune, attended a performance of the revolutionary ballet *The White-Haired Girl*, visited a unit of the Chinese People's Liberation Army under the Peking Military Command, and also the Peking Normal University.

The diplomatic envoys to China of the African countries of the U.A.R., Algeria, Guinea, Mali, the Congo (B), Tanzania and Kenya, at a banquet given by them at noon on June 24 wished President Kaunda, his wife and party, success in their current visit to China and expressed the hope that the friendship and co-operation between Zambia and China would develop.



A toast was proposed by President Kaunda at the banquet.

Premier Chou En-lai, speaking after Zakaria El-Adly Imam, the U.A.R. Ambassador to China, and President Kaunda, again sharply condemned U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism for making use of the United Nations for large-scale collaboration and reiterated that the U.N. must correct all its past mistakes, and must be thoroughly reorganized and transformed. (See p.7.)

### Return Banquet

On the evening of June 24, President Kaunda and his wife gave a return banquet in Peking, which was attended by Premier Chou En-lai, Vice-Premiers of the State Council Li Fu-chun, Chen Yi, Li Hsien-nien, Hsieh Fu-chih; and Vice-Chairmen of the National People's Congress Standing Committee Kuo Mo-jo and Liu Ning-I.

In his banquet speech, President Kaunda first of all expressed his heartfelt thanks to the Chinese Government and people for the most cordial hospitality extended in a most fraternal spirit to him and his party during their stay in Peking.

Regretting that the world knew too little about China, President Kaunda said: "Not knowing China, it is not possible to appreciate and understand fully the motive force behind this great nation, the great potential for its future development, its great successes in recent years in economic, social and technological development."

He said that his visit to the Sino-Vietnam Friendship People's Commune on June 22 was "an eye-opener to the successes the Chinese Government and people had made in the current agrarian revolution." Highly appraising the spirit of self-reliance of the Chinese people, President Kaunda said: "China's advancement in industry and technology is most impressive."

Although China and Zambia were thousands of miles apart, he said, there were several similarities between them. He declared that they were determined, with unflinching effort, to fight imperialism and neo-colonialism wherever they rear their heads, and that they would carry on this struggle to victory. He condemned the British and Portuguese colonialists for their policies of colonialism and racial discrimination in South Africa, South West Africa, Rhodesia, Angola, and Mozambique.

President Kaunda concluded his speech with a tribute to Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of the Chinese people, for his vital role and untiring efforts in the liberation and emancipation of the people

of his great country. Chairman Mao's wise leadership, he went on, has done a lot to make China what it was today, self-reliant, united and confident.

Referring to the fruitful visit of President Kaunda, Premier Chou En-lai in his speech said: "Our two sides have exchanged views on international issues of common interest and have thus greatly enhanced our mutual understanding. We have had friendly and cordial talks on the question of further developing relations between our two countries, and have achieved satisfactory results. We have signed an agreement on economic and technical co-operation between China and Zambia. All this fully shows that the visit of His Excellency the President has not only opened a new stage in the development of friendly relations and co-operation between China and Zambia, but has also made new contributions to the cause of unity among the Asian and African peoples."

The Chinese Government, Premier Chou went on, had developed friendly relations with Zambia and other African countries in strict accordance with the Five Principles guiding the Chinese Government in its relations with the African countries and the Eight Principles guiding the Chinese Government in providing foreign countries with economic and technical aid. This visit of President Kaunda had greatly furthered our friendly relations and co-operation based on the above principles.

Premier Chou also denounced the British Government and the British authorities in Hongkong for a whole series of brutal acts of mass repression against our patriotic countrymen. (See p. 25.)

Accompanied by Premier Chou, President Kaunda and his entourage left Peking on the morning of June 25 to visit Shanghai where the President and his wife and other Zambian friends accompanied either by Premier Chou En-lai, Vice-Foreign Minister Hsu Yi-hsin, or Chin Li-chen, Chinese Ambassador to Zambia, visited the Shanghai No. 31 Cotton Textile Mill, the Shanghai No. 1 Steel Mill and the Shanghai industrial exhibition. Everywhere they were warmly welcomed by the revolutionary masses.

The Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee gave a grand banquet in honour of President Kaunda, his wife and party on the evening of June 25.

Leaving Shanghai for home by special plane that same evening, President Kaunda carried with him the profound friendship of the Chinese people for the Zambian people. Premier Chou En-lai and thousands of revolutionary people of all walks of life in Shanghai were at the airport to give them a rousing send-off.

# Joint Communiqué of the People's Republic of China and the Republic of Zambia

At the invitation of Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, His Excellency Kenneth David Kaunda, President of the Republic of Zambia, and Madame Kaunda paid a state visit to the People's Republic of China from June 21 to 25, 1967.

Accompanying them on the visit were: Hon. E.H.K. Mudenda, Minister of Agriculture; Hon. H.D. Banda, Minister of Co-operatives, Youth and Social Development; Hon. J.H. Monga, Minister of State for the Barotse Province; Mr. A. Chalikulima, Assistant to the Minister of State for the Western Province and senior officials of the Government of Zambia.

The Minister of Finance of Zambia, the Hon. A.N.L. Wina was at the same time on a visit to Peking at the head of a delegation to negotiate an economic and technical co-operation agreement.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of the Chinese people, met His Excellency President Kenneth David Kaunda and Madame Kaunda and the other Zambian friends during their visit in China. Vice-Chairman Lin Piao, the close comrade-in-arms of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, was present at the meeting. Chairman Mao Tse-tung and Vice-Chairman Lin Piao had a cordial and friendly conversation with His Excellency the President.

His Excellency President Kenneth David Kaunda and Madame Kaunda and the other Zambian friends visited a people's commune, factories, a university and a unit of the Chinese People's Liberation Army in Peking and Shanghai, and had extensive friendly contacts with the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, revolutionary teachers and students and Red Guards of China engaged victoriously in the great proletarian cultural revolution unparalleled in history. They were accorded a warm welcome and cordial reception by the Chinese Government and people. This fully demonstrated the profound friendship between the Chinese and Zambian peoples.

Premier Chou En-lai held talks with His Excellency President Kenneth David Kaunda.

Present at the talks on the Chinese side were: Chen Yi, Vice-Premier of the State Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs; Li Hsien-nien, Vice-Premier of the State Council and Minister of Finance; Lin Hai-yun, Acting Minister for Foreign Trade; Hsu Yi-hsin, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs; Hsieh Huai-teh, Vice-Chairman of the Commission for Economic Relations

with Foreign Countries; Chu Tu-nan, Vice-Chairman of the Commission for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries; Chin Li-chen, Chinese Ambassador to Zambia; and others.

Present at the talks on the Zambian side were: Hon. A.N.L. Wina, Minister of Finance; Hon. E.H.K. Mudenda, Minister of Agriculture; Hon. H.D. Banda, Minister of Co-operatives, Youth and Social Development; Hon. J.H. Monga, Minister of State for the Barotse Province; Mr. A. Chalikulima, Assistant to the Minister of State for the Western Province; and senior officials of the Government of Zambia.

The talks proceeded in a cordial and friendly atmosphere. During the talks the two sides had a full exchange of views on international issues of common interest and on the further development of friendly relations and co-operation between the two countries, and satisfactory results were achieved.

The two sides noted with great satisfaction that there has been a rapid development in the friendly relations and co-operation between China and Zambia in the political, economic, trade and cultural fields since the two countries established diplomatic relations. During His Excellency President Kenneth David Kaunda's current visit, China and Zambia have signed an agreement on economic and technical co-operation, which will further promote the development of the friendly relations and co-operation between the two countries. The two sides have agreed to exert every effort to consolidate and develop the friendly relations between China and Zambia and strengthen the friendship between the two peoples.

The Chinese side reaffirms its full respect for the policy of non-alignment pursued by the Government of Zambia in international affairs, and its firm support for the struggle waged by the Republic of Zambia under the leadership of His Excellency President Kaunda to safeguard national independence and state sovereignty, to develop national economy and culture and to oppose imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and racial discrimination. The Chinese side warmly commends the contributions made by the Zambian Government and people in supporting the African national-liberation movement and promoting Afro-Asian solidarity.

The two sides strongly oppose the British connivance with the Rhodesian and other colonial authorities in perpetuating white domination south of the Zambezi.

The Chinese side firmly supports the Government and people of Zambia in their just struggle against the British Government's Rhodesian policy and the Rhodesian colonial authorities.

The Zambian side extends warm congratulations upon the great victories of the great proletarian cultural revolution initiated and led personally by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of the Chinese people. It highly appraises the great achievements won by the Chinese people in the cause of socialist construction. It reaffirms its support for the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, its opposition to all schemes of creating "two Chinas," and its support for the Chinese people in their just struggle to safeguard national sovereignty and territorial integrity. The Chinese side expresses its thanks for all this.

The Zambian side warmly congratulates China on the successful explosion of her first hydrogen bomb and regards this as a tremendous contribution to the safeguarding of world peace. The two sides express their willingness to work together with all the other peace-loving people and countries of the world for the noble aim of completely prohibiting and thoroughly destroying nuclear weapons.

Both sides maintain that the destiny of mankind should never be controlled by one or two powers which have a monopoly of nuclear weapons, but should be decided by all countries in the world.

The two sides are of the opinion that the present world situation is most favourable to the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America in their struggle to oppose imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and to win and safeguard national independence. The two sides note with pleasure that they have been constantly winning new and great victories.

The two sides note with satisfaction that the national-liberation movement in Africa is unfolding in greater depth and breadth. Those African countries which have already won national independence have scored constant new victories in safeguarding national independence, developing national economy and culture. The African peoples who are still under colonial rule are waging heroic struggle for national independence. Although the struggles in some areas have suffered setbacks, they are only temporary. No force can ever hold back the historical torrent of the national-liberation movement.

The two sides stress that imperialism and colonialism will never be reconciled to their defeat and step down from the stage of history of their own accord, but are exerting their utmost to launch frenzied counter-attacks against the anti-imperialist revolutionary forces of the people in Asia and Africa by resorting to all kinds of tactics, such as military aggression, political subversion and economic infiltration. Therefore, the peoples of Asia and Africa must sharpen

their vigilance and unswervingly carry the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggle through to the end. The two sides firmly believe that so long as the peoples of Asia and Africa strengthen their unity and persevere in struggle, they will surely win final victory. Africa will definitely become the African people's Africa and Asia the Asian people's Asia.

The two sides discussed with concern the situation in the Middle East. The Chinese side strongly condemns U.S. and British imperialism and their lackey Israel for the war of aggression they have launched against the Arab states, and firmly supports the Arab people in their just struggle against imperialist aggression. The Zambian side holds the view that any troops occupying foreign territory as a result of the war must be withdrawn to the positions they occupied before the outbreak of the war. The two sides firmly believe that final victory will certainly belong to the Arab people.

The two sides express great concern over the Vietnam question. The Chinese side resolutely supports the heroic Vietnamese people in their struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, strongly condemns U.S. imperialism for its frenzied act of expanding the war of aggression in Vietnam, firmly demands that the troops of the United States and its vassals must withdraw from south Vietnam completely, and holds that the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation must be recognized as the sole genuine representative of the south Vietnamese people. The two sides are of the opinion that the Vietnamese people's basic national rights, namely, independence, sovereignty, unification and territorial integrity, must be respected and that the Vietnam question should be settled by the Vietnamese people themselves.

The two sides firmly support the people of Mozambique, Angola, Guinea (Bissau), Southwest Africa, Swaziland, French Somaliland and other African countries still under colonial rule in their struggle for national independence.

The two sides strongly condemn the colonial authorities in Rhodesia and South Africa for their policies of racial discrimination and apartheid. They firmly support the people of Zimbabwe and South Africa in their just struggle against racial discrimination and for national liberation.

The two sides hold that in order to consolidate national independence and thoroughly liquidate the imperialist forces, the Afro-Asian countries must develop their national economy in accordance with the principle of mainly relying on their own efforts. They are deeply convinced that the Afro-Asian countries are able to build up their own countries by relying on the strength of their own people and resources. The Afro-Asian countries should support each other on the basis of equality and mutual benefit so as to promote their common economic prosperity. They do not exclude the development of trade and economic co-operation with

countries in other parts of the world. But all foreign aid must conform to the principle of equality and mutual benefit without any privileges or political conditions being attached.

The two sides note with satisfaction that His Excellency President Kenneth David Kaunda's current visit to China has enhanced the friendship and mutual understanding between the people of the two countries, ushered in a new stage of development in the relations of friendship and co-operation between the two coun-

tries and made important contributions to the strengthening of Afro-Asian solidarity.

His Excellency President Kenneth David Kaunda of the Republic of Zambia extended an invitation to Premier Chou En-lai of the State Council of the People's Republic of China for a visit to the Republic of Zambia at a time convenient to him. Premier Chou En-lai accepted the invitation with pleasure.

June 25, 1967

人民日报  
RENMIN RIBAO

## Prologue to Wider U.S.-Soviet "United Action"

**A**FTER the United States and the Soviet Union had worked hand in glove to impose a "ceasefire" on the Arab countries, Soviet revisionist chieftain Kosygin promptly went to the United States to plot a bigger counter-revolutionary scheme for suppressing the Vietnamese and Arab peoples and other revolutionary peoples of the world with U.S. imperialist chieftain Johnson.

The speeches on June 19 by Johnson in Washington and by Kosygin at the U.N. emergency session constitute a prologue to the dirty deals they have in the offing.

The public "dialogues" of the U.S. and Soviet chieftains have been painstakingly arranged. One followed the other in a matter of an hour, and both touched on problems concerning the whole world with emphasis on the Middle East, Vietnam, nuclear weapons and nuclear war. It was a duet sung in complete harmony. The performance reveals more clearly that the purpose of the Soviet revisionist ruling clique in proposing the current U.N. emergency session, far from being to give "support" to the Arab countries, is to commit betrayal on a bigger scale and make a big global deal with U.S. imperialism.

Concerning the Middle East issue, it is clear to all that the United States and the Soviet Union are planning to make continued use of the United Nations for pushing ahead with their neo-colonialist plan of controlling the Arab countries. In his speech, Johnson openly called for "effective peace-keeping in the United Nations" and pressed the Arab countries to accept the "five great principles" of the U.S. by which they would have to forsake their sovereign rights and

humiliate themselves. Kosygin followed up this call by praising the United Nations to the skies for "pronouncing itself authoritatively in favor of justice," and he tried to convince the Arab countries that they could "depend on the United Nations to defend" their independence and sovereignty. The pressure of the U.S. imperialist chieftain alternated with the cajolery of the Soviet revisionist chieftain had no other purpose than to make the Arab countries give up their struggle against aggression and make them go down on their knees before the aggressor bandits.

In an attempt to cover up the Soviet revisionists' betrayal of the Arab people, Kosygin made a pretentious show of himself at the U.N. emergency session; he voiced "support" for the Arab countries, "condemned" Israel and demanded "withdrawal" of Israeli troops. Actually all this is phoney and not worth a cent.

The Soviet revisionist chieftain was trying to pass himself off as a hero against aggression. However, in his long and odious speech, he dared not even refer to U.S. imperialism, the chief culprit in the aggression against the Arab countries. The draft resolution he introduced did not contain even a shadow of condemnation of the U.S. aggressors. This is enough! How can an accomplice and sycophant of U.S. imperialism possibly pass for a hero?

Kosygin has a mouthful of fine words but he is a devil at heart. The Soviet revisionists admitted that they were in the know that the United States and Israel were going to launch the war of aggression. But they tried in countless ways to blunt the vigilance of the Arab people and bind them hand and foot so



that they could be taken unawares in the face of a sudden attack. When the Arab people rose in a war of resistance against aggression, the Soviet revisionists ganged up with the United States to pressure the Arab countries into accepting a "ceasefire." And now Kosygin has the cheek to say that this was "a considerable credit" to the Security Council. At present when the aggressors are still trampling on part of the Arab land, the Soviet revisionists not only do not permit the Arab people to resist the aggressors but also want to shackle the Arab countries to the U.S.-made United Nations. The Soviet revisionist ruling clique has perpetrated every evil against the Arab people but it never tires of claiming that it would "resolutely come out in defence of" the Arab countries. Isn't this like a wolf knocking at the door of a sheep's pen telling the sheep inside that it has come to offer its blessings?

People have also seen clearly that the United States and the Soviet Union are making another new deal over the Vietnam question in an attempt to stamp out the raging flames of struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. While Lyndon Johnson in his "dialogue" said that the United States was ready to "de-escalate" the war in Vietnam, in a vain attempt to induce the Vietnamese people to lay down their arms, Kosygin in his follow-up suggested that a "peaceful settlement" would be possible if the United States "stopped the bombing." This is a brazen attempt to help the U.S. aggressors to push their fraud of "inducing peace talks through a bombing halt."

Kosygin cried out that "the continuing war in Vietnam . . . is fraught with the terrible danger of escalating into a major military clash between the powers" in order to intimidate all countries, and China in particular, which are genuinely supporting the Vietnamese people's war of resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. We sternly warn the Soviet revisionist renegade group: the Chinese people have always considered it their sacred internationalist duty to support the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. We are resolved to support the Vietnamese people to fight to the end, to fight to final victory. If the U.S. aggressor bandits should dare to extend the flames of war and insist on a trial of strength with us, we Chinese people, together with the Vietnamese people, will spare no effort to wipe out the U.S. aggressors. The Soviet revisionists' vain attempt to frighten the great Vietnamese people and Chinese people with war expansion by U.S. imperialism only proves that they are a gang of out-and-out renegades and rank cowards!

The U.S. imperialist and Soviet revisionist chiefs have also kicked up a fuss over the nuclear weapons question. To the Soviet revisionists, Johnson has urged an early conclusion of the "treaty on the prevention of proliferation of nuclear weapons" and the "agreement on anti-ballistic missiles" with the United States so as to maintain their position as nu-

clear overlords. Taking up the cue, Kosygin has gone further. He harped on Khrushchov's worn-out tune and carried out nuclear blackmail, spreading the horror of nuclear war "destruction" in an attempt to stamp out the revolutionary struggles of the people of the world. But all this has been wasted effort for the Soviet revisionist renegades. Their nuclear monopoly has long been broken and their nuclear blackmail no longer works. In the eyes of the revolutionary people of the world, imperialism, revisionism and the reactionaries are all paper tigers. Those who are really powerful are the revolutionary forces and the forces of the people. It is not the revolutionary people who are afraid of imperialism, revisionism and the reactionaries but it is they who are afraid of the revolutionary people.

Johnson and Kosygin's "dialogues" provide further proof that the Soviet revisionist ruling clique is a pack of rotten renegades betraying the people of the world, heinous accomplices of U.S. imperialism in trying to put out the flames of world revolution. This role played by the clique is highly appreciated by U.S. imperialism. In his speech, Johnson extolled the Soviet revisionists, saying that their service was "vital" to the United States, and he openly expressed the hope that the Soviet revisionists would "enlarge the arena of common action" with Washington. Kosygin responded actively. In fact, he travelled such a long distance to the United States for no other purpose than to enlarge "the arena of common action" between the two countries, to meet U.S. imperialism's requirements and run errands for it.

Kosygin went to the United Nations at a time when the Soviet revisionist clique's betrayal of the Arab people was being severely condemned by the people of the whole world. He evidently had intended to make some political capital by means of a few nice words, and thus hoped to clean up the renegade features of the Soviet revisionists. But renegades are renegades and scabs scabs, after all. On major issues in the international class struggle, in face of the sharp clash between the revolutionary people of the world on the one hand and imperialism and reaction on the other, the Soviet revisionist clique inevitably sides with imperialism and reaction and is sure to expose itself incessantly as renegades and scabs.

**Our great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung has taught us: "We must be clear-headed, that is, we must not believe the 'nice words' of the imperialists nor be intimidated by their bluster." We should treat the Soviet revisionist renegades in the same way. The Vietnamese, Arab and all other peoples know that they can certainly win great victory so long as they maintain high vigilance, dare to struggle, defy difficulties and advance wave upon wave. U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism and all ghosts and monsters will sooner or later be dumped on to the garbage heap of history.**

*("Renmin Ribao" editorial, June 22.)*

# Vile Soviet Revisionist Declaration to Persist in Treacherous Policy

by OBSERVER

A FEW days ago, in the name of the plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet revisionist ruling clique released a resolution "On the Soviet Union's Policy in Connection With Israel's Aggression in the Middle East."

The "resolution" is a flimsy cover-up for the Soviet revisionist clique's treacherous activities; it is the latest move, and a crude one at that, to try and fool the Soviet people, the Arab people and the people of the world in general; it is a counter-revolutionary declaration by the clique to continue with its policy of betrayal and unbridled attacks on China; it was set up as a present which Soviet revisionist boss Kosygin was to offer Lyndon Johnson when he made his pilgrimage to the United States and humbly knocked at the U.S. President's door for a meeting with him.

The roar of the guns in the Middle East war showed up the Soviet revisionist clique for what it is. More mercilessly than in the Caribbean crisis, the Moscow tripartite treaty or the Vietnam war, the events in the Middle East have stripped the clique of every mask and revealed its renegade features. If there were people who had failed to see clearly what the Soviet revisionist clique is, they must be quite clear about it now. The Arab people as well as other peoples in the world are denouncing the Soviet revisionists' treachery.

The tiny group of renegades headed by Brezhnev and Kosygin is having tougher going than ever, both at home and abroad. The group has racked its brains and strenuously tried every possible manoeuvre to extricate itself from its predicament and maintain its reactionary hierarchy. Its bosses have flown to the United States or Cairo or stayed at home to stage-manage the sinister meeting. In a flurry of activity, they breathlessly worked overtime from the preparation of the "Seven-Nation Declaration" to the holding of the recent plenum of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. The so-called "resolution" of the plenum is the shabby patch with which they are trying to mend their now torn and tattered evil flag of revisionism.

The "resolution" begins by saying that the plenum of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. "fully approves the political line and practical activities" pursued by the Soviet revisionist clique in the events in the Middle East. This line and activities, so it says, are meant to support the Arab countries under attack. This is as ridiculous as the story of the man who stuffed his ears lest he be discovered when he tried to steal a bell. Do the Soviet revisionists really think that they can succeed in writing off their treacherous activities by approving of their own line?

What "political line" did they follow and what "practical activities" did they carry out in the recent Middle East events? The facts are there, known to everybody. The line they pursued was one of collusion with U.S. imperialism and betrayal of the Arab people, support for the imperialist war of aggression and opposition to the Arab people's war against aggression, and service as an accomplice of U.S. imperialism for the suppression of the Arab national-liberation movement.

The very spirit of their line is U.S.-Soviet collaboration for world domination which they have been following ever since Khrushchov's betrayal. They always have to resort to various kinds of subterfuge because they want to join with U.S. imperialism, while fearful that their counter-revolutionary features will be totally exposed. Although they have to mention the United States in this "resolution," they do not even dare use the words U.S. imperialism, to say nothing about condemning and exposing it for its crime of unleashing the latest war of aggression. This shows clearly that what they persist in is still the same line, a thoroughly counter-revolutionary line.

In this "resolution" the Soviet revisionist ruling clique uses a thick coat of white-wash by claiming that it "stands on the side" of the Arab people and even blowing its own trumpet that its "swift" and "resolute" actions "have played an important role in halting mili-



tary action in the Middle East." This is truly turning facts upside down and is extremely shameful.

In the struggle between the Arab people and imperialism headed by the United States, the Soviet revisionists have never stood on the side of the former but on the side of the latter. What they are playing is a game of sham support and real betrayal, and they are like greedy speculators making transactions according to the market quotations. In time of peace, they lose nothing by saying some honeyed words about "supporting" the Arab people or doling out some "aid" to the Arab countries in order to accumulate political capital, but at the crucial moment of struggle they lose no time in betraying and selling out the Arab people and ganging up with U.S. imperialism to attack and suppress them.

They never distinguish between just and unjust wars and thus have long become traitors to revolutionary war. What they call "cutting short the military actions in the Middle East" means in fact that they have taken sides with the imperialist aggressors and forbade the Arab people to take up arms and fight a war against aggression when they were attacked by imperialism. In this "resolution," they openly talk about continuing to "eliminate the hotbed of war in the Middle East." It means that they want to continue to join U.S. imperialism in putting out the flames of the Arab people's armed struggle against aggression.

As for the role they have played, we must say that they have indeed played an "important role" as an international gendarme, an "important role" in the ranks of renegades and scabs, and an "important role" as counter-revolutionary hangmen.

They also harp on the hackneyed theme of "united action" in the "resolution," like a monk repeating some incantations. What kind of junk their so-called "united action" is has long been known to the people of the whole world. And the Middle East incident is only the latest specimen of their "united action" with U.S. imperialism.

After railroading one "ceasefire" resolution after another in betrayal of the Arab people through the United Nations, together with U.S. imperialism, they have again actively responded to Johnson's appeal for enlarging the so-called "arena of common action" between the United States and the Soviet Union. Kosygin made a long trip to the United States for confidential talks with Johnson at Glassboro where he fawned upon his master in the most revolting manner. Wasn't this another grand performance of their so-called "united action"?

In vociferously advocating "united action" at this juncture, the Soviet revisionists, apart from trying to reassure their big and small valets and stabilizing their own camp, want also to draw others into their counter-revolutionary orbit and turn them into traitors to the revolutionary cause of the world's people, accomplices of U.S. imperialism and hangmen suppressing the rev-

olution. Naturally, Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people will never take part in such "united action."

Again, in this so-called "resolution," the Soviet revisionist clique rabidly attacks China and our great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung. This exposes still further the nefarious counter-revolutionary features of this handful of renegades.

The Soviet revisionists go into hysterical fit and furiously attack China every time they are exposed in their criminal betrayal of the revolutionary movement of the world's people. This has become a rule with them. Renegades are submissive knaves before the enemies of the people, but fierce and full of hatred towards the revolutionary people.

The great Lenin has pointed out: **"Marx earned the honour of incurring the hatred of these disreputable persons by openly branding them as traitors."** It is an honour for the Chinese people to have incurred the hatred of the Soviet revisionist renegades. Revolutionary people cannot coexist with renegades.

Why have the Soviet revisionists made the Middle East events an issue for attacking China? Simply because the Chinese people, armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, steadfastly stand by the Arab people, resolutely support their war against aggression and firmly unmask the Soviet revisionists as renegades who have sold out the Arab people. They have thus hit the Soviet revisionists where it hurts most and that is what has made them wild with rage.

What do they mean by "slander campaign"? Can they deny the facts we have revealed? How can they forbid others from speaking up when they themselves are rotten to the core? Since they have committed counter-revolutionary acts of betrayal, the Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people of the world are determined to expose them thoroughly, grab them tightly, discredit and crush them. This is the unshirkable duty of all genuine revolutionaries.

Our great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung has pointed out: **"Counter-revolutionaries in disguise try to conceal their true features to give others a false impression. But since they are bent on opposing the revolution, it is impossible for them to cover up their true features completely."** The Soviet revisionist clique is an out-and-out counter-revolutionary clique. They have come out in their true features over the Middle East events and are now trying to cover them up again. But whatever disguise they adopt, whatever false appearance they present and whatever trickery they go in for, they cannot hide their real features as counter-revolutionaries, nor can they save themselves from their doom.

All revolutionary people in the world, including the Soviet people, will sweep away this gang of dirty and shameless renegades and scabs and toss them on to the garbage heap of history!

*("Renmin Ribao," June 26.)*

# RENEGADES' CONFESSION

by "RENMIN RIBAO" COMMENTATOR

**S**OVIET revisionist chieftain Kosygin's speech at the United Nations General Assembly is an involuntary confession by the Soviet revisionist clique of its betrayal of the Arab people.

Kosygin had the audacity to present the Soviet revisionist clique as a defender of the Arab people by brazenly claiming that it is "faithful to the principle of rendering aid to the victims of aggression" and "has resolutely come out in defence of the Arab countries." How shameful!

During the current Middle East events, the people of the whole world have seen clearly and drawn correct conclusions as to the principle the Soviet revisionist clique is faithful to and the kind of people it has come out in defence of. Kosygin's speech has provided additional evidence in this respect.

Kosygin was obliged to admit that the Soviet revisionist clique had very early learnt that "the Israeli government had timed for the end of May a swift strike at Syria in order to crush it and then carry the fighting over into the territory of the United Arab Republic." This means that, although the Soviet revisionist clique clearly knew that a massive Israeli armed offensive against the Arab countries was imminent, it still joined U.S. imperialism in devoutly urging "restraint" on the Arab countries. Doesn't this precisely show that the Soviet revisionists are completely faithful to the principle of rendering aid to the aggressors and that they have resolutely come out in defence of the U.S. imperialists and their running dog, Israel, while betraying the Arab people?

Kosygin was also obliged to admit that "the greater part of the territory of Arab countries now actually occupied by Israel was seized after the Security Council took a decision on an immediate cessation of hostilities." In other words, the "ceasefire" resolutions concocted one after another by the Soviet revisionist clique in collusion with U.S. imperialism only served to bind the Arab people hand and foot and stop them from resisting aggression, while providing cover for Israel's expansion of its aggression. Doesn't this also show that the Soviet revisionists are completely faithful to the principle of rendering aid to the aggressors and that they have resolutely come out in defence of the U.S. imperialists and their running dog, Israel, while betraying the Arab people?

The Soviet revisionist clique's betrayal has caused heavy losses to the Arab people. But this betrayal is

far from finished. Kosygin's long trip to the United Nations was aimed at nothing less than a further betrayal of the Arab people in a big way.

It is general knowledge that Israel is an artificial creation of the U.S. imperialists through their manipulation in the United Nations and that it is an instrument of aggression threatening the independence and security of the Arab countries. Kosygin went so far as to disregard the will of the Arab people by describing Israel, a lackey of U.S. imperialism, as "an independent national state." This is not all. He even openly advertised that "if Israel had any claims against its neighbours, it should have come here to the United Nations and here searched for a settlement, by peaceful means." So that's how it is! Israel may make "claims" against the Arab countries, provided that they have to be made at the United Nations in the presence of the United States and the Soviet Union who would act as arbitrators. This precisely shows that the convening of the U.N. meeting as asked for by the Soviet revisionist clique is aimed not at all at safeguarding the interests of the Arab people, but at realizing Israel's "claims" against its neighbours through so-called "peaceful means."

Kosygin clamoured that in the settlement of the Middle East situation "much depends on the efforts of the big powers" and that the big powers could find a "common language." Needless to say, in the eyes of the Soviet revisionists, the "big powers" are, first of all, U.S. and British imperialism which, even Kosygin is now compelled to admit, have given "support" and "encouragement" to Israel in its armed aggression against the Arab countries. That being the case, isn't it clear what kind of "common language" such "big powers" and their accomplice, the Soviet revisionist clique, can find and what kind of "ruling" these "big powers" will make through their "efforts"?

Obviously, the Soviet revisionist clique wants to go on working hand in glove with U.S. and British imperialism to oppress the Arab countries by making use of the United Nations and to allow U.S. and British imperialism to make their re-entry into the Middle East under the signboard of the United Nations. In other words, the Soviet revisionist clique wants to remain faithful to the principle of rendering aid to the aggressors, resolutely to come out in defence of U.S. imperialism and its lackey, Israel, and to go on betraying the Arab people so that the Soviet revisionists may share some of the spoils.

The Soviet revisionist clique is a gang of rank renegades. They adhere to the renegade principle of selling out the interests of the revolutionary people of the world and of wagging their tails to ask for pity before imperialism. They are trying hard to hide their crimes

of betrayal for the sole purpose of committing bigger betrayals. But no matter how cunning they may be, they cannot escape the fate they deserve as renegades.

(“Renmin Ribao,” June 24.)

## KOSYGIN'S RENEGADE LOGIC

by “RENMIN RIBAO” COMMENTATOR

**T**HE chieftain of the Soviet revisionist clique, Kosygin, in his speech at the emergency session of the U.N. General Assembly pounded away his trash about “the need to prevent a military disaster.” He drivelled that a “seemingly small event” may “escalate into a major military clash” and that “if a new world war starts it would invariably be” a “disastrous” nuclear war.

Far from being anything new, all this is taken from Khrushchov's junk which has long become mouldy. Now Kosygin has picked them up and is trying to peddle them at the top of his voice. Why?

It is very clear that Kosygin is trying to defend the crimes of the Soviet revisionist clique for selling out the Arab people at the critical moment when U.S. imperialism and its lackey Israel committed aggression against the Arab countries. Kosygin wants to make the Arab people and the people of the whole world believe that the Soviet revisionist clique refrained from supporting the Arab people's resistance to the aggressors merely to avoid the outbreak of a nuclear war and free the Arab people from the “disasters” of such a war. That is to say, the Soviet revisionist clique had to betray the Arab people out of its good intentions to protect them! This is downright renegade logic.

This is not all. Kosygin also wants to use this nonsense as a theoretical basis for carrying out further betrayal. He tries to mislead the Arab people and the people of the whole world into believing that, by staking their interests, the Soviet revisionist clique is making deals with U.S. imperialism in order to prevent the outbreak of a “disastrous” nuclear war and to eliminate the “hotbed of war.” This amounts to saying that, to free the world from “disaster,” not only should the Arab people tolerate humiliation and place themselves at the tender mercy of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism, but the Vietnamese people and the people of other countries also should endorse wholeheartedly the global transactions of the U.S. imperialists and Soviet revisionists. This is even more brazen renegade logic.

By spreading the fallacy of “nuclear holocaust,” Kosygin is in fact shamelessly carrying out, in coordination with U.S. imperialism, nuclear blackmail against the Arab people and the people of the world. According to Kosygin's arguments, the people of all the countries not yet independent must tolerate imperialist and colonialist oppression and enslavement; anyone who takes up arms and carries out revolutionary armed struggle would risk self-destruction from the nuclear weapons in the hands of the U.S. imperialists and Soviet revisionists. Furthermore, the people of all the countries already independent must in no way resist aggression by imperialism and its lackeys; anyone who rises in a war against aggression would also face the peril of being destroyed by the nuclear weapons in the hands of the U.S. imperialists and Soviet revisionists. What is this if not outright nuclear blackmail?

But Kosygin and his like are merely day-dreaming. The nuclear monopoly of Soviet revisionism and U.S. imperialism has long gone bankrupt. Even during the years when the United States and the Soviet Union maintained their nuclear monopoly and paraded as the nuclear overlords, the people of many countries refused to be intimidated; they had risen in revolution and scored one victory after another. Is it not downright stupidity for Kosygin to try and scare the revolutionary people of the world by brandishing nuclear weapons today when the nuclear monopoly of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism has been broken?

The tricks Kosygin plays are a mixture of deception and intimidation.

**Our great leader Chairman Mao said: “We must be clear-headed, that is, we must not believe the ‘nice words’ of the imperialists nor be intimidated by their bluster.”** This is true in dealing with both imperialism and modern revisionism. This truth is being grasped more firmly by the revolutionary people of the whole world. Kosygin can scare no one no matter how boastfully he talks or what fierce mien he tries to put on. Relying on their own strength, the people of all countries will carry on an undaunted struggle and completely defeat U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.

(“Renmin Ribao,” June 25.)



# Congratulations on China's First H-Bomb Explosion

## Greetings From Comrade Sanmugathanan

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China has received a warm message of congratulations on the successful explosion of China's first hydrogen bomb sent by **N. Sanmugathanan, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ceylon**, on behalf of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ceylon.

The message reads in full as follows:

On behalf of the Communist Party of Ceylon, we salute the great Chinese people, the Chinese Communist Party and their beloved leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung on their great victory in exploding a hydrogen bomb. This is a great victory of the practical application of Mao Tse-tung's thought and has greatly encouraged all oppressed peoples struggling for liberation from imperialist powers. The possession of advanced nuclear power in the hands of the People's Republic of China is a great force for peace in the world and a deterrent against the bullying, intimidation and aggression of small and underdeveloped peoples by the imperialist powers, particularly U.S. imperialism. The increase of nuclear power in the hands of the People's Republic of China has further shifted the world balance of forces in favour of the forces standing for genuine peace, people's democracy, national liberation and socialism. We have no doubt that this further increase in nuclear power of the People's Republic of China will lead to the further disintegration of world imperialism, leading to its total collapse; and that it will spur the revolutionaries all over the world to make the world revolution a success.

## Greetings From Comrade Gotfred Appel

The Communist Working Circle of Denmark sent a message, over the signature of Gotfred Appel, to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, extending its warmest congratulations on the successful explosion of China's first hydrogen bomb. The message said that the success is "a new evidence of the

creative force which the great proletarian cultural revolution has unleashed in the Chinese people, a new victory of the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung."

The message pointed out that imperialism, modern revisionism and all the reactionaries oppose China's developing of nuclear weapons. But, the message said, "Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of the proletariat and revolutionary people of the whole world, says, 'We should support whatever the enemy opposes and oppose whatever the enemy supports.'"

The message added, "All who seriously wish and fight for people's freedom and independence, for peace and socialism, regard China's nuclear weapon as a powerful contribution to their struggle, as a strengthening of the joint front against imperialism, headed by the U.S.A., as a new contribution by the Chinese people to the defence of world peace and to the prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons."

## Greetings From President Nguyen Huu Tho

Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the Government of the People's Republic of China, have received the following message from **Nguyen Huu Tho, President of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation**, offering warm congratulations on China's successful explosion of its first hydrogen bomb:

On the occasion of China's successful explosion of its first hydrogen bomb, on behalf of the south Vietnamese people, the Central Committee of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, and in my own name, I wish to extend our warmest congratulations to you, the Chairman, and to the Government of the People's Republic of China and the entire fraternal Chinese people.

This great victory is a leap forward in the swift development of China's science and technology. It deals a heavy blow at the U.S. imperialists' policies of aggression and nuclear blackmail. It is a great encouragement and support to the south Vietnamese people, who are carrying out the war against U.S. imperialism and for national salvation, and is a very pre-

scious contribution to the struggle for national liberation and to the safeguarding of the cause of world peace.

We feel elated and encouraged by this new and brilliant achievement of the fraternal Chinese people. We wish to extend our warm commendation to all the cadres, fighters, engineers, workers and technicians who have been engaged in the work of manufacture and testing.

May the Chinese people scale still higher peaks in nuclear science and technology.

## Statement by Comrade V.G. Wilcox

Comrade V.G. Wilcox, General Secretary of the Communist Party of New Zealand, in a June 20 statement, hails China's successful explosion of its first hydrogen bomb. "Such a momentous achievement is both a tribute to and proof of the great power of the thought of Mao Tse-tung," the statement says.

"By breaking the United States-Soviet nuclear monopoly, China's success cannot but be a cause of great jubilation among the oppressed and exploited of the world," the statement notes.

It continues: "It is a signal of the mighty advances in science and production to which the flowering of the cultural revolution has led, dispelling at one stroke all the Western propaganda fantasies of a China in chaos.

"It is a signal that the great masses of the Chinese people, inspired and aroused by Mao's teachings, are determined to keep China in an impregnable bastion of socialism, a fortress of the international working class and the national-liberation movement.

"The Communist Party of New Zealand declares that China's nuclear advance immensely strengthens the forces of peace, those anti-imperialist masses whose militant struggles stand in the way of unlimited United States aggression in Vietnam and elsewhere.

"China's reaffirmation of its intent never to be the first to use atomic weapons and to work for their total abolition demonstrates that its development of nuclear power is for defensive purposes alone. It stands in the sharpest contrast to the aggressive policy of nuclear blackmail pursued by United States imperialism. It thoroughly refutes the lying claims of both Washington and Moscow that China is aggressive and expansionist.

"The Communist Party of New Zealand hails China's success as a powerful rebuff to those aggressive forces, headed by United States imperialism, who are seeking to plunge the people into a new world war.

"China's H-bomb is a real deterrent to such forces. It is also a rallying call to the peoples to exert new

efforts to bridle the aggressors and really eliminate the war danger by ending the system of imperialism from which it stems," the statement concludes.

## Greetings From President Sekou Toure

Chairman Mao Tse-tung has received a message from **Sekou Toure, President of the Republic of Guinea**, warmly greeting the success of China's first hydrogen bomb explosion:

"We have learned of your latest H-bomb test, which we salute with joy. We congratulate you warmly on this success, which is a sure guarantee for the building up of prosperous and independent countries where the labouring people will live in happiness and peace. We acclaim the determination of People's China to carry on the fight for the destruction of imperialism, reaffirm the solidarity of the Guinean people, Government and Party with you, and express our conviction that the co-operation existing between our two countries will be strengthened."

## Greetings From Samdech Sihanouk

Premier Chou En-lai has received the following message from **Samdech Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia**, offering warm congratulations on China's successful explosion of its first hydrogen bomb:

We have been very happy to learn of the great success achieved by China in the explosion of its first hydrogen bomb. On behalf of the Cambodian people, and of the Royal Government and in my own name, I wish to express our immense admiration and our warmest congratulations to the scientists, engineers and all those who have contributed to the success of this historic achievement.

We share in the pride felt by our Chinese brothers in the face of an event which incontrovertibly places the People's Republic of China on a level with the greatest scientific powers in the world. The developing Afro-Asian and Latin American countries draw tremendous encouragement from the fact that China, our friend, by relying on its own resources has arrived at a mastery of nuclear energy in only a few short years.

In conclusion, we once again pay tribute to the peaceful aspirations of China, which has renewed its assurances that it will never be the first to use its weapons of mass destruction. In this respect, the Chinese hydrogen bomb has strengthened the confidence of all anti-imperialist countries which are opposed to the aggression and nuclear blackmail of the American war-mongers. With all our best wishes for the success of the Chinese people guided by Mao Tse-tung's thought, I assure you of my highest considerations.

## Greetings From French Communist Movement (M-L)

The Political Bureau of the French Communist Movement (Marxist-Leninist) has sent a message to the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese Government and the Chinese people, warmly greeting China's successful hydrogen bomb explosion.

The message says: "June 17, 1967 will be a memorable date in the history of the people's liberation from the imperialist yoke.

"On that date, the People's Republic of China, guided by the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, successfully exploded an H-bomb of very great force.

"While the United States and the Soviet Union conducted hundreds of atmospheric atomic tests to attain this result, China did so after six tests in only a little more than two years' time.

"This strikingly demonstrates that the Chinese people, relying on their own strength and motivated by remarkable revolutionary spirit, advance with giant strides to master all fields of science and technology.

"This is a great victory of the proletarian cultural revolution and Mao Tse-tung's thought."

The message said that China's successful H-bomb explosion served as a vivid proof that the great proletarian cultural revolution stimulates production.

It added: "The U.S. imperialists and the Soviet revisionists tremble at the extraordinary success of the Chinese people which definitely smashes the nuclear blackmail they use to oppose the revolutionary development of the whole world.

"At the moment when Johnson and Kosygin are meeting in Washington to form a veritable counter-revolutionary holy alliance, the successful explosion of the thermo-nuclear bomb thwarts their sinister plot against the people struggling for their liberation."

"The French Communist Movement (Marxist-Leninist)," the message said, "warmly congratulates the scientific researchers, technicians, workers, soldiers and all the Chinese people on their immense contribution to the liberation of the oppressed peoples and to the defence of world peace.

"The Political Bureau expresses its profound admiration, its immense gratitude to the Chinese Communist Party and its Chairman Comrade Mao Tse-tung."

## Greetings From Comrade Franz Strobl

The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party has received a message from **Franz Strobl, First Secretary of the Marxist-Leninist Party of Austria,**

greeting China's success in exploding its first hydrogen bomb.

The message said: "Inspired by the new great victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought, the Marxist-Leninist Party of Austria extends fraternal fighting salutations."

## Greetings From Prince Souphanouvong

Premier Chou En-lai has received the following message of greetings from **Prince Souphanouvong, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Neo Lao Haksat,** extending the warmest congratulations on the successful explosion of China's first hydrogen bomb:

On behalf of the Laotian people and the Neo Lao Haksat, and in my own name, I extend the warmest congratulations to you, the Chinese Government, the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and the fraternal Chinese people on the occasion of the successful explosion of China's first hydrogen bomb.

In over two years' time, China has successfully exploded atom bombs, a nuclear weapon containing thermo-nuclear materials, a guided missile nuclear weapon and the hydrogen bomb.

This great achievement is a new progress in the development of China's nuclear weapons and has further strengthened its national defence. This is an important contribution to the struggle of the people the world over against U.S.-led imperialism and a contribution to world peace.

The Laotian people are jubilant over this great victory and look upon it as a tremendous encouragement to their own cause against U.S. aggression and for national salvation.

We hereby extend sincere congratulations to the heroic Chinese people, scientific and technical personnel, brother and sister workers and the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

## Greetings From Comrade Jacques Grippa

In the name of the **Political Bureau of the Belgian Communist Party, Jacques Grippa, Secretary of its Central Committee,** has sent the following message to the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, warmly acclaiming China's success in exploding its first hydrogen bomb:

"On the occasion of the successful explosion of the first hydrogen bomb developed by the People's Republic of China, our Party extends its warm, fraternal congratulations to the Chinese Communist Party, to the



workers, engineers, technicians and scientific workers who have devoted their energies to this task, to the People's Liberation Army, to the Chinese working class, and to China's revolutionary people, on this new and great victory on the front of scientific experimentation as well as on the fronts of class struggle and production.

"This is a great victory for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the Chinese proletarian revolution, for the creative application of the revolutionary line of the Chinese Communist Party, for Marxism-Leninism and for Mao Tse-tung's thought.

"This is a great victory scored by the revolutionary people of China by relying on their own resources and by surmounting all difficulties in the face of imperialist aggression and provocation and the base treachery of Khrushchov, and of his accomplices and successors.

"This is a great victory which deals a blow at U.S. imperialism, at its accomplices and lackeys, its revisionist collaborators centred around the group that has usurped power in the Soviet Union, and at the U.S.-Soviet nuclear menace and blackmail.

"Our Party is highly appreciative of the fact that the Chinese Government reaffirms its solemn guarantee, according to which at no time and in no circumstances will China be the first to use nuclear weapons and that as in the past, the Chinese people and Government will, together with all the other peace-loving people and countries of the world, continue to make every effort to achieve the complete prohibition and total destruction of nuclear weapons."

## Statement by the Chilean Revolutionary Communist Party

China's successful hydrogen bomb explosion is a brilliant victory of the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, said a statement issued by the Executive Committee of the Chilean Revolutionary Communist Party.

The achievement "is a heavy blow at the U.S. imperialists and their partners the Soviet revisionists," the statement said. It is as well "a vigorous support for the Vietnamese and Arab peoples now fighting against U.S. imperialism."

"China's hydrogen bomb is a weapon in the hands of the world's people," the statement added.

## Greetings From the "June 14th" Revolutionary Movement of the Dominican Republic

The Chinese Communist Party has received a cable from the Central Committee of the "June 14th"

**Revolutionary Movement of the Dominican Republic** congratulating China on the successful explosion of its first hydrogen bomb.

The cable stated: "We send warm congratulations to the glorious Chinese people and the great leader of the Chinese Party Comrade Mao Tse-tung on another inspiring achievement in your nuclear tests. This is a heavy blow to imperialism, the reactionaries of all countries and modern revisionism, and a tremendous encouragement to the struggle by the revolutionary people of Asia, Africa and Latin America."

## Greetings From U.S. Progressive Labor Party

Chairman Mao Tse-tung has received a cable from the National Committee of the U.S. Progressive Labor Party greeting China's successful explosion of its first hydrogen bomb. The message reads:

Congratulations on historic H-bomb test. This is a blow against imperialism and revisionism. It is a big victory for the cultural revolution and the revolutionary people around the world. This is additional proof of the invincibility of Marxism-Leninism. U.S. revolutionaries are inspired by the additional strengthening of China which is guided by Mao Tse-tung's thought, main base of world revolution.

## Greetings From Comrade Fosco Dinucci

The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party has received a message from Fosco Dinucci, General Secretary of the Italian Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), praising China's first hydrogen bomb.

The message said: "In the name of the Central Committee and all members of the Italian Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), and in the name of the Italian working class, peasantry and the masses of the people, we enthusiastically congratulate you on the successful H-bomb explosion. This is another great victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought and for your great proletarian cultural revolution. Your successful H-bomb test decisively shatters the nuclear monopoly of the imperialists and the Khrushchov revisionists, smashes their nuclear blackmail, and deals a heavy blow at the U.S. imperialist plan of aggression and at the plots of revisionism. Your successful H-bomb test constitutes an immense assistance to the liberation struggle of the people of all countries and the socialist revolution throughout the world."

(To be continued.)

# 50,000 Workers Strike in Hongkong

COMMENCING June 24, fifty thousand workers from 20 shipping, bus, tram, ferry, public utilities, dockyard and textile industry trade unions, staged a big joint strike. Joining forces with 10,000 Chinese workers in British organizations and some British-run enterprises who began 14 days earlier and who have carried on their strike since (see *Peking Review*, No. 25, 1967), they have formed a mighty force of strikers against British imperialism and its repressive violence. *Renmin Ribao* Commentator on the same day published an article describing the big joint strike as "a powerful fist serving a telling blow at moribund British imperialism." The article called on Hongkong workers and patriotic countrymen "to carry out strikes and to stop business on a broad scale and make use of all effective means to hit British imperialism hard and let it taste more of the iron fist of the Chinese working class."

## Powerful Counter-Attack at British Imperialism

This formidable counter-attack against vicious British imperialism was launched by Hongkong's working class who hold aloft the great red banner of the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung. To obstruct and sabotage the big strike, the British authorities in Hongkong resorted to innumerable repressive measures. But they were rebuffed by the workers who thus were able to go on strike as scheduled. For instance, although large numbers of "riot police" were sent to the two bus companies in Hongkong and Kowloon and the tram company to force the workers to go on the job, 1,150 of the two companies' 1,256 buses and more than 70 of the 100-odd trams stopped running that day. No less than 90 per cent of the lorry drivers and 85 per cent of the taxi drivers also went on strike; the former refused to deliver bread, canned food and other provisions to the "governor's house" and other "government" institutions. Prior to this, during the 14-day 10,000-man strike, while the colonialists got no milk, 17,000 pounds of it turned sour and the British owners were forced to dump it.

Three times the marine police tried to intercept tugs carrying Yaumati Ferry Company strikers ashore, but their scheme was frustrated by the seamen. On one occasion, the seamen drove the tugs full speed

towards two enemy boats head-on. One of the latter was loaded with armed thugs, and both hastily changed course and fled. The ferry workers were put ashore and joined the big strike. Because the "Star" ferry workers had gone on strike a fortnight ago (daily income has fallen more than 80 per cent), sea traffic between Hongkong and Kowloon was in a fix.

According to a June 24 Hsinhua dispatch, the loading and unloading of ocean-going ships came to a standstill and was adversely affecting Hongkong's import-export trade which is one of the sinews of the economy. At the Taikoo and Kowloon dockyards, the biggest of their kind run by British capital, all work stopped on ship building and repairs. Workers of three British monopoly enterprises—the electric, light and power and telephone companies—also put down their tools; outdoor repair and maintenance work were completely suspended.

The big strike has fired the militant spirit of patriotic compatriots in all walks of life. Thousands and thousands of them throughout Hongkong and Kowloon have cheered it on. Huge slogans saying "Support the big joint strike!" "Hail the new action!" appeared everywhere on the streets. They gave their firmest support to the revolutionary action of the working class which is the main force in the struggle. In "Victoria Gardens," an effigy symbolizing British imperialism was hung on a flagpole for flying the Union Jack for all to see. Big slogans also appeared on "King's Road," the busiest place in the North Point district. Just in front of the local branch of the Hongkong & Shanghai Banking Corporation, there were 17 extra large Chinese characters in white paint which read: "Support the big strike! Blood debts must be repaid in blood! Unleash the campaign to hate, despise and scorn the enemy, completely discredit the British Hongkong authorities!" This was thus far the biggest slogan of its kind to be seen in Hongkong and Kowloon. Huge slogans of "Long live Chairman Mao!" were everywhere.

## Heavy Blows at British Imperialism

In the fortnight beginning June 10, the day the 10,000-man strike started, the reactionary rule of the

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## Premier Chou En-lai Condemns the British Government

**A**T the return banquet given in Peking by President Kaunda of the Republic of Zambia on the evening of June 24, Premier Chou En-lai made a speech in which he sternly denounced the British Government and the British authorities in Hongkong for their series of large-scale brutal suppression of our patriotic compatriots there.

Holding aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, he said, our patriotic countrymen in Hongkong have waged heroic struggles against the British imperialists and unfolded a vigorous mass movement of hating, despising and scorning British imperialism so as to thoroughly expose the towering crimes committed by the British imperialists in Hongkong over the last hundred-odd years. The working class, young students, peasants, fishermen and other patriotic Chinese in Hongkong are becoming more united, getting organized to form a mighty force against imperialism and imperialist atrocities. Today, they have begun a gigantic strike in protest against imperialism and its atrocities. We pledge our firm support to them.

Hongkong and Kowloon have always been Chinese territory, the Premier pointed out. All the legitimate rights of our patriotic countrymen in Hong-

kong, particularly their sacred right to study and propagate Mao Tse-tung's thought, brook no encroachment whatsoever from anyone. The Chinese people, who have scored great victories in the world-shaking great proletarian cultural revolutionary movement, absolutely will not tolerate the ruthless persecution of their countrymen in Hongkong by British imperialism. The Chinese people are determined to give, in accordance with the needs of the situation, every support to their compatriots in Hongkong till final victory.

Hongkong's destiny, Premier Chou added, will be decided by our patriotic countrymen there and the 700 million Chinese people as a whole, definitely not by a handful of British imperialists. The British Government and the British authorities in Hongkong must become a bit more sober-minded. If they remain obstinate and refuse to come to their senses, if they, in disregard of the warnings of the Chinese Government and people, continue to carry out brutal suppression of our patriotic countrymen in Hongkong and insist on setting themselves against the Chinese people, then it is certain that they will receive even heavier punishment. They must bear all the responsibility for the grave consequences arising therefrom.

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fascist British authorities in Hongkong had already suffered heavy blows. The management of quite a few British organizations there were rendered ineffective, many departments were paralyzed, and Hongkong's economic crisis had further developed.

Since early May, over 1,000 million Hongkong dollars in savings deposits had been drawn out in banks run by foreign capital. There were spasmodic halts in buying and selling on the stock exchange; the average price of 20 main kinds of stock dropped by 18 per cent, causing a devaluation totalling 760 million Hongkong dollars. The price of gold has soared sharply and the amount sold daily is four times the normal figure, owing to the local residents' lack of confidence in Hongkong's currency. Transactions in real estate, the main buttress of revenue for the British authorities, have reached an impasse. Capital outflow to date has amounted to 1,000 million Hongkong dollars. The tourist trade is in a state of depression; as there were few incoming tourists, income drawn by the British authorities from this source has declined steeply.

On the other hand, the British authorities have allocated large sums in "special allowances" to policemen and other "government employees" in the hope of encouraging them to continue their service. This has caused expenditures to go up by leaps and bounds and

has disrupted the British authorities' financial plan. Continuation of this big strike will bring about a financial crisis.

Politically, the "dignity" and "prestige" of the British colonial rulers in Hongkong have been shattered and they have been completely exposed as paper tigers. Thus, "governor" Trench has been revealed as the hangman he is; people have started calling British colonial officials names and condemning the British authorities in the "courtroom"; their "emergency decrees" have been ignored, and even the sentry-box outside the "governor's house" was plastered with big-character posters denouncing British atrocities.

The 10,000-man big strike also pushed the struggle against British imperialism and its atrocities into a new phase. On the fourth and fifth day of the strike, 20,000 fishermen held a big demonstration at sea while peddlers in five different lines, including vegetables and meat, and fruit vendors, from more than 20 market-places in Hongkong, took joint action to quit the market.

### Both Old and New Scores Must Be Settled

Bankrupt British imperialism now is still carrying on a mad struggle in Hongkong. On the eve of the current big joint strike, large numbers of troops, poli-

cemen, "riot police" and plain-clothes agents raided the Federation of Rubber and Plastic Trade Unions in Kowloon, killed a Chinese worker, wounded several others and unwarrantedly arrested scores of them. Investigation showed that among the arrested two were murdered in prison. The following day, the "riot police" injured and arrested more than a dozen demonstrators in Sha Tau Kok, Kowloon. They also threw tear gas bombs over to our side and caused injuries to more than 30 Chinese citizens. In regard to this matter, the Chinese Foreign Ministry lodged the most serious and vehement protest.

This is yet another crime committed and a new debt owed by the British authorities to the Chinese people, following the murder of our three patriotic com-

patriots on June 8. The crimes of the British authorities in Hongkong in the past hundred years are too numerous to detail. Many workers, peasants, fishermen, and peddlers have recently accused them of these crimes.

Right now, a mighty force to oppose British imperialism and its atrocities is being formed with the working class as the main force, and is being participated in by broad sections of patriotic compatriots. Acting on the strategic and tactical ideas of the great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung on people's war, they are, with great flexibility, launching powerful offensives against the fascist British authorities in the political, economic and cultural fields in Hongkong, Kowloon and the New Territories.

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### **Foreign Ministry Note:**

## **Lodging the Most Serious and Vehement Protest With The British Government**

**V**ICE-MINISTER of Foreign Affairs Lo Kuei-po on the morning of June 26 summoned British Charge d'Affaires in China Donald C. Hopson and handed him a note lodging the most serious and vehement protest with the British Government against the new armed suppression of patriotic Chinese workers and residents committed by British authorities in Hongkong on June 23 and against the suppression of the demonstrators in Sha Tau Kok, Kowloon, by the "riot police" on June 24.

The Chinese Government and people, the note declares, strongly condemn the British authorities in Hongkong for these frenzied provocations and fascist atrocities.

The note points out: "In disregard of the repeated warnings from the Chinese Government and people, the British authorities in Hongkong have again and again resorted to sanguinary suppression of our patriotic countrymen in Hongkong since last May. To date, seven of our patriotic countrymen have been barbarously murdered by the troops and police of the British authorities in Hongkong and more than 1,400 have been unwarrantedly arrested or sentenced, among whom many were most savagely tortured by the police of the British authorities in Hongkong. Even now, the British Government and the British authorities in Hongkong are still clamouring for a further expansion of their fascist suppression of our patriotic countrymen.

"Faced with the flagrant provocation and ruthless persecution by the British authorities in Hongkong, the Hongkong workers are at the end of their forbearance. They have solemnly declared a big joint strike starting from June 24 to defend national dignity and to hit back at the suppression carried out by the British authorities in Hongkong. Their action is just and has the firm support of the people of the whole country. The Chinese Government demands that the British Government immediately instruct the British authorities in Hongkong to accept in good faith all the just demands of our patriotic workers and patriotic countrymen of all circles in Hongkong, and immediately fulfil the five solemn and just demands raised by the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs in its statement of May 15.

"The situation in Hongkong has developed to a grave stage now. This has wholly been created by the British Government and the British authorities in Hongkong. If the British authorities in Hongkong pay no heed to the warnings from the Chinese Government and people and continue to persecute our patriotic countrymen in Hongkong, they will only aggravate their crimes. The Chinese Government must seriously warn the British Government: the debts of blood you owe to the Chinese residents in Hongkong must be repaid. The greater the debt, the heavier the repayment. And there is absolutely no escape from it."



# Down With Slavishness; Strictly Observe Proletarian Revolutionary Discipline

by LIN CHIEH

## I

**R**EVOLUTION, struggle, and criticism — this is the essence of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought. In the revolutionary cause of the proletariat, every revolutionary must have a militant, revolutionary style and an indomitable, fearless spirit. Slavishness, however, urges people to bow in submission to the lords of the exploiting classes and meekly accept adversity; it allows only absolute obedience and tolerates no questioning whatsoever.

In order to push his counter-revolutionary revisionist political line, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road introduced slavishness, which is thoroughly reactionary, into the Party in a vain attempt to liquidate the revolutionary spirit of Party members and turn them into docile tools of his opposition to the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. In that big poisonous weed of a book on "self-cultivation" of Communists, and in his other statements, he gave slavishness the force of law, and exalted it as a precept for Communists in their "cultivation of Party spirit." He said:

"We stand for absolute subordination organizationally." "Any subordination with conditions attached is incorrect." "It is incorrect . . . to take as the condition for subordination . . . that superiors or the majority must first be correct in principle and politically."

"You must obey even if the great majority and superiors or the Central Committee are actually wrong"; "the principle of democratic centralism stipulates that whatever is endorsed or decided upon by the great majority, the superiors or the Central Committee must be obeyed, even though it may be wrong."

This is slavishness, pure and simple!

Chairman Mao long ago made a penetrating criticism and repudiation of slavishness. Shortly after the publication of the book on "self-cultivation," Chairman Mao stated in his brilliant work *Rectify the Party's Style of Work*: "Communists must always go into the whys and wherefores of anything, use their own heads and carefully think over whether or not it corresponds to reality and is really well founded; on no account

should they follow blindly and encourage slavishness." During the great proletarian cultural revolution, when the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road brought out the bourgeois reactionary line, suppressing the masses cruelly and demanding absolute subordination from the proletarian revolutionaries to his counter-revolutionary revisionist leadership, Chairman Mao countered it point-blank by stating: "All erroneous leadership that endangers the revolution should not be accepted unconditionally but should be resisted resolutely."

Marxism-Leninism has always held that political correctness and correctness in principle are the prerequisite for organizational subordination. The proletariat's organizational line must be subordinated to its political line.

When Chairman Mao talked of observing the organizational principle of democratic centralism, he pointed out first of all that the Party leadership "must give a correct line of guidance."

Lenin formulated the problem in precisely the same manner. How is the iron discipline of the proletariat maintained? Lenin answered: first, "by the class consciousness of the proletarian vanguard and by its devotion to the revolution"; second, "by its closest contact . . . primarily with the proletariat, but also with the non-proletarian masses of working people"; third, "by the correctness of the political leadership exercised by this vanguard . . . provided the broad masses have seen, from their own experience, that they are correct."<sup>1</sup>

The supreme principle for Communists is revolution. Should any Party leader betray the revolutionary principle of the proletariat, we must rebel against him and never "subordinate absolutely and unconditionally." Sacrificing the Party's political principle while engaging in extravagant talk about organizational discipline means betrayal.

The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road claimed to be the "leader" of the Party. Should anyone fail to "subordinate absolutely and unconditionally" to him, he would produce the slaveowner's law and fire such charges as "disregarding organization and discipline," "disrupting democratic centralism," "resisting the will of the majority," "opposing the Party" and so on and so forth.

"Disrupting democratic centralism?" Ours is centralism based on extensive democracy. There can be no correct centralization without democracy. Centralization means the concentration of correct opinions. Only on this basis can there be unified thinking and action. Erroneous centralization runs counter to democratic centralism. Opposition to erroneous centralization absolutely does not mean opposition to democratic centralism. On the contrary, it upholds democratic centralism.

"The opinion of the great majority must be obeyed even though truth is in the hands of the minority?" Absolutely not. It is out-and-out opportunism to give up truth, to sell out principle and surrender to an incorrect "majority."

Chairman Mao teaches us: **"The supreme test of the words and deeds of a Communist is whether they conform with the highest interests and enjoy the support of the overwhelming majority of the people."** We must never discard this supreme test in order to obey a "majority." The "majority" which goes against the highest interests of the broadest sections of the masses is in fact a minority, a handful.

Chairman Mao says: **"Throughout history, new and correct things have often failed at the outset to win recognition from the majority of people and have had to develop by twists and turns in struggle."** When truth is with the minority, the minority should uphold it, fear no attack and unswervingly struggle for it. Our great leader Chairman Mao is a brilliant example. When he was attacked by the opportunists Chen Tu-hsiu, Li Li-san, Wang Ming and others by using the so-called majority, Chairman Mao constantly upheld the truth, persisted in a principled stand and waged uncompromising struggles against them. It was the same with Lenin. Stalin said: **"Lenin never became a captive of the majority, especially when that majority had no basis of principle. There have been times in the history of our Party when the opinion of the majority or the momentary interests of the Party conflicted with the fundamental interests of the proletariat. On such occasions Lenin would never hesitate and resolutely took his stand in support of principle as against the majority of the Party. Moreover, he did not fear on such occasions literally to stand alone against all, considering — as he would often say — that 'a policy based on principle is the only correct policy.'"**<sup>2</sup>

"Anti-Party?" For the great, glorious and correct Chinese Communist Party headed by the great leader Chairman Mao, we cherish boundless love. As for treacherous "leaders" who have betrayed the fundamental interests of the proletarian revolution, we must rebel against them and overthrow them. This is done precisely to safeguard the Party. It is those who usurped Party leadership who are one hundred per cent anti-Party elements.

In his immortal work *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*, Lenin called on the German workers **"to throw off the Scheidemanns and the Kautskys, to push aside such 'leaders,' to free themselves from their stultifying and debasing propaganda, to rise in revolt in spite of them, without them, and march over their heads towards revolution!"**<sup>3</sup> How well has Lenin put it! Proletarians of the whole world, rise up and resolutely throw off the Scheidemanns and Kautskys of today and kick aside all opportunist "leaders" of the "Khrushchov type!"

## 2

Our great leader Chairman Mao issued the great call in 1958 to break down fetishes and superstition, emancipate the mind and eliminate slavishness. The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road openly opposed Chairman Mao and propagated the reactionary theory of a "docile tool," demanding that Communists act as "docile tools" like slaves. This is slave-owner mentality pure and simple!

Slavishness is not the ideology of the slave class but the reactionary ideology used by the exploiting classes to deceive and make fools of the exploited classes. "Docility" is definitely not inherent in the slave class. Where there is exploitation and oppression, there is resistance and struggle.

Lenin said: **"The slave who is aware of his slavish condition and fights it is a revolutionary. The slave who is not aware of his slavish condition and vegetates in silent, unenlightened, and wordless slavery, is just a slave. The slave who drools when smugly describing the delights of slavish existence and who goes into ecstasies over his good and kind master is a grovelling boor."**<sup>4</sup>

Proletarian revolutionaries always warmly praise the soaring revolutionary spirit of the exploited classes and encourage them to rise and fight. But the exploiting classes, for their own purposes, always impose "docility" on the exploited classes and praise it as their "virtue." The fact that the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road has spared no efforts to propagate slavishness shows that he has completely taken the reactionary stand of the exploiting classes.

In order to peddle slavishness, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road even went so far as to distort at will the glorious history of our Party and viciously attack our great leader Chairman Mao. In December 1957 when he received the delegate of a certain Party, he said: "Even at the time of Chen Tu-hsiu's erroneous line, our Party was unified under Chen Tu-hsiu's line, and later unified under the 'Left' line. . . . Our Party has always kept its unity without a split and maintained Party discipline . . . that is to say, the Party always maintained unification regardless whether the Party's line was right or wrong."



This is an absolute lie!

The great Chinese Communist Party is a most militant and revolutionary proletarian political Party. Both in the period when the Party was controlled by the Right opportunist Chen Tu-hsiu and in the period when it was controlled by the "Left" opportunists Li Li-san and Wang Ming, Chairman Mao persisted in waging struggles and resolutely resisted their opportunist lines. Our Party has grown and become stronger in the course of the struggle between the revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and the "Left" and Right opportunist lines.

If the revisionist line assumes the dominant position in a Party, the proletarian revolutionaries should rise up resolutely in rebellion, they should overthrow the revisionist rule or build a new, Marxist-Leninist Party and absolutely should not unite under revisionist leadership.

In order to advocate reactionary slavishness, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road came out openly to smear the great Lenin. He said that before the October Revolution Lenin "did not make a break with the Second International organizationally."

This is a gross lie!

Did not Lenin make an open break with the opportunism of the Second International organizationally at the "Meeting of the Zimmerwald Left" held in 1915? Without this break with the opportunism of the Second International, the great victory of the October Socialist Revolution could not have been achieved at all.

### 3

The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road regards the "organizational discipline" of the bourgeoisie as sacred, while flagrantly violating the revolutionary discipline of the proletariat. He demands that all Party members "unconditionally and absolutely obey" his erroneous leadership which brings harm to the revolution. Yet with regard to the wise leadership of our great leader Chairman Mao and the correct decisions of the Party's Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, he feigns compliance while acting in opposition and refusing to implement them.

Soon after the outbreak of the War of Resistance Against Japan, our great leader Chairman Mao put forward the principle of "**independence and initiative within the united front**" to oppose class capitulationism. This great strategic idea of Chairman Mao was adopted at the meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party held in Lochuan, Shensi Province, in August 1937.

But what was the real attitude of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road towards this great directive of Chairman Mao and the decision of the Party's Central Committee? On February 5, 1938,

he clamoured for class capitulationism, saying that guerrilla warfare in all areas "in strategy must carry out the unified strategic aim of the Central Military Committee [the 'central' that he mentions here refers to the central authorities of the Kuomintang]. And in policy it must implement the unified anti-Japanese policy of the Central Government." He also said that all the anti-Japanese armed forces in north China "must be unified, as far as possible, under the direct command of the local, north China, and central supreme military commands." On July 10 of the same year, he wrote to Peng Chen, the ringleader of the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique of the old Peking Municipal Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. In the letter, he not only did not express any disagreement with the capitulationist fallacy of "everything through the united front" and "everything must be submitted to the united front" which Peng Chen advocated at the Party Congress of the Shansi-Chahar-Hopei Border Area, but he instructed Peng Chen to cater to the needs of the big warlord Yen Hsi-shan and to sing the same tune as Yen Hsi-shan.

Our great leader Chairman Mao published his works of genius *On Coalition Government* and *The Situation and Our Policy After the Victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan* before and after the victory of the war. Chairman Mao pointed out clearly that the policy of Chiang Kai-shek, the political representative of the big landlords and big bourgeoisie, was to fight civil war. He said that, with regard to the Kuomintang reactionaries, our policy was to give them "**tit for tat and to fight for every inch of land!**" Chairman Mao warned the whole Party and the whole army: "**If there is any opportunism during this period, it will lie in failing to struggle hard and in making a voluntary gift to Chiang Kai-shek of the fruits which should go to the people.**"

The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road heard these words of Chairman Mao and raised his hand in approval when Chairman Mao's political report *On Coalition Government* was adopted at the Seventh Party Congress. Yet, on August 28, 1945, he instructed the *Jiefang Ribao* to publish an editorial to spread illusions about peace, saying that "everyone, provided he is not a maniac, not an idiot, no matter what class or nationality he belongs to, will certainly ask for peace in the present situation."

On March 1, 1946, he made another report on problems concerning the current situation in which he asserted that "the instigators of civil war and the advocates for war have met with failure. The main form of the struggle of the Chinese revolution has become peaceful and parliamentary." In this report he advocated the so-called "six beliefs": "The belief that the civil war will come to an end," "the belief that the Kuomintang and Chiang Kai-shek will not fight us," "the belief that the Kuomintang and Chiang Kai-shek will carry out democratic reform," the belief that the Kuomintang and Chiang Kai-shek "will be able to carry out democratic

national construction together with us," "the belief that China will move to the new stage of peace and democracy," and the belief in the "statement of Truman," the chieftain of U.S. imperialism. On the basis of this, he also put forward the so-called "three exchanges": Hand over our army and "unify it under the Ministry of National Defence" in "exchange for democracy in the whole country;" hand over our Party power in "exchange for the legal status of our Party;" and hand over the fruits of victory won by the great Chinese people by their courageous struggle and sacrifices and bloodshed in exchange for "official positions, posts in the Central Government" for some persons and for "the 200,000-dollar U.S. loan."

This is out-and-out betrayal on a big scale!

What he said, had also been said on many occasions by U.S. imperialism and Chiang Kai-shek. U.S. imperialism had told us: "You should listen to Hurley and send a few men to be officials in the Kuomintang government." Chiang Kai-shek had stated that the Communist Party would have to turn over its army before it could acquire legal status. Chairman Mao seriously refuted these "nice words." Chairman Mao said: "It is no easy job to be an official bound hand and foot; we won't do it," "without a people's army the people have nothing" and "the arms of the people, every gun and every bullet, must all be kept, must not be handed over."

It is very clear that the "party spirit" spoken of by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road was the party spirit of the Kuomintang, the party spirit of the U.S. Democratic Party; the discipline he obeyed absolutely was what U.S. imperialism and Chiang Kai-shek called "military orders and administrative decrees."

He has a clear-cut stand: Being servile towards Harry Truman and Chiang Kai-shek, worthy of "a docile tool" full of slavish obedience; but showing the perverse arrogance of an overlord towards our great leader Chairman Mao and the revolutionary masses. This is the class essence of slavishness he advocated.

#### 4

Different classes have different types of organizational discipline. A person can obey only the organizational discipline of his own class. The proposition of obeying all organizational discipline unconditionally or opposing all organizational discipline is extremely false and deceptive.

Chairman Mao has instructed us: "Unified discipline is a necessary condition for the victory of the revolution." Sharp class struggle enables the proletariat to understand that only with strict organizational discipline is it possible to form a resolute and powerful contingent which will advance in step and which has a unified will. Only with strict organizational discipline is it possible to ensure the carrying out of the political line, to concentrate the force of the proletariat on a

common target of attack and to defeat a mighty enemy. When we oppose slavishness, we do not oppose at all subordination to Party organizational discipline. On the contrary, our intention is to strengthen the revolutionary organizational discipline of the proletariat.

We must firmly carry out and act completely in accordance with the organizational discipline of the Chinese Communist Party headed by the great leader Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Comrade Lin Biao and the wise instructions of the great leader Chairman Mao. Chairman Mao is the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era. Every sentence uttered by Chairman Mao is truth. Mao Tse-tung's thought is universal truth tested in revolutionary practice and is living Marxism-Leninism at its highest in the present era. Therefore we must act according to Chairman Mao's instructions whether or not we have already fully grasped its significance. We must establish the absolute authority of Mao Tse-tung's thought. This is the fundamental interests of the proletariat and our supreme discipline.

A proletarian party must have its own true outstanding leader and it is necessary to establish his absolute revolutionary authority throughout the party. Without this condition the party's discipline cannot become an iron discipline and there will be no guarantee for the victory of the party's cause. Lenin said: Without "influential party leaders," "the dictatorship of the proletariat, and its 'unity of will,' remain a phrase."<sup>5</sup> It is most fortunate for the Chinese people and for the revolutionary people all over the world that the Chinese Communist Party has such a great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman as Chairman Mao.

With regard to a leading organization which carries out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, it is necessary to safeguard its prestige and to uphold its authority. Its correct directives and decisions should be obeyed consciously and carried out resolutely. It is permissible to raise different opinions, if any, but it is absolutely impermissible to treat proletarian revolutionary discipline with the attitude used in dealing with revisionist organization and discipline. The criterion for whether to obey a directive or decision by a leading organization must be whether it conforms with the revolutionary interests of the proletariat and with Mao Tse-tung's thought. This must not be determined by one's own preferences: Carrying it out when one likes it and refusing to carry it out when it does not suit one. Observance of revolutionary organizational discipline cannot be opposed and taken as slavishness. To oppose all leadership, all authority, all organization and all discipline is an anarchist trend of thought. This must be criticized and repudiated resolutely.

Slavishness cannot be opposed with anarchism. Slavishness and anarchism on the surface seem exact opposites. But in essence they are linked together. They are both ideologies of the exploiting classes, and are both metaphysical and idealist in their world out-

look. Slavishness upholds blind faith instead of truth; anarchism advocates the doubting of everything and overthrowing of everything, while worship of anarchism as an absolute also means the denial of truth and upholding of blind faith. We are opposed to both slavishness and anarchism; and still more are we opposed to substituting anarchism which overthrows all political power and opposes all organizational discipline for slavishness. We must never go from one extreme to the other.

Anarchism, which advocates the doubting, overthrowing and negating of everything, is a reactionary idea propagated by the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. When they were in power they preached slavishness and used obscurantism in order to maintain their counter-revolutionary revisionist dictatorship. However, when they lost their power, they came out with anarchism in order to create confusion and oppose the dictatorship of the proletariat. For the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, slavishness and anarchism are, in essence, the same; both are ideological weapons they use to oppose the dictatorship of the proletariat and to safeguard revisionist rule.

We must use Mao Tse-tung's thought as the weapon to criticize and repudiate slavishness and to oppose anarchism. We must take a sniff at everything, not accept or reject it blindly. We must act according to Chairman Mao's teachings: **"We should always use our brains and think everything over carefully," "get rid of the blindness which exists to a serious extent in our Party," and "to learn the method of analysis and to cultivate the habit of analysis."** Everything must be tested by revolutionary practice and examined with Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Conscious observance of revolutionary discipline is necessary for the revolution.



# Guard Against Corruption by Bourgeois Ideology

"HONGQI" COMMENTATOR

**T**HE "Regulations of the Shantung Provincial Revolutionary Committee on Seriously Improving Style of Work" is a document which upholds the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought. It is of great general significance and should be examined and studied by all units where power has been seized, by all revolutionary leading cadres and all leading members of revolutionary mass organizations.

June 30, 1967

On the eve of nationwide victory in the Liberation War, Chairman Mao called this to the attention of the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country: **"It is necessary resolutely to overcome certain manifestations of indiscipline or anarchy existing in many places. There are people who, without authorization, modify the policies and tactics adopted by the Central Committee or other higher Party committees and apply extremely harmful policies and tactics, which go against the united will and discipline but which they opinionatedly believe to be correct. There are also people who, on the pretext of pressure of work, adopt the wrong attitude of neither asking for instructions before an action is taken nor submitting a report afterwards and who regard the area they administer as an independent realm. All this is extremely harmful to the interests of the revolution. Party committees at every level must discuss this matter again and again and work earnestly to overcome such indiscipline and anarchy so that all the powers that can and must be centralized will be concentrated in the hands of the Central Committee and its agencies."** We must bear this teaching of Chairman Mao's firmly in mind and resolutely oppose anarchism and resolutely struggle against every action which goes against the unified will and discipline of the Party and which therefore is extremely harmful.

*(A slightly abridged translation of an article published in "Renmin Ribao" on June 16.)*

1. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1966, Vol. 31, pp. 24-25.
2. J.V. Stalin, *Works*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1953, Vol. 6, pp. 59-60.
3. V.I. Lenin, op. cit., Vol. 28, p. 292.
4. *ibid.*, Vol. 13, p. 53.
5. *ibid.*, Vol. 32, p. 517.

The proletarian revolutionaries' seizure of power from the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road is a great victory and signifies a great change. Nevertheless, the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the socialist road and the capitalist road and between the proletarian revolutionary line and the bourgeois reactionary line has not come to an end, nor has it lessened; it is developing



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# Regulations on Seriously Improving Style of Work

Adopted by the Shantung Provincial Revolutionary Committee

Following Chairman Mao's great teachings that "our point of departure is to serve the people wholeheartedly and never for a moment divorce ourselves from the masses" and that "the comrades must be helped to remain modest, prudent and free from arrogance and rashness in their style of work. The comrades must be helped to preserve the style of plain living and hard struggle," the Shantung Provincial Revolutionary Committee adopted the "Regulations on Seriously Improving Style of Work" on June 7 at a time when the great proletarian cultural revolution is developing both in depth and breadth in the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the socialist road and the capitalist road and between the proletarian revolutionary line and the bourgeois reactionary line. The regulations are as follows:

1. It is forbidden to shower praise on members of the revolutionary committee. Big-character posters and slogans praising members of the committee are forbidden. In cases where such posters and slogans have been put up, efforts should be made to persuade the masses to have them covered over immediately.

2. No member of the revolutionary committee should make a public speech on behalf of the committee unless it is discussed collectively beforehand by the committee. No speech of a member of the committee should be recorded or printed without the approval of the committee.

3. When members of the revolutionary committee set out for a place or attend mass gatherings, there should be no formal welcomes and send-offs and no applauding at their arrival or departure. Members of

the committee may not be photographed or filmed without its approval.

4. Members of the revolutionary committee must devote a definite amount of time to doing physical labour.

5. Members of the revolutionary committee are not allowed to present gifts in their own name or accept gifts.

6. Generally, the names of revolutionary committee members should not appear in the press. Where it is necessary for their names to be printed in a newspaper, this must be done according to the stipulations set out by the Party Central Committee.

7. Members of the revolutionary committee should live simply. Extravagance is forbidden. They are not allowed to use for private purposes motor cars belonging to the organization. They should pay attention to economy when using cars on public business.

8. Members of the revolutionary committee should set aside a certain amount of time for interviews with the masses and should personally deal with letters from the people.

9. Members of the revolutionary committee should go among the masses regularly and, with an attitude of willingness to be the pupils of the people, call fact-finding meetings and forums to invite people's opinions and criticisms.

10. The revolutionary committee should undertake small rectification campaigns at fixed intervals (for instance, every two months). Representatives of the mass organizations should be invited to participate in each rectification campaign as and when necessary.

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in depth and breadth and in new forms. We must not be in any way negligent or rash; we must wage this struggle seriously.

Revolutionary committees at all levels are confronted with these tasks: They must hold fast to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, correctly distinguish and handle contradictions between ourselves and the enemy and contradictions among the people, win over and unite the vast majority of the masses and cadres, thoroughly criticize and repudiate the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and their evil influence, carry out the struggle-criticism-transformation in their own districts and departments, and consolidate and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat. To accomplish this, it is necessary to establish the absolute authority of Mao Tse-tung's thought, take a lead in creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's works, rid our minds of self-interest

and be alert at all times against corruption by bourgeois ideology.

On the eve of the nationwide victory in 1949, Chairman Mao taught us: "With victory, certain moods may grow within the Party — arrogance, the airs of a self-styled hero, inertia and unwillingness to make progress, love of pleasure and distaste for continued hard living. With victory, the people will be grateful to us and the bourgeoisie will come forward to flatter us. It has been proved that the enemy cannot conquer us by force of arms. However, the flattery of the bourgeoisie may conquer the weak-willed in our ranks. There may be some Communists, who were not conquered by enemies with guns and were worthy of the name of heroes for standing up to these enemies, but who cannot withstand sugar-coated bullets; they will be defeated by sugar-coated bullets. We must guard against such a situation." He also taught us: "The



**comrades must be helped to remain modest, prudent and free from arrogance and rashness in their style of work. The comrades must be helped to preserve the style of plain living and hard struggle."**

This was a warning to the whole Party and the entire army at that time; and it should also serve as a warning to proletarian revolutionaries today, and to the revolutionary cadres and leading members of revolutionary mass organizations who came forward in the struggle of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Among the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road who have been exposed so far, some were originally bad elements who hid in the Party. Others have turned bad since China was liberated, because they went counter to Chairman Mao's teachings. They grew conceited and complacent, assumed the airs of a self-styled hero, were unwilling to make progress, loved pleasure and disliked continued hard living. They welcomed flattery from the bourgeoisie. As a result, they were hit by the sugar-coated bullets of the bourgeoisie. What has occurred may help us guard against any future eventuality. This is a historical lesson that we should never forget.

The revolutionary cadres and leaders of revolutionary mass organizations who came forward in the struggle of the great proletarian cultural revolution, have also received thanks from the people and may also be flattered by some of the bourgeoisie. Under such circumstances, will they be staunch proletarian revolutionaries or become weak-willed? This is a new severe test.

If some people have the airs of a self-styled hero, consider themselves marvelous, prefer flattery and extravagant praise, become infected with individualism and seek the limelight, they will certainly divorce themselves from the masses and will not accept opinions different from their own, still less listen to criticism, and so make themselves deaf and blind. If they go on in this way they will confuse right and wrong and the enemy and ourselves. They will mistake the well-intentioned criticism of the masses for an attack by an enemy and

mistake for friends or even bosom friends people with ulterior motives who lavish praise on them. Thus they will turn into their opposite.

We must soberly recognize that a tremendous change has taken place: Suppressed in the past, we are now in positions of authority. If we ignore ideological remoulding, the petty individualism in our minds will certainly develop into big individualism. Lenin pointed out that small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie daily and hourly. This theory is also applicable to cadres and intellectuals of petty-bourgeois origin who have not remoulded themselves well and those who have many petty-bourgeois ideas. If they do not remould their ideology seriously and accept mass supervision, they will be in danger of becoming bourgeois elements once they are in the positions of authority. Better keep alert lest the undesirable happens. We must be highly vigilant and every day keep this problem in mind. We must think over our words and deeds. We must persist in what is correct and corresponds to Mao Tse-tung's thought and correct promptly what is incorrect and is at variance with Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Having grasped this problem, the Shantung Provincial Revolutionary Committee has put forward ten necessary measures. The regulations by no means deal with minor questions but important political questions of principle, questions concerning the formation of a proletarian, revolutionized leadership, questions about ensuring that Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line is carried out, questions about retaining the qualities of the proletariat.

This document of the Shantung Provincial Revolutionary Committee is good because it has put forward measures in good time to prevent corruption by bourgeois ideology. This question merits the attention of revolutionary committees at all levels, and of the revolutionary cadres and young revolutionary fighters who came forward in the struggle of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

(*"Hongqi,"* No. 10, 1967.)

# Hail the Victories of Mao Tse-tung's Line on Literature and Art

— The struggle between the two lines during the creation of 8 model  
revolutionary theatrical works

**P**EKING'S 37-day theatrical festival to commemorate the 25th anniversary of the publication of Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* ended in mid-June. It was a brilliant success, an impressive review of eight revolutionary model works

shining with the thought of Mao Tse-tung: the revolutionary Peking operas *Taking the Bandits' Stronghold*, *On the Docks*, *The Red Lantern*, *Shachiapang*, and *Raid on the White Tiger Regiment*; the ballets *The White-Haired Girl* and *The Red Detachment of Women*, and

the symphonic work *Shachiupang*. (See *Peking Review* No. 23, 1967, pp. 42-44, for pictorial pages.)

It marked a great victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought and a great victory for Chairman Mao's proletarian line on literature and art.

These model revolutionary theatrical works are revolutionary epics eulogizing the heroic struggle of the Chinese people guided by Mao Tse-tung's thought. They set a splendid example for the development of the new, proletarian literature and art.

Revolutionary in political content and highly satisfactory artistically, these eight model revolutionary theatrical works have been created in less than three years in the great socialist China of Mao Tse-tung's era. They put into the shade what passes for art under capitalism, feudalism and modern revisionism. They are a pioneering effort in the history of literature and art.

They are eloquent evidence of the boundless vitality of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art and the abounding creative talent of China's revolutionary writers and artists and workers, peasants and soldiers—armed, all of them, with Mao Tse-tung's thought.

In 1962, at the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, our great leader Chairman Mao gave the great call: **"Never forget class struggle."** These model revolutionary works have been created in the course of the sharp struggle which, in response to that call, revolutionary writers and artists have waged against the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists in literary and art circles and the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road who were backing them.

These theatrical works have a clear-cut political content that serves the workers, peasants and soldiers, proletarian politics and socialism and are impressive artistically. They have become a powerful weapon for protecting our socialist economic base and strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Our great leader Chairman Mao has always paid close attention to the struggle between the proletarian and bourgeois lines on the literary and art front. In his epoch-making, brilliant work *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* he creatively and with genius developed the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and theories on literature and art, formulated the most complete, thoroughgoing and correct Marxist-Leninist line on literature and art and proclaimed the start of a new era in the movement for a proletarian revolutionary literature and art.

On January 9, 1944, in a letter to the Yen-an Peking Opera Theatre, Chairman Mao gave some extremely important advice on the question of the revolution in the dramatic arts. **He urged theatrical workers to change the state of affairs in which, in the old operas,**

**the people were presented as though they were dirt and the stage was dominated by lords and ladies and their pampered sons and daughters. He called on them to reverse this reversal of history.**

After China's liberation, Chairman Mao personally led a series of important political struggles on China's literary and art front and put forward the important policies of **"letting a hundred flowers blossom and weeding through the old to let the new emerge"** and **"making the old serve the present and foreign things serve China."**

All these directives of Chairman Mao have solved a number of fundamental problems concerning literature and art and make up the supreme guiding principle for the cultural revolution in this field.

For a long time, however, the field of literature and art has been dominated by the counter-revolutionary revisionist line on literature and art represented by the counter-revolutionary revisionists Chou Yang, Chi Yen-ming, Hsia Yen and Lin Mo-han, and Chairman Mao's proletarian line on literature and art could not be carried through effectively.

Bad operas and plays in praise of emperors, kings, ministers, generals, scholars and beauties and portraying alien and so-called famous figures were presented on a wide scale. The art of drama was transformed into an instrument used by the bourgeoisie to undermine the economic base of socialism and pave the way for the restoration of capitalism.

The No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road is the chief backer of a handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists, monsters and demons in the field of literature and art and the biggest obstacle standing in the way of the revolution in the dramatic arts. He has opposed Chairman Mao's instructions on the revolution in the dramatic arts and publicly declared that "old operas have much educational significance." He heaped praise upon *Yang Yen-hui Visits His Mother*, an opera which disseminated a philosophy of treachery and survival. He complimented *Fierce Tiger Village*, which did all it could to prettify the lackeys of the feudal landlords, and a vulgar Peking opera *The Emperor Flirts With the Serving Maid*.

He opposed the principle of **"weeding through the old to let the new emerge."** In order to oppose Chairman Mao's great call to reverse the reversal of history, he put about such rumours as "literary and art circles are fond of these things. Cadres at different levels also like emperors, kings, ministers, generals, scholars and beauties." He praised bourgeois ballets like *Swan Lake* and *Notre Dame de Paris* and opposed the revolution in ballet and symphonic music.

It was especially in the three years when China's national economy suffered temporary difficulties that the domestic class enemy sought opportunities for action and the anti-China activities carried on by imperialism

in collusion with modern revisionism and the reactionaries in various countries reached new heights. At the same time the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road considered the time opportune to revise and reprint his book on the "self-cultivation" of Communists.

Backed by him, the old Propaganda Department of the Party's Central Committee, the old Ministry of Culture and the counter-revolutionary revisionist chiefs in the old Peking Municipal Party Committee and monsters and demons entrenched in the field of literature and art brazenly carried on counter-revolutionary activities to prepare public opinion for the restoration of capitalism. As a result much poisonous trash against the Party, against socialism and against Mao Tse-tung's thought was turned out and a pernicious atmosphere existed in the theatre.

It was at this critical moment, at the Tenth Plenary Session of the Party's Eighth Central Committee in 1962, that Chairman Mao raised the question of getting to grips with the class struggle in the ideological field. He issued the great call: "Never forget class struggle."

In the following years, Chairman Mao issued a number of very important directives concerning work in the field of literature and art.

In December 1963, he pointed out that "Problems abound in all forms of art such as the drama, ballads, music, the fine arts, the dance, the cinema, poetry and literature; the people engaged in them are numerous; and in many departments very little has been achieved so far in socialist transformation. The 'dead' still dominate in many departments."

He commented sharply: "Isn't it absurd that many Communists are enthusiastic about promoting feudal and capitalist art, but not socialist art?"

In June 1964, during the rectification movement then going on in the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles and its affiliated associations, Chairman Mao again stated: "In the last 15 years these associations, most of their publications (it is said that a few are good) and by and large the people in them (that is not everybody) have not carried out the policies of the Party. They have acted as high and mighty bureaucrats, have not gone to the workers, peasants and soldiers and have not reflected the socialist revolution and socialist construction. In recent years, they have slid right down to the brink of revisionism. Unless they remould themselves in real earnest, at some future date they are bound to become groups like the Hungarian Petofi Club."

This warning was a call to revolutionary literary and art workers to launch an offensive against the counter-revolutionary revisionists who were entrenched in literary and art circles, and their chief backer.

Comrade Chiang Ching, holding steadfastly to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line on

literature and art, has followed these invaluable directives of our great leader Chairman Mao and the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, and gone into the heat of this battle and personally directed and led the fight of the revolutionary literary and art workers. They outwitted the manoeuvres and threw off the bonds of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line and began to create revolutionary works on contemporary themes.

So, the creation of *Taking the Bandits' Stronghold*, *On the Docks*, *Shachiapang* and *The Red Detachment of Women* set off an upsurge in the reform of Peking opera, ballet and symphonic music.

But, as Chairman Mao teaches us, "The imperialists and domestic reactionaries will certainly not take their defeat lying down and they will struggle to the last ditch."

The handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists who were entrenched in literary and art circles and their chief backer, the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, used every means to sabotage and strangle at birth this revolutionary reform of the dramatic arts.

This No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road clamoured: "We shouldn't be rash in the reform of the dramatic arts," and "if we rid the stage completely of historical and foreign plays, some people will not like it. We can put on some of these plays. We object to dogmatism in art."

Using the name of the Central Committee of the Party, he organized a forum on literature and art to resist Chairman Mao's important directives. It was attended by the counter-revolutionary revisionists Chou Yang, Lin Mo-han and others like them. At the forum, Chou Yang brazenly boasted of the "achievements" in literature and art and covered up the sharp, complicated class struggle that existed in literary and art circles. He excused those who were opposing Chairman Mao's line by saying that they did not understand it correctly. The No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road said: "The situation reported by Comrade Chou Yang and his opinions are all very good," and added: "In these last few years, work in the superstructure has corresponded to the economic base," which is in flat opposition to Chairman Mao's directives.

Hence, the struggle between Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line on literature and art and the counter-revolutionary revisionist line on literature and art supported from behind the scenes by the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road grew even sharper. On one side were Comrade Chiang Ching and the revolutionary literary and art workers, and on the other, the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists in the old Propaganda Department of the Party Central Committee, the old Ministry of Culture, the old Peking Municipal Party Committee and in the literary and art circles.

During the production of *Taking the Bandits' Stronghold* (see *Peking Review*, No.5, 1967.) at the Peking



Opera Theatre of Shanghai, counter-revolutionary revisionist Lin Mo-han, Vice-Director of the old Propaganda Department of the Party Central Committee, and his stooges made every effort to sabotage things. Lin Mo-han wanted to build up the villain, the bandit chief nicknamed "Mountain Hawk," and portray Yang Tzu-jung, the hero, in bandit style. Their aim in doing this was to oppose putting Mao Tse-tung's thought in the lead and to oppose portraying the revolutionary heroes of the proletariat, in a vain attempt to use revisionist trash to shift the political orientation in revolutionizing the theatre. But the revolutionary literary and art workers, guided by Comrade Chiang Ching, saw through this scheme, and went right on working to build up the heroic figures of the proletariat in the drama. They broke through the obstacles set up by the revisionists and finally succeeded in creating the revolutionary contemporary Peking opera *Taking the Bandits' Stronghold*, an opera clearly reflecting the brilliance of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

In leading the revolutionary literary and art workers of the Central Philharmonic Society to create the symphonic work *Shachiapang*, Comrade Chiang Ching also fought a sharp class struggle. She pointed out that "the symphonic music of the proletariat, symphonic music for the workers, peasants and soldiers must be created."

Chou Yang, Lin Mo-han and the counter-revolutionary revisionists of the philharmonic society worked closely together and tried in every way to put out the flames of revolution in the philharmonic society. But Comrade Chiang Ching led the comrades to carry on their struggle. She said: "Be daring, there are great possibilities ahead, persist in the struggle." This was a great blow to the reactionary arrogance of the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists and a tremendous encouragement and support to the revolutionary masses of the Central Philharmonic Society.

In the struggle against the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists and the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road supporting them from behind the scenes, Comrade Chiang Ching, holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, always fought on the side of the revolutionary literary and art workers, and united with them. Together they studied the librettos and analyzed problems of writing, acting, music, and stage design. By her devoted guidance, she has made a special contribution to the revolution in the theatre.

Revolutionary contemporary Peking operas, ballets and symphonic music shining with Mao Tse-tung's thought and never before known in the history of literature and art have now been created!

Revolutionary people throughout the country and the world have highly appraised and enthusiastically greeted the new achievements of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line on literature and art and

have acclaimed them as a new victory for the brilliant thought of Mao Tse-tung!

Our most respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao gave immediate and enthusiastic encouragement and a positive evaluation to the new-born contemporary revolutionary operas. He saw performances again and again, and received the literary and art workers who collaborated in writing and performing them. After seeing *The Red Detachment of Women* on October 8, 1964, Chairman Mao gave a high evaluation to this full-length revolutionary ballet on a contemporary theme, the first of its kind in the world.

**He said: "Its orientation is correct, its revolutionization is a success and its technique is good too."**

This is Chairman Mao's evaluation of the ballet *The Red Detachment of Women* and also of other model revolutionary works.

The revolution in Peking opera, ballet and symphonic music marks a big advance along the line of literature and art serving the workers, peasants and soldiers which was charted by Chairman Mao.

The revolution in Peking opera, ballet and symphonic music is a great revolution, with Mao Tse-tung's thought as a weapon, against the counter-revolutionary revisionist line supported from behind the scenes by the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road!

The revolution in Peking opera, ballet and symphonic music is a great artistic development upholding the socialist new and establishing what is distinctively proletarian, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian line on literature and art.

The counter-revolutionary revisionists have now been dragged out of the old Propaganda Department of the Party's Central Committee, the old Ministry of Culture, the old Peking Municipal Party Committee and literary and art circles. The top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road who backed them have also been dragged out. Their consistent counter-revolutionary activities aimed to bring about a capitalist restoration have met with ignominious failure. Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line has won a great victory.

Revolutionary literary and art workers gathered in Peking with fresh revolutionary spirit heightened by the great proletarian cultural revolution to greet the 25th anniversary of Chairman Mao's great *Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art*. They presented their model revolutionary works which have passed the test of the cultural revolution. This was a grand review of the new achievements of Chairman Mao's proletarian line on literature and art. It was a powerful demonstration directed against the bankrupt counter-revolutionary revisionist line on literature and art and its chief backer—the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road!

— Hsinhua correspondent





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

### 10th Anniversary of the Publication of Chairman Mao's Brilliant Work Greeted

Many revolutionaries and friends throughout the world have warmly greeted the tenth anniversary of the publication of Chairman Mao's brilliant and epoch-making Marxist-Leninist work *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*. Following is what some revolutionary Albanian cadres and Japanese friends had to say about it.

Tahil Minxhozi, Member of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour and first secretary of the Party's Kukse District Committee, said that Comrade Mao Tse-tung's work has contributed enormously and will continue to contribute to the struggle of the Chinese Communist Party and the international communist movement against modern revisionists headed by the Khrushchovites.

In a written statement to Hsinhua, he said that this work expounds the contradictions and class struggle in socialist society, the nature and types of the contradictions and the ways and means to resolve them. It points out how revolution should be carried out under conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat and how to consolidate this dictatorship in all fields. Guided by Chairman Mao's theory on the resolving of different types of contradictions, the Chinese Communist Party is triumphantly carrying out the great proletarian cultural revolution.

**In socialist society class struggle exists objectively and it is inevitable.** Biba, member of the Tirana District Committee of the Democratic Front, told Hsinhua that in this work Comrade Mao Tse-tung has solved a series of important questions of principle regarding the building of socialist society in China and the rest of the world.

Biba said: "This work is of international significance. After I read it, I came to understand that in socialist society class struggle exists objectively and is inevitable, because there are still the overthrown exploiting classes and anti-Party, degenerated revisionists. They are trying their utmost to restore capitalism. As Chairman Mao has said: 'Mistakes must be criticized and poisonous weeds fought wherever they crop up.'"

Pellumbi, Head of the Philosophy Faculty of the Lenin Party School who has just made an investigation

of the contradictions among the people in rural areas, told Hsinhua: The article *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* by the Chinese people's great leader Comrade Mao Tse-tung is an outstanding Marxist-Leninist work. It sums up the experience of the international communist movement and the Chinese revolution and creatively develops Marxism-Leninism on a number of important questions in the light of the Chinese revolution.

According to the revisionist point of view, he said, it seems as if socialist society were static and the class struggle were dying out. As a matter of fact, in socialist society, there still exists the danger of the degeneration of the socialist system, there still exist counter-revolutionaries in hiding and the possibility of the emergence of new counter-revolutionaries, and there still exists bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology. That is why in the entire historical period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads will go on for a long time.

Pellumbi said that in his article, Comrade Mao Tse-tung defines the line of demarcation between the two types of contradictions which are different in nature, the contradictions among the people and those between ourselves and the enemy. Comrade Mao Tse-tung also defines the ways of correctly resolving these two types of contradictions. This is a very important question. Comrade Mao Tse-tung points out that contradictions exist objectively and that failure to recognize them is extremely dangerous for the proletarian revolution and is sure to lead the proletarian revolution to defeat. Non-antagonistic contradictions, if not handled properly, may become antagonistic ones. It is possible for the enemy to aggravate and utilize the contradictions among the people to serve his purpose of restoring capitalism.

Pellumbi also noted that the article *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* is one of the important works included in the curriculum of their Party School.

**Chairman Mao has brought Marxism-Leninism to a higher and completely new stage.** Renowned Japanese

philosopher Kazuto Matsumura said: "Marx and Engels founded the theory of scientific socialism, Lenin and Stalin developed Marxism, and Chairman Mao has developed Marxism-Leninism and brought it to a higher and completely new stage, that is, the stage of Mao Tse-tung's thought."

He said that Chairman Mao's great article has defended, inherited and developed the Marxist-Leninist theory of proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship with genius and in a creative way. It has definitely pointed the way to forestall the growth of revisionism and the restoration of capitalism, and consolidate the proletarian dictatorship after the seizure of state power by the proletariat so as to reach communism triumphantly. In a word, it has clearly charted the correct road for the proletariat in the transition from socialism to communism. The great proletarian cultural revolution personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao has solved this question both in theory and in practice. This is Chairman Mao's great contribution to Marxism-Leninism.

Matsumura said that Chairman Mao's article is an effective rebuff to the attack on the socialist system launched by imperialism and the renegades from the proletariat. It has clarified long-standing erroneous conceptions in the international communist movement and become a programmatic document to rally all revolutionary people, oppose modern revisionism with the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as the centre, and advance the international communist movement.

Professor Hikotaro Ando of Waseda University, in a statement to the Toho News Agency, said: "With genius Chairman Mao pointed out ten years ago that contradictions and class struggle exist in socialist society. In this great work, he has creatively developed Marxism-Leninism. The ten years that have elapsed from the publication of this work to the unprecedented great proletarian cultural revolution now going forward triumphantly have borne out the incontrovertible correctness of Chairman Mao's theory, and show that Marxism-Leninism has been developed to a completely new stage—that of Mao Tse-tung's thought."

Stressing the historic significance of this article, he said that it was "published against the background of the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. and the Hungarian incident. It was a time when revisionism was rampant within the international communist movement, and when many people did not understand, both in theory and in practice, that contradictions exist even in a socialist country. It was in these circumstances that Chairman Mao pointed out with genius that contradictions and class struggle do exist in socialist society, and he also pointed out the ways to resolve these contradictions. This is a question which Lenin and Stalin had not been able to solve."

Kyoichi Tsuchiya, an activist in the Japanese-Chinese friendship movement, told Toho that after the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and in the second half of 1956, anti-communist and anti-popular riots broke out in several countries. The sharpness of class antagonism and class struggle in socialist countries was revealed to the world proletariat. At the same time, this also offered the profound lesson to Communists that they must correctly handle class antagonism, otherwise there would be the danger of capitalist restoration even in a socialist country which has a record of socialist construction for several decades. "It was at this juncture," Tsuchiya said, "that Chairman Mao Tse-tung published this gifted article in which he made an analytical study of the experiences and lessons in socialist construction in China and those in the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries. He pointed out how to correctly handle contradictions among the people and how to prevent the restoration of capitalism."

**Chairman Mao enables Japanese people to distinguish friends from enemies and push revolutionary struggle forward.** Takaharu Sumioka, leader of the Yamaguchi Prefectural Committee (Left) of the Japanese Communist Party, in an interview with Toho on the 10th anniversary of the publication of the work, said that it is "a theoretical weapon universally applicable to the proletarian revolution and the national-liberation struggles in the world."

Sumioka said: "The work indicates the method of solving numerous vital problems in the world revolutionary movement; in particular, it has pointed out that the two different types of contradictions—those between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people—must not be confused and that the different methods to resolve the two different types of contradictions also must not be confused. Chairman Mao has emphatically taught us that contradictions among the people must be resolved by the application of democratic centralism, by the method of criticism and self-criticism, and the method of 'unity-criticism-unity.'"

Sumicka concluded by saying: "This great work has provided genuine Japanese Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people with a theoretical weapon, enabling them to stand firm on the correct revolutionary line, clearly distinguish friends from enemies and define the type of persons who should be overthrown and the broad masses of people who should be united, so as to push the revolutionary struggle forward. Victory surely belongs to the Japanese people so long as the genuine Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people of Japan seriously study this great work, study and apply Chairman Mao's works in a creative way, arm themselves with Mao Tse-tung's thought—the peak of Marxism-Leninism in our time—and creatively apply it to the Japanese revolution."

# Mao Tse-tung's Thought Opens New Prospects For the Liberation of Mankind

—Excerpts from a decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Brazil on resolutely supporting China's great proletarian cultural revolution

**T**HE Central Committee of the Communist Party of Brazil adopted a decision on resolutely supporting China's great proletarian cultural revolution in April 1967. This revolution, the decision points out, is of great significance to the people of all countries, and Mao Tse-tung's thought opens new prospects for the liberation of mankind.

## China Enters a New Stage of the Socialist Revolution

The decision first points out that the great proletarian cultural revolution now going on in China is an epoch-making event in the history of mankind. Its significance and impact has a parallel only in the October Revolution of 1917. The valiant Chinese people, under the leadership of Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese Communist Party, have opened up an entirely new road for the complete victory of socialism. The experience derived from the cultural revolution has greatly enriched the theory of the proletariat.

Only 17 years have elapsed since the seizure of power by the Chinese people. But China, thanks to the great proletarian cultural revolution, has entered a new stage of the socialist revolution, a stage which no other people have traversed. The thought of Mao Tse-tung, Marxism-Leninism of our era, is directing and inspiring hundreds of millions of people of China in their prodigious efforts to remould man and transform society.

There is intense class struggle in China today, the decision says. For a long period following the seizure of power by the proletariat, classes and class struggle still exist. Two antagonistic lines are confronting each other in China, facing each person with a decision. One is the proletarian revolutionary line maintained by Mao Tse-tung and supported by the overwhelming majority of the people, and the other is the bourgeois reactionary line peddled by some communist leaders and backed only by a very tiny minority. One line leads to socialism, while the other to capitalism.

The unprecedented mass movement that is sweeping the vast expanse of China's territory aims at winning full victory for the proletarian line, assuring the continuation of the socialist revolution, and preventing the restoration to power of the exploiters and avoiding

a retrogression like that taking place in the Soviet Union.

## The Cultural Revolution Is the Greatest Mass Revolutionary Movement in the World

The cultural revolution is the greatest mass revolutionary movement ever known to the world. It gives the fullest expression to the Marxist view creatively developed by Mao Tse-tung on the role of the masses in history. The people are the principal characters in this great proletarian cultural revolution.

Millions of people have enhanced their political consciousness and become active builders of socialism. Large numbers of pathbreakers have emerged as successors to the older generations of revolutionaries. The Red Guards have come forward in rebellion in Chinese society, destroying the privileges, prejudices, superstitions, habits and customs inherent in the capitalist and feudal systems.

Contrary to what the imperialists and revisionists assert in their propaganda, the Chinese working people, while taking an active part in the cultural revolution and raising their class consciousness, are advancing production more rapidly.

Thus, the future of China and of the socialist revolution is being increasingly grasped in the hands of the masses. The appearance of the masses so prominently on China's political stage is an experience which revolutionaries throughout the world should value highly.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is playing a decisive role in mobilizing and preparing the Chinese people to deal with the United States and its accomplices, the decision says. The Chinese people are prepared for the possibility of war. They are not afraid of White House threats, Soviet-U.S. collaboration, nor the consequences of atomic attacks. The morale of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, is higher than that of any other army in the world. The millions of young Red Guards are the immense reserve for this heroic army, making China still stronger.

The decision points out that the cultural revolution has contributed to the establishment of the superiority



of true proletarian morality in society. The cornerstone of this morality is the dominance of public interest over self-interest. The thought of Mao Tse-tung plays the guiding role in this regard. The three constantly read articles *In Memory of Norman Bethune*, *The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains* and *Serve the People*, with their profound ideological significance, educate the masses of China in the spirit of selflessness, tenacity, modesty, heroism, utter devotion to others without any thought of self.

### **Mao Tse-tung's Countless Contributions to Marxism-Leninism**

Mao Tse-tung in a masterly fashion has seen the necessity for the cultural revolution as an indispensable stage in the socialist revolution and formulated its general principles. He has thereby made a new and distinguished contribution, in both theory and practice, to the struggle of the working class and of all the oppressed people.

Mao Tse-tung is the most faithful representative of Marxism-Leninism of our times. He is good at applying Marxism in a creative manner to lead the Chinese people from victory to victory.

The contributions made to Marxism-Leninism by Mao Tse-tung in the fields of philosophy, economics, social science, military affairs and Party building are countless. The thought of Mao Tse-tung has answered the most pressing questions of reality, greatly enriching the theories concerning revolution in the colonial and dependent countries. He has formulated the theory and principles of people's war, the correctness of which has been confirmed not only in China but in many other places as well. In the great battle now being fought by the peoples against modern revisionism, Mao Tse-tung is the principal thinker and teacher. He gives the people of all countries the sharpest weapon to win liberation and has brought Marxism-Leninism to a new height.

For this reason, the Chinese people and the revolutionaries of other countries are eagerly studying Mao Tse-tung's thought in order to fulfil their tasks.

### **To Spread Mao Tse-tung's Thought Is to Carry The Revolution Forward**

A movement as extensive and profound as the great proletarian cultural revolution, the decision says, is bound to arouse the rancour and hostility of the reactionary forces. The imperialists, revisionists and the reactionaries of the whole world are all against the cultural revolution.

In opposing China, the reactionaries and opportunists concentrate their attacks on Mao Tse-tung, because he is the leader of the revolutionary peoples in their fight for national liberation, democracy and socialism.

The decision goes on to say that in Brazil the reactionary forces are also fiercely attacking the cultural revolution. This is an expression of their fear of the growth of the revolutionary forces in the world and of the masses of Brazil taking the road to liberation.

The revisionists of the Brazilian Communist Party have also joined the chorus of reactionaries and agents of U.S. imperialism against the cultural revolution. In so doing, they reveal more fully their features as inveterate opportunists and vile followers of the baton of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

It is inconceivable that a movement of the magnitude of the cultural revolution could be carried out placidly without upsetting the established order in all its aspects. Those who are shocked by the secondary aspect of violent action on the part of the masses do not understand what a true revolution is. A true revolution, as **Mao Tse-tung has said, is not "writing an essay, or painting a picture, or doing embroidery; it cannot be so refined, so leisurely and gentle, so temperate, kind, courteous, restrained and magnanimous. A revolution is an insurrection, an act of violence by which one class overthrows another."**

The fact that China and the exploited and oppressed peoples have such a great leader of genius as Mao Tse-tung constitutes a factor highly favourable to the world revolution, the decision points out. It is felicity for mankind to have such a leader who enjoys the highest prestige and has the rare and precious qualities of leadership as Mao Tse-tung. Mao Tse-tung correctly expresses the needs of social development, voices with precision the hopes and aspirations of the masses and points out the sure way for the liberation struggle of the peoples. To hold high the name of Mao Tse-tung and disseminate his thought is to carry the revolution forward.

### **Brazilian Communists Must Study Mao Tse-tung's Works**

Brazilian revolutionaries are jubilant over the successes of the cultural revolution.

The decision emphasizes that the cultural revolution in China is of great significance for all peoples. This is so not only because it is being carried out in a country which contains one-fourth of the world's population, but because the problems it is solving are directly related to the world revolution.

The great proletarian cultural revolution, being a more advanced stage of the socialist revolution, is of an inestimable help to the workers' movement, to the struggle for national liberation and to the Marxist-Leninist Left in countries where revisionism is dominant.

Having defeated the enemies at home and strengthened its economic and military might and having an indestructible political and ideological unity among the people, China will play to an even greater extent its



role as the principal base of the revolutionary movements throughout the world.

The decision concludes by saying that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Brazil expresses its warmest and fullest support for China's great proletarian cultural revolution and for its revolutionary forces. The thought of Mao Tse-tung has opened new prospects for mankind's liberation from the yoke of capitalism. The Central Committee is confident that the Chinese Communist Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat in China will be reinforced through this historic struggle and will be in a still better position to accomplish their new tasks.

The Brazilian Communists should show more interest in China's cultural revolution and draw on its valuable experience. The Central Committee considers that

it is necessary to study Mao Tse-tung's works in order to educate the Party members in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and acquire a better understanding of the urgent questions of the revolution in Brazil. It will help us to analyse the reality in Brazil more profoundly and apply the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism correctly to our revolutionary practice.

Long live the indestructible friendship between the Communist Party of Brazil and the Communist Party of China!

Long live the great proletarian cultural revolution!

Long live Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of the Chinese people and the working people of the whole world!

(Sub-heads are ours. — Ed.)

# World Enters New Era in Which Mao Tse-tung's Thought Is the Great Banner

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

(Continued from last issue.)

**Wen Ming Chuan (writer from North Kalimantan):** Chairman Mao's ideas on literature and art point out the road of advance and the orientation of struggle for all the revolutionary literary and art workers and all revolutionaries in the world. Chairman Mao's brilliant work is a programmatic document for guiding the revolutionary people and writers to grasp the weapon of literature and art in waging class struggle, the national-liberation struggle and the struggle for the seizure of political power.

Chairman Mao has said: "To overthrow a political power, it is always necessary, first of all, to create public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the revolutionary class as well as for the counter-revolutionary class." In North Kalimantan, where the war for national liberation has not yet been won, the enemy always creates reactionary public opinion in an attempt to paralyze the people's fighting will and stamp out the flames of the national-liberation struggle. Therefore, the revolutionary literary and art workers must, under the leadership of a proletarian political party, wage a tit-for-tat struggle by using all forms of art which are well liked and most easily accepted by the masses, so that literature and art become effective weapons for uniting and educating the

people and an army on the ideological front for the seizure of political power.

**Samir Hakim (writer from Palestine):** Chairman Mao's *Talks* is the powerful ideological weapon for the world's oppressed people in opposing imperialism, revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries. Palestinian writers look upon the revolutionary line on literature and art put forward by Chairman Mao in the *Talks* as the ever-shining lighthouse which guides the way forward for the world's writers and artists. It illuminates the road of struggle for the revolutionary people.

Chairman Mao in his *Talks* analyses creatively and with genius a series of important questions concerning Marxist literature and art and has developed the Marxist theories of the present era on literature and art. The *Talks* is the steering wheel for revolutionary people and writers in acute and complex class struggles and helps them to distinguish genuine revolutionaries from counter-revolutionaries.

Palestinian literary and art workers should make a still more serious effort to study the thought of Mao Tse-tung and, acting according to Chairman Mao's instructions, plunge into the heat of struggle for a long period of time, unconditionally and wholeheartedly, and

produce works which serve the masses of workers, peasants, soldiers and other labouring people and the struggle to expose and combat U.S. imperialism.

**Saleh Dahhan (writer from the Yemen):** the *Talks* is an outstanding, great, creative and complete contribution by Chairman Mao to the international communist movement and the Marxist-Leninist theories on literature and art.

**Chairman Mao points out in his *Talks*:** "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." The current situation in the Arab countries has confirmed the truth pointed out by Chairman Mao 25 years ago. If the Arab writers had grasped Chairman Mao's ideas on literature and art as contained in his *Talks*, we would have now a progressive cultural army which would sound the bugle call for advance and help the Arab people to unite and fight the enemy with one heart and one mind.

Yemen's revolutionary writers will certainly grasp Mao Tse-tung's thought and inspire the people to fight the enemy—imperialism, capitalism, feudalism and reaction—with one heart and one mind.

**F.L. Risakotta (writer from Indonesia):** Chairman Mao's brilliant work is the greatest fruit in the sphere of literature and art in the era when imperialism is heading for total collapse while socialism is advancing towards worldwide victory; it is the magic weapon for the Indonesian people and the oppressed people of the world in winning their revolution. From their own struggle the Indonesian people and revolutionary writers have come to realize that the thought of Mao Tse-tung is the only guiding thought which will bring victory to the Indonesian revolution. Our country's revolution will take Mao Tse-tung's road of armed struggle. If we depart from the teachings of Chairman Mao, our great teacher, the revolution will suffer setbacks.

**Chairman Mao teaches us:** "Without a people's army, the people have nothing" and "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." Chairman Mao's teachings have given Indonesian writers a deep understanding that without a revolutionary armed force under the direct leadership of the proletariat at home, no matter how powerful the influence of the cultural army may be, the revolution will never succeed. This is our experience.

Full of confidence in the revolution, the people and revolutionary writers of Indonesia are determined to hold high the great red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung and turn the Indonesian revolution into a great school for Mao Tse-tung's thought. This is the only way out for the revolution.

**Mohamed Mao Abu Baker (friend from Somalia):** The world is now entering a completely new and great era in which the thought of Mao Tse-tung is the banner. Like sunlight at dawn, Chairman Mao's *Talks* tells the revolutionary artists and men of letters that literature and art should become effective weapons and a powerful force in the political struggle of the proletariat.

**Chairman Mao says:** "This question of 'for whom' is fundamental; it is a question of principle." Should literature and art serve the workers, peasants and soldiers or a handful of the exploiters? Should they serve the proletariat or the bourgeoisie? This is a dividing line between Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, and revisionism.

**Mukenge Dieudonne (from the Congo [K.]):** The fighting people of all countries are armed with the brilliant thought of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our time, and are waging struggles under the guidance of this thought. We are equipped with the guns to conduct armed struggle against imperialism, and also with the pens to engage in polemics with it. It is because we are taught by the thought of Mao Tse-tung that we are able to wage struggles on the cultural and military fronts.

**Ahmed Mohamed Khair (writer from the Sudan):** Chairman Mao teaches us: "Revolutionary culture is a powerful revolutionary weapon for the broad masses of the people. It prepares the ground ideologically before the revolution comes and is an important, indeed essential, fighting front in the general revolutionary front during the revolution." We, the Sudanese people, are in the stage of the national-democratic revolution. Our main enemies are imperialism headed by the United States, and the semi-feudal and comprador classes. Our revolutionary literary and art workers must "be resolute, fear no sacrifice, surmount every difficulty to win victory," so that literature and art really become effective weapons for opposing imperialism, revisionism and reaction.

Only since the genuine revolutionary fighters of the Sudan came into contact with the thought of Mao Tse-tung have our literary and art workers derived nourishment from Chairman Mao's ideas on literature and art and realized that literature and art should operate as powerful weapons for uniting and educating the people and attacking and destroying the enemy. This is a great change in the history of the revolution of our people and will exercise a decisive influence on their future.

Revolutionary literary and art workers in the Sudan have now taken Chairman Mao's *Talks* as the guide in their revolutionary literary and art activities. Through the effective weapons of literature and art, they call upon the people to struggle against the enemy with one heart and one mind, oppose imperialism headed by the United States, modern revisionism and

reaction, and strive for the victory of the national-democratic revolution.

**A writer from the Philippines:** Chairman Mao's *Talks* is a programmatic document of extremely far-reaching significance. It is the powerful ideological weapon for the revolutionary people both in waging their liberation struggles and in consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat in socialist society.

**Amada Bachard (friend from Niger):** Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him! (speaking in Chinese) Chairman Mao Tse-tung is a great man, the first in the world to inherit and develop Marxism-Leninism in an all-round way and raise it to a new high; he is also the first man in the world to found and develop with genius the proletarian theory on literature and art, after integrating himself with the workers, peasants and the broad masses.

Revolutionary writers in Asia and Africa must hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought in their fight to liberate the Asian and African peoples from the colonialist rule.

**Khosrawi (writer from Iran):** Chairman Mao's *Talks* is an epoch-making work and an extremely sharp weapon. Once armed with the *Talks*, the proletariat will certainly be able to destroy the imperialist, revisionist and reactionary literature and art lock, stock and barrel.

Ours is the era of Mao Tse-tung's thought, when the fighting task of the writers and artists is to describe true heroes of the people and heroic fighters of the proletariat, portraying their revolutionary spirit and ideals and encouraging the people to make revolution, wipe out imperialism and reaction and eradicate revisionism.

**Ahmed Gora Ebrahim (friend from Azania [South Africa]):** The people of Azania know that political power must grow out of the barrel of a gun and that revolutionary violence must be employed to deal with counter-revolutionary violence. Only by applying Mao Tse-tung's thought in our country, can we win liberation, freedom and the dictatorship of the proletariat for our people.

**Manuweera (writer from Ceylon):** From Chairman Mao's teachings, revolutionary and progressive Ceylonese writers have realized that their struggle against imperialism can in no way be separated from that against revisionism. Revolutionary Ceylonese writers must expose the modern revisionists' dirty deeds designed to split our ranks, and fight them to the end.

**Professor Kiyoshi Inoue (friend from Japan):** Japan's revolutionary literary and art workers are studying and applying Chairman Mao's *Talks* as the most correct and most applicable theory guiding their literary, artistic and other cultural activities.

**Abcid Salim and Salim Said (friends from Tanzania):** Comrade Mao Tse-tung's *Talks* has blazed the trail for all revolutionaries who have taken to heart

the noble task of mobilizing the oppressed people to rise up and rebel against all reactionaries and counter-revolutionaries. The *Talks* is the powerful revolutionary weapon for the revolutionary people of the world in defeating imperialist aggression, creating a revolutionary new culture, consolidating national independence and advancing to socialism.

A decisive struggle is taking place between the revolutionary and counter-revolutionary forces in the world. In this struggle the revolutionary literary and art workers must make a serious effort to study and grasp Chairman Mao's *Talks*, the powerful and sharp ideological weapon of the proletariat, with the object of encouraging the people to rebel, accelerating human progress and the complete defeat of all reactionaries, and creating a world without exploitation and oppression.

**Edmundo Palacios (friend from Chile):** Comrade Mao Tse-tung has creatively developed Marxism-Leninism and raised it to a completely new stage — the stage of Mao Tse-tung's thought. Chairman Mao's brilliant work *Talks* is the powerful weapon in the struggle to emancipate mankind, destroy imperialism headed by the United States and modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist leading clique as its centre and build up and consolidate socialist society.

To complete their fighting task, revolutionary literary and art workers must make great efforts to study and apply the thought of Mao Tse-tung, study "the three constantly read articles," and establish the proletarian world outlook; they must integrate with the masses and go deep into the fire of struggle. We should create a mighty and steadfast cultural army of the proletariat, so as to help orientate our people on to the path of the people's war against imperialism and feudalism, a path illuminated by Mao Tse-tung's thought which will enable us to sweep away all the monsters and ghosts exploiting and suppressing the people.

**Lehault Samvel (friend from the Congo [B]):** Once the thought of Mao Tse-tung is grasped by the masses, it will become a powerful material force for transforming society and the world. The brilliant success of China's great proletarian cultural revolution has fully borne out this truth.

**Bhayom Chulanond (friend from Thailand):** With the development of the revolutionary situation, revolutionary literary and art workers of Thailand, upholding the principles in Chairman Mao's *Talks*, have gone among the workers, peasants and soldiers, and integrated with the people's forces with guns in waging resolute struggles against U.S. imperialism and the Thai reactionaries.

The Thai people are determined to follow the thought of Mao Tse-tung as the guide for their own struggle. The Thai literary and art workers are ready at all times to unite with the people and the literary and art workers of the world, and use their pens and



guns to oppose U.S. imperialism, modern revisionism and all their lackeys until the people of Thailand and the rest of the world win final victory.

**Minn Latt Yekhaun (writer from Burma):** In the days when we are commemorating the 25th anniversary of the publication of Chairman Mao's *Talks*, we realize all the more clearly that armed with the thought of Mao Tse-tung, working with the pen and fighting with the rifle the way he teaches us, there is nothing we cannot accomplish.

We are writers of the era of Mao Tse-tung. We are soldiers of the Mao Tse-tung breed. Revolutionary writers who love their cultures and wish to elevate the literature and art of their respective countries must look to the East, to China, to Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

**J. Martins (friend from Brazil):** Revolutionary writers, artists and intellectuals in every country should first of all devote themselves to building up a proletarian army, and grasping and seizing all kinds of power, including the gun—the basis and source of power on the cultural front. This people's army should be under the leadership of a political Party which has Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought as its theoretical basis.

The task of first importance confronting revolutionary intellectuals in every country is to join, both in theory and in deed, the struggle to build up a genuinely revolutionary party devoted to Mao Tse-tung's thought.

**Denise Li (friend from France):** Chairman Mao's brilliant work, the *Talks*, is a programmatic document of very far-reaching influence and the programme for the proletarian cultural revolution.

**Monique Pairoux (friend from Belgium):** Chairman Mao's *Talks* is the most clear, most systematic, most penetrating and most complete lecture on the role of revolutionary literature and art and a brilliant development of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook. Principles in the *Talks* constitute part of the great revolutionary thought of Chairman Mao. Once it takes hold of the masses, this great revolutionary thought will become a material force for transforming the world.

**Rose Smith (friend from Britain):** Guided by the brilliant thought of Mao Tse-tung, writers in every country will take action to oppose imperialist, revisionist and reactionary ideas. Taking up their pens and standing with the working class, they will sweep away the mire of bourgeois literature and art.

(Continued from p. 7.)

the revolutionary people and greatly deflated the arrogance of the enemy. It is a great encouragement to the patriotic compatriots in Hongkong and Kowloon in their struggle against British brutality and a powerful support to the Vietnamese people in their struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. This victory is the outcome of your holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, giving great prominence to proletarian politics, and conscientiously studying and applying Chairman Mao's works in a creative way. It is the outcome of your resolute implementation of our great leader Chairman Mao's directive to take firm hold of revolution, promote preparedness against war, and spur work and production. For this, we specially issue an order of commendation and extend the warmest congratulations to the commanders and fighters who took part in the battle."

The order said: "Chairman Mao has taught us that **'the imperialists and domestic reactionaries will certainly not take their defeat lying down and they will struggle to the**

**last ditch.'** We hope you will conscientiously sum up your experience, guard against arrogance and rashness, redouble your efforts, raise your vigilance and strengthen preparedness against war, **'go all out to wipe out intruding enemies'** and win still greater victories in guarding national defence and defending the great proletarian cultural revolution."

### Chinese Red Guard Delegation Visits Albania

A delegation of Chinese Red Guards, led by Comrade Yao Wen-yuan, left Peking for Tirana by plane on June 20 to take part in the Fifth Congress of the Union of Working Youth of Albania. Seeing them off at the airport were Chou En-lai, Chen Po-ta, Kang Sheng, Hsieh Fuchih, Liu Ning-I, Chiang Ching, Hsiao Hua, Yang Cheng-wu and other leading comrades.

Arriving in Tirana the next day, the delegation received a tremendous welcome from Agim Mero, First Secretary of the Union of Working Youth of Albania, and other leading members of the Union's Central Committee, as well as hundreds of

representatives of Albanian youth from all circles. When the members alighted from the plane, the Albanian youth at the airport waved bouquets and cheered enthusiastically. Agim Mero and Chinese Ambassador Liu Hsiao went up and shook hands with them and embraced them. When a group of Young Pioneers presented flowers to the revolutionary fighters sent by Chairman Mao, the airport resounded with shouts of "Enver—Mao Tse-tung!" "Long live the Chinese Communist Party!" "Long live the Albanian Party of Labour!" "Long live the militant friendship between the Albanian and Chinese youth!" "Down with imperialism!" and "Down with modern revisionism!"

Yao Wen-yuan, head of the delegation, and Tan Hou-lan, a member, attended a banquet given by Chairman of the Albanian Council of Ministers Mehmet Shehu for Liu Hsiao, the new Chinese Ambassador, on the evening of June 24. Comrade Enver Hoxha, the beloved and respected leader of the Albanian people, and Comrade Shehu had a cordial and friendly talk with Comrade Yao Wen-yuan at the banquet.



# ROUND THE WORLD

THE KOSYGIN-JOHNSON TALKS

## A Dirty Deal on a Worldwide Scale

The two long sessions of confidential talks which Kosygin had with Johnson at Hollybush, Glassboro, on June 23 and 25 marked a new phase of closer, wider and more brazen counter-revolutionary collaboration between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Kosygin flew to the United States ostensibly to lead the large Soviet delegation to the emergency session of the United Nations General Assembly to debate the question of Israel's aggression against the Arab countries. In actual fact, he went to talk to Johnson *tete-a-tete* and to discuss with him behind closed doors ways and means of betraying the revolutionary interests of the Vietnamese, Arab and other Asian, African and Latin American peoples and to clinch a counter-revolutionary deal on an unprecedented scale for "U.S.-Soviet collaboration for world domination."

Afraid of worldwide censure, both parties were cagily evasive and refrained from making any straightforward statement on the prospects of the meeting before it actually took place. After speaking at the U.N. General Assembly on June 19 and echoing Johnson's statement of the same day, Kosygin let it be known that he would "soon" return to Moscow. At that very moment highly placed Soviet and U.S. officials were making arrangements for the talks. Between June 20 and 22 U.S. Secretary of State Rusk and Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko held three talks in rapid succession. On June 22 Rusk went to see Kosygin. To keep them handy for consultation while holding the talks with Kosygin, Johnson ordered Defence Secretary McNamara and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Wheeler to postpone their scheduled "inspection" tour to Saigon.

The venue for the talks, too, was settled on only after cautious discussions. Johnson had wished to receive Kosygin in Washington or at Camp David. Kosygin, on his part, hesitated to agree to this and even made negative gestures, knowing that to be too accommodating about such a meeting would further expose his renegade features in seeking co-operation with the United States. Finally, the two parties settled for Glassboro, a place almost midway between Washington and New York.

In a statement issued after his return to the White House, Johnson gleefully described the Hollybush meetings as "significant and historic" and called for efforts to develop the so-called "Hollybush spirit." He declared that through the talks the United States and the Soviet Union "have made great progress in reducing misunderstanding and in reaffirming our common commitment to seek agreement." "Differences and difficulties" between the two countries "will be lessened, and not increased" hereafter, he added, now that he and Kosygin had "new knowledge of each other." He said that they had agreed that after Kosygin's return home, Gromyko and Rusk would continue the talks in New York and that the leaders of the two countries would moreover "keep in touch in the future through secretaries and ambassadors," and also directly. Shortly afterwards, Kosygin at his press conference in the United Nations also made it clear that through the meetings, both parties had made remarkable progress in increasing their counter-revolutionary collaboration. The talks had resulted in basic agreement on questions for U.S.-Soviet co-operation which "both sides believe are useful," he said.

Closer U.S.-Soviet collaboration against China was a major topic of the Hollybush meetings. The question of so-called "nuclear disarmament" was more immediately directed against China. This was confirmed at Kosygin's press conference by his open attack on China's nuclear tests. In answer to a question, this traitor to the world's revolutionary people made a rabid attack on socialist China for developing its own nuclear arms, claiming that the Soviet Union was against any explosion of nuclear weapons and that China "should adhere" to the fraudulent tripartite partial nuclear test ban treaty. After their talks both Johnson and Kosygin have repeatedly made it clear that in order to retain the U.S.-Soviet nuclear monopoly against China, they have speeded up the pace of their collaboration on this question. In addition to reaching "basic agreement" on a "nuclear non-proliferation treaty" which will be concluded before long at the Geneva disarmament conference, they have probed further into the question of "anti-ballistic missile systems."

At Hollybush Kosygin continued to barter away the interests of the Arab people to U.S. imperialism. Johnson in his White House statement afterwards clearly stated that the United States and the Soviet Union have found "elements of common ground" with regard to the Middle East question. He stressed that the two countries "agreed" on such questions as that Israel "has a right to live," that "there should be an end to the war in the Middle East" and that, as he put it, "in the right circumstances there should be withdrawal of (Israeli) troops." All this was virtually confirmed by Kosygin at his press conference. While pretending to "denounce" Israel and "support" the Arab nations, he at the same time called for efforts "to achieve withdrawal of the (Israeli) forces and then have the Security Council consider all the other questions of the Middle East." This, in essence, conforms to the U.S. proposal for "conditional troop withdrawal"—a proposal for Arab surrender—and prepares the ground for later efforts to force the Arab states to accept humili-

liating terms for such troop withdrawal.

On Vietnam, Kosygin repeated his so-called "condemnation" of the United States. But a host of signs indicate that one of the main topics of the Kosygin-Johnson meetings was precisely increased U.S.-Soviet collaboration in a new scheme to stamp out the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. This was shown by the fact that McNamara postponed his trip to south Vietnam in order to take part in the Hollybush talks and that Harriman, that American specialist on the "peace talks" scheme, was present at the June 25th meeting. In his statement on June 25 Johnson gave fresh hints that the United States planned to collaborate with the Soviet revisionist ruling clique in peddling the "peace talks" hoax once again. "We will match and will out-match every step to peace that others may be ready to take," he said.

The ingratiating obsequiousness which Kosygin showed in meeting Johnson deserves to be put on record. The moment Kosygin met Johnson on June 23, he greeted him "with smiles and warm handshakes" (Reuter). He told Johnson, "you chose a nice place" (AP) and he "smilingly congratulated" Johnson on the birth of his first grandson. The two shook hands "for some 30 seconds." "The smiles and handshakes continued" as the two walked into the conference room (Reuter).

On June 25, Kosygin, following Khrushchov's example, resorted to "family diplomacy." He took his daughter to the meeting place. Johnson, too, brought along his wife and daughter. Soon after he alighted from his car, Kosygin, smiling broadly, warmly shook hands and chatted with Johnson. He had the gall to declare that "I've got so used to it here. It's like homecoming." Then, Kosygin and his daughter posed before the photographers with Johnson and his wife and daughter for "a family portrait, with every one smiling." The two families exchanged gifts. Even Western news agencies were amazed by such brazen

intimacy. The DPA noted in a dispatch that the "intimacy" the leaders of the two countries had achieved in such a short time was "surprising."

#### ENSLAVING INDIA

### Essence of Soviet "Aid"

At a time when the Indian reactionaries are stepping up their anti-China activities, the Soviet revisionist clique is also expanding its "aid" to them.

The Soviet Government has promised to give the Indian regime 200 up-to-date SU-7 fighter bombers, according to a recent report of the Press Trust of India quoting the *New York Times*.

In backing up the Indian reactionaries politically, economically and militarily together with U.S. imperialism, the Soviet revisionists aim to turn India into an anti-China advanced guard and joint Soviet-U.S. military base against China. In the past four years or more since the defeat of India's massive attack on China in October 1962, the Soviet revisionists actually gave more military "aid" to the Indian reactionaries than did U.S. imperialism. This included four submarines, over 50 MIG-21s, 74 transport planes, over 100 helicopters, 100 tanks (with an additional 200 on order) and 17 guided missile launching sites each with six guided missiles (*Washington Evening Star*). Besides, they provided three MIG-21 assembly plants. In addition to this military "aid" which totalled an estimated U.S. \$900 million, the Soviet revisionists have promised to provide India with non-military "aid" valued at U.S. \$2,000 million, the emphasis of which is on helping the Indian reactionaries lay the foundations for an arms industry.

So it has now become a rule that the more frenziedly the Indian reactionaries oppose China the more generous the Soviet "aid" for India becomes and the more actively the Soviet revisionists "aid" India, the more energetically the Indian reactionaries oppose China.

The Soviet revisionists' efforts to strengthen the Indian reactionaries'

military potential are also aimed at supporting American imperialism's schemes for aggression in Asia and menacing India's neighbours. After the recent U.S. announcement of suspension of military "aid" for India and Pakistan, the Soviet revisionists promptly took over the job of supplying military hardware to the Indian reactionaries. This is clearly designed to exert pressure on Pakistan and try and draw the latter into the U.S.-Soviet anti-China alliance.

The Soviet revisionist clique is making an all-out effort to strengthen the Indian military apparatus in order also to help the reactionaries to suppress the people's revolution. As a matter of fact, Soviet military "aid" has encouraged the Indian reactionaries to speed up their armament drive in total disregard of the plight of the broad masses of the Indian people. In the past five years, military expenditures have increased nearly five times. The reactionary Indian government, in its current budget, set aside some 30 per cent of its total expenditure for military spending. It has greatly increased the taxes on many daily necessities of the labouring people. This will cause another spiralling of prices. It is estimated that the cost of living for an average family will increase by some 30 per cent. All this shows that Soviet military "aid" to the Indian reactionaries is aimed at plundering and enslaving the Indian people.

Judging from their "aid" given to India by the Soviet revisionists, it is clear that Soviet "aid" is no different from U.S. "aid." Following the example of U.S. imperialism, the Soviet revisionist clique uses its "aid" to foreign countries as a means of pushing ahead with its neo-colonialist policy. By means of its "aid," it penetrates into the recipient countries economically, politically and militarily, controls and manipulates their ruling cliques and plunders and enslaves their people.

#### THE PHILIPPINES

### Armed Struggle Grows

Stepping up guerrilla warfare on Luzon Island, the Philippine People's

Liberation Army has scored success after success in recent months.

Members of the liberation army won a great victory in the latter part of May when they ambushed a constabulary unit out to suppress the peasants. Early in June, they made three raids in Central Luzon during which they finished off six despotic landlords and agents.

The liberation army is faithfully carrying out the Philippine Communist Party's programme to oppose U.S. imperialism and feudalism. It is waging an active armed struggle and fighting local tyrants and their lackeys. In this, it has the support and backing of the worker-peasant masses and is steadily enlarging its ranks. Even the reactionary *New York Times* had to admit recently

that, in some provinces of Central Luzon, the Philippine Communist Party and the liberation army led by it "have been able to become the most powerful political force." The *American Time* magazine reported that the liberation army "already have control in varying degrees of 1,400 square miles and 500,000 people, but their political power is growing even faster than their geographic boundaries."

The Philippine people have a glorious tradition of armed struggle. They fought heroically against the Japanese imperialists during World War II and won splendid victories. At the end of the war, the U.S. imperialists returned as colonial rulers and brutal suppression of the people's forces followed.

However, the Philippine people refused to bow their heads. Led by the Philippine Communist Party, they carried on the struggle despite many difficulties. After having summed up past lessons and experience and accumulated strength, the liberation army has, with the support of the masses, started new battles against U.S. imperialism and domestic reactionaries.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung has pointed out that "persecution [by the imperialists and reactionaries] of the revolutionary people only serves to accelerate the people's revolution on a broader and more intense scale." Latest developments in the people's armed struggle in the Philippines provide another eloquent proof of this truth.

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