

PEKING REVIEW

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July 15, 1966

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**The Nation Acclaims Reprinting of
Chairman Mao's "Talks at the Yenan
Forum on Literature and Art"**

**Triumphant Closing of Afro-Asian
Writers' Emergency Meeting**

**Peking Mass Rally Condemns U.S.
Bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong**

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FROM CHAIRMAN MAO'S WORKS:

"All our literature and art are for the masses of the people, and in the first place for the workers, peasants and soldiers; they are created for the workers, peasants and soldiers and are for their use."

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

The Nation Acclaims the Reprinting of Chairman Mao's "Yenan Talks"

SINCE Chairman Mao Tse-tung's *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* (see *Peking Review*, 1966, No. 28), that important, epoch-making document, was reprinted by the magazine *Hongqi* and other national dailies and journals, the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals throughout the country, and professional and amateur literary and art workers in particular, deeply encouraged and inspired, have re-studied it and held forums to discuss it. They unanimously agree that the reprinting of this programmatic document of Chairman Mao is an important event in the country's current political life. It marks the beginning of a new stage in the great proletarian cultural revolution. Chairman Mao's *Talks* are the compass, the "magic mirror" to detect demons, and the clarion call that sounds the advance. They are determined to study and apply creatively this brilliant work of Chairman Mao's and use it as a weapon to overthrow completely Chou Yang and company—the representatives of the bourgeoisie inside the Party and bourgeois "authorities" who are against the Party, against socialism and against Mao Tse-tung's thought, thoroughly eradicate their revisionist black line on literature and art which is opposed to Mao Tse-tung's line on literature and art, and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

The Compass for China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

Chou Hui-chin, a young worker at a Shanghai power plant, said that the reprinting of Chairman Mao's epoch-making *Talks* at a time when the current great proletarian cultural revolution has surged to a high tide is a great encouragement to the revolutionary people. This brilliant work, he said, offers, for the first time in the history of the proletarian revolution, the most complete, most thoroughgoing and most correct Marxist-Leninist line on literature and art. We

must study it well, hold aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, open fire on the sinister anti-Party and anti-socialist gang of Chou Yang and company, and sweep away all monsters and demons.

Sung Han-chung, a soldier of the "Good Eighth Company on Nanking Road" stationed in Shanghai, declared that the reprinting of Chairman Mao's *Talks* points out the direction for the main attack in the current struggle. That is, we must thoroughly expose, criticize and repudiate Chou Yang's revisionist line on literature and art. Chou Yang is the head man of the black line of literature and art of the 1930s which for decades has stood in opposition to Mao Tse-tung's line on literature and art; he is the enemy No. 1 of proletarian literature and art. The *Talks* provide us with a sharp weapon for launching a general attack on this nest of revisionist literature and art.

To Chi-chung, an assistant engine-driver from Peking and an amateur literary and art worker, pointed out that Chairman Mao's *Talks* are our "magic mirror" in the current great cultural revolution which will show up every enemy no matter under what cloak he goes or how well he camouflages himself. In the current sharp and complex class struggle, it is all the more imperative for us workers to study the *Talks* well, master this "magic mirror" to eradicate the black anti-Party and anti-socialist line, establish an entirely new proletarian culture, and firmly occupy all ideological and cultural positions. He indignantly revealed how Chou Yang attacked Mao Tse-tung's thought on literature and art and peddled bourgeois rubbish at the National Conference of Young Activists in Spare-Time Creative Writing held in Peking last year. He recalled that Chou Yang openly called on worker, peasant and soldier spare-time writers to learn from bourgeois intellectuals with the obvious aim of preparing public opinion for a counter-revolutionary restoration. The working class, he said, armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, would never be deceived.

Liao Chu-chiang, the well-known activist in the study of Chairman Mao's works and a member of the armed forces in Shenyang, said that Chairman Mao's *Talks* illuminate the road of the great proletarian cultural revolution. With this most complete, most thoroughgoing and most correct Marxist-Leninist line on literature and art, we shall certainly be able to smash the scheme of the bourgeoisie represented by Chou Yang to stage an anti-Party and anti-socialist restoration.

Liquidate Revisionist Black Line, Establish New Proletarian Literature and Art

Chao Chen-ti, a woman textile worker of Shanghai, said: **Chairman Mao pointed out in his *Talks* that "All our literature and art are for the masses of the people, and in the first place for the workers, peasants and soldiers; they are created for the workers, peasants and soldiers and are for their use." These teachings have expressed what was in our minds. The dramas with contemporary revolutionary themes that depict and extol the workers, peasants and soldiers are exactly what we like. Only such literature and art can truly play the role, as Chairman Mao has said, of "uniting and educating the people" and of "attacking and destroying the enemy."** We don't like to see those plays that depict foreign and ancient figures, that concern the loves and romances of young couples who call each other lover and sweetheart all day long. These plays run fundamentally counter to Chairman Mao's line on literature and art. Chairman Mao has said: **"If you are a bourgeois writer or artist, you will eulogize not the proletariat but the bourgeoisie, and if you are a proletarian writer or artist, you will eulogize not the bourgeoisie but the proletariat and working people: it must be one or the other."** Those persons represented by Chou Yang are only keen on old plays, ghost plays and foreign plays, fulsomely eulogizing emperors and kings, generals and prime ministers, scholars and beauties. They are bourgeois writers and artists; we workers, peasants and soldiers do not need them.

Wang Jen-po, a cadre coming from among the workers of a power plant in Shanghai, said: **We workers have the deepest love for the Communist Party and Chairman Mao. We will always sing the praises of the Party and Chairman Mao.** On the pretext of "opposing stereotyped forms for all cases," the members of the sinister anti-Party and anti-socialist gang represented by Chou Yang clamoured about "waging struggles against the tendency to formularization and set concepts" in a vain attempt to exclude and even liquidate the great and eternal theme of eulogizing the Party and Chairman Mao. This scheme will never succeed. **The Party is the force at the very core that leads our revolutionary cause; Chairman Mao is the radiant sun in our hearts and the great standard bearer of the revolutionary people of the world. Whoever opposes eulogy of the Party and Chairman Mao actually opposes the revolution.** Chairman Mao has stated:

". . . That won't work! The proletariat cannot accommodate itself to you; to yield to you would actually be to yield to the big landlord class and the big bourgeoisie and to run the risk of undermining our Party and our country." These words of Chairman Mao have given full expression to the will of us proletarians. We warn Chou Yang and company: We workers, peasants and soldiers will never yield to you. We will for ever extol our great Party, our great leader Chairman Mao and the great and invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung. This holds good now and it will hold good in a hundred years, a thousand years and for ever.

Wang Tao-ming, a deputy company instructor of an army unit in Shenyang, said: Waving the black banner of "literature and art of the entire people," Chou Yang was peddling a black batch of revisionist goods and in so doing, he was paving the way for the so-called "Party of the entire people" and so-called "state of the whole people" advocated by the Khrushchov revisionists. In wantonly denigrating the fundamental line that literature and art serve the proletariat, he vainly attempted to use bourgeois ideas to transform and dominate us. This attempt will never succeed. We insist on the revolutionary spirit of the proletariat advancing to occupy all ideological positions. In our army unit, evening parties are held every month, the singing of songs is heard everywhere, games are played everyday and we have various activities on holidays. Each and every item of these activities serves proletarian politics. All the items we have composed, performed and sung to spread Mao Tse-tung's thought were most inspiring, educative and effective. We not only do not need but must resolutely oppose the bourgeois stuff peddled by Chou Yang.

Workers, Peasants, Soldiers Must Be the Masters Of Socialist Literature and Art

Shanghai shipyard worker Chu Yu-sung declared: **Chairman Mao has said, "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 words are absolutely correct. We workers, peasants and soldiers must respond to the great call of Chairman Mao, take up pens to enter the arena of literature and art and wage a tit-for-tat struggle with the bourgeois "authorities." This is a matter that concerns such vital problems as whether the great proletarian cultural revolution will be completely victorious, whether socialism can be built and the transition to communism can be made. **We workers, peasants and soldiers must be and, without question, are able to be the masters of culture.** We are participants in the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production, and scientific experiment. Compared with others, we workers, peasants and soldiers are in the most favourable position to create literary and art works reflecting our life and struggles. Only in 1958

was I able to discard the designation of illiterate, but since 1959, I have been writing poems. I am a workman in the heat-treating shop. Those bourgeois "poets" treated us workers with disdain, and never wrote any poems to praise us workers in the heat-treating shop. So I determined to write them myself. I wrote my first poem in 1959 and my worker colleagues were elated. They said: That's really good! It puts strength into us! So, in the past few years I have written nearly 300 poems. I must arm myself with Chairman Mao's *Talks* to seize hold of all cultural positions, to fight hard for the creation of proletarian literature and art.

Spare-time peasant story-teller **Lu Yen-hua** of Chingpu County, Shanghai, said: **Chairman Mao has pointed out in his *Talks*: "In the world today all culture, all literature and art belong to definite classes and are geared to definite political lines."** So the question of "who," "for whom," or "what" to write with the pen is vital. **We must place our pens under the command of the Party and Chairman Mao. The most important thing here is that we workers, peasants and soldiers must take a tight grasp on the pen, because we are the ones who follow most closely the teachings of the Party and of Chairman Mao.** During these past years, educated and trained by the Party, I have striven to make Chairman Mao's *Talks* my supreme guide in revolutionary story-telling. While taking an active part in physical labour, I told nearly a hundred revolutionary stories. In recent years, arming myself with Chairman Mao's thought and toppling superstitious ideas, I have written many revolutionary stories which spread Mao Tse-tung's thought and eulogize the poor and lower-middle peasants. They are warmly received by the poor and lower-middle peasants. **In his *Talks*, Chairman Mao has pointed out: "No revolutionary writer or artist can do any meaningful work unless he is closely linked with the masses, gives expression to their thoughts and feelings and serves them as a loyal spokesman."** This is the guiding principle for us workers, peasants and soldiers in creating works of literature and art. I am determined to act in accordance with this instruction of Chairman Mao, to do my best to occupy and consolidate the positions of socialist culture in the countryside.

Liao Chu-chiang said: All culture is created by the labouring people. For a long time past, the feudal landlord class and bourgeoisie monopolized and used it, in turn, as an instrument to oppress and enslave us. In the current great cultural revolution, Chairman Mao is leading us to take back the leadership of culture. We can drive the "respected master" of the sinister gang completely from the stage of culture, and not only this, we ourselves can bravely come out on to the stage of culture. I only studied for three years before joining the army, but encouraged by my boundless and ardent love for the Party and Chairman Mao, on July 1 this year, for the first time in my life I wrote and sent a poem to a newspaper. There are countless things I want to speak of. We must keep a firm grip on both our guns and pens, and use these two to protect the

dictatorship of the proletariat and to guard the great thought of Mao Tse-tung.

Carry the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution Through to the End

Wu Nien-hsiu, a cadre who was formerly a Shanghai cotton mill worker, pointed out: **"Chairman Mao says in the *Talks*: 'Literature and art are subordinate to politics, but in their turn exert a great influence on politics.'** Re-reading this teaching of Chairman Mao and linking it with the current great cultural revolution, I feel even more clear-minded and keen-sighted. If the proletariat does not go in to occupy the cultural positions, the bourgeoisie is bound to take them. A person influenced by revolutionary literature and art can become even more revolutionary, whereas one under the influence of bourgeois literature and art may abandon the revolution and even become counter-revolutionary. In the present great cultural revolution, we must act in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions, resolutely re-take all the cultural positions and wipe out the influence of all reactionary ideologies, bourgeois as well as others."

The revolutionary teachers and students of the arts' departments in Szechuan University, and in the Teachers' College, Conservatory of Music and other higher educational institutions in that province, unanimously agreed: This great work represents the glorious summit in the development of Marxist theory on literature and art in the present era. It is the supreme guide in the educational revolution in the arts' departments of the higher educational institutions. It is the compass for the great proletarian cultural revolution. They declared that, using the *Talks* as their weapon, they are determined to thoroughly eradicate the poisonous influence of the revisionist black line on literature and art represented by Chou Yang in the arts' departments of the higher educational institutions, and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

At a recent discussion meeting, the literary and art workers of the Experimental Opera Troupe of Hupeh Province joyously acclaimed the reprinting of Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*. They recalled that during the past ten years and more, a sharp struggle had been going on continuously in their troupe between the proletarian red line on literature and art and the bourgeois black line on literature and art, and between peaceful evolution and opposition to peaceful evolution. In this struggle, they came to understand clearly that whenever they paid increased attention to the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works and were more conscientious in carrying out Chairman Mao's teachings on literature and art, fine operas like *The Red Guards of Lake Hunghu* were created, a completely new situation emerged in the troupe and they were warmly supported by the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers. And conversely, whenever they came more under the impact and in-

(Continued on p.24)

Premier Chou En-lai's Speech at Banquet Celebrating Close of Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting

- The great unity of the Afro-Asian people is to isolate U.S. imperialism and its lackeys and deal blows at them.
- The united front against U.S. imperialism absolutely must not include the Soviet revisionist leading clique and the Indian reactionaries.
- The Chinese people will for ever remain loyal to the great thought of Mao Tse-tung.
- The Chinese people will never fail to live up to the earnest hopes which the people of the world have placed in us.

Dear guests,

Dear friends and comrades,

The Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting has come to a victorious close today.

Holding aloft the militant banner of opposing imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism headed by the United States, your meeting has rendered powerful support to the peoples of Asia, Africa and the world in

their anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle and to the heroic Vietnamese people in their struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. Giving play to the spirit of democratic consultation, your meeting has held full discussions on the question of developing the new national culture, literature and art of Asia and Africa, and has achieved tremendous successes. It is a revolutionary meeting, a meeting of solidarity and a meeting of victory.

Together with Comrades Kang Sheng, Chen Po-ta and Tao Chu, I now extend warm congratulations to you on behalf of the Chinese people and Government. At the same time, we extend revolutionary and militant greetings to you Afro-Asian writers on behalf of the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and the revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals of the country, who are all engaged in the great cultural revolution under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought and under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party.



A grand banquet in celebration of the triumphant conclusion of the Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting was given on July 9 by Chou En-lai, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Premier; Kang Sheng, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau and Member of the Secretariat of the Party's Central Committee and Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress; Chen Po-ta, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau of the Party's Central Committee and leader of the Central Committee's group in charge of the cultural revolution; and Tao Chu, Member of the Secretariat of the Party's Central Committee, Head of the Propaganda Department under the Central Committee and Vice-Premier. The photo shows Chou En-lai, Kang Sheng (second from right), Chen Po-ta (second from left), and Tao Chu (first from left) proposing toasts to foreign friends.



Chairman Liu Shao-chi and other Party and state leaders on July 9 received delegates to the Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting, and observers.

In the course of your meeting, U.S. imperialism raised its war of aggression against Vietnam to a new and still graver stage. The United States is now declaring over and over again its intention of fighting to the finish in southern Vietnam; evidently, its purpose is to force the Vietnamese people into begging for peace, or, failing this, to destroy Vietnam. But the heroic Vietnamese people absolutely will not submit to the U.S. war blackmail, nor will all countries and people genuinely supporting the Vietnamese people's war of resistance against U.S. aggression waver before the U.S. war blackmail. The United States will never succeed in its objective.

At the crucial moment of the U.S. imperialist expansion of the war of aggression against Vietnam, all countries and people that genuinely support the Vietnamese people's war of resistance against U.S. aggression can have only one answer to the challenge of U.S. imperialism, namely, to render with all their strength unreserved political, military, economic and moral support to the Vietnamese people in driving the U.S. bandits out of Vietnam. The Chinese people and Government have been doing this from the very first day of U.S. aggression against Vietnam. Whatever the risk and whatever the price, we are determined to support and aid the fraternal Vietnamese people till they win the final victory.

This is a life-and-death struggle. One either defeats U.S. imperialism or submits to it. There is no middle road. All revolutionary people of the world must cast away any illusion whatsoever, believe in and

rely on the people's strength, unite as one and persevere in the struggle so as thoroughly to defeat the U.S. aggressors.

It is precisely at this crucial moment that the Indian Government has put forward the proposal for reconvening the Geneva Conference. This proposal is solely designed to throw dust in the eyes of the people of the world and sap the fighting will of the Vietnamese people. It can be seen at the first glance that this is rendering service to the United States.

China was a participating nation of the 1954 Geneva Conference. It must be pointed out that the Geneva agreements

were long ago torn to shreds by the United States. Speaking of the Geneva agreements, the United States must unconditionally withdraw its armed forces from Vietnam immediately, completely, thoroughly and totally. Unless the U.S. troops are withdrawn, the reconvening of the Geneva Conference is entirely out of the question.

Again at this crucial moment and while the United States is expanding its armed forces and extending its war in Vietnam, the Soviet revisionist leading clique preposterously declared that the U.S. bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong would not affect U.S.-Soviet collaboration and the reaching of a disarmament agreement. This is a most open and bare-faced betrayal of the Vietnamese people.

Everyone can see what an ignominious role the Indian reactionaries and the Soviet revisionist leading clique are playing in the U.S. imperialist expansion of its war of aggression against Vietnam. In order to isolate U.S. imperialism to the maximum and deal it the heaviest possible blows, it is necessary for the people of Asia, Africa and the whole world constantly to expand and strengthen in all spheres the united front against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. This united front must be based on the great unity of the revolutionary people of the whole world and must include all countries and people subjected to U.S. imperialist aggression, intervention, control or bullying; but it absolutely must not include the Soviet revisionist leading clique and the Indian reactionaries. On the contrary,

they can only be the targets of struggle by the international anti-U.S. united front.

Comrades and friends! From their own personal experience, the Afro-Asian people have learnt that in order to win genuine freedom and liberation, they must unfold a great revolution in the field of culture and ideology while striving for complete political independence and economic self-reliance. The common task before us Afro-Asian peoples is to smash the corrupt and reactionary old culture and ideology of imperialism and colonialism and to establish and develop the anti-imperialist, revolutionary national new culture and ideology of the broad masses. Your meeting has made outstanding contributions to this end. We are convinced that your work will vastly help the great struggle of the Afro-Asian peoples for solidarity against imperialism.

Friends and comrades! At the meeting you expressed warm congratulations on the 45th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese Communist Party. Many delegates have paid warm tribute to Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of the Chinese people, and to the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, and they spoke highly of China's great socialist cultural revolution. This

is an expression of infinite confidence in and support for the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung. It gives impetus and encouragement to the Chinese people in studying and applying Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought still better. For this we express heartfelt thanks to our friends. You can rest assured that the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Government and people will for ever remain loyal to the great thought of Mao Tse-tung and will never fail to live up to the earnest hopes which the people of the world have placed in us.

Now may we propose a toast

to the brilliant victory of the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation,

to the great anti-imperialist, revolutionary unity of the Afro-Asian writers and people,

to the great victory of the Afro-Asian people and the people of the world in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism headed by the United States, and

to the health of our friends and comrades present here!

Communique of the Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting

July 9, 1966

- Calls upon the people of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the world to support the Vietnamese people in completely defeating the U.S. aggressors.
- The Meeting decides that the Third Afro-Asian Writers' Conference will be held in the People's Republic of China.
- The Meeting passed a series of 37 resolutions expressing support for the struggles of the people of various countries and providing for the strengthening of the Afro-Asian writers' movement.

Following is the full text of communique of the Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting. Boldface emphases are ours. — Ed.

WARMLY responding to the invitation of the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau, 161 writer delegates from 53 countries and regions of Asia and Africa and observers from 5 international organizations have come to Peking, capital of the People's Republic of China, to attend the Emergency Meeting of the Afro-Asian Writers from June 27 to July 9, 1966, to discuss the following agenda:

1) Support for the Vietnamese people in their struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression, for the

liberation of the south, for the defence of the north, and for the reunification of their motherland.

2) Tasks of the writers in the Afro-Asian people's struggle against imperialism headed by the United States and for the winning and safeguarding of national independence.

3) Opposition to cultural aggression from imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism; and development of national culture of the peoples of Afro-Asian countries.

The successful holding of the meeting, the most representative and largest of its kind ever held in our continents, is a crushing blow to the deliberate schemes

of imperialism and its accomplices to sabotage and undermine it.

The Meeting heard the General Report of the Secretary-General of the Bureau, two special reports on Vietnam by the delegations of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation and several other sub-reports.

The Meeting warmly thanks all the heads of state and political, workers' and popular organizations for their messages of greetings and encouragements that they addressed to the Meeting.

Promptly reacting to the wanton bombing of Hanoi, capital of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and Haiphong, and voicing the boundless indignation of the Afro-Asian peoples, it issued an urgent appeal strongly condemning this piratical action of U.S. imperialism and expressing resolute support for the just struggle of the Vietnamese brothers. The Meeting considers that since U.S. imperialism has further expanded its war of aggression, the people of various countries have every right to support and assist the Vietnamese people by all the means at their disposal.

The Meeting unanimously passed a Resolution on Vietnam in which it expresses total approval of and unreserved support for the four-point stand of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the five-part statement of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, considering them as the only correct stand upon which the Vietnam problem should be solved. It also calls upon the Afro-Asian peoples to expose and condemn all forms of "peace negotiations" hoax of U.S. imperialism and its accomplices. The Meeting considers it absolutely just for the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation to reject the so-called "peace negotiations" of U.S. imperialism.

The Meeting calls on the people of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the world to do their utmost to give maximum support to the Vietnamese people in their struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression and for national salvation. This support should be maintained and strengthened ever more until the complete collapse of the American aggressors and their total expulsion from Vietnam.

The Meeting has also adopted a series of resolutions expressing firm support for the struggle of all the peoples of Asia and Africa against imperialism and colonialism, old and new: British, French, Portuguese, Spanish, Belgian, headed by the United States of America, and against racialism and Zionism and for winning and safeguarding their national independence. The Meeting extends wholehearted support to the armed struggles and all other forms of patriotic struggles against imperialism headed by the United States in Laos, Thailand, Malaya (including Singapore), North Kalimantan, Indonesia, Kashmir and in other parts of Asia; in Palestine, occupied south Yemen, Oman and in other Arab countries which have

been divided and sub-divided by the imperialists; in the Congo (L), Angola, Mozambique, Niger, "Portuguese" Guinea, Ghana, Malgache, Zimbabwe, Azania, Basutoland and other carved-up countries in southern Africa.

The Meeting unanimously considers that **the principal task of the Afro-Asian peoples at present is to eliminate completely all forces and influences of imperialism and colonialism in the political, economic and cultural domains and to carry the struggle for national liberation through to the end.**

The Meeting emphasizes that **U.S. imperialism is the most ferocious enemy of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and of the whole world. These peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the world over have thus the pressing duty to forge a genuine and strong international united front in order to annihilate these evil forces: U.S. imperialism and its accomplices. The Afro-Asian writers are determined to make maximum contributions to this united front against U.S. imperialism.**

The Meeting considers that the Afro-Asian writers must defend their national culture and create, develop and enrich this culture. They should therefore immediately undertake the realization of a national new culture and new literature and art of the people which serve the anti-imperialist revolution, and struggle relentlessly against all imperialist, colonialist, neo-colonialist as well as other reactionary, decadent culture and literature and art. The Afro-Asian writers regard this determination as a sacred task and will dedicate their works to the struggle of their peoples.

In the framework of safeguarding and defending the Afro-Asian writers' movement against the attempts and schemes of the imperialists and their accomplices, the Meeting supports the solemn statement of the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau dated June 23, 1966, condemning the splittist meeting. The Meeting considers that **all the illegal decisions made there, including the one regarding the holding of a so-called Afro-Asian writers' conference in Baku, are acts sabotaging the unity of Afro-Asian writers and disrupting the entire Afro-Asian peoples' cause of unity against imperialism.**

The Meeting energetically supports the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau which met in Peking, and declares that **the Bureau is the sole organ responsible for the administration and activities of the Afro-Asian writers until the convocation of the Third Conference.**

The Meeting condemns in advance all splittist manoeuvres and attempts that may be manifested before the next Conference.

With the aim of further consolidating the Afro-Asian Writers' Movement and its Bureau and making maximum contributions to the struggle of the Afro-Asian peoples, **the Meeting decides that the Third Afro-Asian Writers' Conference will be held in the People's Republic of China.**

Resolution on the Vietnam Problem

WE, representatives of writers of Asian and African countries attending the Emergency Meeting of Asian and African Writers in support of the Vietnamese people against American imperialist aggression, held in Peking, capital of the People's Republic of China, from June 27 to July 9, 1966, have made a survey of the serious situation caused by the American imperialists' war of aggression in Vietnam.

After hearing the reports on the situation in Vietnam presented by the representative of the Vietnam Writers' Association and the representative of the Literature and Art Association for the Liberation of South Vietnam, in the name of the writers and people of Asian and African countries, we denounce with immense anger the criminal war of aggression against Vietnam waged by the American imperialists, and express our warm support for the valiant struggle waged by the Vietnamese people in both North and South Vietnam against the American aggressors to defend their national rights.

For 12 years now, the American imperialists have conducted uninterrupted aggression against Vietnam. They have trampled underfoot the Vietnamese people's sacred national rights: independence, sovereignty, unity, and territorial integrity, and seriously sabotaged the 1954 Geneva agreements which they had solemnly recognized. Together with their puppets, the traitors, they have pursued extremely cruel policies aimed at turning South Vietnam into a new-type colony and military base for aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and other countries in Indo-China and Southeast Asia; they had hoped that the South Vietnamese people would surrender to them. But the people of heroic South Vietnam have refused to submit. They have courageously risen up to struggle uninterruptedly, with arms in their hands, against the American aggressors and their valets, storming ahead to score success after success. The American imperialists' "special war" came to grief. In the hope of saving themselves from total collapse, the American imperialists on the one hand rashly sent hundreds of thousands of troops to South Vietnam, and on the other, brazenly started air and naval attacks against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, a member of the socialist camp and an independent and sovereign country. Frenziedly intensifying their war of aggression against both zones of Vietnam, the American imperialists have perpetrated untold barbarous crimes against the Vietnamese people, which have been vigorously condemned by men of conscience all over the world.

In South Vietnam, the American imperialists have introduced to date over 280,000 American troops, over

30,000 troops from American satellite countries, and used over half a million puppet troops, for intensifying their war of aggression in the hope of seizing South Vietnam by force. The American troops have put to current and general use thousands of tons of toxic chemicals and poison gases, hundreds of thousands of tons of phosphorus and napalm bombs; they have used B-52 bombers, etc., to massacre the civilian population, old folk, women, children, and to destroy crops and villages. Since the beginning of 1965, they have repeatedly launched big-scale operations and carried out wherever they went the policy of "burning all, destroying all, and killing all" in the hope of subduing the people of South Vietnam.

In North Vietnam, the American imperialists have violated in a brazen and dastardly manner the sovereignty of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam; they have used air and naval forces for wanton attacks on villages and hamlets, towns and cities, schools, hospitals, kindergartens, churches, pagodas, market-places, mines, factories, fields, dams and dykes, bridges, roads, etc. On June 29 and 30, 1966, the American imperialists bombed and strafed Hanoi, the capital of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and the port of Haiphong, the second largest city in North Vietnam, thus intensifying their war of "escalation" to a new and extremely serious degree.

Parallel to the intensification of their war of aggression against both zones of Vietnam, North and South, the American imperialists have stepped up their war of aggression in Laos, using even B-52 strategic bombers to conduct bombing and strafing raids on many places in the liberated zones of the Laotian people, and have never ceased to violate the sovereignty and territory of the peaceful and neutral Kingdom of Cambodia.

To conduct aggression on both zones of Vietnam, the American imperialists have used not only their forces in South Vietnam and the forces of their Seventh Fleet off the shore of Vietnam, but also their forces stationed in Thailand, Guam, Okinawa, the Philippines, etc. The American imperialists' war of aggression in Vietnam has seriously sabotaged peace in Indo-China, trampled on all agreements and international laws, on fundamental national rights, attacked the national-liberation movement which is rising tempestuously in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, and threatened peace in Southeast Asia and the world.

The scope of the crimes perpetrated by the American imperialists against the Vietnamese people proves that they are the most ferocious war criminals of our time. The facts in Vietnam prove that the American imperialists are even more barbarous, more cruel and

more damnable than the Hitlerian fascists formerly. The American imperialists are the enemy number one of the people of Vietnam, of Asia and Africa, and of the whole world. The crimes they have committed in Vietnam have provoked the wrath of conscientious writers in Asia and Africa and of peace- and justice-loving writers all over the world.

The struggle being waged by the Vietnamese people against American imperialist aggression to defend national independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity is a wholly just struggle. In this struggle, the heroic Vietnamese people have set a brilliant example representative of the valiant fighting spirit and the determination to win independence and freedom of the Asian and African peoples, in the face of all schemes and violence of the imperialist forces, headed by the U.S. imperialists and their reactionary flunkys.

The people of South Vietnam have perseveringly and courageously struggled over the past 12 years against the American imperialists and their flunkys, and repeatedly foiled their schemes of aggression and enslavement. Following the massive sendings of American troops to South Vietnam, the valiant South Vietnamese people have continued to give a strong impetus to their war of resistance for national salvation, holding firm the initiative in uninterrupted attacks on the enemy, whether in the dry or rainy season, dealing heavy blows to him in mountain regions, in the plains and in the towns and cities, and scoring great political and military victories. During the five months of the dry season alone (from November 1965 to March 1966), when the American aggressors had nursed wild hopes of winning back the initiative, the people and armed forces of valiant South Vietnam put out of action 114,000 enemy troops, among them over 43,000 American and satellite troops, shot down or destroyed on the ground 1,440 aircraft, destroyed or damaged 1,310 military vehicles of various types, etc. Having suffered heavy setbacks during the past dry season, the American imperialist aggressors are suffering still heavier defeats in the present rainy season.

The people of heroic North Vietnam with their invincible popular armed forces have fought with extreme gallantry and meted out deserved punishment to the American aggressors. To date, over 1,100 U.S. aircraft have been shot down, and a large number of U.S. air pirates killed or captured. Under barbarous bombings by the U.S. aggressors, the North Vietnamese people none the less step up production work, go on with the building of the material and technical bases of socialism in the North, with the watchwords: "The hammer in one hand, a gun in the other"—"driving the plough with one hand while holding a gun in the other." The more bombings are carried out by the U.S. aggressors, the higher rises the emulation movement against U.S. aggression for national salvation. Agricultural and industrial production develops strongly. Cultural and artistic activities become more and more an efficient weapon in the fight against U.S. imperialist aggression.

American bombs and shells dropped on North Vietnam have made her 19 million people rise in anger and hatred, united in one solid bloc under the leading banner of the Vietnam Workers' Party and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam headed by President Ho Chi Minh, determined to fight to the end together with their 14 million southern compatriots against the American aggressors to defend the North, liberate the South and progress towards national reunification.

The Meeting sends its cordial greetings and expresses its militant solidarity with the heroic Vietnamese people now standing on the world peoples' frontline of struggle against American imperialism, to the patriotic and progressive writers of South Vietnam now standing shoulder to shoulder with their compatriots in their valiant struggle against the American imperialists and their agents amidst extremely hard and difficult conditions, to the writers of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam who are courageously working and writing to serve their people and their Fatherland against American imperialist aggression. The Meeting expresses its profound admiration for the heroic people of both North and South Vietnam.

Facing the spirit of heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people of both zones, the American imperialists have suffered repeated heavy defeats. However, due to their reactionary, aggressive and obdurate nature, they have refused to give up their aggressive designs on Vietnam. The more defeats they suffer, the more frenziedly they intensify their war of aggression. In order to cover up their abominable crimes, every time they push their war of aggression against Vietnam, the American imperialists noisily advertise deceitful propositions about their "will for peace" and about "unconditional negotiations." But the mendacious "peace" catchwords of the American imperialists can deceive no one. The people of Vietnam, the people of Asian and African countries, and the people of the whole world have clearly seen that the so-called "peace negotiations" proposed by U.S. President Johnson are but a smokescreen designed to cover up the intensification and expansion of the American imperialists' war of aggression against Vietnam.

The American imperialists have rigged up in South Vietnam a puppet administration serving as a tool for repression of the South Vietnamese people. Under the pretext of keeping their "commitments" to their agents, the Saigon puppet administration, they have launched a war of aggression on Vietnam. But everyone knows that the Saigon puppets are but traitors to Vietnam, contemptible flunkys of the American imperialists. They not only cannot represent the people of South Vietnam but are also despised, spat on and cursed by the latter. In face of the armed struggle and political struggle of the South Vietnamese people, the puppet administration rigged up in Saigon by the American imperialists is clearly disintegrating and will not escape collapse. The situation recently prevailing in the towns

and cities of South Vietnam is additional proof of that.

The South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, the sole genuine representative of the people of South Vietnam, has rallied all strata of the South Vietnamese people in the great struggle against the American imperialists for self-liberation. The programme of the Front faithfully reflects the interest and aspirations of the people of South Vietnam. Under the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation's clear-sighted leadership, the South Vietnamese people have fought heroically and liberated four-fifths of the territory of South Vietnam with a population of over 10 million. In the regions still temporarily under the control of the American imperialists and their agents, political and military struggle is being expanded. The Front's prestige is mounting at home and abroad.

The Vietnamese people's valiant struggle proves that no matter how many more troops the American imperialists send in, no matter how many modern weapons they resort to, they will not escape defeat in face of the "determined to fight and win" spirit of a people who have united and risen up to struggle against foreign aggression for their liberation. The Vietnamese people's valiant struggle and glorious victories prove that the American imperialists, though ferocious, are not to be feared. Through their heroic and continuously victorious struggle the Vietnamese people have proved to the world that it is wholly possible to defeat the American imperialists. In fact, the American imperialists have suffered and are suffering repeated and heavy setbacks in both zones of Vietnam. By their valiant struggle, the Vietnamese people have set a shining example of resolute struggle against aggressive imperialism for self-liberation. The Vietnamese people's struggle against American imperialism for national salvation is the apex of the struggle being waged by the peoples of the world against American imperialism, the enemy number one of mankind. This struggle is an extremely great source of encouragement for the people of Asian and African countries and of other countries of the world now engaged in struggle against imperialism, and colonialism old and new, headed by American imperialism. This struggle is an extremely precious contribution to the support for the struggle movement of the people of various countries for national independence, democracy, peace and social progress. The people of all countries of the world have the duty to extend to this struggle warm sympathy and wholehearted support.

We, representatives of Asian and African writers attending the Emergency Meeting of Asian and African writers in support of the Vietnamese people against American imperialist aggression, after a general survey of the situation in Vietnam, have unanimously passed the following resolution:

- To severely condemn the American imperialists for carrying out a barbarous war of aggression against the Vietnamese people, brazenly violat-

ing the national independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Vietnam;

- To warmly hail the heroic Vietnamese people in both zones, North and South, of Vietnam, who are valiantly struggling against American imperialist aggression, and who, in the face of the intensification of American armed aggression, have dealt and are dealing crushing blows at the American aggressors;
- To express total approval of and unreserved support for the four-point stand of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the five-point declaration of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, considering them as the only correct stand on which to solve the Vietnam problem;
- To recognize the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation as the sole genuine representative of the 14 million South Vietnamese people; the internal affairs of South Vietnam must be settled by the South Vietnamese people themselves in accordance with the programme of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation;
- To call on Asian and African writers, members of the Asian and African Writers' Organization, and on all other progressive and democratic writers in the world to give all-out support to the Vietnamese people in their sacred struggle for national salvation against American imperialist aggression.

Asian and African writers!

Writers in all countries!

Men of conscience all over the world!

The American imperialists are conducting an extremely barbarous war in Vietnam. Although having suffered heavy defeats and getting into a more and more dangerous situation, they are stubbornly intensifying and expanding their war of aggression. By continuing to "escalate" the war of aggression in Vietnam, they are seriously threatening peace in Southeast Asia and the world. Stop the blood-stained hands of the American imperialists! The heroic Vietnamese people are shedding their blood to stop the American imperialists' aggression. Give wholehearted, timely and all-out support to their resistance war against American imperialism and for national salvation, by all effective means!

Denounce severely, before the whole of mankind, the barbarous crimes perpetrated by the American imperialists in Vietnam!

Expose the "peace negotiations" hoax of the American imperialists!

Demand that the American imperialists put an end to their war of aggression in Vietnam, withdraw all U.S. and satellite troops from South Vietnam, dismantle all U.S. military bases in South Vietnam!

Demand that the American imperialists put an immediate, definite and unconditional end to their bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam!

The South Vietnamese people must be left to settle their own affairs in accordance with the programme of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, without any interference from the American imperialists!

The Vietnamese people in both zones of Vietnam must be left to settle themselves the problem of the reunification of Vietnam without any interference from the American imperialists!

The people of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, the people of the socialist countries, the people of the

whole world, united and struggling resolutely, will certainly inflict total defeat on the American imperialists' aggressive designs!

Let the American people and American progressive writers, who have valiantly struggled against the American Government's war of aggression in Vietnam, struggle still more vigorously against the American Government, unite closely with the people of Vietnam and of the whole world, and bring to failure the American imperialists' war of aggression in Vietnam!

The American imperialists will certainly be defeated!

The Vietnamese people will certainly win!

(For other resolutions see pp. 38-55.—Ed.)

人民日报
RENMIN RIBAO

The Militant Banner of Afro-Asian Solidarity Is Flying High

—Hail the Victorious Conclusion of the Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting—

THE Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting which attracted world attention came to a successful conclusion on July 9. For almost two weeks, 161 writer-delegates from 53 countries and regions of Asia and Africa, in a thorough, lively, extensive and democratic manner, discussed the urgent common tasks facing the Afro-Asian peoples in their struggle, and adopted a communique and 37 resolutions. In doing this they thereby contributed greatly to the Afro-Asian peoples' cause of solidarity against imperialism. This meeting was a milestone in the history of the Afro-Asian writers' movement, and it was a revolutionary meeting and a meeting of solidarity and a victorious meeting for the Afro-Asian peoples.

The emergency meeting was a great demonstration of the 2,000 million Afro-Asian peoples against the imperialists headed by the United States. Of late, the imperialists and their accomplices have raised a hue and cry, alleging that Afro-Asian solidarity is "meeting a crisis" and that the Afro-Asian spirit "no longer exists." But they have rejoiced too soon. The brilliant historic success of the Peking meeting is a vivid proof that the Afro-Asian spirit of solidarity against imperialism has a most exuberant and invincible vitality.

The Afro-Asian peoples have won another great victory, while imperialism and its accomplices have suffered another ignominious defeat.

How proudly the banner of Afro-Asian solidarity against imperialism is flying in the golden sunshine! The Peking meeting has brought the Afro-Asian writers' movement to an entirely new stage. A staunch revolutionary anti-imperialist spirit prevailed throughout. The communique and resolutions adopted firmly oppose imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, firmly oppose in particular the policies of aggression and war of U.S. imperialism, which is the No. 1 enemy of the Afro-Asian peoples, and resolutely support the liberation struggles of all oppressed peoples and oppressed nations in Asia, Africa and other parts of the world. The communique of the meeting sternly condemns all sinister schemes to undermine the unity of Afro-Asian writers. The meeting also adopted resolutions expressing strong opposition to the Western imperialists' cultural aggression against the Afro-Asian countries and calling for the development by the Afro-Asian countries of a new culture which is anti-imperialist, revolutionary, popular and national in character. All this reflects the common desire of the Afro-Asian peoples for solid-

arity, independence and freedom and for carrying the anti-imperialist, revolutionary struggle through to the end.

Vietnam is at present the scene of the fiercest contest in the international struggle and the frontline of the Asian and African peoples' anti-imperialist struggle. The central topic of discussion at this meeting was opposition to U.S. imperialist armed aggression against Vietnam and support for the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. The 2,000 million Afro-Asian peoples stand by the heroic, fighting Vietnamese people. Enjoying the support of the peoples of Asia, Africa and the rest of the world, and persisting in their war of resistance against U.S. aggression, the Vietnamese people will surely be able to drive all the U.S. aggressors out of the territory of Vietnam and win final victory in their cause of resisting U.S. aggression and saving the country. Those who run errands for U.S. imperialism and openly or secretly peddle the Johnson Administration's "peace talks" fraud are despicably betraying the revolutionary cause of the Vietnamese people as well as the revolutionary cause of the Asian and African peoples. Their dirty dealings will inevitably be exposed and smashed in the powerful anti-U.S. current of the people of Vietnam and the world.

Today an unprecedentedly fierce and big battle is going on between the revolutionary people of the world, particularly the peoples of Asia and Africa, and the counter-revolutionary forces of imperialism headed by the United States. Millions upon millions of people are steadily joining the powerful revolutionary movement while a handful of pseudo-revolutionary and counter-revolutionary scum and dregs will inevitably be cleaned out and swept away. The Soviet revisionist leading group is striving to undermine Afro-Asian solidarity and the revolutionary cause of the Afro-Asian peoples, and has degenerated into an accomplice of U.S. imperialism. It has thus placed itself in antagonism with the Afro-Asian peoples and the people of the world. The peoples of Asia, Africa and the whole world are further expanding and strengthening the international united front against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. This is a genuine and not false, a broad and not narrow, international united front. It should include all countries and peoples subjected to aggression, interference, control and bullying by U.S. imperialism, but definitely should not include the Soviet revisionist leading group because it is an accomplice of and co-plottor with U.S. imperialism. It was not fortuitous that in their speeches, the delegates pointed out that to oppose imperialism, it was imperative to oppose revisionism.

In their speeches at this Peking meeting, delegates from many countries praised Chairman Mao and Mao Tse-tung's thought from the bottom of their hearts and in the most glowing terms. They said that Chairman Mao is "the great teacher and leader of the people of the world," "the great helmsman of China and the

whole world" and "the greatest hope of the oppressed people." They said that the great thought of Mao Tse-tung is "the acme of Marxism-Leninism in the present era," "the inextinguishable torch and red sun of the revolutionaries of the whole world," and a "weapon more powerful than the atomic bomb."

The Chinese people sincerely thank the Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting for its correct international appraisal of the great thought of Mao Tse-tung and for its praise of China's experience in revolution and construction. The Chinese people attach much importance to the experience of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples in their struggle against imperialism and the revolutionary experience of the European and American peoples. They hold that these experiences are all worth studying by the Chinese people.

This meeting took place in the midst of the vigorous upsurge of the great proletarian cultural revolution in China. The meeting shows that the revolutionary people and progressive writers of the Afro-Asian countries have, from their own experience, deeply realized that to attain complete liberation, the oppressed nations and oppressed people must not only win complete political independence and rely on their own efforts to achieve economic regeneration, but also resolutely smash the reactionary and decadent old culture and old ideology of imperialism and colonialism and build up and develop their own new culture and new ideology which is of an anti-imperialist, revolutionary, popular and national character. The contribution made by the meeting in this respect will greatly help the unfolding of the Afro-Asian peoples' anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle and be a tremendous inspiration to the Chinese people.

Broad sections of the Chinese people have expressed their heartfelt welcome to their friends the Afro-Asian writers and their warm support for the emergency meeting. This is a vivid expression of the great solidarity and militant friendship between the Chinese people and the other Afro-Asian peoples. We are especially happy that the Third Afro-Asian Writers' Conference will be held in Peking. We are eagerly looking forward to the militant gathering with the writer-delegates from Asian and African countries once again next year and exchanging experience in struggle with them.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "What imperialism fears most is the awakening of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples, the awakening of the peoples of all countries. We should unite and drive U.S. imperialism from Asia, Africa, and Latin America back to where it came from." Afro-Asian writers and Afro-Asian peoples, unite! Let us hold still higher the militant banner of opposing U.S.-led imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and march forward courageously towards the bright future!

("Renmin Ribao" editorial, July 10.)

Raise High the Great Red Banner of Mao Tse-tung's Thought and Carry the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution Through to the End

— Essential Points for Propaganda and Education in Connection With the Great Cultural Revolution

"Jiefangjun Bao" (Liberation Army Daily) published on June 6 the essential points for propaganda and education in connection with the great cultural revolution. These points were reprinted in "Renmin Ribao" and other Peking papers, and the editor's note in "Renmin Ribao" pointed out: "These essential points recount in popular form the historical situation of the struggles that have been waged on the ideological and cultural fronts in China since liberation, between the two classes—the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and between the two roads—the road of socialism and the road of capitalism. They expound Chairman Mao's important instructions on the line of the proletarian cultural revolution; they analyse the excellent situation existing in the great proletarian cultural revolution at the present time, and point out the nature and significance, and the profound and far-reaching influence of this great revolution. They bring to the commanders and fighters of the Liberation Army the militant call to be thoroughgoing proletarian revolutionaries and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end. These essential points are also suited to the broad masses of workers and peasants and to the revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals. It is hoped that all people will organize the study and discussion of them and thus push the current, vigorously unfolding great cultural revolution a further step forward." The full text of these essential points follows. — P.R. Ed.

IN response to the militant call of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the high tide of the great proletarian cultural revolution has been sweeping through the whole of China in the last few months with tempestuous force. Armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, the several hundred million workers, peasants and soldiers and the masses of revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals are clearing out the many monsters entrenched in the ideological and cultural positions. The so-called "Three-Family Villages" or "Four-Family Inns," the bourgeois "experts," "scholars," "authorities"

and "respected masters" and their like have been routed and their whole arrogance has been scattered to the winds. This great cultural revolution has no parallel in scale, in sweep, in strength or in momentum. It is already spurring the socialist cause in China forward with great vigour and undoubtedly is having and will continue to have an immeasurably profound and far-reaching impact on the world revolution. All commanders and fighters in our army should actively plunge right into this great revolution, open fire at the black anti-Party and anti-socialist line and temper themselves and raise their level in the revolution.

One. There Has Been a Sharp Class Struggle on the Ideological and Cultural Fronts of Our Country Ever Since the Founding of New China

(1) A Handful of Representatives of the Bourgeoisie Within the Party and Outside It Have Countered Chairman Mao's Line on the Proletarian Cultural Revolution With Their Own Black Anti-Party and Anti-Socialist Line.

Chairman Mao has always put great emphasis on the class struggle on the ideological and cultural fronts.

During China's new-democratic period, Chairman Mao gave a thorough theoretical refutation of the bourgeois cultural line. Chairman Mao's *On New Democracy* and *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* are the most complete, the most comprehensive and the most systematic historical summing-up of this struggle between the two lines on the cultural front. They have

carried on and developed the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and Marxist-Leninist theory on literature and art.

After China entered the stage of socialist revolution and socialist construction, the two works of Chairman Mao. *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* and *Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work*, were published. They are the most recent summing-up of the historical experience of the movements for the revolutionary ideology and literature and art in China and other countries. They represent a new development of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and Marxist-Leninist theory on literature and art.

These works of Chairman Mao's have given a systematic exposition of the revolutionary new culture of the proletariat, formulated the line and the concrete principles and policies of the proletarian cultural revolution, and affirmed that literature and art should serve proletarian politics, serve the workers, peasants and soldiers, serve the consolidation and development of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system. Chairman Mao's great thinking on the new culture of the proletariat is our powerful weapon in waging the cultural revolution and the sole criterion for distinguishing fragrant flowers from poisonous weeds and revolution from counter-revolution; it is our Party's supreme guide in leading the cultural revolution.

Over a long period, however, a handful of representatives of the bourgeoisie within and outside the Party countered Chairman Mao's brilliant ideas with a black anti-Party and anti-socialist line of their own. Using all sorts of insidious and devious methods, they have set up a rival stage in the academic, educational, journalistic, literary, artistic, publishing and other cultural spheres in opposition to Chairman Mao's line on the proletarian cultural revolution, and they have fought the proletariat tooth and nail for leadership. In a thousand and one ways they have tried to spread bourgeois and revisionist ideology in such ideological fields as the press, radio broadcasting, periodicals, books and textbooks, lectures, literary and art works, the cinema, the theatre, ballads, the fine arts, music and dancing, making frenzied attacks on our socialist system, the dictatorship of the proletariat, our great Party, our great leader Chairman Mao and the great thought of Mao Tse-tung.

They usurped the leadership in some departments, newspapers, and periodicals, turned monsters of all kinds loose and refused to carry out Party policy. The reality in these departments was that the bourgeoisie was exercising dictatorship over the proletariat and not the proletariat exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie. Bourgeois representatives of this sort include Yang Hsien chen, the former President of the Higher Party School of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Hsia Yen, the former Vice-Minister of Culture, Tien Han, the former Chairman of the Union of Chinese Stage Artists, Yang Han-sheng, the former Secretary-General of the All-China Federation of Liter-

ary and Art Circles, and Chien Po-tsan, Vice-President of Peking University, who had been exposed earlier; and Teng To, former member of the Secretariat of the Peking Municipal Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Wu Han, Vice-Mayor of Peking, Liao Mo-sha, the former Director of the Department of United Front Work of the Peking Municipal Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, and Lu Ping, the former President of Peking University, who have now been exposed, and those who backed and shielded them.

Over a long period they made use of their positions and power to spread their poison and level wild attacks on our Party, thus stirring up a bourgeois and revisionist adverse current. Among the big anti-Party and anti-socialist poisonous weeds that emerged under the domination and influence of this adverse current were *Evening Chats at Yenshan*, *Notes From Three-Family Village*, "Hai Jui Scolds the Emperor," *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office*, *Hsieh Yao-huan*, *Li Hui-niang*, *The Pressgang*, *Laying Siege to the City*, *Red Sun*, *Threshold of Spring*, *Sisters of the Stage*, and *The Lin Family Shop*.

(2) Under the Direct Leadership of the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao, We Have Conducted a Series of Major Struggles Against This Black Anti-Party and Anti-Socialist Line During the Past 16 Years.

Soon after China's liberation, the film world produced that big poisonous weed, *The Life of Wu Hsun*. Wu Hsun was a lackey of the feudal forces. When the Chinese people were struggling against imperialism and the feudal rulers in the latter years of the Ching Dynasty, he never lifted a finger against the reactionary ruling class; on the contrary, he carried on frantic propaganda for feudal culture and abjectly did everything possible to curry favour with the feudal ruling class. Yet the film *The Life of Wu Hsun* portrayed him as a "great personality" who made self-sacrifice to provide opportunities for the children of poor peasants to get an education. The film smeared the revolutionary tradition of the Chinese people and spread bourgeois reformism and capitulationism. Acting on the instructions of the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao, *Renmin Ribao* on May 20, 1951, published an editorial solemnly pointing out the reactionary nature of *The Life of Wu Hsun* and calling for a nationwide criticism of the film. This was the first large-scale criticism of reactionary bourgeois ideas after the founding of New China.

From September 1954 onward, the criticism of the book *Studies in the "Dream of the Red Chamber"* and of the reactionary ideas of Hu Shih was conducted. To distort and erase the positive, anti-feudal significance of the *Dream of the Red Chamber*, the author of the book, Yu Ping-po (a professor at Peking University), using the approach of bourgeois idealism, formalism and scholastic textual research, declared that it was the autobiography of Tsao Hsueh-chin. Yu Ping-po's methods were a complete carry-over of the line of the reactionary comprador-bourgeois scholar Hu Shih. An inveterate

enemy of communism and the people, Hu Shih had twice been Kuomintang ambassador to the United States; in 1919, he published the reactionary article, "Study Problems More and Talk Less About 'isms,'" opposing Marxism-Leninism as the guide for the Chinese revolution in the hope of luring the Chinese youth away from reality and leading them down the devious road of evading class struggle. A serious nationwide criticism of these bourgeois idealist ideas was undertaken, thoroughly repudiating and discrediting the various kinds of disciples of Hu Shih.

In May 1955, the whole nation hit back effectively at the Hu Feng counter-revolutionary clique. Hu Feng was a renegade who had wormed his way back into the ranks of the revolution. After liberation, he organized a sinister gang in the field of literature and art to carry out counter-revolutionary activities. In a 300,000-character "suggestion" which he presented to the Central Committee of the Party in 1954, he venomously attacked the Party's literary and art policy and Mao Tse-tung's thought on literature and art. During May and June of 1955, *Renmin Ribao* published three collections of material on Hu Feng's counter-revolutionary clique, thoroughly smashing its counter-revolutionary plot and exposing a number of major and minor Hu Feng elements.

In 1957, taking advantage of the rectification movement launched by our Party, the bourgeois Rightists launched a wild onslaught on the Party. Their dream was to create a Hungarian incident in China and stir up chaos, so that they could come forward "to clear up the mess," replace the Party and bring about a capitalist come-back in China. The Party and Chairman Mao led the whole people in waging a vigorous struggle against the Rightists and thus repulsed this frenzied attack by the bourgeoisie.

In 1959, the Right opportunists in the Party attacked the Party's Central Committee at the Lushan meeting. Co-ordinating with them both before and after this event, the "Three-Family Village" sinister gang attacked the Party without let-up for several years, bringing out "Hai Jui Scolds the Emperor" and *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office* and then publishing their *Evening Chats at Yenshan* and *Notes From Three-Family Village* in the fortnightly *Qianxian* (Frontline), *Beijing Ribao* (the Peking Daily) and *Beijing Wanbao* (the Peking Evening News).

Monsters and demons came out of their lairs in other cultural fields, too, and we waged tit-for-tat struggles against them. The current great cultural revolution represents the continuation and deepening of these struggles.

This series of struggles has been carried out under the direct leadership of the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao. In September 1962, at the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party, Chairman Mao issued his great call: "Never Forget the Class Struggle." Then on a number of occasions in 1963, 1964 and 1965 he gave extremely impor-

tant instructions on the question of the cultural revolution.

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

In June 1964, during the rectification movement within the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles and its affiliated associations, Chairman Mao pointed out: In the past 15 years these associations and most of their publications (a few said to be good) for the most part (this did not apply to every individual) had not carried out the policies of the Party and had acted as high and mighty bureaucrats, had not gone to the workers, peasants and soldiers and had not reflected the socialist revolution and construction. In recent years, they had even slid to the verge of revisionism. If serious steps were not taken to remould them, they were bound at some future date to become groups like the Hungarian Petofi Club.

On many other occasions, too, Chairman Mao has given important verbal instructions on the question of the cultural revolution.

These instructions of Chairman Mao's have given a great impetus to the struggle to foster what is proletarian and eradicate what is bourgeois in the cultural fields. A new situation has emerged in China's cultural revolution in the last three years, under the personal care of Chairman Mao, and guided by his line on the proletarian cultural revolution. The most outstanding examples of revolutionary art have been the Peking operas on contemporary revolutionary themes such as *Red Lantern*, *Shachiapang*, *Taking the Bandits' Stronghold* and *Raid on the White Tiger Regiment*, the ballets *Red Detachment of Women* and *The White-Haired Girl*, the symphonic music *Shachiapang*, the sculptures *Rent Collection Courtyard* and the recent revolutionary music festival "Shanghai Spring."

Another example of this revolutionary situation is the extensive, mass activity of the workers, peasants and soldiers on the ideological, literary and art fronts. They have done many fine essays in philosophy, showing skill in expressing Mao Tse-tung's thought in a practical way and created many outstanding works of literature and art in praise of China's socialist revolution and construction, of the new heroes of our era and our great Party and great leader.

In the last few years, too, many literary and art workers in the army have given prominence to politics, creatively studied and applied Chairman Mao's works, gone to the basic units and integrated themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers. The result has

been the creation of such fine works as *On Guard Beneath the Neon Lights*, *A Great Wall Along the South Coast* and *Song of Ouyang Hai*, and the emergence of such fine units as the seaborne cultural team of the Canton army units and the Haifang cultural troupe of the Nanking army units. At the same time, countless small but effective amateur teams of performers and groups of singers that give prominence to politics have emerged in the army units.

(3) The Great Cultural Revolution Has Now Attained a High Tide of Unprecedented Magnitude.

At a Central Committee meeting of the Chinese Communist Party in September 1965, Chairman Mao pointed to the need to subject reactionary bourgeois ideology to criticism. In November *Wenhui Bao*, under the leadership of the Communist Party organization in Shanghai, took the lead in publishing Comrade Yao Wen-yuan's article "On the New Historical Drama *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office*"; it was the opening shot in the criticism of Wu Han and his ilk. Then *Jiefangjun Bao* reprinted the article and pointed out that *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office* was a big poisonous weed.

Since the end of February 1966 *Hongqi* (Red Flag) has carried articles by Yin Ta, Kuan Feng, Chi Pen-yu and other comrades. *Jiefangjun Bao* published two editorials, entitled "Hold High the Great Red Banner of Mao Tse-tung's Thought and Actively Participate in the Great Socialist Cultural Revolution" and "Never Forget the Class Struggle," on April 18 and May 4 respectively. Since May 8 *Hongqi*, *Jiefangjun Bao*, *Guangming Ribao* and Shanghai's *Jiefang Ribao* and *Wenhui Bao* have carried a series of articles which exposed the bourgeois, anti-Party stand of *Qianxian* journal, *Beijing Ribao* and *Beijing Wanbao* and launched a counter-attack against Teng To and a handful of other anti-Party elements and their supporters. Immediately, masses of workers, peasants and soldiers throughout the country plunged into the struggle to smash the "Three-Family Village." Rapidly, and with irresistible power, the great cultural revolution swept forward and attained a high tide of unprecedented magnitude. In recent years, besides, the revolutionary masses have exposed and criticized a number of reac-

tionary views on philosophy and history and a number of bad plays and films.

Beginning June 1 this year, *Renmin Ribao* has published a series of important editorials, including "Sweep Away All Monsters," "A Great Revolution That Touches the People to Their Very Souls," "Capture the Positions in the Field of Historical Studies Seized by the Bourgeoisie," "New Victory for Mao Tse-tung's Thought," "Tear Aside the Bourgeois Mask of 'Liberty, Equality and Fraternity'," and "To Be Proletarian Revolutionaries or Bourgeois Royalists?" which give a profound explanation of the tremendous significance of the great cultural revolution and provide powerful guidance for the present struggle. On June 2, the press published the big-character poster put up by Nieh Yuan-tzu and six other comrades of Peking University which exposed the criminal anti-Party, anti-socialist acts committed by Lu Ping and company. On the afternoon of June 3 the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party announced the decision to reorganize the Peking Municipal Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and, at the same time, declared that Comrade Li Hsueh-feng, First Secretary of the North China Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, had been appointed concurrent First Secretary of the Peking Municipal Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, and Comrade Wu Teh its Second Secretary. The new, reorganized Peking Municipal Committee made the decision to relieve Lu Ping, President of Peking University and concurrent Secretary of the University Party Committee, and Peng Pei-yun, Deputy Secretary, of all their posts. The work team sent by the new Municipal Committee is providing leadership for the great socialist cultural revolution at Peking University and it is exercising the functions of the University Party Committee. The decisions of the Central Committee and the new Peking Municipal Committee of the Chinese Communist Party won immediate, enthusiastic support of the people in the capital and throughout the country and carried the tide of the nationwide great cultural revolution to a new high. Now with its great momentum the high tide of the great cultural revolution is pounding away at all the corrupt ideological and cultural positions still held by the bourgeoisie and the survivals of feudalism.

Two. The Great Cultural Revolution Is an Issue of Prime Importance for the Destiny, Prospect and Outlook of Our Party and Country and Also an Issue of Prime Importance for the World Revolution

(1) It Is a Life-and-Death Struggle Between The Bourgeoisie in Its Scheming for a Come-Back And the Proletariat in Its Efforts to Prevent This.

Over the past 16 years, there has been one struggle after another on the ideological and cultural fronts, each more profound than the one before. Far from

being isolated and accidental phenomena, these struggles are manifestations of the deepening class struggle in China and abroad. A handful of representatives of the bourgeoisie, constantly and stubbornly trying to assert themselves, have been desperately holding on to their stronghold in bourgeois ideology and engaging

in frantic anti-Party and anti-socialist activities. Make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again, till their doom—that is the logic of all reactionaries. This handful of bourgeois representatives is certainly no exception to the rule.

We know from the historical experience of the proletarian revolution that the basic question in every revolution is that of state power. We conquered the enemy in the country and seized state power by the gun. They can all be overthrown, be it imperialism, feudalism or the bureaucrat capitalist class; millionaires, billionaires and trillionaires can be toppled, whoever they may be. And their property can be confiscated. However, confiscation of their property does not amount to confiscation of the reactionary ideas in their minds. Daily and hourly they are always dreaming of a come-back, dreaming of restoring their lost “paradise.” Although they are only a tiny percentage of the population, their political potential is quite considerable and their power of resistance is out of all proportion to their numbers.

Socialist society emerges out of the womb of the old society. It is not at all easy to eradicate the idea of private ownership formed in thousands of years of class society and the forces of habit and the ideological and cultural influence of the exploiting classes associated with private ownership. The spontaneous forces of the petty bourgeoisie in town and country constantly give rise to new bourgeois elements. As the ranks of the workers grow in number and extent, they take in some elements of complex background. Then, too, a number of people in the ranks of the Party and state organizations degenerate following the conquest of state power and living in peaceful surroundings. At the same time, on the international plane the imperialists headed by the U.S. and the reactionaries of various countries are trying hard to eliminate us by using the counter-revolutionary dual tactics of threats of war and “peaceful evolution.” And the modern revisionist group with the leadership of the Soviet Communist Party as the centre is also trying by hook or by crook to topple us. If we were to forget about class struggle and drop our guard in these circumstances, we would be in danger of losing state power and allowing capitalism to make a come-back.

Our struggle against the bourgeoisie is a protracted one. As Chairman Mao teaches us: “It is true that in China, socialist transformation, in so far as a change in the system of ownership is concerned, has in the main been completed, and the turbulent, large-scale, mass class struggles characteristic of the revolutionary periods have in the main been concluded. But the remnants of the overthrown landlord and comprador classes still exist, the bourgeoisie still exists, and the petty bourgeoisie has only just begun to remould itself. Class struggle is not yet over. The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between the various political forces, and the

class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will still be long and devious and at times may even become very acute. The proletariat seeks to transform the world according to its own world outlook, so does the bourgeoisie. In this respect, the question whether socialism or capitalism will win is still not really settled.”

Our struggle against the representatives of the bourgeoisie on the ideological and cultural fronts is not just “polemics on paper” that are of no great consequence, but a class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, between the road of capitalism and the road of socialism. It is a struggle to determine whether capitalism or socialism will win out, a struggle between Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung’s thought on the one hand and capitalist and revisionist ideology on the other, a struggle between the bourgeoisie scheming to restore capitalism and the proletariat determined to prevent it. There must be no minimizing of this point, nor the slightest lack of vigilance in this regard.

(2) It Is a Struggle That Is Both Extremely Complex and of Tremendous Significance.

The anti-Party and anti-socialist activities of the bourgeoisie’s representatives on the ideological and cultural fronts are intended to open up a road to the restoration of capitalism.

We know from the historical experience of the proletariat that the bourgeoisie invariably uses two tactics in working for a counter-revolutionary come-back. One is armed suppression of the proletarian revolution. The world’s first dictatorship of the proletariat, established in 1871 by the French proletariat in Paris, eventually failed as a result of counter-revolutionary armed suppression. After the victory of the October Revolution, Russia was subjected to the combined attack of 14 capitalist-imperialist countries and counter-offensives by the landlord and capitalist White Guards attempting a come-back, and it was only after three full years of war that the new-born revolutionary regime was made secure. The armed counter-attacks of the bourgeoisie, whether alone or in collusion with the forces of international reaction, are an obvious, military form of staging a come-back. It is easier to see and to notice, and people are more alert to it. The other form of staging a come-back is “peaceful evolution.” It starts operating in the sphere of ideology in order to prepare public opinion for a come-back, for subversion and a counter-revolutionary coup d’etat. Once the conditions are ripe, they will seize state power and restore the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. People often fail to see this, fail to take note of this and are not vigilant against this.

The role of advance guard in the 1956 counter-revolutionary riots in Hungary was played precisely by a group of revisionist men of letters of the Petofi Club. The Tito clique of Yugoslavia had long before

defected through "peaceful evolution." The Khrushchov revisionist group used the same method to bring about a capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union. We must never, never forget these historical lessons paid for in blood.

Such were the methods adopted by the handful of representatives of the overthrown bourgeoisie in China who have now been brought to light. They tightened their grip on ideology and the superstructure, theoretical and academic work, literature and art, etc. On the cultural front they made efforts to see that emperors and kings, generals and prime ministers, scholars and beauties, foreign idols and dead men dominate the stage and conducted anti-Party and anti-socialist propaganda. Using the tactics of nibbling away, they tried to devour our positions in ideology mouthful by mouthful. By their infiltration tactics, they wanted to infect our minds with bourgeois ideas, bit by bit. They used extremely underhand and cunning tricks. For a long time they controlled a number of Party propaganda media and waved "red flags" to oppose the red flag. They launched wanton attacks on the Party under the guise of telling stories, imparting knowledge and carrying out academic research. They corrupted young people with the bourgeois idea of "making one's own way" and of achieving personal fame and career, in order to win the masses and the younger generation away from our Party. Usurping the name of the Party, they drew all the monsters and demons of society into their gangsters' inns and staged frantic counter-revolutionary activities.

What they were doing was to prepare the political, ideological and organizational ground for the restoration of capitalism. The means they used, while differing in minor points, were the same in essentials as those of the Petofi Club in Hungary and those used by Khrushchov. It would be very dangerous if we failed to see this point!

Therefore, with regard to the anti-Party and anti-socialist articles and booklets and the poisonous anti-Party and anti-socialist operas, plays and films written by the bourgeois "scholars," "specialists" and "writers," who were supported and shielded by back-stage manipulators, we must not adopt such an attitude as: "when scholars staged a rebellion, they could not succeed if they tried for three years," or "a few carp cannot stir up big waves and overturn boats." Nor can we take the view that after having seized state power all is well and propitious and we can sleep soundly. If we pay attention only to construction, to production and to culture and education, if we think only of dealing with the Chiang Kai-shek gang and U.S. imperialism but neglect the possibility that the bourgeoisie can still work for a come-back and subvert us from within, and if we are not clear-headed and allow the bourgeois careerists to carry out their plots, then history will judge us as criminals.

Precisely for this reason, the present struggle has great and far-reaching significance:

First, we are conducting the great proletarian cultural revolution to defend the dictatorship of the proletariat.

If we do not carry out this revolution but allow the representatives of the bourgeoisie to carry out their schemes of restoring capitalism, some incident of the Hungarian type or some counter-revolutionary coup d'etat of the Khrushchov type is bound to occur. At such a moment, the possibility would arise that the Chiang Kai-shek gang would return to the mainland and that great numbers of landlords and despots and their armed bands would hit back and take retaliation, our Party and our country would fall into rack and ruin, we ourselves would be killed and history be drastically pushed back. Gone would be the fruits of the revolutionary struggles waged by the Chinese people during the past hundred years and more, years in which fresh forces continually came forward to take the place of those who fell shedding their blood and sacrificing their lives. The Chinese people would once more become the beasts of burden of imperialism, the bourgeoisie and the feudal class.

As Chairman Mao has pointed out: "If the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and ogres and demons were allowed to crawl out, while our cadres shut their eyes to all this and in many cases failed even to differentiate between the enemy and ourselves but collaborated with the enemy and became corrupted and demoralized, if our cadres were thus dragged into the enemy camp or the enemy were able to sneak into our ranks, and if many of our workers, peasants, and intellectuals were left defenceless against both the soft and the hard tactics of the enemy, then it would not be long, perhaps only a few years or a decade, or a few decades at most, before there inevitably occurred counter-revolutionary restoration on a national scale. The Marxist-Leninist Party would undoubtedly become a revisionist party or a fascist party, and the whole of China would change colour."

Second, the great proletarian cultural revolution is having and will have an incalculably profound and far-reaching effect on the world of our time and of the future.

The first socialist country, the Soviet Union, was dragged by Khrushchov revisionism on to the road of capitalist restoration. Now all the oppressed people and oppressed nations of the whole world place their hopes on the revolutionary New China. Under the leadership of the Party's Central Committee, holding high the great red banner of Marxism-Leninism, of Mao Tse-tung's thought, persisting in their firm stand against imperialism, modern revisionism and reactionaries of various countries, and greatly deflating the enemy's arrogance and boosting the morale of the people, the Chinese people have set a brilliant example for the people of the whole world. Our country has become the base of the world revolution. Our Party has become the standard bearer of the world revolution. Mao Tse-

tung's thought is the beacon of the world revolution. If these anti-Party and anti-socialist elements made China change its colour, who can say how many more of the oppressed people in all countries would die, how much more suffering they would have to endure and by how many years the victory of the world revolution would be delayed.

By their anti-Party and anti-socialist activities, the handful of representatives of the bourgeoisie interacted internationally with imperialism, modern revisionism and all reactionaries. And their exposure is a serious blow to the class enemy abroad; it removed a hidden time-bomb inside our Party. With the deepening of China's great cultural revolution, the propaganda machinery of the imperialists, modern revisionists and all reactionaries has gone into top gear and they are bombarding us with their anathemas. By negative example, this proves the great significance of this struggle of ours.

Third, the great proletarian cultural revolution is a training in actual class struggle for every one of our comrades.

This struggle makes us clear all the dust from our eyes once more and gives us a deeper insight into the fact that socialist society is a society with classes and class struggle. It is not enough and not secure to have only a socialist revolution on the economic front and socialist transformation of the ownership of means of production; there must also be a thoroughgoing socialist revolution on the political and ideological front. And a long, long time—decades or even centuries—will be required to decide the issue of who will win in the struggle in the political and ideological field between socialism and capitalism. When one black line is eliminated, yet another will appear. Some representatives of the bourgeoisie have been found out, while others who are as yet undiscovered still nestle in our midst. Since the enemy uses the most underhand and cunning means in its efforts to restore capitalism, our exposure of them develops our ability to conduct class struggle and makes us understand its complexity.

(3) The Exposure of the Handful of Anti-Party and Anti-Socialist Representatives of the Bourgeoisie Is Not a Bad Thing But a Good Thing And a Great Victory for Mao Tse-tung's Thought.

Our Party, government, armed forces and workers in all fields of culture do not live in a vacuum. Naturally, the sharp class struggle finds its reflection within them. There is nothing strange in the fact that a handful of representatives of the bourgeoisie wormed their way into our Party, government and armed forces and various fields of culture. It is an inevitable law of the class struggle. Our class enemies know that a citadel is most easily taken if attacked from within. And so, they always use every possible trick to "pull somebody out or put someone in" in order to sneak into our ranks or find their agents within our Party. We cannot prevent this, much as we might wish to do so. As Chairman Mao has pointed out: "There is nothing that does

not contain contradiction; without contradiction nothing would exist," and "opposition and struggle between ideas of different kinds constantly occur within the Party; this is a reflection within the Party of contradictions between classes and between the new and the old in society. If there were no contradictions in the Party and no ideological struggles to resolve them, the Party's life would come to an end."

Our Party and armed forces have developed and grown from strength to strength precisely in the tit-for-tat struggles over the last few decades against the various erroneous lines and against the class enemies of various kinds who wormed their way into the Party and the armed forces.

In the course of our Party's history, didn't we see the divisive criminal activities of renegades such as Chen Tu-hsiu and Chang Kuo-tao? Didn't we see the anti-Party conspiracy of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih since the founding of New China? Didn't we see the attacks on the Party by the Hu Feng counter-revolutionary clique and the bourgeois Rightists? Were there not also attacks on the Party by Right opportunist elements during the Lushan meeting? Didn't they befoul the atmosphere for a short time? But what was the outcome? One by one they failed ignominiously. They became completely isolated as soon as they were exposed. They were unable to halt or obstruct the development of our revolution and construction. The earth revolved as usual and the wheel of history continued to roll forward. And today, too, although a handful of representatives of the bourgeoisie have concealed themselves very carefully, climbed very high and operated very cunningly, to what avail? One by one they are being exposed and their real character shown up as paper tigers!

All this fully demonstrates the great power of Mao Tse-tung's thought. It shows that our Party is politically, ideologically and organizationally consolidated and united as never before, a Party that has been tested in storm and stress, a Party that is closely linked with the masses, has a wealth of experience of struggle and a fine revolutionary tradition; it is a great, glorious and correct Party. The handful of anti-Party and anti-socialist elements are just so much ugly froth that cannot stand the light of day, a swarm of buzzing blow flies. Our present era is one in which the worker, peasant and soldier masses are grasping hold of Mao Tse-tung's thought. Provided we equip our minds with Mao Tse-tung's thought and wipe the dust from our eyes, these elements will not be able to stand up to a single blow. We need not in the least fear their anti-Party and anti-socialist activities; what we should fear is relaxation of vigilance on our part which would land us in their traps.

Our exposure in this struggle of the group of anti-Party and anti-socialist elements who sneaked into our Party, government and armed forces and all fields of culture, is another important victory for our socialist revolution and a great victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Three. Hold High the Great Red Banner of Mao Tse-tung's Thought, Be Thoroughgoing Revolutionaries and Carry the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution Through to the End

(1) We Must Have a Profound Grasp of the Relation Between the Current Great Cultural Revolution and the Intensified Revolutionizing of Our Army, and We Must Take an Active Part in This Struggle.

The historical experience of the proletariat teaches us that it is far more difficult to maintain and consolidate state power than to seize it. A bourgeois revolution is considered complete with the capture of state power. But the purpose of our proletarian revolution is to wipe out all exploiting classes and systems; it is the most thoroughgoing revolution destined step by step to eliminate the gap between the workers and the peasants, between town and countryside and between mental and manual labour. Therefore, the seizure of the state power is only the first step in a long march of ten thousand *li*. The dictatorship of the proletariat is our very life. We must rely on it to smash all the schemes for a come-back by the enemy at home and abroad. As Chairman Mao has pointed out, "like food and clothing, this power is something a victorious people cannot do without even for a moment. It is an excellent thing, a protective talisman, an heirloom, which should under no circumstances be discarded before the thorough and total abolition of imperialism abroad and of classes within the country."

Our army is the mainstay of the dictatorship of the proletariat. All counter-revolutionaries are mortally afraid of our army and hate it with an inveterate hatred. Didn't the bourgeois Rightist "alliance of Chang Pochun and Lo Lung-chi" openly proclaim in 1957 that the Liberation Army was the greatest obstacle to their ascent to power? They invariably try to exert influence of one kind or another on the army and, through the various propaganda media under their control, to spread poison and corrupt our men behind the guns in an attempt to get our guns to serve them. Naturally, their schemes will not succeed. This is because ours is an army created by Chairman Mao Tse-tung himself, a people's army tempered in tens of years of revolutionary wars, one that has withstood great storm and stress and is highly proletarianized and revolutionized. Nevertheless, if we relax our vigilance, they will seize the chance to get in.

This has been proved by events in the last few years.

Didn't some cultural and art establishments of our army put on such bad plays and make such bad films like *The Pressgang*? Didn't some people write a number of bad works? Weren't there some people who propagated Yang Hsien-chen's fallacy of "two combining into one"? Didn't some people praise such anti-Party, anti-socialist big poisonous weeds as *Evening Chats at Yen-shan*? Didn't some people, corrupted by them, fail in

fighting will, show reluctance to remain in military service, and even defend the "Three-Family Village" gang? These people constituted only a pitiful handful. Yet all this took place in our people's army. Can we take them lightly? How can we permit such things to go on developing and allow their influence to spread?

Precisely for these reasons, we must be deeply concerned over the class struggle in the ideological field. We must never regard it as a trifling matter, one that has nothing to do with us, or something that concerns only literary men. We must never allow individuals of the Khrushchov type to nestle in our midst, never must we relax political and ideological vigilance and allow such rascals to stuff our minds with poisonous weeds! Guns are mindless. If the minds of the men behind the guns change, the guns will serve a different object. Whoever forgets this has forgotten the basic theses of Marxism-Leninism; he is a simpleton.

We must respond to the great call of Chairman Mao and pay close attention to the struggle in the ideological field, raise our proletarian political consciousness to a very high level, keep our eyes wide open and our sense of smell very sharp. Through every storm and stress, we must see things clearly, take up a firm position, stand all tests and adhere to our proletarian stand. We must never allow the anti-Party, anti-socialist elements and their supporters to capture any position in our army. We must join actively and energetically in this great struggle, thoroughly criticize the anti-Party, anti-socialist poisonous weeds and eradicate their influence.

(2) We Must Undertake Full-Scale Ideological Revolutionization, and Prevent and Overcome Corrosion by Bourgeois Ideas of Every Description.

Chairman Mao teaches 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."

Many facts brought to light in the current great cultural revolution show that at all times our enemies attempt to overthrow us with sugar-coated bullets. Have not some among us been poisoned or misled by the enemy because their bourgeois-individualist world outlook has not yet been remoulded? This tells us that bourgeois individualism is the root of all evil. There is a struggle between communist and individualist ideas in the minds of our comrades in general and it goes on

every day. The existence of this struggle is an objective fact and there can be no escaping from it. Proletarian ideology can overcome bourgeois-individualist ideology only if one carries on the struggle consciously, in the same way as washing one's own face every day. If we relax in this battle, individualism will grow and from small beginnings will develop into huge proportions. Therefore, every comrade must still more consciously undertake the revolutionizing of his mind, overcome bourgeois individualism of all kinds, learn from Lei Feng, Wang Chieh, Mai Hsien-teh, Chiao Yu-lu, the Good Eighth Company on Nanking Road and other heroes and advanced units, wholeheartedly serve the people, and allow no monsters to find any foothold amongst us.

The proletarian cultural revolution is a great revolution that reaches into the very souls of people. Its purpose is not only to demolish all the old ideology and culture and old customs and habits which have been fostered by the exploiting classes and poisoned the minds of the people for thousands of years, but also to create and cultivate among the masses an entirely new, proletarian ideology and culture and entirely new proletarian customs and habits. This great undertaking to transform established traditions and practices is without precedent in human history. We must use the proletarian world outlook to thoroughly criticize all the feudal and bourgeois heritage, all the customs and habits of the feudal and capitalist classes. In this struggle we must foster proletarian ideology and destroy bourgeois ideology in a big way. We must oppose evil works which spread bourgeois ideas and tastes, oppose all perverse trends and vulgar practices, and launch many-sided cultural activities which are rich in revolutionary educational significance, read revolutionary books, sing revolutionary songs, perform revolutionary plays, see revolutionary films, tell revolutionary stories, listen to revolutionary broadcasts and ceaselessly consolidate and raise the fighting capacity of our army.

(3) We Must Study Chairman Mao's Works And Apply His Thought in a Creative Way, Putting The Greatest Stress on the Application, and Take His Works as the Supreme Guide to All Our Work.

The most fundamental task of the great proletarian cultural revolution of our country is to study and apply Mao Tse-tung's thought in a creative way and popularize it in the course of the stormy class struggle, so that it becomes integrated with the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers. Every comrade should earnestly undertake the study of Chairman Mao's works and the application of his thought in a creative way, and in the course of struggle take a step forward in grasping Mao Tse-tung's thought.

We should take up the various questions arising in the present great cultural revolution and turn to and earnestly study the relevant writings or extracts from Chairman Mao's works. These include, for instance, his expositions on classes and class struggle in

socialist society, on the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, on the line for the cultural revolution, on the protracted and complex nature of the class struggle in the ideological field, on how to distinguish fragrant flowers from poisonous weeds, on ideological remoulding, and so on.

In accordance with the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, Chairman Mao has summed up the practical experience of the Chinese and world revolutions and the tragic lesson of the Soviet Party and state being usurped by the modern revisionist clique; he has formulated systematic theories and policies for the period of socialism concerning the need to keep a vigorous grip on the class struggle, persist in the dictatorship of the proletariat, prevent and oppose modern revisionism and prevent the restoration of capitalism; he has thus greatly enriched and developed Marxist-Leninist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat. In this great cultural revolution, we must advance our study and comprehension of these instructions of Chairman Mao and take them as the supreme guide to all our work and our sole criterion for distinguishing right from wrong, truth from falsehood.

In a complex struggle, we must distinguish genuine Marxism-Leninism from sham Marxism-Leninism and fragrant flowers from poisonous weeds. We should resolutely support and steadfastly carry out all that conforms to Mao Tse-tung's thought. As for anyone who contravenes or opposes Mao Tse-tung's thought, we will expose him to the light of day, repudiate and discredit him thoroughly no matter how high he stands or whatever "authority" he is.

Mao Tse-tung's thought is the acme of Marxism-Leninism in our epoch. It is living Marxism-Leninism at its highest and the sharpest weapon to combat imperialism, modern revisionism and all reactionaries. In the magic mirror of Mao Tse-tung's thought, all monsters will be revealed for what they are. Once again the great proletarian cultural revolution is providing a vivid demonstration of the fact that once Mao Tse-tung's thought is grasped by the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, it becomes a mighty material force. People armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought are the greatest fighting force; they have the greatest courage, wisdom and unanimity of will. When they grasp Mao Tse-tung's thought, which is both a political telescope and a political microscope, the worker, peasant and soldier masses have the highest criterion to distinguish right from wrong, they have the vantage ground from which to see far ahead, and they can discern the essence through the appearance. People who possess Mao Tse-tung's thought have the keenest nose and the sharpest eyes, and no anti-Party, anti-socialist element can escape their notice no matter what tricks he plays.

This is exactly why the enemy fears Mao Tse-tung's thought most of all and has the greatest hatred for it. But the more the enemy opposes it, the more ardently we love it. We must persist in studying Chairman Mao's works and applying his thought

creatively. The revolution requires it, the situation requires it, the struggle against the enemy requires it, good preparatory work for smashing the U.S. imperialist war of aggression requires it, and the prevention and opposition to revisionism and the thwarting of capitalist restoration require it. Mao Tse-tung's thought is our very life. Anyone who opposes it will be condemned by the whole Party and denounced by the whole nation.

The Chinese People's Liberation Army is a people's army personally created by Chairman Mao. Every one of our comrades has grown up nourished by Mao Tse-tung's thought. The Central Committee of the Party, Chairman Mao, the Military Commission of the Central Committee and Comrade Lin Piao have all called on us to join in criticizing reactionary bourgeois ideas and to play a major role in the great cultural revolution. We are determined not to fall short of their expectations.

We shall conscientiously study the instructions of the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao on the great cultural revolution and be thoroughgoing revolutionaries. Alongside the people of the whole country, we shall completely destroy the black anti-Party, anti-socialist line, safeguard our dictatorship of the proletariat, safeguard the Central Committee of the Party, Chairman Mao and Mao Tse-tung's thought.

In taking part in the great cultural revolution, we must go further in giving prominence to politics, in

putting the "four goods"* on a solid footing and in strengthening our combat-readiness. While struggling against the enemy without guns, we should give close attention to the enemy with guns. Should U.S. imperialism dare to impose war on the Chinese people, we shall definitely annihilate it resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely.

We must determinedly adhere to the directives of the Party's Central Committee, the Military Commission and Comrade Lin Piao to **study Chairman Mao's works, follow his teachings, act in accordance with his instructions, and be good soldiers of Chairman Mao. We must never forget the class struggle, never forget the dictatorship of the proletariat, never forget to give prominence to politics and never forget to hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought**—so that we shall carry our cause of socialist revolution and socialist construction forward from one great new victory to another!

*The "four goods" are: good in political and ideological work, good in the "three-eight" working style, good in military training and good in arranging daily life. In the "three-eight" working style, the "three" refers to the three mottoes: keep firmly to the correct political orientation, maintain an industrious and simple style of work, and be flexible in strategy and tactics; and the "eight" refers to the eight characters which means unity, alertness, earnestness and liveliness.—Ed.

(Continued from p.5)

fluence of the black line on literature and art which was opposed to the Party, to socialism and to Mao Tse-tung's thought, the black line represented by Chou Yang, their troupe achieved nothing, and became estranged from and was opposed by the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers. From their own experience they came to understand in a profound way: **Chairman Mao's Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art is the never-setting red sun of literary and art circles, their sharpest weapon, their precious legacy, and their source of life. Every sentence, every point in the Talks is a programme for work for literary and art circles.** They all expressed the determination to devote all their lives to the study of Chairman Mao's works, to the revolution and to ideological remoulding, take Chairman Mao's works, Chairman Mao's Talks as the supreme guide for literary and art workers and be staunch proletarian fighters in the fields of literature and art.

Chang Ta-lai, a young actor of a Peking rural literary and art work team, said: **Re-reading the Talks by Chairman Mao left me with the deep impression that we literary and art workers are not just acting, singing and dancing but waging a grave struggle against a bourgeois come-back.** In this great cultural revolution we must be bold to charge ahead and capture positions and be brave and resolute fighters for proletarian culture.

Li Hsu-liang, an actor of the capital's industrial and mining literary and art work team, said: **Chairman Mao sounded the clarion 24 years ago calling on the workers, peasants and soldiers to advance and occupy all the cultural positions. Today, this clarion call is resounding with greater vigour and power, because the workers, peasants and soldiers have got hold of the weapons of literature and art.** We young workers in literature and art must follow Chairman Mao's teachings, go among the workers, peasants and soldiers, learn from them and dedicate our whole lives to serving them.

Chang Shu-lan of the Chengguan People's Commune of Fangshan County, an activist in the spare-time creation of literary and art works, said: **I must always study Chairman Mao's works, follow his teachings, act in accordance with his instructions and be his good student.** Together with many other spare-time activists in literature and art, she declared that in this great proletarian cultural revolution, they were determined to study and apply every day those programmatic documents: Chairman Mao's brilliant works—*Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art, On New Democracy, On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People,* and *Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work.* **With Mao Tse-tung's thought as its weapon, the great proletarian cultural revolution will certainly be crowned with complete victory,** they added.

China Determined to Assist Vietnam in Its Resistance to U.S. Aggression

BEGINNING from June 29, U.S. imperialism has repeatedly bombed Hanoi, the capital of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and Haiphong, the second largest city in north Vietnam, thereby escalating its war of aggression against Vietnam to a still graver stage. Such a heinous act of aggression and war has aroused the greatest wrath of the 700 million Chinese people.

On July 3, the Chinese Government issued a statement which expressed its condemnation of the crime in the strongest terms, reaffirmed the Chinese people's determination to assist Vietnam in its resistance against U.S. aggression and served U.S. imperialism a serious warning. The moment the statement was made known to the public, it received the ready and firm support of the whole nation. For days on end, in the nation's many cities, big, medium and small ones alike, citizens assembled to voice their support. They included dockers of industrial Shanghai, the biggest city in China; workers and staff members of 12 nationalities at a cotton mill in Urumchi, capital of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region; workers and staff members of an oil refinery in Lanchow; students of Huhehot, Inner Mongolia; Red Army veterans, old Red Guards and old guerrilla fighters in Yenan, sacred place of the Chinese revolution; Tibetan serfs who have stood up; as well as activists in studying Chairman Mao's works all over the country. They said with one voice that powerful socialist China was the insurmountable barrier to U.S. imperialism's expansion of its war of aggression. They all proclaimed that the 700 million Chinese people, holding the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought still higher, were prepared at all times to contribute all their strength in support of the Vietnamese people's fight against U.S. imperialist aggression.

China's huge people's militia also is filled with righteous indignation. There were meetings on Hainan Island, which is separated from the Democratic Republic of Vietnam only by a gulf; in Yunnan Province bordering Vietnam; and places as far north as Harbin. At the meetings, the people warned U.S. imperialism in all seriousness that wherever the U.S. imperialists expand the war, China's millions of people's militia were prepared, at whatever cost, to give unflinching support to the fraternal Vietnamese people in a fight to the finish. If this should result in U.S. aggression against China, they said, they would prefer to see this

happen early so that they could, as Chairman Mao has taught them, burn this wild bull, which is U.S. imperialism, to death in the flames of a people's war all the sooner.

Rally of 10,000 in Peking

On July 10, some 10,000 citizens in the Chinese capital meeting in the Great Hall of the People angrily denounced U.S. imperialism's crime of bombing Hanoi and Haiphong and escalating its war of aggression in Vietnam. The meeting firmly supported the Vietnamese people in carrying their struggle of resisting U.S. aggression and saving the country to final victory; it also severely denounced the Soviet revisionists for acting as an accomplice of U.S. imperialism in the latter's scheme of "forcing peace talks through bombing."

There was a strong atmosphere of the militant unity of the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples in the imposing Great Hall. Present at the rally were Premier Chou En-lai, Vice-Premiers Chen Yi and Tao Chu and other state leaders. Also attending the meeting were leaders of China's various democratic parties and leading members of various mass organizations. Among the invited guests were Tran Tu Binh, D.R.V. Ambassador to China, and Tran Van Thanh, Head of the Permanent Mission of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation to China, and other Vietnamese comrades in Peking. The meeting was also attended by delegates to the Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting and friends from Asia, Africa, Latin America, Oceania, Europe and the United States living or working in Peking.

Kuo Mo-jo, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and Chairman of the China Peace Committee, who presided over the rally made the opening speech in which he pointed out: U.S. imperialism is the sworn enemy of the Vietnamese people and the people of the world — an enemy they could not live with under the same sky — whereas the Soviet revisionist leading group is the No. 1 accomplice of U.S. imperialism in trying to undermine the revolution of the Vietnamese people.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi was the first to take the floor after Kuo Mo-jo spoke. (For the Vice-Premier's speech, see p. 27.)

Speech by Tran Tu Binh. Ambassador Tran Tu Binh spoke next. The July 3 statement of the Chinese Gov-

ernment, he said, was a great inspiration from the 700 million Chinese people to the Vietnamese people's cause of resisting U.S. aggression and saving their country. It was a telling blow to the scheme of U.S. imperialism to intensify its aggression and expand the war. Its barbarous and adventurous acts of aggression had suffered head-on heavy blows in the face of the heroic army-men and civilians of Hanoi and Haiphong, of the entire Vietnamese people who are determined to fight and win.

The attempt by U.S. imperialism, Ambassador Tran Tu Binh noted, was to compel the Vietnamese people to submit and surrender by blackmail through force; but this desperate U.S. struggle was a vain hope. He said that the Vietnamese people were determined to fight to the very end until not a shadow of an American aggressor remains in their land.

Exposing the "peace talks" fraud which the Johnson Administration did its utmost to push through, the Ambassador once again stressed that U.S. imperialism could never subdue the Vietnamese people at any time, no matter by what means, and that his people were determined to carry on the fight till final victory. The only way to settle the Vietnam question was that indicated in the four-point stand of the D.R.V. Government and the five-part statement of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation. He said that the U.S. Government must unconditionally and permanently stop its air attacks on the D.R.V. and all other acts of war against that country, it must stop its war of aggression in south Vietnam, it must withdraw all its forces as well as those of its vassals and its arms from south Vietnam, and let the people in south Vietnam settle their own internal affairs themselves. There was no other way save what had been said, Tran Tu Binh added.

Tran Van Thanh's Speech. The Head of the Permanent Mission of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation to China began his speech by giving an account of the disastrous defeats suffered by the U.S. aggressors in their recent "dry season strategic offensive." This was an eloquent proof of the invincibility of people's war in south Vietnam, which was entirely capable of defeating the highly modern-equipped American aggressors.

Tran Van Thanh also denounced Washington's shameless schemes for so-called "peace" and "unconditional discussions." No intrigues or blackmail could bring the Vietnamese nation to its knees, he declared. The south Vietnamese army and civilians would resolutely fight to the end to defeat U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, he said. They must attain their sacred aspirations, namely, independence, democracy, peace, neutrality and then the unification of the fatherland.

Tran Van Thanh referred to the support given by the Chinese people to the Vietnamese people as the most resolute, most powerful and most effective support. He let it be known that the people in south Viet-

nam, led by the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation—their sole genuine representative—with the support of their compatriots in the north and the sympathy and solidarity of the Chinese people and people all over the world, were sure to win final victory.

D. Manuweera's Speech. D. Manuweera, Secretary-General of the Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting, informed the gathering of how the Emergency Meeting had shown its firm support for the Vietnamese people's struggle to resist American aggression and save their country. Asian-African writers, he said, had solemnly resolved to tell the people of the world who the real friends of the people of Vietnam are and expose before the world public those accomplices and collaborators of the U.S. imperialists committing aggression against Vietnam.

Manuweera told the rally that the so-called charge that China was obstructing Soviet aid to Vietnam was a lie and facts had proved that it was the Soviet Union which made up the lie. This was one example of proof that the Soviet revisionists were sham supporters of the Vietnamese people while actually sabotaging their heroic struggle, he said. The Soviet revisionists could never succeed in their sabotage activities, or save the U.S. imperialists from their doom on the soil of Vietnam.

Voice of the Chinese People. The next to take the floor was the representative of the various Chinese democratic parties, non-party democrats and the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce. Members in charge of the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity, as well as of organizations representing the Chinese working class, women, youth and students made up the rest of the speakers.

Yang Ming-hsuan said: China's various democratic parties must rally still more closely around the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao and, together with the people of the whole country, guided by the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, enthusiastically take part in the current great cultural revolution in China, intensify their self-remoulding, arm themselves with Mao Tse-tung's thought and contribute all their strength to the Chinese revolution, the world revolution, especially to the current struggle to aid Vietnam's resistance to U.S. aggression.

Hadji Mohammed Ali Chang Chieh of the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity said: Together with the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and with all the revolutionary peoples who genuinely oppose imperialism, the Chinese people will do everything they can and take all effective measures to support the Vietnamese people in their struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation and thoroughly defeat U.S. imperialism.

Ma Chun-ku of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, **Kang Ke-ching** of the National Women's Fed-

eration, **Wang Chao-hua** of the All-China Youth Federation, and **Wu Shao-tsu** of the All-China Students Federation, in their speeches declared that China's workers, women, youth and students, using Mao Tse-tung's thought as their weapon, following Chairman Mao's teachings on being "resolute and unafraid of sacrifice" to "surmount every difficulty to win victory," would, together with the people of Vietnam and the whole world, wipe out U.S. imperialism resolutely, thoroughly, completely and totally.

The rally ended as the 10,000 people present rose and, with right fists extended, shouted slogans:

"Firm support for the just struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. aggression and for national salvation!"

"Salute the heroic Vietnamese people!"

"U.S. imperialism get out of south Vietnam! Get out of Asia! Get out of Africa! Get out of Latin America! Get out of all places subjected to U.S. aggression!"

Vice-Premier Chen Yi's Speech at the Peking Mass Rally

It is necessary to cast away illusions about U.S. imperialism and wage a tit-for-tat struggle against it. Countries which are genuinely opposed to U.S. aggression must oppose the traitorous acts of the Soviet revisionists.

BEGINNING from June 29, U.S. imperialism has repeatedly bombed the city of Hanoi, capital of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and Haiphong, the second largest city in northern Vietnam. The United States has stretched its war tentacles to the heartland of the Vietnamese people and raised its war of aggression against Vietnam to a new and still graver stage. This is a most barbarous and most rabid war move by U.S. imperialism against the Vietnamese people. It is a most serious and bare-faced violation of peace in Asia and the world. This frenzied war adventure of U.S. imperialism has aroused the boundless indignation and the strong condemnation of the people of the whole world. A new anti-U.S. tide in support of Vietnam is mounting in all parts of the world.

Today, we people from all circles in Peking are gathered here at this solemn rally to voice our condemnation of the monstrous crime of U.S. imperialism in expanding its war of aggression against Vietnam and to express the strong determination of the 700 million Chinese people to give all-out support to the Vietnamese people in their great struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. **On behalf of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Government and people, I wish to pay the highest tribute to the heroic Vietnamese people.**

In launching its war of aggression against Vietnam, U.S. imperialism aims at perpetuating its forcible occupation of southern Vietnam and turning it into a base of aggression against northern Vietnam, against the whole of Indo-China and the surrounding countries, and against China and the whole of Asia. In order to realize this insensate ambition, U.S. imperialism has been waging the war in Vietnam for seven

long years. It has already dispatched nearly 300,000 aggressor troops to southern Vietnam, wantonly bombed northern Vietnam for 17 months and resorted to every inhuman and brutal means and deceptive political schemes of various kinds.

But none of these has been able to bring the heroic Vietnamese people to their knees and to save U.S. imperialism from the predicament of being bogged down deeper and deeper in its war of aggression, from which it cannot extricate itself. Particularly of late, the "dry season offensive" launched by U.S. imperialism has failed miserably, its peace talks schemes have gone bankrupt one after another and the puppet regime fostered by it is on the verge of collapse. It is in this very dilemma with difficulties both at home and abroad that the Johnson government has taken the reckless path of further expanding its war of aggression. The bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong by U.S. imperialism is precisely an expression of helplessness and of the desperation of a cornered beast in its war of aggression; it precisely reflects the desperate struggle of U.S. imperialism in the face of the united Vietnamese people who are dealing it harder and harder blows.

In its war of aggression against Vietnam, U.S. imperialism has always used military blackmail to carry out its peace talks schemes and used the latter to cover up its acts of war expansion. The Johnson government's order to bomb Hanoi and Haiphong is the continuation of such counter-revolutionary dual tactics. It attempts forcibly to bring about a situation of "peace talks" by air attacks on the heartland of Vietnam as a means of blackmail. U.S. imperialism thinks that once it drops bombs on the capital of the Democratic

Republic of Vietnam, it can cow the Vietnamese people and force them to stop their struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. This is a sheer daydream! Whether in the south or in the north, whether in the sky or on the ground, the whole heroic Vietnamese people are constantly dealing U.S. imperialism telling blows. This is a powerful answer to the U.S. bandits. Together with the people of the whole world, the Chinese people warmly hail the brilliant victories won by the Vietnamese people in their war of resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salvation.

Wherever there is aggression, there is resistance. Since U.S. imperialism has started a barbarous war of aggression by sending its troops across vast oceans to southern Vietnam, it is only natural for the 14 million south Vietnamese people to rise in a war of resistance and for the 17 million north Vietnamese people to support and aid their kith and kin in the south. It is only natural for all the peace-loving countries and peoples in the world to support and aid the Vietnamese people in their just struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation.

In fact, when it started to bomb the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the United States broke the line of demarcation between southern and northern Vietnam. By its act of bombing Hanoi and Haiphong, U.S. imperialism has now further broken the bounds in its war and torn the Geneva agreements to shreds. In these circumstances, it is perfectly just and logical for the people of northern Vietnam to support and aid the people of southern Vietnam in whatever form and on whatever scale. Back in December 1965 President Ho Chi Minh solemnly stated: "Vietnam is one, the Vietnamese people are one. As sons and daughters of the same fatherland, our people in the north are bound to extend wholehearted support to the patriotic struggle waged by the people of the south against U.S. aggression. Likewise, our people in the south are duty-bound to fight with all their forces to contribute to the defence of the northern part of their fatherland." He added, "We are determined not to submit to U.S. imperialist aggression," and "our people are determined to persevere in the fight, and undergo sacrifices for ten or twenty years or a longer time, till final victory." U.S. imperialism will never succeed in its aim of intimidating the Vietnamese people by what it calls "raising the cost."

The bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong by U.S. imperialism has not only further entitled the people of both the southern and northern parts of Vietnam to support and assist each other but also further entitled the people of the whole world to support and aid the Vietnamese people in their struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. Since U.S. imperialism has broken the bounds in its war of aggression with its own hands, it cannot expect all the countries and peoples that oppose aggression to be restricted in any way any longer in their actions.

The U.S. action of expanding the war of aggression against Vietnam once again proves that the aggressive nature of U.S. imperialism will not change. It remains the same no matter what appearance it assumes. **Chairman Mao says that "U.S. imperialism while outwardly strong is inwardly weak. We must be clear-headed, that is, we must not believe the 'nice words' of the imperialists nor be intimidated by their bluster." No fantastic illusion must be cherished about such a ferocious and cunning enemy as U.S. imperialism, and the only thing to do is to wage a tit-for-tat struggle against it.** We are firmly convinced that through protracted struggle, the heroic Vietnamese people can thoroughly defeat the U.S. aggressors and realize their lofty aspiration of liberating the south and reunifying their fatherland.

The Soviet revisionist leading clique has gone further in playing its ignominious role of accomplice in the U.S. imperialist schemes of "forcing peace talks through bombing." The present U.S. imperialist bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong is entirely the result of the collusion of the United States and the Soviet Union. The U.S. State Department has admitted that the United States informed in advance "various key interested governments," including that of the Soviet Union, of its decision to bomb Hanoi and Haiphong. Dean Rusk has bluntly urged the Soviet revisionist leadership to "get busy and start helping us [the United States] make some peace out there." Since the U.S. imperialist bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong, the Soviet leading clique has continued to propagate the peaceful settlement of the Vietnam question and repeatedly indicated that the U.S. bombing would not affect the reaching of a disarmament agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union. **This has completely laid bare the sinister collaboration and collusion between the U.S. and Soviet Governments on the Vietnam question, and further exposed the traitorous features of the Soviet revisionist leading clique in its sham support but real betrayal of the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation.**

The Soviet leading clique has all along worked hand in glove with U.S. imperialism on the Vietnam question and served Lyndon Johnson's peace talks schemes in the vain hope of bringing the Vietnam question into the orbit of U.S.-Soviet collaboration. **It is seeking a *detente* and a reduction of armed forces in Europe so that the United States can draw away forces and use them against the Vietnamese people. It is making military deployments along the Chinese border in co-ordination with the U.S. imperialist encirclement of China.** It is fabricating and spreading rumors and slanders everywhere, accusing China of obstructing the transit of aid material to Vietnam, in an attempt to undermine the unity between the peoples of China and Vietnam and to sabotage the Vietnamese people's war of resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. The facts are very clear. The Soviet revisionist leading clique is redoubling its

efforts to take "united action" with U.S. imperialism in a big way to sabotage the revolutionary struggle of all the peoples of the world. **Therefore, all countries that genuinely oppose U.S. imperialist aggression must, at the same time, oppose the traitorous acts of the Soviet revisionists and must draw a clear line of distinction between themselves and the Soviet revisionists' "united action" for selling out the revolutionary interests of the people of Vietnam and the whole world.**

In the face of U.S. imperialism's frantic expansion of its war of aggression against Vietnam, the more than 30 million heroic Vietnamese people are waging a national war of resistance against U.S. imperialist aggression with one heart and one mind, bringing into full play the power of people's war and scoring one victory after another. The people of northern Vietnam have exploded the myth of U.S. "air superiority," while the people of southern Vietnam have dealt the U.S. aggressors one telling blow after another. The Vietnamese people's victories in their struggle against aggression most vividly prove that people's war is the most effective magic weapon in dealing with U.S. imperialism and its lackeys and that it is not the modern

weapons of U.S. imperialism, but the revolutionary people daring to fight and daring to win, that are really powerful.

Vietnam and China are neighbours and brothers as closely related as lips and teeth. The Chinese people have in all fields consistently and unreservedly supported and assisted the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. Now that U.S. imperialism has pushed its war of aggression against Vietnam to a new stage, the Chinese people will under no circumstances tolerate the continued evil-doing of U.S. imperialism.

The Chinese Government has already solemnly stated: In accordance with the interests and demands of the Vietnamese people, we will at any time take such actions as we deem necessary. However much U.S. imperialism may expand the war and however heavy the price, we will definitely carry the struggle to aid Vietnam against U.S. aggression through to the end till the Vietnamese people win final victory.

Down with U.S. imperialism!

Long live the heroic Vietnamese people!

Greeting the Sino-Korean Treaty Anniversary

Chinese Leaders' Message

Pyongyang

Comrade Kim Il Sung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers' Party and Premier of the Cabinet of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea,

Comrade Choi Yong Kun, President of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea,

On the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the signing of the Sino-Korean treaty of friendship, co-operation and mutual assistance, we, on behalf of the Chinese people, the Communist Party of China and the Government of the People's Republic of China, have the honour to extend our warm greetings to you and to the fraternal Korean people, the Korean Workers' Party and the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

The Sino-Korean treaty of friendship, co-operation and mutual assistance is the crystallization of the militant friendship sealed in blood between our two peoples and is in full accord with their fundamental interests. This treaty has fully embodied their relations of friendship and co-operation and is of great significance to the defence of the common security of our two countries. The Chinese people will firmly side

with the fraternal Korean people and carry through to the end the struggle against the U.S. imperialists' policies of aggression and war and for the defence of the common security of our two countries.

The great friendship between the Chinese and Korean people is built on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and is unbreakable. The Chinese people always treasure this friendship and will continue their efforts to strengthen and develop it.

May the fraternal Korean people constantly achieve new successes in the cause of building socialism, combating U.S. imperialist aggression and bringing about the reunification of their motherland.

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China,

Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the People's Republic of China,

Chu Teh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China,

Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China.

July 10, 1966

July 15, 1966

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Korean Leaders' Message

Peking

**Comrade Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the
Central Committee of the Communist Party of China,**

**Comrade Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the
People's Republic of China,**

**Comrade Chu Teh, Chairman of the Standing
Committee of the National People's Congress
of the People's Republic of China,**

**Comrade Chou En-lai, Premier of the State
Council of the People's Republic of China,**

Dear Comrades,

On the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance Between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the People's Republic of China, we, in the name of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers' Party and the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly and the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the entire Korean people, extend warm congratulations and fraternal greetings to you and, through you, to the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and the Government of the People's Republic of China and to the entire Chinese people.

The Korean-Chinese treaty of friendship, co-operation and mutual assistance which was concluded on the principles of complete equality, respect for each other's sovereignty and proletarian internationalism has further developed the friendly relations between the peoples of the two countries which have been sealed in blood in the long-drawn arduous revolutionary struggle against common enemies.

This treaty has become a reliable guarantee for defending the security of the two countries and the socialist camp and peace in Asia and the world and a stern warning to the U.S. imperialists who are pursuing with increased fervour the policies of aggression and war.

The fraternal Chinese people, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung and holding high the revolutionary banner of self-reliance, have achieved great successes in the struggle for building their country into a socialist power with modern agriculture, modern industry, modern national defence and modern science and technique.

The Chinese people are now waging a vigorous struggle in production for carrying out the tasks for the first year of the Third Five-Year Plan.

The Korean people sincerely rejoice over all the achievements the fraternal Chinese people have made in the struggle for the socialist construction of the country and the strengthening of its national defence.

The Korean people treasure the friendship of and the solidarity with the fraternal Chinese people.

Our people will continue to struggle against the aggressive forces of the U.S.-led imperialists, and will exert all our efforts to oppose modern revisionism and dogmatism, to defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism and to strive for the victory of the cause of the working class.

Convinced that the militant friendship, solidarity and relations of co-operation between the Korean and Chinese peoples will continue to grow stronger and develop, we sincerely wish you and the fraternal Chinese people greater success in the struggle for the prosperity and development of the country and for peace in Asia and the world.

Kim Il Sung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers' Party and Premier of the Cabinet of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea,

Choi Yong Kun, President of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

July 10, 1966, in Pyongyang

Who Is the Rumour Manufacturer?

by "RENMIN RIBAO" COMMENTATOR

ON June 16, the American news agency UPI reported that, according to communist sources, large shipments of Soviet aid supplies to Vietnam were being held up on the Sino-Soviet border because China demanded payment of freight charges and customs duties in kind instead of dollars or gold, and that China had seized a number of ground-to-air missiles and MIG spare parts and accessories as freight payment, and so on. The *Indian Express* on the same day and the British *Daily Telegraph* on June 17 featured similar reports, adding sanctimoniously that Soviet officials

had lodged a strong protest with China against this and that the Vietnamese side, too, had made representations to the Chinese side.

On June 19, the Vietnam News Agency in an authorized statement declared that this rumour was sheer fabrication aimed at achieving perfidious provocative ends.

Who, then, is the manufacturer of this rumour?

Everyone knows that only three countries, Vietnam, China and the Soviet Union, are involved in the transit

of Soviet military aid supplies to Vietnam. The Vietnamese side has refuted the rumour and the Chinese side naturally would not spread such a rumour against itself. In the circumstances, is it not clear where the rumour has come from? The "communist sources" quoted by UPI are clearly none other than the revisionist leading group of the Soviet Union.

Since Khrushchov's fall the Soviet revisionist leading group has used the trick of sham support for Vietnam but real betrayal of that country, changed its past policy of disengagement to its present policy of involvement and, in the name of "aiding Vietnam in opposition to the United States," in fact carried out anti-Chinese activities by inventing lies. Ever since February 1965 when the Soviet Union asked the Chinese side for assistance in transporting Soviet military aid supplies in transit to Vietnam, the Soviet revisionist leading group through various channels has been spreading a bunch of lies at home and abroad alleging that China obstructed their transit to Vietnam.

These lies have been spread extensively within the Soviet Party and the Soviet Union and within other Parties and countries led by revisionist groups; moreover, they have been published in the Soviet press and openly mouthed by high-ranking Soviet officials to supply imperialism headed by the United States with ammunition against China. In December 1965 the Soviet magazine *Life Abroad*, No. 50, carried an article vilifying China as having asked the Soviet Union to pay freight in U.S. dollars for aid supplies in transit to Vietnam. On April 21, 1966, a high-ranking Soviet government official, Defence Minister Malinovsky, in a speech in Hungary openly slandered China as obstructing so-called Soviet aid to Vietnam.

The lies concocted by the Soviet revisionist leading group and widely spread by U.S. and other Western news agencies have become more and more preposterous and far-fetched. At first these lies slanderously alleged that China had obstructed the shipment of Soviet military aid supplies to Vietnam, then vilified China as having asked the Soviet Union for U.S. dollars and rubles as transit charges, and now have gone to the length of maligning China as having demanded payment of transit charges in kind and seized Soviet military aid supplies to Vietnam as transit charges. The Soviet revisionist group invented these rumours, which were then given world circulation by U.S. news agencies and published by such Soviet journals as *Life Abroad*. Please note the skilful and close co-operation between the two.

On more than one occasion the Chinese side has forcefully disproved such lies by presenting the facts. The truth is that China has agreed to help, and has never obstructed, the trans-shipment of all military aid supplies the Soviet side is willing to provide and the Vietnamese side agrees to accept; that Chinese railways have immediately trans-shipped by special military express Soviet military aid supplies to Vietnam on their arrival at the Chinese border and there has never been any delay or holding up of such supplies; and that Chi-

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Text of the Vietnam News Agency's Authorized Statement

According to a dispatch from Hanoi, the Vietnam News Agency on June 19 issued an authorized statement refuting the Western news agencies' cooked-up reports that Soviet military materials destined for Vietnam were obstructed in transit through China.

The full text of the statement reads as follows:

Some Western news agencies have falsely reported recently that Soviet military aid materials destined for Vietnam were meeting with difficulties and hindrances in transit through China. The Vietnam News Agency is authorized to declare:

The Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam has on many occasions affirmed that all the aid materials from the Soviet Union as well as other brother countries in Eastern Europe have received the wholehearted assistance of China in transit through China according to schedule.

The reports are sheer fabrication aimed at achieving perfidious provocative ends.

nese railways have trans-shipped gratis all such military aid supplies, without ever charging the Soviet Government a single ruble, a single U.S. dollar or a piece of gold, let alone asking for such things in kind as ground-to-air missiles.

The Soviet revisionist leading group knows all this very well. They have cast truth aside and made up endless, fantastic lies because they want to deceive the world, deliberately sow dissension in the militant friendship between the two Parties, between the two countries and between the two peoples of China and Vietnam, and undermine the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation in order to serve U.S. imperialism.

It is to suit the needs of U.S. imperialism that the Soviet revisionist leading group has consistently made up lies against China. The worldwide spreading of these lies by U.S. imperialism also meets the needs of the Soviet revisionist leading group. This is no chance or isolated matter. It reflects the close collaboration and sinister collusion between the Soviet Union and the United States over the Vietnam question, reflects the heart of their united action, namely, their joint opposition to China, their joint sabotage of the friendship and unity of the Chinese and Vietnamese people, and their joint sabotage of the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation.

The more fantastic the lies, the sooner they will be discredited. Those who depend on rumour-mongering for a living cannot last long, nor will they come to a good end.

(July 7, 1966)

Creatively Study and Apply Mao Tse-tung's Thought

— Excerpts From Comrade Wang Chieh's Diary

Comrade Wang Chieh was a squad leader of an engineering company of a People's Liberation Army armoured unit in Tsinan, Shantung Province. He was born in Chihsiang County in the same province in 1942. He joined the P.L.A. in August 1961 and was admitted into the Communist Youth League of China in February 1962. He was cited as a "Five-Good" soldier for three successive years and was twice commended for meritorious service, third class. In July 1965, Wang Chieh was sent to Pih sien County in Kiangsu Province to help drill militiamen of the Changlou People's Commune. While training, a package of explosives was accidentally set off, endangering the lives of nearby militiamen and cadres of the people's armed forces. Absolutely fearless, he bravely sacrificed his own life to save the others. After his glorious death, the Party committee of his unit, acting on his former application and after examining his history and general behaviour, posthumously admitted him as a full member of the Chinese Communist Party.

The *Jiefangjun Bao* (Liberation Army Daily) published excerpts from Wang Chieh's diary in two instalments last October and November. In an editor's note, the paper pointed out: "His diary is a record of how he creatively studied and applied Mao Tse-tung's thought and raised his proletarian consciousness. It is a true and vivid record of whole-hearted service to the people. It is an excellent and living source of study material for us."

"Acts of heroism never come accidentally. They have their source in Mao Tse-tung's thought. From his diary, we can see that Comrade Wang Chieh was able to lay down his life without the slightest hesitation when the need arose precisely because he studied Chairman Mao's works diligently, absorbed revolutionary sustenance constantly, remoulded his ideology all the time and raised his proletarian consciousness."

A man should be judged not only from what he says but more important, from how he acts. Lenin considered this a Marxist truth. What is especially worthy of learning from Wang Chieh is his solemn and earnest attitude in studying Mao Tse-tung's thought. He was able to integrate study and application so that whatever he said, he did. In ordinary life or at the critical juncture when he had to choose between life and death, he was able to take Mao Tse-tung's thought as his guide to action.

To commemorate the first anniversary of his death, we publish below the first instalment of excerpts from his diary.—Ed.

March 13, 1963

I've learnt a great deal from studying Chairman Mao's article "The Situation and Our Policy After the Victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan."

"We should sweep backward ideas from the minds of the Chinese people, just as we sweep our rooms. Dust never vanishes of itself without sweeping." This is what Chairman Mao teaches us. We must always sweep the unclean ideas from our minds. It is impossible that unclean ideas will vanish by themselves without being swept away, just as, in Chairman Mao's

words, "Bells don't ring till you strike them. Tables don't move till you shift them."

We're revolutionary fighters of the proletariat, shouldering the great task of defending and building socialism. To fulfil this glorious task entrusted to us by the people of the motherland, we must continuously remould our thinking and raise our political consciousness.

For ideological remoulding I plan to do three things:

(1) Take an active part in political study through which I will be able to learn to understand the Party's



Wang Chieh — Chairman Mao's good soldier

policies and lines and the relation between the individual and the collective. In this way I'll be sure of the right way forward and understand for whom I am a soldier and for whom I fight. I must link study with practice to get good results. I must constantly examine myself in the light of revolutionary principles, develop my good points and resolutely correct bad ones.

(2) Always steel myself in practical struggles — in military training, productive work and political movements, particularly in hard and difficult situations. I must earnestly follow the leadership's instructions in any kind of work or duty. I must learn from the example set by advanced people, learn from their noble ideas, resolute fighting will and strict discipline, learn from Tung Tsun-jui, Huang Chi-kuang, Chiu Shao-yun, An Yeh-min, Lei Feng and other heroes, and take their exemplary achievements as a standard by which to measure myself at all times.

(3) Regularly practise criticism and self-criticism. These are effective weapons for ideological remoulding. I must learn how to use these weapons, accept criticism from other people with an open mind, criticize myself strictly. As Chairman Mao teaches us, we should daily sweep away the dust in our minds just as we wash our faces. Shortcomings, big or small, should be seriously dealt with and thoroughly corrected.

Ideological remoulding is an arduous, long-term task which cannot be accomplished overnight. But I

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have the determination and perseverance to carry it through, to overcome all kinds of non-proletarian ideas and to be a good revolutionary fighter.

June 5, 1963

This evening I took part in a discussion called by battalion headquarters on our experience in studying Chairman Mao's works. Everyone talked about what he had learnt and understood. Our common experience was: Don't try to read too much or too quickly; apply what you've learnt bit by bit; correct shortcomings as you study and apply immediately what you have learnt; be persistent; link study with current tasks and with personal problems; study shouldn't be undertaken without guidance from the leadership or in isolation from other comrades. I'll resolutely apply this valuable experience to my studies. I'll combine theory with practice. I'll be strict with myself and remould my ideology earnestly. I'll study Chairman Mao's works, follow his teachings, act in accordance with his instructions and be a good soldier of Chairman Mao.

July 25, 1964

In studying Chairman Mao's works, as in doing other things, we must stress practical results. You can't measure results merely by totting up the number of articles read and the time spent on them. This is only one aspect of study. We must see whether we can grasp the essence of Chairman Mao's works and use it to remould ourselves ideologically, to guide our work and to analyse and handle practical problems. Chairman Mao says, "It is necessary to master Marxist theory and apply it, master it for the sole purpose of applying it." The more practical problems we can explain and solve by applying Chairman Mao's stand, viewpoints and methods, the more evident our progress in remoulding our ideology and improving our work — mean the greater results we are getting from our study. On the other hand, if we fail to apply Chairman Mao's teachings to our ideology and work, we'll get nothing from our study even if we read hundreds of articles and take thousands of notes. In the whole process of learning, we must set out to get results from whatever we learn, to really understand the essence and apply it, putting the stress on "application" so that we really practise what we learn.

Without conscientiousness, we definitely won't get good results from studying Chairman Mao's works. Chairman Mao says, "Unless they [the masses] are conscious and willing, any kind of work that requires their participation will turn out to be a mere formality and will fail." Only when we realize that Chairman Mao's works are as necessary to us revolutionaries as "sunshine," "air" and "food" can we study his works and apply them properly. Determination, perseverance, enthusiasm and time for study come from conscientiousness. Only with conscientiousness can we really resolve the contradiction between work and study, and achieve the aim of remoulding our ideology and improving our work.

Protracted persistence is necessary in studying Chairman Mao's works. It's a lifetime affair; if we live to an old age we must study them to our old age. Our determination and perseverance must be continually strengthened to always carry the study on.

In our studies we must also earnestly and comprehensively adhere to the principles put forward by Comrade Lin Biao: "Study Chairman Mao's works with certain problems in mind, study and apply them creatively, combine study with application, and study first what is needed most so as to get prompt results." Problems will continue to arise as long as we do revolutionary work — new ones appear as old ones are solved. Wherever there is work and wherever there is struggle, there we'll find problems to bear in mind as we study. So it's not that there are no problems; there are endless problems to bear in mind as we study. But we should pick out and put the emphasis of study on those problems which most urgently need to be solved. Just like in fighting a battle, we must, to use Chairman Mao's words, "concentrate superior forces for a war of annihilation." We should concentrate our strength on the crucial points, solve problems one at a time, and put whatever point we learn immediately into practice. If we do this, we'll get a deeper understanding of Chairman Mao's teachings and be able to make use of them properly and improve our work in a down-to-earth way.

July 8, 1964

Chairman Mao says, "Reading is learning, but applying is also learning and the more important kind of learning at that." What he means here is that a person who has had no opportunity to go to school can also learn warfare — he can learn through fighting in war. . . . It is often not a matter of first learning and then doing, but of doing and then learning, for doing is itself learning. Studying Chairman Mao's works and recalling the three years of my army life has given me a deeper understanding of the meaning of his teaching: doing is itself learning. Whatever you don't know, you'll learn through doing it. Where there's a will, there's a way. In the past three years, I've learnt from army life what I could never have learnt in school. My ideological level is raised, my class consciousness is higher, my military skill is better, and I've cultivated the habit of living simply and plainly. All this I've learnt from practice. We must learn through practice. Theory must be combined with practice. Only thus can we say that we have studied to any purpose.

August 22, 1963

Studying Chairman Mao's works has made me feel deeply that, just as a locomotive cannot move once it is off the track, so a revolutionary fighter will become muddle-headed and go astray if he doesn't study Chairman Mao's works.

"Flowers do not bloom without sunshine, crops do not grow without rain, a revolutionary fighter loses his bearings if he is not armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought."

March 19, 1964

Studying Chairman Mao's works has made me feel deeply that Mao Tse-tung's thought is like a rising sun in the East driving away the darkness with its brilliance and lighting up the hearts of the oppressed peoples. It's a beacon standing upright on the shore, steadily glowing with a red light to guide the navigators. Mao Tse-tung's thought is the best weapon to help one distinguish the enemy from the people and take a correct stand.

February 20, 1963

Lei Feng was a good soldier of Chairman Mao. All the things he did were quite ordinary, but it was these ordinary things that shaped his noble revolutionary character and while doing these ordinary things he performed stirring deeds.

I used to think there was no future in an ordinary post, that nothing could be achieved in it. Now Lei Feng's heroic deeds have opened my eyes and given me strength. In our country's socialist construction it is just these "ordinary" jobs which make up our great cause. It is the countless people doing "ordinary" jobs who form a vital force for the building of socialism. Great contributions can be made in an ordinary post if, like Lei Feng, one wholeheartedly serves the people and determines to serve as a screw in a machine, a screw always free from rust. From now on I'll learn from Lei Feng, be an ordinary soldier in the defence of my motherland — be Chairman Mao's good soldier of Lei Feng's type, be a screw which is always free from rust.

February 23, 1963

The revolutionary army is a big school for tempering men. I will be a piece of coal, to be thrown and burnt in the smelter that is our fighting life, glowing with the light and heat of the times. . . .

July 3, 1963

I believe that:

You will know your own weakness and make progress only when you compare your shortcomings with the merits of others. You'll never make progress if you overestimate yourself and think you are better than others.

August 5, 1963

A vain man is only interested in personal fame.

An honourable man is always concerned with the cause of his motherland.

August 8, 1963

Chairman Mao says: ". . . dust will accumulate if a room is not cleaned regularly, our faces will get dirty if they are not washed regularly. Our comrades' minds and our Party's work may also collect dust, and also need sweeping and washing."

I'll do as Chairman Mao says. Every night before going to bed I'll recall what I've done during the day: what I've done right and what I've done wrong, and how to do them in future. I'll examine myself weekly and monthly. I'll keep up this practice; it will help me to do better work.

January 1, 1964

1963 has passed. It's been a great year. In the past year I've received more honours from the leadership than my work deserves. I've done some work and made some progress under the Party's education. I feel I'm like a young plant shooting out of the rich soil of the revolutionary ranks, where the Party showers me with its sunshine and rain and the comrades help me to grow. I cannot live a minute if I'm separated from the Party and the people.

Although I made much progress in the past year, on looking back, I also find many shortcomings. I still lack self-cultivation; I'm not as warm towards my comrades as Lei Feng was — with the "warmth of spring." I'm not careful and painstaking enough in my work. I cannot stand much hardship. I haven't done my best to improve my skills. I haven't given enough help to those comrades who lag behind. I do too many things by myself, ignoring others. In the film *Youth in the Flames of War*, Comrade Kao Shan, the heroine, I remember, pointed out that he who fights a battle single-handedly and blindly can't be called a hero. All these defects fall short of the Party's teachings. When I think of them I feel ashamed of myself.

As the new year begins, I'll bear firmly in mind what Chairman Mao teaches us: "Modesty helps one to make progress whereas conceit makes one lag behind." The Party has given us new and heavier tasks for the new year. How can I live up to the Party's hopes? I must carry forward my achievements and overcome shortcomings. As in a race, I must start off from the starting point and run steadily forward step by step. I must be worthy of the honour the Party and the people have given me, heighten my political consciousness, set my sights high and work hard in 1964.

To work better for the Party and the people in the current year I'll study Chairman Mao's works harder, emulate Lei Feng's drive and his spirit of putting every possible minute into study and getting to the bottom of things, of taking one's problems to find answers through studying, of really understanding what one studies and putting it into practice bit by bit. The past year has taught me one thing very clearly and that is, there is no shortcut to serving the people

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wholeheartedly, being a good servant of the people and carrying out the tasks given by the Party. The only way is to study Chairman Mao's works, follow his teachings, act in accordance with his instructions, and always strive to be a good soldier of Chairman Mao,

December 28, 1964

I re-read Chairman Mao's "Serve the People" and "In Memory of Norman Bethune." They immediately gripped my mind. I've read them before, but never have they appeared to me so profound, so fresh, so magnetic as this time. I was moved to tears by the noble character of Chang Szu-teh and Bethune. They were so utterly devoted to others without any thought of self. What is the purpose of life? For whom do we live? How should we live? These are fundamental questions in life. I haven't thought much about them before, so naturally I've never solved them.

In "Serve the People" Chairman Mao points out a very clear direction. He says, "These battalions of ours are wholly dedicated to the liberation of the people and work entirely in the people's interests."

Calling on us to learn from Bethune, Chairman Mao says, "We must all learn the spirit of absolute selflessness from him. With this spirit everyone can be very useful to the people. A man's ability may be great or small, but if he has this spirit, he is already noble-minded and pure, a man of moral integrity and above vulgar interests, a man who is of value to the people."

I did a lot of thinking about these words and I now realize that my life is meaningful only if I can live like Chang Szu-teh and Bethune. The interests of the Party, the revolution and the masses are identical. I must never hesitate to do things in the interest of the revolution. Every bit of revolutionary work counts: there is no distinction between which is higher and which is lower. The important thing is to give every ounce of energy wholeheartedly to the revolution. So, as I read on I made up my mind to learn from these two comrades, to try and emulate their absolute selflessness.

February 29, 1964

Family origin plays a certain part in a person's maturing, but it depends mainly on his own ideological remoulding, his own efforts. In life, one is subjected to the influences of various environments, ideas and ways of living, some good, some bad. They exert a good or a bad influence on a person's growth. The good influences should be absorbed and developed and the bad ones reformed. That is to say, the principal causes of a person's maturing are internal, not external. If he wants to mature quickly, he must consciously temper himself. A proletarian revolutionary must be able to hold his ground against bad influences in good environments, and even more so in the bad environments. A good comrade is one who is able to stand the test.

(To be continued.)

Chen Yi on Support to Vietnam

JULY 5 was the 4th anniversary of Algeria's independence. Chairman Liu Shao-chi and Premier Chou En-lai sent a message on July 4 to Houari Boumedienne, Chairman of the Algerian Council of the Revolution and Premier of the Democratic People's Republic of Algeria, extending their warm congratulations to him.

Mohamed Khouri, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Algerian Embassy in China, gave a reception in Peking on July 5 to celebrate the occasion. Vice-Premier Chen Yi was among those present. Both Mohamed Khouri and Chen Yi spoke at the reception, greeting the continuous consolidation and development of the friendship between the Chinese and Algerian peoples.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi reaffirmed that the Chinese people, defying all risks, would firmly carry the struggle to support the Vietnamese people to resist U.S. imperialist aggression through to the end.

The Vice-Premier stressed: "Every country, every government, every political party and every statesman in the world will inevitably be put to the test by history and be examined by the people on the Vietnam question. They either side with the Vietnamese people or with U.S. imperialism. The middle road is non-existent and is a blind alley."

Vice-Premier Chen Yi pointed out: "The Vietnam question is the focal point of the current international struggle. The essence of this question is the armed aggression against Vietnam by U.S. imperialism. Of late, U.S. imperialism has brazenly bombed Hanoi, the capital of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and Haiphong, its second largest city, thus pushing the war of aggression to a new and still graver stage. This barbarous and wild act of aggression and war by U.S. imperialism has aroused the extreme indignation of the peo-

ples of China, Algeria and all other countries of the world and brought forth unanimous condemnation."

Vice-Premier Chen Yi said: "On July 3 the Chinese Government issued a statement expressing its strongest condemnation of U.S. imperialism and reaffirming its unswerving determination to support the fraternal Vietnamese people to fight to the end. Together with the anti-imperialist Algerian people and all countries and peoples that genuinely oppose U.S. imperialism, the Chinese people, defying all risks, are ready to take all effective measures to struggle to the end in supporting the Vietnamese people and in thoroughly smashing the U.S. imperialist policies of war and aggression."

Anniversary of Sino-Korean Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance

The Chinese people, together with the fraternal Korean people, celebrated the anniversary of the Sino-Korean Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance which was signed on July 11, 1961. Chinese Party and state leaders Comrades Mao Tse-tung, Liu Shao-chi, Chu Teh and Chou En-lai and Korean Party and state leaders Comrades Kim Il Sung and Choi Yong Kun exchanged messages of greetings (see p. 29).

More than 1,500 people from all walks of life in the capital held a rally on July 9 to celebrate the anniversary. Lin Feng, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and President of the China-Korea Friendship Association, Vice-Premier Hsieh Fuchih and others attended. Lin Feng and Kim Jai Sook, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Korean Embassy in Peking, spoke at the rally.

In his speech, Lin Feng reaffirmed the Chinese people's resolute support for the Korean people in their just struggle against U.S. imperialism. He said that the Chinese people would unite closely with the Korean people and with the revolutionary people of Asia and the whole world, and struggle to the very end to smash all the aggressive schemes and counter-revolutionary plots of U.S. imperialism and its accomplices and lackeys.

Lin Feng strongly denounced U.S. imperialism for undermining the Korean armistice agreement and for its continued occupation of south Korea. Stressing that U.S. imperialism was the chief culprit responsible for obstructing the reunification of Korea, he said: "Until U.S. imperialism is driven out of south Korea, the reunification of Korea is out of the question." He added: "As Chairman Mao Tse-tung has said, '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 people's cause,' U.S. imperialism will never go against this logic."

Lin Feng said that, by their recent savage bombing of Hanoi, the capital of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and Haiphong, its second largest city, the U.S. imperialists had pushed their aggressive war in Vietnam to a new and more serious stage. He also denounced the Soviet revisionist leading group for its shameful role as an accomplice of U.S. imperialism. He emphasized that the Soviet revisionist leading group had degenerated so far as to wallow in the same mire with the lackeys and puppets of U.S. imperialism, and to become saboteurs of the people's revolution in Asian countries. If the struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys was to be effective, it was necessary at the same time to oppose Soviet modern revisionism, with which it was absolutely impossible to take so-called "united action." For the interests of revolution, there must be no ambi-

guity whatever on this matter of principle. He went on to say that the Soviet revisionist leading group was, just like U.S. imperialism, the best teacher by negative example. "We are confident that all those who are genuinely opposed to imperialism will, through practical struggles, gradually come to understand the truth that to oppose imperialism it is necessary at the same time to oppose revisionism." Lin Feng stressed that, in order to isolate their common enemy, U.S. imperialism, to the maximum and deal the heaviest blows against it, all countries and peoples subjected to U.S. aggression, control, intervention and bullying should unite and form the broadest and most genuine international united front—and not a narrow or sham one—against the U.S. imperialists.

Charge d'Affaires Kim Jai Sook in his speech strongly condemned U.S. imperialism for its continued occupation of south Korea, its intensified activities to carry out aggressive plots and its frantic preparations for a new war. He condemned U.S. imperialism for wildly bombing the peaceful residential districts and economic establishments of Hanoi and Haiphong and for plotting to expand its war of aggression in Vietnam. He also denounced U.S. imperialism's aggressive activities in other parts of Asia. Kim Jai Sook expressed the firm conviction of the Korean people: In the future as in the past, whatever storms may come, the relations of friendship and co-operation between the people of Korea and China will continue to develop in the struggle against imperialism, modern revisionism and dogmatism and for the victory of the cause of Marxism-Leninism.

Albanian Army Day

Lin Piao, Vice-Premier and Minister of National Defence, sent a message on July 9 to Beqir Balluku, Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister of Defence of the Albanian People's Republic, greeting the 23rd anniversary of the founding of the Albanian People's Army. Lin Piao expressed his deep conviction

that the militant unity and friendship between the Chinese and Albanian peoples and armies were unbreakable and that this friendship would increasingly show its boundless vitality.

Albanian Ambassador to China Vasil Nathanaili gave a reception in Peking on July 10 to celebrate the anniversary. Vice-Premier Chen Yi, Vice-Chairman of the National Defence Council Yeh Chien-ying and Deputy Chiefs of the General Staff of the People's Liberation Army Li Tien-yu and Wang Hsin-ting attended.

Vasil Nathanaili in his speech gave an account of the brilliant successes achieved by the Albanian People's Army since its founding.

The Albanian Ambassador denounced U.S. imperialism for its towering crime in brazenly bombing the cities of Hanoi and Haiphong in Vietnam, and condemned the leading group of the C.P.S.U. for its efforts to serve Johnson's "peace talks" hoax in betrayal of the Vietnamese people. He said: "The Albanian people and their army will always firmly support the just struggle of the Vietnamese people. They are convinced that this struggle, no matter how protracted or how arduous it might be, will end with the utter defeat of the U.S. imperialist aggressors and their henchmen, the Soviet revisionists."

Ambassador Nathanaili warmly praised the great thought of Mao Tse-tung. He said: "The world revolution will keep on advancing and will finally triumph, because the revolutionary people and the oppressed nations and oppressed peoples of the world today have mastered Mao Tse-tung's thought, that powerful weapon against imperialism and revisionism. Mao Tse-tung's thought is the highest development of the theories of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin both in principle and in practice." The Ambassador said that eternal and unbreakable friendship existed between the people of Albania and China and between their armies. In recent years, this profound friendship had been further strengthened. "The people and armies of the two countries, educated by the two Marxist-Leninist

Parties headed respectively by Comrade Enver Hoxha and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, and holding high clear and distinct revolutionary banners, are struggling for the preservation of the purity of Marxism-Leninism and against the imperialist aggressors headed by the United States and against the modern revisionists represented by the leaders of the C.P.S.U."

Li Tien-yu in his speech praised the Albanian People's Army which, together with the Albanian people, had achieved tremendous success in fighting against imperialist aggression and against subversion and sabotage by the modern revisionists, and in safeguarding the independence and security of their motherland. He said: "Facts prove that the Albanian people deserve to be called a heroic people and the Albanian People's Army deserves to be called a heroic people's army."

Li Tien-yu pointed out that the Albanian People's Army was an army with a high proletarian consciousness, an army armed with Marxism-Leninism. In particular, as a result of the resolute implementation by the Albanian People's Army of the important measures put forward by the Albanian Party of Labour this year, which were designed to strengthen the work of building up a thoroughly revolutionized army, the whole army had been imbued with a new revolutionary spirit of vigour and militancy. "The Albanian People's Army," he said, "has persisted in the revolutionized line of army building and resolutely upheld the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is not only of far-reaching significance in safeguarding its socialist motherland and defending peace in Europe and the world, but has also set a brilliant example for the socialist countries in building a thoroughly revolutionized army."

Li Tien-yu expressed great indignation at the recent savage crimes committed by U.S. imperialism in bombing Hanoi and Haiphong. He also condemned the Soviet revisionist clique for its reactionary policy on the Vietnam question, which was one of sham support but real betrayal, and he exposed its true features of a renegade.

Resolution on Angola

THE Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting firmly and unreservedly supports the heroic armed struggle which is being waged by the people of Angola for their national independence and against Portuguese colonial-

ism, which is backed by the NATO powers, especially by U.S. imperialism, as well as by the divisive schemes of certain splitter forces which are foreign to the people of Angola.

Resolution on Azania

THIS Emergency Meeting of Afro-Asian Writers held in Peking from the 27th June, 1966, having heard the report by the Azanian delegation and after fully discussing the issues at hand:

notes the increased vicious oppression by the fascist colonial "regime" of Verwoerd, of the people of Azania (meaning black man's land), including the progressive writers,

further notes the continual increase of the U.S.A. and British monopoly capital which has already reached the £2,000 million mark, equalling the joint imperialist investments in Africa, and the high stakes imperialism has in maintaining Azania as a slave colony for plunder and looting its wealth. Azanians, consider the fascist colonial Verwoerd clique as nothing but junior partners of Anglo-American imperialism,

draws urgent attention to the explosive situation now obtaining in Southern Africa, as a result of the sinister machinations of the British colonialists in connivance with Verwoerd in handing over Basutoland and Bechuanaland to the arch reactionary Chief Jonathan Leabua, friend of Verwoerd, and Seretse Khama respectively under the guise of "independence," and Swaziland to the despotic rule of King Sobozu,

believes that this treacherous and phony "independence" presages a crisis, the outcome of which might mean the further decimation of the forces of the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania who have taken refuge in Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland, the sinister plot which is being conducted secretly by the imperialists to form a United Front of the reactionary puppets in these territories with the sole purpose of attempting to suppress the struggle of the people of Azania,

fully supports the resolve of the Azanian people under the correct leadership of the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania with Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe as President, as the true and sole representative liberation movement and mouthpiece of the Azanian people to meet reactionary violence with revolutionary violence, smash the fascist colonialist regime of Verwoerd and thoroughly eliminate Anglo-American monopoly capital's control over the Azanian economy, culture, etc., and establish a truly democratic and socialist Azania,

calls upon all Afro-Asian writers and peoples to render all-out support to the Azanian people and writers in their struggle, and publicize as widely as possible the just struggle of the Azanian people and writers under the correct leadership of the Pan-Africanist Congress.

Resolution on Basutoland

REALIZING that the British imperialists have decided to grant a phoney independence to Basutoland under a minority, puppet pro-fascist and apartheid ruling party, in order to accelerate its pace to a neo-colonialist state, and thereby turning a deaf ear to the demands made by the majority of the people of Basutoland for a general election before independence, and openly hurrying to hand over Basutoland to Verwoerd's South Africa as a puppet regime or another of their Bantustans,

The Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting held in Peking from the 27th June to the 9th July, 1966, condemns the British imperialists for signing the unpopular "Independence" Agreement with the minority government on the 17th June, 1966; and supports the people of Basutoland in their demand for general elections before independence and in their just struggle for the genuine independence of their country.

Resolution on Bechuanaland

THE British imperialists, unable to withstand the people's struggle and world public opinion, are to grant sham independence to the people of Bechuanaland.

Aware of the fact that such pre-conceived "independence" arrangements are in the hands of a puppet minority regime which dances to Verwoerd's fascist

regime's tune, and with the intention of forming the Bantustan Empire, and thereby thwarting the struggle of the Azanian people for national liberation;

This Meeting is concerned with the fact that the wishes of the majority of the Bechuanaland people are suppressed; and therefore calls upon all the Afro-Asian

states to support the people's just demands for fresh elections and genuine independence;

Demands the removal of all British military bases from Bechuanaland which constitute a threat to the peace of the peoples of Bechuanaland, South West Africa, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Basutoland and Swaziland.

Resolution on Cambodia

THE Meeting, firmly believing itself to be the representative of the people of Asia and Africa who cherish peace, freedom and justice and of progressive public opinion of the world, unanimously notes that:

U.S. imperialism and its flunkies in Bangkok and Saigon have incessantly intruded into Cambodia's air space, bombing peaceful villages on the border and slaughtering men, women, children and livestock at random. The U.S.-south Vietnamese artillery and armoured units have frequently invaded Cambodia to kill, plunder and destroy the villages in Cambodia's border provinces. These barbarians spread toxic chemicals over these villages causing serious losses to the crops and killing livestock and inhabitants.

In the north, its henchmen in Bangkok sent their troops into the Cambodia-Thailand frontier areas to attack Cambodia's police stations, kill the inhabitants,

seize livestock and destroy railway, highway and paths to undermine Cambodia's economic basis.

Recently, the stooges of U.S. imperialism in Bangkok again seized Preah Vihear from Cambodia which they had seized but were compelled by the Hague International Court to return to Cambodia in 1962.

U.S. imperialism has intervened and polluted Cambodia's national culture through its seemingly harmless cultural agencies. To root out this poison, the Royal Government of Cambodia, under the brilliant leadership of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, has driven out the Americans and all their cultural organizations.

The Meeting resolutely supports the policy of peace, neutrality and independence of the Sangkum Reastr Niyum led by Samdech Norodom Sihanouk and the territorial integrity of the Kingdom of Cambodia.

Resolution on Cameroon

THE Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting held in Peking from June 27 to July 9, 1966,

After making an analysis on the situation in Cameroon on the basis of the report presented by the Cameroon delegation:

— Reaffirms the infallible support of the Afro-Asian writers to the glorious, patriotic armed struggle of the Cameroon people against French-U.S. neo-colonialism, and for genuine national independence and democracy;

— Denounces vigorously the despicable and sanguinary crimes committed for years against the valiant Cameroon patriots by the reactionary, anti-popular puppet regime of Yaounde;

— Bows respectfully to the mortal remains of all the glorious writers and other glorious fighters of Cameroon fallen unyielding under the bullets of the forces of imperialism, neo-colonialism and their lackeys and,

in particular, to the remains of the great national heroes UMNYOBE, FELIX MOUMIE, KINGUE ABEL and, recently, OSENDE AFANA, the well-known Afro-Asian writer and great fighter for the anti-imperialist solidarity of the people of Africa and Asia, who was ignominiously killed in Cameroon on March 15, 1966, by the armed forces of the imperialists and their lackeys in their criminal collusion with certain foreign pseudo-revolutionary forces;

— Declares solemnly that the valiant and heroic people of Cameroon, so long as they constantly strengthen their unity around a correct and wise leadership and resolutely and unswervingly carry on their fight for liberation, will certainly triumph over all the monsters which oppress them, will wrest genuine independence and freedom out of their hands, and will advance gloriously along the road of democracy and social progress!

Resolution on Support for the Chinese People's Liberation of Taiwan

THE Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting held in Peking from June 27 to July 9, 1966 strongly condemns U.S. imperialism's forcible occupation of China's territory, Taiwan Province.

On June 27, 1950, U.S. imperialism, being extremely hostile to the Chinese people and the other Afro-Asian peoples, occupied by armed force China's province of Taiwan at the same time as it launched its war of

aggression against Korea. Since then, U.S. imperialism has, step by step, turned China's province of Taiwan into a base threatening the Chinese mainland and serving its aggression in Asia.

The Meeting points out that, to save itself from the predicament of defeat, U.S. imperialism has been readjusting its counter-revolutionary global strategy by shifting the focus from Europe to Asia. While increasing its troops in Vietnam on a vast scale and further expanding its war of aggression against Vietnam, U.S. imperialism has incessantly violated China's air space and territorial waters to carry out military provocations and, in collusion with its lackeys and accomplices, tried to encircle and "contain" China. However, no amount of threat or provocation by U.S. imperialism can cow the Chinese people.

The Meeting solemnly reaffirms: Taiwan is an inalienable part of China's territory. The liberation of Taiwan is a sacred task of the Chinese people.

The Meeting unanimously expresses resolute support for the just struggle of the Chinese people to liberate Taiwan and recognizes the right of the Chinese people to liberate at any time and by whatever means their own territory of Taiwan and plant the five-star red flag on Taiwan Province.

The Meeting firmly demands that U.S. imperialism immediately withdraw all its armed forces from China's Taiwan Province and from the Taiwan Straits area.

U.S. imperialism, get out of China's Taiwan! U.S. imperialism, get out of the whole of Asia!

Resolution on the Comoro Islands

THE Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting held in Peking from June 27 to July 9, 1966, after having heard the report on the struggle of the people of the Comoro Islands against French colonialism, made by the delegation of the National Liberation Movement of the Comoro Islands (MOLINACO),

— Recognizes the M.L.N. of the Comoro Islands as the genuine spokesman of the Comorian people;

— Supports the Comorian people in their struggle for liberation;

— Energetically condemns France for its inhuman and anti-democratic activities on the islands and for not allowing the people of the Comoro Islands to have political activities for their independence;

— Requests the Afro-Asian writers to provide the M.L.N. of the Comoro Islands with all moral and material aids in its struggle for liberation;

— Demands that the French Government recognize the natural and inalienable right of the people of the Comoro Islands to have political and mass organizations in view of the political, economic and social development of the islands.

Resolution on the Congo (Leopoldville)

CONSIDERING that for more than five years, U.S. imperialism, in collusion with Belgian imperialism, has trampled underfoot the sovereignty of the Congolese people, and brazenly carried out armed aggression against the Republic of the Congo,

Considering that U.S. imperialism, with a view to continuing its exploitation and pacifying the people, has expanded its ideological campaign among the great masses, whom it hopes to throw into confusion, and

Considering that the armed struggle of the Congolese people is a positive contribution to the liberation of the people of Asia and Africa against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, headed by the United States,

The Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting, held in Peking from June 27 to July 9, 1966, after hearing the report on the Congo,

Firmly supports the armed struggle of the Congolese people and recognizes the National Council for Liberation as the sole representative of the Congolese people and nation,

Denounces the ignominious massacres of the Congolese patriots by the reactionary regime of Mobutu and his so-called National Reconstruction Government which is intended only to deceive world opinion in order to perpetuate the imperialist regime of plunder and exploitation,

Condemns the foreign troops and mercenaries in the Congo and Mobutu's militarism which suppress the people, and

Proclaims that the struggle waged by the Congolese people is the only normal path to the liberation of the Congo.

Resolution on the Ghana Coup

WE representatives of writers of Asian and African countries attending the Emergency Meeting of Asian and African Writers in support of the Vietnamese people against American imperialist aggression, held in Peking, capital of the People's Republic of China, from June 27 to July 9, 1966, have made a survey of the serious situation caused by the military coup in Ghana.

After hearing the reports on the situation in Ghana presented by the representatives of the Ghanaian Writers' Association, we denounce with immense anger the military coup in Ghana and express our warm support for the Convention People's Party Government, headed by President Kwame Nkrumah, and the people of Ghana now under the oppression of military rule.

On the 24th of February 1966, there was a military coup in Ghana engineered by the United States in collusion with West Germany and Great Britain. As a result of this coup 2,500 men and women lost their lives and 3,000 were wounded. 6,000 Party officials and members, and all Members of Parliament were imprisoned. The Constitution was suspended and Parliament dissolved. The Convention People's Party was banned, together with all other progressive organizations.

The coup was not the result of popular dissatisfaction of the Ghanaian people against the Convention People's Party Government, headed by President Kwame Nkrumah, nor was it the result of economic hardships as alleged by the so-called National Liberation Council. If there is economic hardship in Ghana, there is no reason why Ankrah, the chairman of the so-called N.L.C., should promote himself and the other members, for promotion means increase in salaries.

Events after the coup have proved beyond all doubt that it was intended to weaken Afro-Asian solidarity and strengthen the imperialists' camp.

All experts from socialist countries in Ghana universities and those engaged in industrial constructions were expelled, and it is regretful that some of these experts were beaten up mercilessly; a few days later experts from U.S.A., Great Britain and West Germany were rushed into Ghana.

The so-called N.L.C. does not constitute a new government of Ghana; it is no more than a clique of military and police adventurers who are destroying and are setting back the economic, political and social gains of the people of Ghana. In this nefarious pursuit they are being propelled by neo-colonialists and their agents who have resorted to the use of force to keep the people of Ghana oppressed.

We, representatives of Asian and African writers attending the Emergency Meeting of Afro-Asian Writers in support of the Vietnamese people against American imperialist aggression, after a general survey of the situation in Ghana, have unanimously passed the following resolutions:

- To severely condemn the military coup in Ghana.
- To express our support for the struggle of the Ghanaian people against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism led by the United States.

We energetically condemn the delivery to Fernando Poo and the so-called Portuguese Guinea of all African nationalists who were living as political refugees in Ghana at the time of the reactionary coup. This criminal act runs counter to all the fundamental principles of human rights and dignity and of Afro-Asian solidarity.

We appeal to international progressive organizations to take steps to ensure the safety of these courageous fighters for freedom.

This Meeting is confident that the Ghanaian people will win final victory.

Resolution on India

THIS Emergency Meeting of the Afro-Asian Writers, held in Peking, the capital of the People's Republic of China, from June 27 to July 9, 1966, attended by more than 160 anti-imperialist writers, from 53 countries and regions as well as 5 international organizations, having reviewed the serious political and economic situation in India resolves as follows:

1. To extend resolute support to the 450 million people of India in their growing militant struggle against the Congress Government of India, which in its 18-year corrupt rule, has followed most reactionary policies of enriching the big monopolists, landlords and

foreign capitalists, at the expense of the masses of the Indian people, millions of whom are facing famine conditions and abject misery.

2. The big bourgeois-landlord government of India has not only mortgaged India's economy, independence and sovereignty to the imperialists, but has also betrayed the historic principles of Afro-Asian solidarity against imperialism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism, adopted at the Bandung Conference in 1955. It has, in fact, made close alliances with the most reactionary regimes in Asia. e.g., the Japanese militarists, Chiang Kai-shek gangsters, "Malaysian" neo-colonialists and

the Right-reactionary forces of Indonesia, in order to serve the U.S. imperialist global strategy of world domination.

3. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's Government has gone further down the road of the betrayal of the national interests of the Indian people, while donning the fraudulent tattered garb of non-alignment, and colluding with the Dange cliqué, the traitors to the national working class and socialism, it has been shamelessly acting as the servile paid-agents of U.S. imperialism and its cat's-paw for the suppression and domination of the peoples of Asia and Africa and the U.S. plans of aggression against the People's Republic of China, the bulwark of the world revolutionary movements and the staunch defender of peace.

4. This Meeting strongly condemns the treacherous role of the Congress Government, which, acting on behalf of India as the Chairman of the International Control Commission on Indo-China, not only failed to fulfil its obligations to oppose U.S. aggression, but it shamelessly colluded with the U.S. aggression by join-

ing with Canada to sign a report about the so-called "infiltration into the South by the Democratic Republic of Vietnam."

5. The reactionary government of India has been shamelessly peddling Johnson's "unconditional negotiations" fraud in order to help its imperialist masters.

6. This Meeting strongly condemns the dirty role of the Indian Government in the U.S. policy of "containing China."

7. This Meeting strongly condemns the subservience of the Indian Government to U.S. imperialism by setting up the "Indo-American Foundation" for the penetration of India's social and cultural life to corrupt and lower the morale of the Indian people.

8. This Meeting condemns the notorious Tashkent Conference which was designed under the fraudulent screen of "peaceful" settlement of Indo-Pakistan dispute, to get Pakistan to join with India for joint "defence" against China.

Resolution on Indonesia

THE Emergency Meeting of the Afro-Asian Writers, held on June 27th-July 9th, 1966, in Peking, capital of the People's Republic of China, attended by more than 160 militant writers from 53 countries and regions and 5 international Afro-Asian organizations, follows with great concern and deep indignation the recent developments in Indonesia.

For the first time since the downfall of Hitler, Mussolini and Tojo, the biggest white terror, a most barbarous genocide campaign and nation-wide manhunt and persecution has been perpetrated in Indonesia by the fascist military regime of the Council of Generals headed by generals Nasution and Suharto against the patriotic and progressive masses, especially the Communists. At the instigation of U.S. imperialism through the CIA, these fascists of the worst type have massacred over 300,000 including the best writers and other cultural workers. They have banned all revolutionary mass organizations including the LEKRA, the standard bearer of revolutionary art and literature in Indonesia. persecuted their members, and also the members of other progressive cultural associations such as the LESBI and LKN, and banned all democratic and progressive parties, first of all the PKI, vanguard of the Indonesian people in the struggle against imperialism and feudalism. Trampling underfoot the most elementary basis of democratic rights, they have burned down all progressive and revolutionary literature, works of prominent writers of Indonesia, Asia, Africa and the world alike. Not a single progressive publishing house and bookstore is allowed to operate. They not only "purged" all state institutions, legislative bodies, commercial departments, factories, plantations, schools,

universities and kindergartens, but also libraries and museums.

Never before the Indonesian people, the Afro-Asian peoples, the peoples of the world, witnessed such a brutal, ruthless and desperate outrage during the last decades, indeed comparable only to the most savage terror perpetrated by the tyrants and sadists of the Middle Age.

Using the "30 September" event as a pretext, the Indonesian counter-revolutionaries and fascists led by Nasution and Suharto, while continuing their terror campaign, have taken over state power completely and established a fascist military regime.

Indonesia, which is always known as a strong anti-imperialist country where the people's movement was surging ahead, where the historic "Bandung Spirit" was born, where so many Afro-Asian and other international meetings of militant and anti-imperialist character were held, has now been turned into a huge prison of progressives and democrats, soaked with blood and tears.

Indonesia, which is always known as a country standing in the foremost front in the struggle for Afro-Asian solidarity and for the solidarity of the anti-imperialist forces against the old established forces of imperialism and reaction, has now become a country where the most vicious racialist anti-Chinese and anti-China campaign is conducted uninterruptedly. China, the stronghold of the world-wide anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and the world over, has been made the number one enemy of the Indonesian fascist regime headed by Nasu-

tion and Suharto, in complete accordance with the U.S. global strategy to "contain" China. Betraying the vital interests of the Indonesian people and the peoples of North Kalimantan and Malaya (including Singapore), this regime not only has ceased with the confrontation against the neo-colonialist project of "Malaysia," but has also started collaboration with this neo-colonialist puppet. At the same time the United States of America, bastion of world imperialism, source of aggression and domination, decadent culture and bankrupt philosophy, common and public enemy number one of the Indonesian people and other peoples all over the world, has been made their master, upon whom they solely rely and whom they obediently follow!

The Indonesian reactionaries, hand in hand with the U.S. imperialists and the modern revisionists, are now taking out of their coffins the bankrupt and corrupted writers and artists, apologists of "universal humanism," "cosmopolitanism," "nihilism," "pragmatism," and all other sorts of stuff of the moribund philosophy and ideology of imperialism and their lackeys, organizing them into a so-called "Revolutionary Cultural Front," giving them mass media to spread the poisonous and reactionary concept of "art for art's sake" and "art without politics."

These outrages, attacks and crimes of the Indonesian reactionaries against the people are not only directed against the Indonesian people, in essence they are attacks against justice, against the revolutionary cause of the peoples of Asia, Africa and the world over. Therefore, it must not remain unanswered!

We, militant Afro-Asian writers, express our strongest denunciation against the barbarous attacks and massacres perpetrated by the Indonesian counter-revolutionaries. Holding high the principles of militant

and revolutionary solidarity in the struggle against imperialism and reaction, we, Afro-Asian writers, reaffirm our determination to take up our pens and mobilize all the mass media in our command in condemnation of the fascist military regime headed by generals Nasution and Suharto, and demand the immediate release of all those imprisoned. We also condemn those so-called revolutionaries, the modern revisionists, who pay lip-service to the struggle of the Indonesian revolutionaries, but in reality and with their deeds, in fact, collaborate with the imperialists in supporting the reactionary regime of Indonesia.

We know full well that the adverse counter-revolutionary current which at present sweeps over Indonesia, is just of a temporary nature. The fascist outrages in Indonesia do not show that the reactionaries are strong; on the contrary it merely proves that they are weak and nearing their doom. The sinister dark clouds hanging above the islands of Indonesia will be swept away by the mighty new revolutionary upsurge of the Indonesian revolutionary forces. The revolutionary and patriotic forces of Indonesia, including the writers and artists, are now reorganizing themselves and carrying out an armed and protracted struggle to smash the fascist military regime led by Nasution and Suharto.

The struggle of the Indonesian revolutionary forces will definitely gain momentum, and the sinister dark night will be turned into the bright day of final victory.

Let us, Afro-Asian writers, mobilize everything within our power to support the just struggle of the Indonesian revolutionaries.

Long live the Indonesian progressive forces!!!

Down with the Nasution-Suharto fascist military regime!!!

Resolution on Iran

CONSIDERING the fact that the toiling and oppressed Iranian people, one of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America under colonial rule, have risen to oppose the puppet Shah regime and its master, imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism,

Noting the fact that the Iranian regime is using every means—threats, intimidation, imprisonment, tortures and death sentence—to suppress the workers, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals and bans all democratic organizations,

Considering the fact that the general policy of the regime is to follow that of U.S. and British imperialism, supplying the Saigon puppet regime with petroleum free of charge and with nurses, refusing to recognize the People's Republic of China, concluding the bilateral treaty with the United States and taking part in the Central Treaty Organization, and recently playing the role of an initiator, in collusion with the Saudi Arabian

reactionary regime, of another imperialist treaty, the so-called Islamic Pact, and

Considering the fact that the regime in Iran is one which is meekly subservient to the U.S. imperialists, even though it talks about reforms and the preservation of national independence and though the splittists have close relations with the Iranian reactionary regime and carry out propaganda favourable to this regime;

We, representatives of writers of Asian and African countries attending this Emergency Meeting in support of the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. imperialism, held in Peking, capital of the People's Republic of China, from June 27 to July 9, 1966,

Condemn the reactionary regime of Iran which is a henchman of U.S. imperialism, and hold that the military treaties concluded between the Iranian Government and the imperialists are against the interests of the Iranian people and other peoples of the Middle East; condemn the Islamic Pact which is a tool of the im-

perialists in consolidating their reactionary positions in the Middle East, which gives a free hand to the imperialists, and hold that it violates the interests of the peoples of Iran and the Arab countries;

Support the revolutionary struggle of the Iranian people against colonialism and are convinced that with

the precious experience accumulated in the long years of their fight against imperialism and the reactionaries at home, the toiling people of Iran who are subjected to colonial domination, will certainly destroy in good speed the reactionary regime and win victory in their struggle.

Resolution on Support to the Japanese People's Struggle

TODAY, the voices of opposition to U.S. imperialist aggression against Vietnam and in support of the Vietnamese people's heroic struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation have become the nationwide public opinion of the Japanese people. Struggles are being unfolded by the Japanese people in all parts of the country to oppose U.S. imperialism using Japan as the largest supply, training and recreation base for the U.S. forces in accordance with the "Japan-U.S. Security Treaty," and to oppose the Japanese reactionary forces giving active help to the U.S. This is also an immense inspiration to the Afro-Asian peoples who are persisting in their heroic struggle to smash imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism headed by U.S. imperialism.

While expanding the aggression against Vietnam, U.S. imperialism, to patch up the so-called policy of "containing" China, is strengthening the aggressive military and economic system which links up Japan, south Korea and Taiwan in a scheme to gang up the puppet regimes in Northeast Asia and Southeast Asia; while the Japanese reactionary forces are taking this opportunity to collude with the U.S., thus exposing ever more clearly their ambition to launch aggression against Asia once again. Taking notice of this, the Emergency Meeting of the Afro-Asian Writers in Pe-

king in support of Vietnam holds that to smash this scheme is an extremely urgent task for the Asian and other peoples of the world in their fight for independence and peace, and gives all-round support to the Japanese people in their struggle against this scheme.

The Meeting resolutely supports the Japanese people in their **extensive** and powerful struggles for carrying out such policies as resolutely opposing U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam, abolishing the "Japan-U.S. Security Treaty," opposing the so-called "two Chinas" policy, promoting the restoration of diplomatic relations between China and Japan, smashing the "Japan-South Korea Treaty," supporting the reunification of north and south Korea by themselves, demanding the restoration of Okinawa and Ogasawara to Japan, the dismantling of the U.S. military bases in Japan and the withdrawal of U.S. troops, preventing the U.S. nuclear submarines and nuclear fleets from entering and stationing in Japanese ports, opposing the nuclear armament of Japan and the extensive establishment of nuclear bases in Japan, opposing the dispatch of Japan's "Self-Defence Forces" abroad, opposing the revision of the Japanese Constitution, opposing the small electoral area system, and preventing the revival of Japanese militarism.

Resolution on Kashmir

THIS Emergency Meeting of Afro-Asian Writers, held in Peking on June 27, 1966, attended by 53 countries and regions, resolves that the Kashmir issue be settled by the Kashmir people, in accordance with the right of self-determination.

This Meeting firmly believes in the just and early solution of the issue and demands that all foreign troops should be withdrawn immediately from Kashmir and its people be provided an opportunity to decide their future according to their free will. The Meeting also demands that Shaikh Abdullah and all other patriotic Kashmiri leaders, undergoing imprisonment for the last so many years in Indian jails, should immediately be released.

This Meeting wholeheartedly supports the liberation movement of the Kashmir people, who, in spite of inhuman atrocities and repression, are struggling against the Indian occupation forces to achieve their cherished goal, the right of self-determination.

Expressing its deep concern over the explosive situation in Kashmir, this Meeting of the revolutionary and patriotic writers of Afro-Asian countries firmly believes that the solution of Kashmir issue will not only strengthen the national-liberation movements in the Afro-Asian world but at the same time be a crushing blow to the imperialist powers and their flunkies who are exploiting this grave situation in their selfish interests.

Resolution on Laos

THE Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting held in Peking, capital of the People's Republic of China, from June 27 to July 9, 1966, attended by more than 160 delegates representing the cultural organizations of 53 countries and regions of Asia and Africa, having noted with concern the report on the situation in Laos made by the delegation of the Lao Haksat Cultural Association to the Meeting, declares its full endorsement of the report and unanimously adopts the following:

(1) The Meeting strongly and resolutely opposes and denounces the stubborn violations by U.S. imperialism and its lackeys of the Geneva agreements on Laos and the agreements signed by the three parties of Laos; denounces the sinister schemes to further intensify and extend the war of aggression in Laos now being carried out by U.S. imperialism; and condemns their bloody, inhuman crimes against the people of Laos.

(2) The Meeting expresses its admiration for the courageous and firm determination of the people and patriotic forces of Laos to defend their sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity. It fully supports the just struggle of the people and patriotic forces of Laos against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, and considers this struggle an important component part of the common cause of defending world peace and winning national

liberation. It fully endorses the four-point stand and five-point solution adopted by the National Political Conference of Alliance on October 13, 1965, and considers this stand and solution the only correct basis for the settlement of the Laotian question.

(3) The Meeting unanimously demands that U.S. imperialism strictly and completely implement the 1962 Geneva agreements on Laos; that the United States and its lackeys immediately withdraw and remove from Laos all military personnel, para-military organs, military organs under other names and the illegally shipped-in arms, ammunition, and other war materials. The Meeting also demands that U.S. imperialism and its lackeys must forthwith cease its bombing and strafing of the liberated zones of the Laotian patriotic forces with military aircraft and B-52 strategic bombers.

(4) To concentrate all efforts for accelerating the defeat of the U.S. imperialist war of aggression, the Meeting calls upon the broad masses of the people of Asia and Africa, particularly all Afro-Asian writers and literary and art workers, to use all the weapons at their disposal and redouble their efforts in support of the valiant struggle of the people and patriotic forces of Laos to oppose U.S. imperialist aggression and to safeguard the sovereignty, independence, peace and neutrality of Laos.

Resolution on Madagascar

THE Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting

1) Firmly supports the struggle of the people of Malagasy, which started in 1947 when the French colonialists massacred 90,000 of its best sons;

2) Strongly denounces the sham independence of Madagascar as well as the betrayal by the present puppet leaders in power who collaborate with the French colonialists and who in the face of the growing resistance of the Malagasy people, are relying more

and more on the most ferocious of all imperialists, U.S. imperialism;

3) Energetically condemns U.S. imperialism, enemy number one of the people of the world, and its lackeys who are committing aggression against and massacring the Vietnamese people;

4) Condemns energetically the sabotage by the accomplices of U.S. imperialists, the capitulationists and splittists, against the Malgache revolutionary movements.

Resolution on Malaya

THIS Meeting extends its greetings to the Malayan National Liberation Army which, persistently fighting against U.S.-backed British imperialism since June 20, 1948, is making its contribution to the Afro-Asian peoples' common cause against imperialism headed by the United States in general, and to the Vietnamese

people's heroic struggle against U.S. aggression in particular.

This Meeting condemns the Abdul Rahman and Lee Kuan Yew puppet regimes, and expresses its solidarity support for the Malayan anti-imperialist writers and other cultural workers who, by serving in the Malayan

National Liberation Army and in other fields of their people's liberation cause, have been contributing to the development of the movement to crush neo-colonialist "Malaysia," and achieve a genuinely independent Malaya of which Singapore is an integral part.

This Meeting strongly condemns the new-type concentration camps called "new villages," the arbitrary mass arrests, detentions without trial and other forms of fascist persecution by the British imperialists and their puppets of Malayan patriots including writers and other cultural workers under various notorious fascist laws, regulations and decrees, still going on in all parts of Malaya.

We call upon all Afro-Asian anti-imperialist writers:

to expose the British neo-colonialist creations of "Malaysia" and the phoney "independent" state of Singapore which actually are part of their scheme to perpetuate their colonial rule and serve their aggressive policy "East of Suez" in co-ordination with the U.S. strategic plan of aggression in Southeast Asia and the Far East;

to demand the immediate and complete withdrawal of British, Australian, New Zealand and other foreign troops and their military bases from Malayan territories;

to demand the immediate and unconditional release of all Malayan patriots including writers and other cultural workers;

to demand that those who have been forced to leave the country or banished be allowed to return unconditionally; and

to publicize the struggle of the Malayan people for national liberation.

This Meeting also follows closely the new moves made by the U.S.-British imperialists in their anti-people, anti-democratic and anti-China machinations in this region, following the U.S.-conspired military coup that plunged Indonesia into bloodbath in September 1965. One of these new moves was the Bangkok talks between Abdul Razak of the "Malaysian" puppet set-up and Adam Malik of the Indonesian fascist regime to discuss further collusion between the Indonesian fascists and the British puppets in "Malaysia" and Singapore in stamping out the anti-imperialist movements of Malaya, North Kalimantan and Indonesia and in serving the U.S.-British policy of "containing" the People's Republic of China.

We take this opportunity to voice our protests against the Indonesian Nasution-Suharto fascist regime for their unjustified and continued detention of four members of the Djakarta Mission of the Malayan National Liberation League, and, demand that these four members be unconditionally released forthwith and their personal safety guaranteed.

Resolution on Niger

1) Considering that support among the people of Asia and Africa has been and will always be mutual and reciprocal, the Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting held from June 27 to July 9, 1966, in Peking, gives its support to the Vietnamese and other people of Asia and Africa in their common struggle against the common enemy — U.S. imperialism. The Meeting gives its firm and active support to the people of Niger under the leadership of their SAWABA Party which, for two years already, has assumed responsibility before history by taking armed action in order to finish with compromise, to smash the reactionary yoke imposed on them by French neo-colonialism, and to achieve democratic freedom and genuine independence.

The Meeting strongly condemns the puppet regime of BOUBOU-DIORI-DJAMBALA which was fabricated by French colonialism and which, today, is directed by U.S. imperialism and the West German and Israeli fascists to carry out frantic, odious assassination of the

defenceless writers, intellectuals, workers and peasants of Niger. It requests that all the countries taking part in this Meeting give political and moral aid to the heroic, fighting people of Niger, untiringly acclaiming the victories they score every day and every hour on the battlefield as well as in the political field; denounces and condemns the sanguinary suppression and atrocities that the reactionaries at home have committed under the protection of their imperialist master.

2) The Meeting denounces and condemns apartheid and the intolerable illegal regime of Ian Smith which for years has made the majority of our African brothers groan under the savage and bloody torture in concentration camps.

3) The Meeting supports resolutely and by name the struggle of the peoples of Congo (L), Cameroon, Azania, Zimbabwe, the "French" Somali Coast, Angola, Guinea (Bissao), Mozambique, South West Africa, etc.

Resolution on North Kalimantan

THIS Meeting after having taken into account the speech of the North Kalimantan delegate,

Gives its full support to the armed struggle of the North Kalimantan people and to the following view-

points put forward by the delegate of North Kalimantan for the revolutionary struggle of the North Kalimantan people:

1. To take up arms and wage a resolute struggle against U.S. imperialism, British imperialism and the Rahman reactionary puppet clique, thoroughly smash "Malaysia," product of neo-colonialism; it is only by doing so can the North Kalimantan people achieve genuine national liberation.

2. To fully mobilize the masses of the peasants and strike root in the countryside, especially to mobilize and strike root among the poverty-stricken peasants of various nationalities who want revolution urgently and who constitute the overwhelming majority of the population. Without striking root among the poorest peasants of various nationalities, it is impossible to advance in accordance with the great strategic thought of encircling the city from the countryside.

3. Using the worker-peasant alliance as the basis, to unite on a broad scale all the forces of various classes and nationalities that can be united, and win over the more than 95 per cent of the masses to the side of the revolutionary forces.

4. To expose ceaselessly the fact that the so-called "democracy" of the ruling clique is nothing but a "de-

mocracy" within the limit of not harming the interests of imperialism and the reactionary puppet clique in their exploitation and oppression of the people and, in case the limit is broken, they will resort to cruel suppression.

5. To give fullest play to the role of the brilliant truth of "the factor of man comes first," resolutely wage the people's war, rely on the masses of the people, the main force, local forces, guerrillas and militia; display the spirit of daring to fight and daring to seize victory and defeat all imperialist aggressor troops equipped with the most up-to-date weapons and nuclear teeth.

6. The revolutionary war is a struggle in which the people rise up and fight for their own emancipation. Therefore, it is imperative to persist in self-reliance. Without self-reliance the people will not be tempered into a heroic people and will fail to persist in protracted, tortuous and hard revolutionary struggle. Only with self-reliance, can they withstand all storms and put themselves in an invincible position.

Resolution on Palestine

WE Afro-Asian writers firmly believe that the people should enjoy the rights to **freedom** and independence, the right to self-determination, and are loyal to the revolutionary principles of this **Meeting**, namely, the identity of the aim and destiny of the peoples in the common struggle against colonialism and imperialism. Therefore

1. The Meeting holds that Zionism is a colonialist movement in essence and origin, aggressive in purpose, racist in structure and fascist in form and method.

2. The Meeting holds that the so-called Israel is a colonialist base, a docile tool in the hands of colonialism. Colonialism uses it to achieve the purposes of colonialist infiltration and aggression in the economic, political and cultural spheres in the Asian, African and Latin American countries. The Meeting equally holds that Israel is an instrument for threatening the peace and tranquillity of the world, and is a factor which impedes the progress and development of the region.

3. The Meeting condemns the Zionist movement and the existence of Israel on the occupied part of Palestine.

4. The Meeting holds that the Arab people in Palestine possess the right to liberate their motherland, which is the continuation of their legitimate right to self-defence and self-determination.

5. The Meeting demands that all political relations with Israel be severed, that an economic and cultural boycott be instituted against Israel; and that Israel be ousted from international organizations. The Meeting

requests in particular that all revolutionary writers and progressive Parties and organizations redouble their efforts to oppose Zionist infiltration in their own countries and strive for the abolition of the agreements which Israel had concluded with their respective countries.

6. The Meeting condemns the schemes of the United States, Britain and West Germany to aid, protect and supply lethal weapons to Israel in order to launch aggression against the Arab people, to deprive them of their freedom and to prevent the unification of their countries.

7. The Meeting strongly condemns the large-scale immigration to occupied Palestine. This immigration is organized by colonialism and Zionism in order to consolidate the Zionist occupation of Palestine and to realize their aggressive purposes.

8. It is necessary for the Meeting to be alert to the fact that the technical and economic aid provided by Israel is a refurbished version of the U.S. imperialist and neo-colonialist aid.

9. The Meeting appeals to all patriotic bodies and organizations and the liberated countries to provide material and financial aid to the struggle of the people of Palestine against Zionism and colonialism.

10. The Meeting demands that Israel, a colonialist entity completely dependent on world imperialism, be completely liquidated.

11. The Meeting strongly condemns Israel for providing strategic aid to certain puppet governments in

Africa which is designed to suppress the liberation movement in these countries, above all, the national-liberation movement in the Congo (Leopoldville).

12. The Meeting supports the struggle waged by the Palestine Liberation Organization to liberate Palestine.

Resolution on the Philippines

THE Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting held in Peking from June 27 to July 9, 1966, to support the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people against the U.S. imperialist aggressors:

Strongly condemns the United States in dragging the Philippines into the Vietnam war by pressuring Filipino officials into involving their country in the evil aggression of their brother nation. Their condemnation of the U.S. raids on Vietnam has been manifested by incessant rallies, demonstrations and strikes in Manila and many other centres of population in the Philippines.

The Meeting also vehemently condemns the establishment of U.S. military and naval bases in strategic areas, and demands their early abolishment and

the revocation of unequal treaties imposed on the Filipino people, specially the Parity Rights which gives the same rights and privileges to Americans in the Philippines as that of Filipino citizens.

Lastly, the Meeting appeals to all progressive and revolutionary writers of Asia and Africa to support the nationalistic and revolutionary movement of the progressive people of the Philippines—the labouring people and agrarian workers, the youth, students, intellectuals, and the small nationalist businessmen—in order to completely liberate the Philippines from our common enemy—U.S. imperialism—as part of the world-wide revolution of the fighting people of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

Resolution on "Portuguese" Guinea and Cape Verde

CONSIDERING:

The problems arisen from Portuguese colonialism in Africa of which we have spoken in the plenary session, that is:

A) The long sufferings of the more than 10 million Africans who for more than five centuries have been subjected to the exploitation, humiliation and physical torments inflicted by Portuguese colonialism;

B) The resolute struggle which the peoples of Guinea and Cape Verde, Angola, Mozambique, and St. Thome and Principe Islands are now waging against Portugal;

C) The economic, diplomatic and military support given to Portugal by the aggressive powers of NATO;

D) The threat, which such support produces, to the whole of Africa at a time when Portugal is bent on

laying the foundation to perpetuate its colonial rule in Africa;

The delegation of Guinea and Cape Verde proposes:

1) To strongly condemn Portugal and all the NATO powers, especially West Germany, helping it to wage a war of extermination against the patriots of Guinea (Bissao) and the Islands of Cape Verde;

2) To condemn all the measures taken by the Portuguese colonial authorities to prevent the development of a genuine African culture in Guinea and Cape Verde;

3) To condemn the barbarous crimes committed day and night by the Portuguese aggressor troops in Guinea (Bissao);

4) To make a wider use of the information media of the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau with a view to rendering more effective support to the people of Portuguese colonies through radio broadcasts, books, films, newspapers, etc.

Resolution on the Rwanda Question

THE Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting held in Peking from June 27 to July 9 heard a report made by the delegation of the Rwanda National Union on the political situation in Central Africa, particularly in Rwanda.

—The Meeting notes that since 1961, the puppet regime in Rwanda headed by Kayibanda, a puppet of the Belgian and U.S. neo-colonialists and supported by the reactionary regime of Israel and the Chiang Kai-shek gang, a lackey of imperialism, has imposed a rule

of terror and sanguinary dictatorship on the people of Rwanda and particularly on the members of the Rwanda National Union, the Opposition Party.

—The delegates to the Meeting clearly recall that in 1964, supported by Belgian soldiers, the puppet government under Kigali perpetrated an ignominious massacre in which more than 50,000 Rwanda patriots, including women and children and also all members of the Leading Committee of the Opposition Party, the Rwanda National Union, were killed.

—The Meeting strongly condemns the fascist methods employed by the present Rwanda regime to vainly attempt to maintain its unpopular rule.

—The Meeting condemns the barbarous and sanguinary rule of Kayibanda and unreservedly supports the revolutionary struggles waged by the genuine patriots of Rwanda in the last six years to free their country from the reactionary rule and to establish a people's regime in Rwanda in conformity with the legitimate aspirations of the masses.

Resolution on Somaliland

THE Meeting fully supports the just struggle of the Somali people for freedom and reunification of their motherland. The Meeting is convinced that self-determination is the right of all peoples in the matter of settling problems arising among Afro-Asian countries.

The Meeting vehemently denounces the barbarous actions and the inhuman atrocities that the French colonialists are perpetrating against the militant people of Somali Coast.

Resolution on South West Africa

Preamble

THE explosive situation in South West Africa is not an isolated phenomenon. It is part of a large conflict now developing in Southern Africa.

Encouraged by the unconcealed collusion of the imperialists, the white fascist dictatorship headed by Verwoerd has intensified its racist, apartheid policy and practices in South West Africa. This diabolical conspiracy between the imperialists and the South African fascists to perpetrate the enslavement of the so-called "coloured" races to humiliate and pour scorn on their struggle for national liberation, human dignity, independence and national expression of their cultural heritage, poses a serious threat of racial war. A war of this nature is fraught with far-reaching, global consequences.

The exploited African masses of S.W.A. stand poised, ready to take to arms against the reactionary settler

elements who are supported by foreign vested interests.

These forces exploit the riches of the country and prevent the rational utilization of the productive resources and means of production.

The Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting held in Peking from June 27 to July 9, 1966,

Resolutely supports the struggle of the people of S.W.A. for their national independence;

Condemns the Verwoerd racist administration in S.W.A., the local reactionary forces, and lackeys of imperialism for their betrayal of the people's national rights; and

Pledges full support and more importantly material assistance to the people of S.W.A. in their struggle to overthrow racial domination, reactionaries, colonialism and imperialism.

Resolution on Swaziland

IN our joint efforts and struggles with the revolutionary peoples of the whole world against imperialism headed by the United States, the people of Swaziland have waged a continuous struggle against British colonial rule. For the last 50 years the people have

been subjected to all dirty manoeuvres of British imperialism.

The British Government has treacherously organized secret negotiations with their tribal puppets to impose

the present proposed undemocratic Constitution which will subject the Swazi people to unlimited exploitation and domination. The conspiracy has been inspired by the British Government, the fascist government of the so-called Republic of South Africa and their local puppets to annex Swaziland or concoct a Bantustan under the direct control of Verwoerd's racist regime.

The Swaziland delegation is confident in the magic pen of all revolutionary writers that the cause and struggles will advance in the best interests of the oppressed, exploited and enslaved peoples of the world, particularly those engaged in armed struggles.

This Meeting:

Condemns the British imperialists for rearing local tribal reactionaries to be instruments to prolong British domination over the Swazi masses;

Is strongly of the view that the military base in Swaziland poses a serious threat to the Swazi people and generally to the whole of Southern Africa and therefore demands that the base be immediately dismantled and their troops withdrawn;

Supports the Swazi people in their struggle in all forms to achieve the genuine independence of their country and to safeguard Swaziland's sovereignty and the interests of the Swazi masses.

Resolution on Thailand

THE Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting held in Peking from June 27 to July 9, 1966:

1. Strongly condemns U.S. imperialism for turning Thailand into a new-type colony, occupying Thailand with its aggressor troops, paralysing the minds of the Thai people and undermining the fine culture of Thailand by disseminating the decadent imperialist culture, helping the lackey Thanom regime to suppress the patriotic Thai people and then taking a direct part in the suppression;

2. Strongly condemns U.S. imperialism for using Thailand as a military base in its aggression against Vietnam and Laos, and stepping up its menace to Cambodia in accordance with its plan of expanding the war in Indo-China and threatening the revolutionary movements of the people of Southeast Asia;

3. Strongly condemns the Thanom government for its fascist dictatorship, encroachment on human rights and savage suppression of the people and deprivation of their freedom through martial law, anti-communist regulations and other fascist decrees; and demands that the Thanom government immediately put an end to its vicious acts mentioned above, immediately restore freedom to the imprisoned Thai patriots and those people who cherish democracy and restore all democratic

rights to the Thai people, including the restoration of the freedom of writing and publication to the Thai writers and journalists;

4. Strongly condemns the Thanom government for dispatching Thai troops to take part in the aggressive war the United States has launched against Vietnam and Laos in **flagrant violation** of the 1954 and 1962 Geneva Agreements, serving the reactionaries of "Malaysia" in suppressing the Malayan people's movement for liberation, supporting the U.S.-directed "Free Khmers," intensifying its threat to Cambodia according to the U.S. plan for expanding the Indo-China war; and demands the Thanom government immediately stop the above-mentioned crimes;

5. Demands that U.S. imperialism dismantle all its military bases and withdraw all its military personnel from Thailand, including Headquarters of the aggressive Southeast Asia Treaty Organization, and immediately halt its actions of trampling underfoot Thailand's sovereignty and independence, and all its infiltration into the latter;

6. Supports the Thai people's armed struggle and all other forms of struggle against U.S. imperialism and the fascist traitorous government.

Resolution on Yemen

THE Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting, held in Peking from June 27 to July 9, 1966, and in accordance with the information provided by the Yemen Writers' Delegation to the Meeting, examined the present situation of the natural Yemen (the Yemeni Republic, Aden Colony, East and West Aden Protectorates). Thereupon:

1. The Afro-Asian writers hold that the present situation in the southern and northern parts of Yemen

is very favourable to the entire fighting Yemeni people who are carrying out struggles to liberate the occupied south Yemen from the talons of the British imperialists, to oppose the world imperialists headed by U.S. imperialism and oppose the neo-colonialists and the Arab reactionary forces with a view to consolidating the independence of the north and thoroughly liberating the occupied areas in the north — the two fundamental steps in reunifying Yemen and realizing the liberation, democ-

racy and social progress of the Yemeni people. However, this situation is unfavourable to imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and the reactionary forces.

2. The Afro-Asian writers consider that the prerequisites to the legitimate rights of the Yemeni people to liberation, unification and social progress are to drive out the British imperialists, dismantle their aggressive bases in the occupied south Yemen, thoroughly and totally throw out the foreign troops from Yemeni territory, so that the Yemeni people may exercise their right of self-determination and independently administer their own internal affairs.

3. The Afro-Asian writers denounce the British scheme of the so-called "independence in 1968" and "withdrawal of military bases in 1968." This is a plot to hoodwink international public opinion and the people of the occupied south Yemen. It is a sheer farce with the covert aim of handing over the administrative power in the occupied south Yemen to a handful of aristocrats, feudal lords and their flunkies. It will bring no change to the British domination; instead, through the attempt of legalizing the continual presence of the British imperialists in the occupied south Yemen, and by using the mean trick of walking out through the gate and coming back through the window, the British domination will only be reinforced. Likewise, the Afro-Asian writers denounce the British imperialists for deciding to call next month in London the "People's Congress" of the occupied south Yemen, an attempt to hoodwink the public opinion of the world and of Yemen.

The Afro-Asian writers support the Yemeni people in their armed struggle against the British occupation.

4. The Afro-Asian writers condemn U.S. imperialism for adopting a series of plans in its scheme to rule north Yemen and take over Britain's position in south Yemen, and call on the progressive writers of Yemen to further close their ranks and immediately expose and crush these criminal plans.

5. The Afro-Asian writers believe that the United Nations resolution and the activities of the so-called United Nations De-colonization Commission cannot realize the demands and aspirations of the people of the occupied south Yemen. They stress that the United Nations, working as a tool to carry out imperialist plans in the world and before changing its ways and carrying out reorganization, has no right to inquire into any question of the Yemeni people. The Afro-Asian writers believe that the only road for the Yemeni people to attain their goal is armed struggle, and there can only be armed struggle.

6. The Afro-Asian writers support all trade unions, progressive political organizations and revolutionary writers in Yemen in their struggle against U.S. and British imperialism and the reactionaries and for liberation and the reunification of Yemen. They condemn the murder, imprisonment, deportation and shadowing of the writers, journalists, trade union workers and statesmen of Yemen.

7. The Afro-Asian writers call on all writers, journalists, organizations and individuals in Asia and Africa and the whole world to raise their voice in support of the Yemeni people's just struggle for opposing U.S. and British imperialism and the reactionaries, driving out all foreign troops, removing the military bases and reunifying Yemen.

Resolution on Zimbabwe

A. NOTING THAT —

(1) The continued occupation of Zimbabwe by the British imperialists and colonialists is a continuing act of exploitation of and aggression against the inhabitants of Zimbabwe,

(2) In collusion with other imperialist and colonialist powers, particularly the U.S., Britain is directing the settlers in Rhodesia to perpetrate on the masses of Zimbabwe all forms of colonial and imperialist exploitation including the so-called unilateral declaration of independence,

B. AND DEEPLY CONVINCED THAT —

In the context of the historical revolutionary development of Zimbabwe the only correct solution which will lead to the liberation of Zimbabwe lies in the masses and in their continuing to be armed with revolutionary ideology and in their taking up arms in order to oppose the counter-revolutionary force of the imperialists and colonialists and their agents with the revolutionary force of the masses,

C. THIS MEETING —

(1) Fully supports the revolutionary people of Zimbabwe in their struggle for the liquidation of all forms of colonialism and imperialism; and calls upon all revolutionary writers' movements the world over to continue their tireless efforts in unmasking British colonial and imperialist exploitation in Zimbabwe and giving all necessary support to the people of Zimbabwe,

(2) Calls upon all revolutionary governments and peoples of the world to support fully the people of Zimbabwe in their just struggle to overthrow colonialism and imperialism in Zimbabwe,

(3) Calls upon the people of Zimbabwe to continue to heighten their revolutionary vigilance, to rally behind, and to carry through to the end, the revolutionary armed struggle which has been launched and is being directed, on behalf of the masses, by the Zimbabwe African National Union for the liberation of Zimbabwe,

(4) Fully endorses the liberatory programme of the Zimbabwe African National Union.

Resolution Submitted by the Delegations From Jordan, Algeria, Morocco, Palestine, Syria, Iraq, Lebanon, Yemen and Sudan

I. Arab Unity

Considering that Arab unity is the aspiration and common aim of the Arab people,

That the division of the Arab motherland into many countries and Sheikhdoms is the result of colonialist invasion,

That Arab unity is based on historical, economic and cultural realities, and

That the Arab motherland is a strategic centre linking up Asia and Africa and is a region where the imperialist economic interests, especially those of petroleum, are concentrated,

The Meeting:

Supports the Arab people's struggle for unity, and is in solidarity with their struggle against the natural

enemies of their unity: colonialism, imperialism and reaction.

II. The Islamic Pact

Considering the organization of this pact is a form of imperialist domination of the world, and

That the organization of this pact constitutes a base for supporting the reactionary regimes and sabotaging the liberation movements,

The Meeting:

Strongly condemns the project of the so-called Islamic Pact, and holds that this pact is a new attempt of U.S. imperialism to oppose the progressive and revolutionary movements to assume continued imperialist domination in this region, and to set up a reactionary front in the Islamic states.

Resolution on Eritrea

THE Meeting is profoundly shocked to learn that the freedom of the people of Eritrea was sold out in the United Nations' galleries, where the peoples of the colonies have been deceived time and time again by the much publicized charter of that Organization and at which many have wasted their time and efforts in submitting petitions imploring just solutions for their causes.

The Meeting strongly denounces the schemes to make the right of the peoples an object of bargaining between the big powers.

The Meeting, considering its unshakable belief in the right of every people for national independence and taking into account the arduous struggle which the people of Eritrea are waging against the occupationists and expansionists, fully supports the just war of liberation of the Eritrean people for national independence and sovereignty.

It further calls on all the progressive Afro-Asian writers to give their wholehearted support to the just cause of the Eritrean people.

Resolution on Spanish Colonialism

WE demand:

That Spanish colonialist rule over the peoples of the Canary Islands, Rio de Oro, Ifni and Equatorial Guinea in Africa be condemned. The continued existence of Spanish colonialism is a grave danger for Africa in view of the strategic importance of these colonies and the alliance between the fascist regime of Franco and U.S. imperialism. The use of the naval and air bases in Canary Islands and Fernando Poo by U.S. military forces runs counter to the interests and security of all Africa.

We condemn the use of the ports and airports of the Canary Islands as stop-over and supply bases by the ships and aeroplanes of the fascist colony of South Africa. The colonialism and fascism of the Madrid regime are hampering the African peoples from enforcing an African boycott against the fascist colony of Verwoerd. We condemn Spain for its practical support to the fascists and racists of the colony of South Africa, by letting it use the bases in its colony of Canary Islands.

We request the Afro-Asian countries to support the struggle and give the necessary support to the movement for independence of the Canary Islands in order to put an end to Spanish colonialism there and to denounce openly all manoeuvres of Spanish colonialism in Africa and those of the U.S.

We request that the Afro-Asian countries support the true nationalists of Equatorial Guinea to obtain genuine political and economic independence from

Spain. We request that attention be directed to the neo-colonialist manoeuvres prepared by Spain on the territory of Equatorial Guinea in collaboration with U.S. imperialism.

We hail the struggle of the African peoples of the Canary Islands and Equatorial Guinea for their liberation from Spanish colonial yoke, for independence and for integration with all free peoples of Africa.

Resolution on the Service of Literature To the Anti-Imperialist Revolutionary Struggles

WE the Afro-Asian writers, after broad exchange of experiences and profound analysis, conclude that Afro-Asian literature must serve their people's struggles. At present when the peoples of Asia and Africa are waging a relentless struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and having entered the great era of cultural renaissance we resolve that Afro-Asian literature must serve the revolutionary aspiration of the Afro-Asian peoples as opposed to decadent bourgeois interest and therefore urge:

To create and develop Afro-Asian anti-imperialist revolutionary and national new culture and new literature and art of the masses of the people, and to sing the praises of the revolutionary struggle of the Afro-Asian peoples for winning and safeguarding national independence through national forms which are popular and are loved by the masses, with a view to promoting the national self-respect and self-confidence of Afro-Asian peoples, enhancing their fighting will and strengthening their conviction in sure victory;

To persist in the struggle against U.S. imperialist cultural aggression, covert ideological infiltration and spiritual subversion, to carry out a long and indefatigable struggle against all imperialist, colonialist, neo-colonialist as well as other reactionary, decadent culture, literature and art which paralyse the will of the people, and to take all kinds of active steps to thoroughly eliminate their harmful influences.

In order to fulfil the above historic tasks, the Afro-Asian writers should:

Strengthen the ties with the masses of the people, get acquainted with them, learn from them, serve them, take an active part in the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle, share the same fate with them and be their faithful spokesmen;

Strengthen and broaden the great anti-imperialist revolutionary unity of the Afro-Asian peoples, give mutual support and learn from each other and make the

maximum contribution to the common cause of Afro-Asian peoples for winning and safeguarding national independence.

The Meeting notes with great elation that in the past few years, Afro-Asian writers have been active in creating works in support of the struggle waged by the Vietnamese people against U.S. aggression and for national salvation and the reunification of their fatherland, which reflect the common sentiment and voice of the 2,000 million Afro-Asian peoples. They are determined to fight shoulder to shoulder with their Vietnamese brothers and sisters until the U.S. aggressors are completely and thoroughly driven out of Vietnam and final victory is won!

The Meeting also notes with great elation that in the revolutionary struggles of the Afro-Asian peoples against imperialism and its accomplices and for the building of their countries, Afro-Asian writers have continuously produced excellent works, thus promoting the tremendous development of the new national culture, new literature and art of Asia and Africa.

In Vietnam, a large amount of good poems, novels, reportage as well as other forms of literary works have been produced in the great struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation and the reunification of the fatherland.

In the other Asian countries, the struggle for liquidating the poison of imperialist culture and developing the new national culture is in progress; in Korea, new literature is developing along with the socialist construction and the struggle for the reunification of the motherland; in Indonesia, the progressive national culture, literature and art are growing and developing through the baptism of blood and fire; in the struggle against the policy of aggression in Asia pursued by U.S. imperialism and the Japanese reactionaries, the Japanese people's democratic literature is extensively developing among the masses; in Pakistan, the pens of the progressive writers have given expression to the

voice of the people of Kashmir for the right to self-determination.

In China, the great socialist cultural revolution is vigorously developing and has already yielded great fruitful results in literature and art.

In Palestine and other Arab countries, the anti-imperialist call in literature is becoming ever stronger.

In Angola, Zimbabwe, Azania and other countries in the southern part of Africa, poetry and prose that strongly oppose imperialism and fascist colonialism have already produced positive effects.

In Algeria, Guinea and other African countries, the literature which reflects that the African people, whether to the south or to the north of the Sahara, is an inseparable entity, constitutes a heavy blow to the literature of "negritude" which attempts to undermine the anti-imperialist unity of the African continent.

All the new militant literature of the various Afro-Asian countries is playing the great role of mobilizing and inspiring the people to fight imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and is receiving more and more attention from the people of the world.

In terms of quality and its ideological contents, the new Afro-Asian literature has far surpassed the entire imperialist, colonialist and other reactionary literature. There is no doubt that these progressive Afro-Asian literary works will be extensively disseminated and, as a weapon for the anti-imperialist struggle, will fulfil its historic mission.

We are firmly convinced that the Afro-Asian peoples who have re-emerged on the world arena as revolutionary and advanced masters of their own destiny can surely create a more brilliant and radiant new culture and new literature and art unprecedented in human history.

Thereupon, the Meeting resolves:

(1) To unfold on a still broader scale and more profoundly the literary activities; to create actively large quantities of anti-imperialist revolutionary literary works; to give vigorous support to the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggles being waged by the Afro-Asian peoples; particularly to the struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. aggression and for national salvation and the reunification of their fatherland; to propagate the truth that the Vietnamese people and Afro-Asian peoples are sure to win and that U.S. imperialism and all colonialists and neo-colonialists are sure to be defeated;

(2) To thoroughly expose U.S. imperialism and its accomplices for their criminal activities of spreading pernicious ideology among the Afro-Asian peoples through films, television, books, newspapers, journals, comics, and "peace corps," resolutely support the struggles waged by the people in various Afro-Asian countries against imperialist cultural aggression and for the

development of new national culture and literature and art;

(3) To strengthen the work of translation, introduction and reviewing of the best literary works among Afro-Asian countries; learn from each other experiences and give encouragement to each other; keep vigilance against infiltration of Western bourgeois culture, literature and art in all its manifestations; absorb what is useful in the fraternal culture and the progressive aspects in the literary heritage of different countries; develop the national new literature;

(4) To set up an Afro-Asian literature publishing house, to publish in various Afro-Asian languages, and profusely publish the best works of Afro-Asian writers; support the initiating and development of the progressive publishing and distributing enterprises in Asia and Africa; nurture the growth of new Afro-Asian literature;

(5) To organize at intervals forums on literature; review the achievements of progressive Afro-Asian literary creative works; examine important questions confronted in the course of developing new Afro-Asian culture and literature and art; sponsor various kinds of literary recital gatherings and broadcast performances so as to widen the influence of new Afro-Asian literature and art;

(6) Progressive literary organizations and progressive writers of Afro-Asian countries have the responsibility to collect and popularize the best literary works and recommend them to the Bureau, and rely on the collective efforts in order to continue the compiling and publishing of "Afro-Asian Literature Series" and various selected Afro-Asian literary works;

(7) To further strengthen and support the editing of *Call*, enrich its content, publish it monthly; promote the mutual understanding between literary circles in Afro-Asian countries and exchange information on the development of Afro-Asian literature;

(8) To consolidate the work of accumulating research data on Afro-Asian literature; invite Afro-Asian writers to send free copies of books, newspapers and magazines in different languages to the Bureau; to further expand the "Afro-Asian Library" in Colombo, and, if possible, similar libraries be established in other Afro-Asian countries or regions;

(9) To encourage and organize exchanges of friendly visits between Afro-Asian writers; enhance the revolutionary unity of Afro-Asian peoples against imperialism and counter-revolutionary activities; increase the militant friendship between Afro-Asian writers; exchange experiences of struggle with each other and promote the cultural interflow among Afro-Asian countries;

(10) To strengthen the conditions of creation of Afro-Asian writers by establishing for example Afro-Asian writers' sanatoriums.

Communique of the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau

AFTER the successful Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting, the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau held a meeting on July 12, 1966, in Peking, attended by Cameroon, Ceylon, China, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Japan and Sudan.

The Meeting considers that the great success of the Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting is an impetus to the development of the Afro-Asian writers' movement and to the further consolidation of its solidarity with the Afro-Asian writers and peoples in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, headed by the U.S.

For the implementation of the task of strengthening the Afro-Asian writers' movement and giving full consideration to the proposal of the Secretary-General, Mr. R.D. Senanayake, in this respect, the Bureau, the headquarters of which is in Colombo, decides to set up an Executive Secretariat of the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau in Peking to assist the implementation of the decisions of the Bureau and to make preparations for the Third Afro-Asian Writers' Conference to be held in China.

Peking, July 12th 1966

Resolution on the Strengthening of the Afro-Asian Writers' Movement

THE Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting, held from June 27 to July 9, 1966, in Peking, supports the solemn statement of the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau, dated June 23, 1966, condemning the splittist meeting. The Emergency Meeting considers that all the illegal decisions made there, including the one regarding the holding of a so-called Afro-Asian writers' conference in Baku, are acts sabotaging the unity of the Afro-Asian writers and disrupting the unity of the Afro-Asian peoples' struggle against imperialists.

The Meeting recommends to the Bureau:

to take any steps necessary against the activities, by whomsoever, calculated to disrupt the Afro-Asian writers' movement;

to make all efforts possible to intensify support for the Vietnamese people's struggle through literary activities such as translating of books and literary works dedicated to the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people, in as many languages as possible;

to consolidate the Afro-Asian Writers' Library that has, already, been established in Colombo, the headquarters of the Bureau;

to improve *The Call*, the bulletin of the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau, and take steps to ensure its wider distribution in the Afro-Asian countries;

to take all steps necessary to encourage the creation of literary works in the service of Afro-Asian peoples' anti-imperialist struggle by facilitating the publication of as many Afro-Asian writers' works as possible and their distribution as widely as possible;

to hold seminars of young Afro-Asian writers;

that delegations of Afro-Asian writers be exchanged between countries in the two continents, more frequently than now, with the aim of fostering cultural relations between them; and

that steps be taken to implement the decision of the Bureau to establish a sanatorium for Afro-Asian writers.

Resolution on the Third Afro-Asian Writers' Conference

IN view of the fact that the Third Afro-Asian Writers' Conference can no longer be held in Indonesia, the Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting, held from June 27 to July 9, 1966, in Peking, approves the proposal of the Indonesian delegation that this Conference be held in China.

July 15, 1966

The Meeting entrusts the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau with the task of making concrete arrangements relating to the Conference in consultation with the host country.

The Meeting appreciates the valuable contribution made by the progressive Indonesian writers in this connection.

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