

PEKING REVIEW

34

August 19, 1966

Communique of the 11th Plenary Session of the 8th Central Committee of the C.P.C.

Chairman Mao Meets Revolutionary Masses in the Capital

Repudiate Revisionist Programme of Chou Yang, Ringleader of Sinister Gang in Literary And Art Circles

北
京
周
報

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

PEKING REVIEW

Aug. 19, 1966
Vol. 9, No. 34

Published in English, French, Spanish,
Japanese and German editions

IN THIS ISSUE

THE WEEK Chairman Mao Receives Pakistan Parliamentary Delegation; Support for Cambodia's Refusal to Take Part in "Peace Talks" Fraud; Executive Secretariat of Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau Established in Peking; Third Anniversary of August Revolution of Congo (B) Celebrated (p. 3)

ARTICLES AND DOCUMENTS

Communique of the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China
(p. 4)

Chairman Mao Meets Revolutionary Masses in Peking (p. 9)

Sailing the Seas Depends on the Helmsman — *Renmin Ribao* editorial (p. 12)

New Copies of "Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung" Reach Readers (p. 13)

The Whole Nation Hails Decision Concerning the Great Cultural Revolution
(p. 15)

Master the Ideological Weapon of the Great Cultural Revolution — *Renmin Ribao* editorial (p. 17)

A Programmatic Document of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution — *Hongqi* editorial (p. 18)

Study the 16 Points, Know Them Well and Apply Them — *Renmin Ribao* editorial (p. 21)

We Absolutely Cannot Accept Taking "United Action" With the Soviet Revisionist Leading Clique — Speech by Comrade Liu Ning-I (p. 22)

Forming an International United Front and Persisting in Opposing U.S. Imperialism and Soviet Revisionism (p. 24)

Statement of Delegates From 16 Countries (p. 28)

Repudiate Chou Yang's Revisionist Programme for Literature and Art — Wu Chi-yen (p. 29)

Published every Friday by PEKING REVIEW
Pai Wan Chuang, Peking (37), China
Post Office Registration No. 2-922
Cable Address: Peking 2910
Printed in the People's Republic of China

Chairman Mao Receives Pakistan Parliamentary Delegation

CHAIRMAN Mao Tse-tung on the evening of August 13 received and had a cordial and friendly talk with Abdul Jabbar Khan, Speaker of the National Assembly of Pakistan, his wife and all the members of the parliamentary delegation he led.

The delegation arrived in Peking on August 7. During their stay in the capital, Speaker Jabbar Khan and his delegation received a warm welcome from the Chinese Government and people. Vice-Chairman Tung Pi-wu, Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi met the Pakistan guests on separate occasions and had cordial and friendly talks with them. The distinguished guests visited the Museum of the Chinese Revolution, the Peking No. 2 Cotton Textile Mill,

an exhibition on outstanding farming units of the Tachai Production Brigade type and the picturesque Summer Palace. The Pakistan guests left Peking on August 14 on a tour of the country.

Two days before their departure from the capital, Speaker Jabbar Khan and his wife gave a reception in honour of Chinese leaders. Chu Teh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, and his wife, Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi attended. Jabbar Khan and Chu Teh, who both spoke at the reception, praised the development of the friendship between the Chinese and Pakistan peoples.

Support for Cambodia's Refusal to Take Part in "Peace Talks" Fraud

Recently, Thailand, "Malaysia" and the Philippines, in particular the Bangkok authorities, have piously proposed the convocation of a so-called 17 Asian nations' conference to discuss a "peaceful solution" of the Vietnam question. This is a plot hatched at the bidding of U.S. imperialism.

Samdech Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, in a statement to the foreign press in Phnom Penh on August 11, pointed out that a "conference" on Vietnam proposed by Thailand, the Philippines and "Malaysia" was "a grotesque comedy." He said that it could only be a fraud, and not a conference. He added that the Royal Cambodian Government would absolutely refuse to take part in this fraud.

Chu Teh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, speaking at the banquet

given in Peking on August 12 by Abdul Jabbar Khan, Speaker of the Pakistan National Assembly, sternly condemned U.S. imperialism for instigating Thailand, "Malaysia" and the Philippines to plot the convocation of such a conference. Chu Teh said that the Chinese Government and people fully supported the just stand taken by Samdech Norodom Sihanouk.

Renmin Ribao's Commentator, in an article on August 13, expressed resolute support for Cambodia's just stand. Commentator said: "Samdech Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, pointed out on August 11 that the so-called conference of Asian states 'devised' by the United States and jointly proposed by Thailand, 'Malaysia' and the Philippines was a 'farce and grotesque comedy' and that Cambodia would absolutely refuse to take part in such a conference. Samdech Sihanouk's statement incisively brings out the essence of the matter. The Chinese people admire his firm stand and quick insight. The Chinese Government resolutely supports the just

stand of the Royal Cambodian Government. Those Westerners who talk about the likelihood of China taking part in the conference are actually talking drivel."

Commentator went on to say: "It is most grotesque for the reactionaries of Thailand to play the leading role in such a comic opera. The Thai authorities are faithful accomplices of U.S. imperialism in spreading the flames of its war of aggression in Vietnam. The territory of Thailand has long become an important base for the United States in this war. In a word, the hands of the Thai reactionaries are dripping with the blood of the Vietnamese people. Is it not ridiculous that the accomplices should now try to act a 'peace-maker'?"

Commentator concluded: "Samdech Sihanouk's statement has opened the eyes of many people. All Asian countries with a sense of righteousness and self-respect will certainly not fall into the trap of the U.S. 'peace talks' scheme, nor support the manoeuvres of the Thai reactionaries."

Executive Secretariat of Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau Established in Peking

The Executive Secretariat of the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau was officially established in Peking on August 15. This is another important development in the history of the Afro-Asian writers' movement following the Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting.

The establishment of the Executive Secretariat was announced by R. D. Senanayake, Secretary-General of the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau, in a communique of the Bureau at the inaugural meeting of the Executive Secretariat on the same day.

At the meeting, Senanayake read a statement of the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau on the further splittist activity of the Soviet revisionists. The statement strongly condemned the

(Continued on p. 39.)

FROM CHAIRMAN MAO'S WORKS:

"Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of the first importance for the revolution."

— *Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society*

Communique of the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China

(Adopted on August 12, 1966)

THE Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China was held in Peking from August 1 to 12, 1966.

The Eleventh Plenary Session was presided over by Comrade Mao Tse-tung. Members and Alternate Members of the Central Committee attended. Also present were comrades from the regional bureaus of the Central Committee and from the provincial, municipal and autonomous region Party committees; members of the cultural revolution group of the Central Committee; comrades from the relevant departments of the Central Committee and the Government; and representatives of revolutionary teachers and students from institutions of higher learning in Peking.

The Eleventh Plenary Session after discussion adopts the Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

The Plenary Session after discussion approves the important policy decisions and measures concerning domestic and international questions adopted by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee

since the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee in September, 1962.

Domestic

At the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee, Comrade Mao Tse-tung made a correct analysis of the situation at that time and once again stressed the theory of contradictions, classes and class struggle in socialist society. This is the guide for the socialist revolution and socialist construction in our country. Under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung and under the guidance of the Party's general line of going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism, the people of our country have in the past four years unfolded the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experimentation, and have won great victories. The people's communes have been further consolidated and developed. An invigorating revolutionary atmosphere prevails in the whole country and the situa-



Chairman Mao at the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China

tion is one of a new all-round leap forward emerging.

The national economy of our country is developing steadily and soundly. The policy of readjustment, consolidation, filling out and raising of standards advanced by the Party's Central Committee has already been successfully carried out. The Third Five-Year Plan started this year. On the industrial front, not only have big increases been registered in the output and variety of products, but their quality has also greatly improved. On the agricultural front, there have been good harvests for four successive

years. The market is thriving and prices are stable. The success of the three nuclear tests is a concentrated expression of the new level reached in the development of China's science, technology and industry.

During the past few years, an extensive socialist education movement has unfolded in the rural areas, the cities and the army. At present, a great proletarian cultural revolution unprecedented in history is mounting in our country. The mass movement in which workers, peasants, soldiers, revolutionary intellectuals and cadres creatively study and

apply Comrade Mao Tse-tung's works has ushered in a new era of direct mastery and application of Marxism-Leninism by the labouring people.

The Plenary Session fully approves the May 20, 1963 Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on Some Problems in Current Rural Work (Draft). It fully approves the January 14, 1965 summary minutes of discussion at the National Working Conference called by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party: Some Current Problems Raised in the Socialist Education Movement in the Rural Areas, that is, the 23-article document. These two documents were drawn up under the personal leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung and have been the powerful ideological weapon for our people in carrying out the socialist revolution. We should continue to act in accordance with the two above-mentioned documents and, in combination with the great proletarian cultural revolution, carry through to the end in both rural and urban areas the "four clean-ups" movement, that is, the socialist education movement to clean up politics, ideology, organization and economy.

The Plenary Session fully approves the series of brilliant policies of decisive and fundamental importance put forward by Comrade Mao Tse-tung over the past four years. These policies consist mainly of the following:

On the question of applying the principle of democratic centralism and carrying forward and developing the revolutionary tradition of the mass line;

On the question of raising and training successors in the proletarian revolutionary cause;

On the call for industrial enterprises to learn from the **Taching Oilfield**, for agricultural units to learn from the **Tachai Production Brigade**, for the whole country to learn from the **People's Liberation Army**, and for strengthening political and ideological work;

On the strategic principle of preparedness against war, preparedness against natural calamities and everything for the people;

On the question of breaking down foreign conventions and following our own road of industrial development;

On the question of system and deployment in economic construction and national defence construction;

On the call for the whole Party to grasp military affairs and for everybody to be a soldier;

On the question of planning and arrangements for the gradual mechanization of agriculture; and

On the call for the People's Liberation Army and all factories, villages, schools, commercial departments, service trades and Party and government organizations to become great schools of revolution.

The Plenary Session stresses that the series of directives by Comrade Mao Tse-tung concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution are the guide for action in the present cultural revolution of our country; they constitute an important development of Marxism-Leninism.

The Plenary Session holds that the key to the success of this great cultural revolution is to have faith in the masses, rely on them, boldly arouse them and respect their initiative. It is therefore imperative to persevere in the line of "from the masses and to the masses." Be pupils of the masses before becoming their teachers. Dare to make revolution and be good at making revolution. Don't be afraid of disorder. Oppose the taking of the bourgeois stand, the shielding of Rightists, the attacking of the Left and repression of the great proletarian cultural revolution. Oppose the creation of a lot of restrictions to tie the hands of the masses. Don't be overlords or stand above the masses, blindly ordering them about.

Give enthusiastic support to the revolutionary Left, take care to strive to unite with all those who can be united and concentrate our forces to strike at the handful of anti-Party, anti-socialist bourgeois Rightists.

The Plenary Session holds that the series of questions advanced by Comrade Mao Tse-tung over the past four years concerning socialist revolution and socialist construction have greatly accelerated the development and success of the socialist cause in our country. These questions are of most profound and far-reaching significance for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system in our country, for preventing revisionist usurpation of the Party and state leadership, for preventing the restoration of capitalism, for ensuring that our country adheres to proletarian internationalism and actively supports the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of the world and for ensuring our country's gradual transition to communism in the future.

International

The Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee holds that the present situation as regards the struggle of Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people throughout the world against imperialism, reaction and modern revisionism is excellent. We are now in a new era of world revolu-

tion. All political forces are undergoing a process of great upheaval, great division and great reorganization. The revolutionary movement of the people in all countries, and particularly in Asia, Africa and Latin America, is surging vigorously forward. Despite the inevitable zigzags and reversals in the development of the international situation, the general trend of imperialism heading for total collapse and socialism advancing to worldwide victory is unalterable. U.S. imperialism and its lackeys in various countries cannot avert their doom by brutally suppressing and wildly attacking the masses of the revolutionary people, or by bribing and deceiving them. On the contrary, this only serves to give further impetus to the revolutionary awakening of all peoples. The activities of U.S. imperialism and its stooges in various countries against the people and against revolution are giving impetus to the revolutionary activities of all peoples. U.S. imperialism and its stooges in various countries appear to be powerful but are actually very weak. Taking the long view, they are all paper tigers.

The new leading group of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has inherited Khrushchov's mantle and is practising Khrushchov revisionism without Khrushchov. Their line is one of safeguarding imperialist and colonialist domination in the capitalist world and restoring capitalism in the socialist world. The leading group of the C.P.S.U. has betrayed Marxism-Leninism, betrayed the great Lenin, betrayed the road of the Great October Revolution, betrayed proletarian internationalism, betrayed the revolutionary cause of the international proletariat and of the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations, and betrayed the interests of the great Soviet people and the people of the socialist countries. They revile the Communist Party of China as being "dogmatic," "sectarian" and "Left adventurist." In fact, what they are attacking is Marxism-Leninism itself. They are uniting with U.S.-led imperialism and the reactionaries of various countries and forming a new "Holy Alliance" against communism, the people, revolution and China. But this counter-revolutionary "Holy Alliance" is doomed to bankruptcy and is already in the process of disintegration.

The Plenary Session holds that our Party's comprehensive public criticisms of Khrushchov revisionism over the last few years have been entirely correct and necessary. The Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement advanced by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on June 14, 1963 is a programmatic document. This document drawn up

under the personal leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung and the nine comments by the Editorial Departments of *Renmin Ribao* and *Hongqi* on the open letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., the article "A Comment on the March Moscow Meeting," Comrade Lin Piao's "Long Live the Victory of People's War." etc., give scientific Marxist-Leninist analyses of a series of important questions concerning the world revolution of our time and are powerful ideological weapons against imperialism and modern revisionism.

The Plenary Session maintains that to oppose imperialism, it is imperative to oppose modern revisionism. There is no middle road whatsoever in the struggle between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism. A clear line of demarcation must be drawn in dealing with the modern revisionist groups with the leadership of the C.P.S.U. as the centre, and it is imperative resolutely to expose their true features as scabs. It is impossible to have "united action" with them.

The Plenary Session points out that proletarian internationalism is the supreme principle guiding China's foreign policy. The Session warmly supports the just struggle of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples against imperialism headed by the United States and its stooges and also supports the revolutionary struggles of the people of all countries.

The Plenary Session most strongly condemns U.S. imperialism for its crime of widening its war of aggression against Vietnam. The Session most warmly and most resolutely supports the Appeal to the People of the Whole Country issued by Comrade Ho Chi Minh, President of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and firmly supports the Vietnamese people in fighting to the end until final victory is achieved in their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. The Plenary Session fully agrees to all the measures already taken and all actions to be taken as decided upon by the Central Committee of the Party and the Government in consultation with the Vietnamese side concerning aid to Vietnam for resisting U.S. aggression.

The Plenary Session severely denounces the Soviet revisionist leading group for its counter-revolutionary two-faced policy of sham support but real betrayal on the question of Vietnam's resistance to U.S. aggression.

The Plenary Session holds that U.S. imperialism is the most ferocious common enemy of the peoples of the whole world. In order to isolate U.S. imperialism to the maximum and deal blows to it, the

broadest possible international united front must be established against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. The Soviet revisionist leading group is pursuing a policy of Soviet-U.S. collaboration for world domination and has been conducting splittist, disruptive and subversive activities within the international communist movement and the national-liberation movement in the active service of U.S. imperialism. They cannot of course be included in this united front.

We must unite with all the people in the world who are against imperialism and colonialism, and carry the struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys through to the end.

Together with all the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists of the world, we must carry the struggle against modern revisionism through to the end and push forward the revolutionary cause of the international proletariat and the people of the world.

Hold High the Great Red Banner Of Mao Tse-tung's Thought

The Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee emphasizes that the intensive study of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's works by the whole Party and the whole nation is an important event of historic significance. Comrade Mao Tse-tung is the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism with genius, creatively and in an all-round way, and has raised Marxism-Leninism to a completely new stage. Mao Tse-tung's thought is Marxism-Leninism of the era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to worldwide victory. It is the guiding principle for all the work of our Party and country. The Plenary Session holds that Comrade Lin Piao's call on the People's Liberation Army to launch a mass movement in the army to study Comrade Mao Tse-tung's works has set a brilliant example for the whole Party and the whole nation. The most reliable and fundamental guarantee against revisionism and the restoration of capitalism and for victory of our socialist and communist cause is to arm the masses of workers, peasants, soldiers, revolutionary intellectuals and cadres with Mao Tse-tung's thought and to promote the revolutionizing of people's ideology. The method of studying Comrade Mao Tse-tung's works with problems in mind, studying and applying his works in a creative way, combining study with practice, studying first what is urgently needed so as to get quick results, and of making great efforts in applying what one studies has proved effective and universally suitable and

should be further popularized throughout the Party and the country.

The Communist Party of China is a great, glorious and correct Party. Founded and fostered by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, ours is a Party armed with Marxism-Leninism, with Mao Tse-tung's thought. Our Party is a proletarian vanguard that integrates theory with practice, forges close links with the masses of the people and has the spirit of earnest self-criticism. It is a proletarian revolutionary Party which has gone through the most fierce, the most arduous, the longest and the most complex struggles in history. Our people is a great people. Our country is a great country. Our army is a great army. We firmly believe that under the leadership of our great leader, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, and the Communist Party of China, the armymen and civilians of the whole country, relying on their own efforts and working vigorously, will surely be able to surmount all difficulties and obstacles and fulfil the mission given by history, and will surely not disappoint the expectations of the revolutionary people of the world.

The Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee calls on all the workers, people's commune members, commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army, revolutionary cadres, revolutionary intellectuals, revolutionary teachers and students and scientific and technical personnel of the country to raise still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, unite with all those who can be united, surmount the resistance coming from various directions, from the counter-revolutionary revisionists and the "Left" and Right opportunists, overcome difficulties, shortcomings and mistakes, cleanse the dark spots in the Party and society, carry the great proletarian cultural revolution to the end, carry the socialist revolution to the end, and strive to fulfil the Third Five-Year Plan and build China into a powerful socialist country.

We must be fired with great, lofty proletarian aspirations and dare to break paths unexplored by people before and scale unclimbed heights. We must do a good job of building socialist China, which has a quarter of the world's population, and make it an impregnable state of the proletariat that will never change its colour. We must liberate Taiwan. We must heighten our vigilance a hundredfold and guard against surprise attacks from U.S. imperialism and its accomplices. Should they dare to impose war on us, the 700 million Chinese people under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung and the Communist Party of China will certainly break the backs of the aggressors and wipe them out resolutely, thoroughly, totally and completely.

Chairman Mao Meets Revolutionary Masses in Peking

Chairman Mao says to the crowds: "You should pay attention to state affairs and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end!"

AT 7:15 p.m. on August 10, Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of the Chinese people, came to the reception centre near the headquarters of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and met Peking's revolutionary masses who were there to celebrate the Central Committee's decision concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution adopted on August 8.

Speaking to the crowds, Chairman Mao said: "You should pay attention to state affairs and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end!"

This is a great call which Chairman Mao has issued to the people of the whole country.

When our respected and beloved leader arrived, the crowds burst out into a storm of applause, shouting:

"Chairman Mao is here! Chairman Mao is here!"

Tens of thousands of workers, peasants, students, revolutionary cadres and other people in the capital jumped in their joy and went surging towards Chairman Mao. The sounds of "Long live Chairman Mao!" and "Long, long life to Chairman Mao" rolled out thunderously.

Amidst cheers and ovations, Chairman Mao mounted the rostrum in the reception centre. His face beaming with smiles, our great leader looked at the messages of greetings, and written pledges on display and cordially waved to the crowds gathered in and around the centre. At that moment there was no telling how many hearts throbbed with excitement, how many eyes shone with tears of joy and how many hands reached out towards him.

Chairman Mao walked from one end of the rostrum to the other. He stretched out both arms and shook hands warmly with those gathered immediately around the rostrum. Chairman Mao talked to a number of comrades, and greeted the cheering crowds around: "How are you, comrades? How are you, comrades?"

When leaving the reception centre, Chairman Mao waved time and again to the elated crowds. Long

after he left, crowds of people who had come to deliver messages of greetings and written pledges remained there, excited and reluctant to leave.

Many standing at the back pressed forward to shake hands with those who had shaken hands with Chairman Mao. These latter said that they had thought on the great occasion: "Oh! Chairman Mao, Chairman Mao! It is with these great hands of yours that you have written so many revolutionary articles and pointed out to the Chinese people the road of advance. It is you who have led us in toppling the three big mountains of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism and are leading us in carrying out socialist revolution and socialist construction. Today with these hands of yours you have pointed out to us the direction of the great proletarian cultural revolution." Many who had shaken hands with Chairman Mao told everyone they met: "Come and shake hands with me! My hands have just touched those of Chairman Mao!" Many who came too late to see Chairman Mao said that it was also the greatest happiness to be able to walk where Chairman Mao had just met the revolutionary masses. They sang over and over again *The East Is Red, A Ship Cannot Sail Without a Helmsman*, and *I Love Chairman Mao's Works Best*.

On learning the happy news that Chairman Mao had met revolutionary masses in the capital, many people that very night wrote messages of greetings and pledges on big sheets of red paper and sent them to the reception centre. In the messages of greetings they said: "Long live Chairman Mao! Long, long life to Chairman Mao!" They pledged to Chairman Mao their determination to hold still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and always to follow Chairman Mao, marching forward in the teeth of storms.

Many workers, members of the people's communes on the outskirts of the city, revolutionary intellectuals and revolutionary cadres said with deep feeling: Our great leader Chairman Mao's meeting with the masses at the headquarters of the Central Committee of the

Chinese Communist Party in the upsurge of the current great proletarian cultural revolution is an event of great historic significance. Our great leader has the greatest trust in the masses, shows the greatest care for them and gives the greatest support to their revolutionary action. Chairman Mao is linked heart to heart with the masses.

They said: Chairman Mao's meeting with the masses is a great encouragement for the proletarian revolutionaries, tremendously heightening their will and giving them inexhaustible strength. Under the brilliant leadership of our great leader Chairman Mao, the great proletarian cultural revolution we are carrying out now will surely win complete and thorough victory!

For several days after the publication of the decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution on the night of August 8, revolutionary masses in the capital were overwhelmed with joy and elation. Contingents went in unending streams to the reception centre of the Party's Central Committee to deliver their messages of greetings and written pledges. Holding high red flags and carrying large portraits of the great leader Chairman Mao, they beat drums and gongs, shouted slogans and sang revolutionary songs. Carrying bouquets and wearing garlands, crowds of young people sang and danced — a manifestation of their warmest love for Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee and of their determination to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

The historic news that our great leader Chairman Mao had met revolutionary masses in Peking was a tremendous inspiration to all revolutionary people in the capital, bringing to a new high their revolutionary enthusiasm in hailing the decision of the Party's Central Committee concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution.

On August 11 endless contingents of paraders came to the reception centre from all directions. The messages of greetings and written pledges delivered to the centre were too numerous to count. One representative of the revolutionary masses after another made warm speeches before the loudspeaker. Tens of thousands of hearts beat as one. A multitude of words rang out with the same meaning: Our respected and beloved leader Chairman Mao, it was under your leadership that the great programme for the great proletarian cultural revolution was worked out; your meeting with revolutionary masses has added immeasurably to their strength. Like the sun you have illuminated the path for the cultural revolution. In accordance with your instruction we will resolutely carry the revolution through to the end.

Outstanding representatives of the members of the rural people's communes and production brigades on the outskirts of the city came all the way to the centre to declare their aspirations to the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao. A representative of the

poor and lower-middle peasants in the Golden Star Production Brigade gave the pledge that with a hoe in one hand and a pen in the other they would deal a severe head-on blow to the ghosts and monsters who took the capitalist road and opposed the Party, social-ism and Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Like a spring wind, the happy news that the most respected and beloved great leader of the people of all nationalities in China, Chairman Mao, had met the revolutionary masses in the capital swept through the rest of the country. From border towns in China's north to Hainan Island off the southern coast and from the outposts on the eastern coast to the frontier on the Pamir highland, people of all nationalities — workers, peasants, soldiers, revolutionary intellectuals and revolutionary cadres — shouted in high spirits: "Long live Chairman Mao!" and "Long, long life to Chairman Mao!" The sounds of the revolutionary songs *The East Is Red* and *A Ship Cannot Sail Without a Helmsman*, drums and gongs and firecrackers thundered.

Carrying big portraits of Chairman Mao and holding bouquets and banners on high, unending columns of paraders streamed from morning till night to the headquarters of local Party committees to express their joy. At this moment of the greatest happiness, countless eyes filled with warm tears and the thoughts of many flew to the capital. The revolutionary masses passed around the happy news to encourage one another. They said: Chairman Mao is linked heart to heart with the revolutionary masses. Even though we shouted "Long live Chairman Mao!" 10 million or 100 million times, we cannot give full expression to our warm love for him and our gratitude to him.

The multitude of words spoken by the revolutionary masses voiced the same feeling: When Chairman Mao shook the hands of the revolutionary masses in the capital, it stirred the hearts of the hundreds of millions of people throughout the country. Though not living in the capital, we are fighting shoulder to shoulder with its revolutionary masses in the great cultural revolutionary movement. In meeting the revolutionary masses of the capital, Chairman Mao has in effect met us. We are determined to follow Chairman Mao's teachings about paying attention to state affairs and carrying the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

The city of Shanghai was bubbling with joy on August 12. Contingent after contingent of paraders converged on the office of the Party's Shanghai Municipal Committee to deliver their messages of greetings and written pledges. Revolutionary students of the various nationalities in the Shanghai Conservatory of Music held high red flags, played revolutionary music and performed the yangko dance as they paraded through the streets.

In Canton, the front of the building of the Party's municipal committee was covered with written pledges and messages of greetings from the broad revolutionary masses. On the day when workers of the Kwangtung Hsinhua Printing House started printing *Selected*

Works of Mao Tse-tung, a task assigned to them for the first time, they learnt the news of Chairman Mao's meeting with the capital's revolutionary masses. This was indeed a happy coincidence: two splendid events in a single day, the workers said joyously. They expressed their determination to complete their printing task quickly and successfully.

In Wuhan, radios and loudspeakers in the factories, barracks and schools and on the farms were all surrounded with the revolutionary masses listening to the great news. Their joyous thoughts flew to the capital, to Chairman Mao.

In Shaoshan, Siangtan County, the birthplace of Chairman Mao, all the commune members and revolutionary cadres were jubilant. They said that the moment they heard the happy news, they were reminded, as if they were meeting him once more, of Chairman Mao's return to Shaoshan in 1959. They declared that they would take firm hold of the revolution and increase production, so that when Chairman Mao came again, they could tell him about all the successes they had achieved.

In Urumchi, capital of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, the revolutionary masses of the various nationalities acclaimed the news in their own tongues. They said: "We will always follow Chairman Mao's teachings about paying attention to state affairs and carrying the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end." The revolutionary teachers, students, faculty members and workers of the Sinkiang Medical College made a huge placard on which they wrote in big gold and red characters the great call Chairman Mao made when he met the revolutionary masses in Peking. Carrying numerous portraits of Chairman Mao, decorated with swathes of coloured silk, the students danced national dances and cheered around the placard to the music of national instruments.

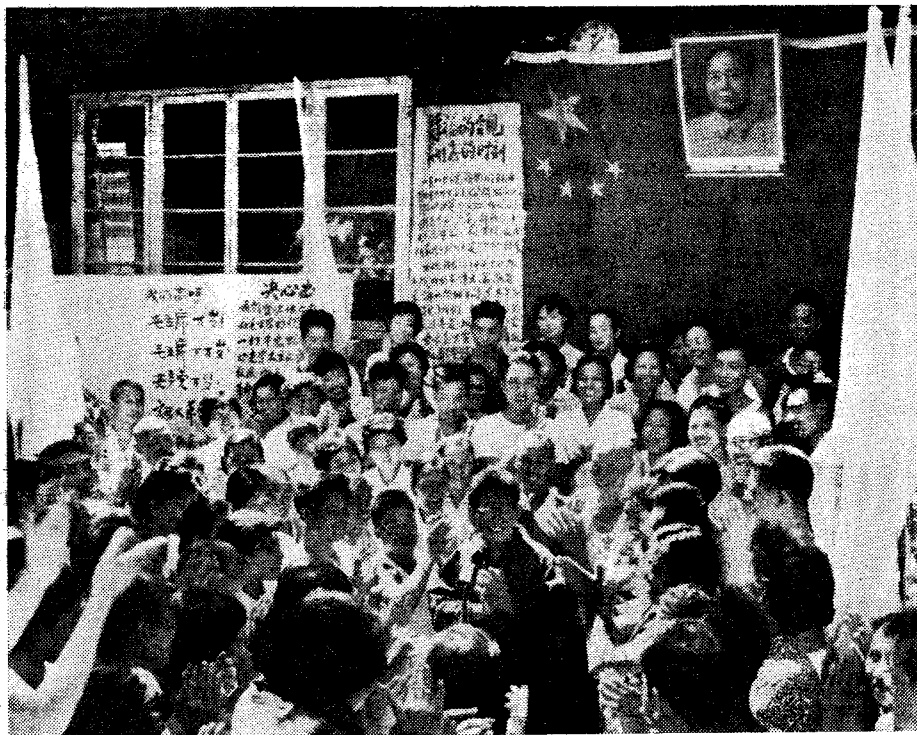
In Lhasa, happiness reigned supreme on August 12. The broad masses of the revolutionary people shouted in unison in the Tibetan and Han languages: "Long live Chairman Mao! Long, long life to Chairman Mao!" With the greatest joy, the Tibetan people sang: "Oh, majestic Himalayas! How can you compare with the lofty spirit of Chairman Mao! Oh, Tsangpo River! My love for Chairman Mao will last as long as your mighty and roaring waters!"

Throughout the country, labour heroes and outstanding figures in all fields of work rejoiced to hear the happy news that Chairman Mao had met the revolutionary masses in Peking. They made statements,

or sent letters or written pledges to the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao. They unanimously held that the news showed Chairman Mao's very great trust in the revolutionary masses and his very great concern, support and encouragement for them. They expressed their determination to hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and, closely following the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao, to surmount every difficulty and advance courageously in the teeth of storms.

The news that Chairman Mao had met the revolutionary masses in Peking was greeted with roaring cheers among all commanders and fighters of the three services of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. They said: "When Chairman Mao said to the revolutionary masses in Peking: 'You should pay attention to state affairs and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end,' he was making a great call to the people of the whole country. It is also a great call to all the commanders and fighters of our army. In accordance with Chairman Mao's instruction, we will certainly brave the storms of class struggle and march forward."

On hearing the news, the noted combat hero Mai Hsien-teh declared with great elation: "We will always study Chairman Mao's works, follow his teachings and be his good soldiers. We will always follow Chairman Mao in making revolution, resolutely carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end, crush the sinister gangs, sweep away all ghosts and monsters and defend the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao!"



Ti Chang-pao (centre), a shoe-maker in Peking, met the great leader Chairman Mao at the reception centre near the headquarters of the Party's Central Committee. His comrades at the factory were greatly inspired when on his return he told them about the meeting.

Sailing the Seas Depends on the Helmsman

COMRADE Mao Tse-tung presided in person over the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, which was held in a new stage of China's socialist revolution and at a decisive moment in the development of the great proletarian cultural revolution. This Session is a milestone marking the new stage of our country's socialist revolution.

In socialist countries, there still exists the question of which road will be taken after the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production. The question of whether to carry the socialist revolution through to the end and make the gradual transition to communism, or to stop half-way and retrogress towards capitalism, presents itself sharply before the people. By summing up and drawing upon both the positive and the negative experiences of the Chinese revolution and the international communist movement, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has furnished the theoretical answer to this question; and the question is gradually being resolved in practice.

At the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party, which was held in 1962, Comrade Mao Tse-tung once again stressed the theory of contradictions, of classes and class struggle in socialist society and gave us the great call never to forget class struggle. Furthermore, during the past few years, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has put forward a series of brilliant policies which are of decisive and fundamental importance to socialist revolution and socialist construction; a series of important directives with regard to the socialist education movement and the great proletarian cultural revolution; and a series of important guiding principles on opposition to imperialism, on the establishment of the broadest possible international united front against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, on opposition to modern revisionism, and on support for the revolutionary struggles of all the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations of the world. All these are fundamental questions for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system in our country, for preventing revisionist usurpation of the Party and state leadership, for preventing the restoration of capitalism and for ensuring that China adheres to proletarian internationalism.

Sailing the seas depends on the helmsman!

The great helmsman of our country's revolution is Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

It is precisely because our Party and the masses of the people have at the helm a helmsman of such genius as Comrade Mao Tse-tung and the great thought of Mao Tse-tung as the compass, to chart the correct course through heavy fog that, during the past few decades, at each important moment of our country's revolution, the great ship of our revolution has been able to avoid the countless dangerous shoals and hidden rocks and advance victoriously along the revolutionary course of Marxism-Leninism in the teeth of great storms and waves.

Lenin said: "Without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement." This is perfectly true. Without Mao Tse-tung's thought, there would never have been the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China, or the victory of our democratic revolution and socialist revolution, or the new China. Without Mao Tse-tung's thought, it would have been impossible to build China into a great socialist country or to enable the Chinese people to stand for ever erect in the world and to march forward constantly.

Comrade Lin Piao has very correctly explained the supreme importance of Mao Tse-tung's thought for the Chinese revolution and for the future of China. He said: "China is a great socialist state of the dictatorship of the proletariat and has a population of 700 million. It needs unified thinking, revolutionary thinking, correct thinking. That is Mao Tse-tung's thinking."

The fundamental task of the great proletarian cultural revolution in China is to ensure that Mao Tse-tung's thought shall be grasped by the greatest possible number of people. It is also to further promote the revolutionization of people's ideology and turn the spiritual force into a gigantic material force for the transformation of society and nature.

Let us hold still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, rally even more closely round the Party's Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, carry out energetically the policies set down

in the Communique of the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party, unite with all those with whom it is possible to unite, and, relying on our own strength and working vigorously, overcome all resistance and all difficulties and carry through the great proletarian cultural revolution, the socialist revolution and the struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism to the very end.

Strive to build China into a powerful socialist country!

Strive to unite with the people of all countries to build a new world without imperialism, without capitalism and without the system of exploitation of man by man!

Long live the great unity of the Chinese people!

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

(*"Renmin Ribao"* editorial, August 15.)

Invincible Ideological Weapon for the Masses

New Copies of "Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung" Reach Readers

WHEN the news that the Party Central Committee has decided to speed up the large-scale publication of Chairman Mao's works was announced on August 8, it sped across the land. Workers, peasants, soldiers, revolutionary intellectuals and revolutionary cadres jubilantly passed on the tidings to each other. One and all warmly hailed this great and joyous event for the nation, this great new victory of the proletarian cultural revolution.

Pressing Demand of the People

In the past few years, a tremendous movement to study and apply Chairman Mao's works in a creative way has been under way among the broad masses of the people. But many propaganda and publishing departments were controlled by the sinister gang which was opposed to the Party, to socialism and to Mao Tse-tung's thought. Under many pretexts, this gang imposed all sorts of restrictions on the number of Chairman Mao's works printed and issued, aggravating the already acute supply situation. Revolutionary people in their hundreds of thousands, like people parched for water, had avidly sought to buy Chairman Mao's works. Many, however, were turned away empty-handed. They wrote numerous letters to the departments concerned expressing their ardent wish to study Chairman Mao's works. To study these works, they wrote, are

the primary need of the revolutionary Chinese people and Mao Tse-tung's thought is the red sun in the hearts of the Chinese people and the world's revolutionary people. We want to be proletarian revolutionaries, said the authors of the letters, to follow the Chinese Communist Party always, and to hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought in all our work, so we must have Chairman Mao's books to study!

The Party Central Committee decision was made to satisfy this urgent demand, and the people are grateful from the bottom of their hearts for the great political concern the Party has shown them.



Students of the Peking Iron and Steel Institute greet the arrival of new copies of the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*

Publishing, printing and distribution organizations throughout the country took the speediest action. A week after the announcement of the decision, large numbers of Chairman Mao's works newly published in various editions have begun to reach readers in various parts of the country.

Campus Celebrations

On August 12, nearly 120,000 revolutionary teachers and students of Peking's universities and colleges bought new copies of the first and third volumes of the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*.

That sunlit morning, personnel of the Hsinhua Bookshop drove colourfully decorated vehicles loaded high with the *Selected Works* to the 40 universities and colleges in the capital. As they entered the gates, the vehicles were immediately surrounded by the revolutionary teachers and students. The happy crowds lifted their voices in singing *The East Is Red, I Love Chairman Mao's Works Best* and other songs and sent up prolonged cheers of "Long live Chairman Mao!" Carrying huge portraits of their great leader, they beat gongs and drums, set off firecrackers and waved flower garlands in their hands.

At the Peking University, a grand celebration meeting was held. Nieh Yuan-tzu, the fearless fighter in the great cultural revolution at that university, took the platform. Representing the revolutionary teachers and students, she said: At a time when we are combating the sinister gang which opposed the Party, socialism and Mao Tse-tung's thought, we come in possession of the *Selected Works*. Grasping the sharp weapon of Mao Tse-tung's thought, we will certainly defeat all enemies and capture all reactionary bastions. Other student and teacher representatives spoke, pledging their determination to use this weapon in the course of the great cultural revolution and sweep away all ghosts and monsters. Acting Minister Hsiao Wang-tung, Vice-Ministers Shih Hsi-min and Li Chi of the Ministry of Culture also attended the meeting, at which Hsiao Wang-tung made an important speech. After the meeting, the three leading comrades personally helped out behind the makeshift book counters set up on the campus to sell the *Selected Works*.

On August 14, festive scenes reigned at the 60 branches of the Hsinhua Bookshop in Peking and its suburbs. Big red lanterns were hung in front of many of these stores and eye-catching red paper cutouts of the Chinese character "Xi" (Happiness) were pasted up. Joyous crowds stood in queues despite a driving rain and bought a total of 160,000 copies of the *Selected Works* newly off the press.

On the same day, nearly 200,000 people in Shanghai satisfied their long-cherished desire to have copies of the *Selected Works*. The over 60 Hsinhua Bookshop branches were hives of activity. People surged in and out, singing and shouting slogans. An old worker, holding his newly bought copy of Chairman Mao's works in both hands, told the shop assistant with deep feeling: "Thank you, thank you! And all my thanks

to the Party, who sent us these precious books!" A P.L.A. fighter said with emotion: The sinister gangs wanted to obstruct us workers, peasants and soldiers from studying Chairman Mao's works. They will never, never succeed! In Chiating County on Shanghai's outskirts, commune members and cadres carefully wrapped newly bought copies of the *Selected Works* in festive red paper they had prepared before taking them home.

Hsinhua Bookshop branches in Urumchi and other parts of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region supplied 11,600 full sets of the *Selected Works* to readers of different nationalities that day. This was the biggest number they had ever supplied at one time in recent years.

Over 100,000 copies of *Extracts From Chairman Mao's Works* printed in Tibetan were sent from Peking to Tibet. To satisfy the demands of the million liberated serfs in their study of Chairman Mao's works, the Party Committee of the Tibet Autonomous Region had recently distributed 28,000 copies of the *Extracts* in the agricultural and pastoral areas. The broad masses of the Tibetan peasants and herdsmen had hailed the event with these words: "The golden sunshine of Mao Tse-tung's thought is shining over new Tibet!"

The "Talisman" of Liberated Serfs

When the liberated Tibetan serfs received copies of the *Extracts*, their happiness was unrestrained. They said: "Chairman Mao's works are a talisman with which we can move heaven and earth and win victory after victory" and "Chairman Mao's works are the golden masterkey to ten thousand locks." Many of them reverently covered their copies of the *Extracts* with white silk *hats*, and, gathered in twos and threes, studied the book word by word.

Just now, more new copies of Chairman Mao's works in various editions are coming off the presses throughout the country and being rushed to the bookshops. A recent conference called by the Ministry of Culture has decided that this year and next, 35 million sets of the *Selected Works* will be printed and distributed. The provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions will print the *Selected Readings From Mao Tse-tung's Works* as well as his works in separate pamphlet form. These two revolutionary measures will gradually fully meet the needs of the broad masses.

The large-scale publication of Chairman Mao's works will give a big impetus to the Chinese people's movement to study and apply Chairman Mao's works creatively. Once the hundreds of millions in China grasp Mao Tse-tung's thought, this will become a tremendous material force to transform the face of our country. When this socialist country of ours, with a fourth of the world's population, has become a great school of revolution and Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought is more profoundly and widely popularized, it will ensure that our country will never change colour and that China will make greater contributions to the revolutionary movement of the world's people.

The Whole Nation Hails Decision Concerning the Great Cultural Revolution

THE revolutionary masses of the whole nation enthusiastically welcomed the August 8 Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. When it was announced by press and radio they held meetings, wrote big-character posters of greeting and pledged firm support for it. They unanimously hailed this decision as a new development of Mao Tse-tung's thought, a great programme of socialist revolution in its new stage and a guide for action in the great proletarian cultural revolution. They resolutely expressed their determination to raise still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and carry the great cultural revolution through to the end.

Timely Rain

For several days, from early morning till late at night, Peking workers, peasants, students and office workers have been streaming to the offices of the Party's Central Committee to present congratulations and pledges in person. Drums, gongs, slogans and songs filled the air as the columns of marchers passed along the streets of the capital. At the Party Central Committee reception hall the enthusiasm reached a crescendo with mighty cheers: "Long live the Communist Party of China!" "Long live Chairman Mao!" "Resolutely carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end!"

Tsui Shih-chuan, a worker at the printing house of the Ministry of Railways with forty years of work to his credit, was in the column beating the big festival drum all the way. In the 1957 struggle against the Rightists, he said, he had followed the teachings of the Party and was in the forefront of the struggle. In the present great cultural revolu-

tion, he declared, he must be out in the very foremost ranks to pull down and completely discredit all the ghosts and monsters who oppose the Party, socialism and Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Representatives of Party members, Communist Youth League members and poor and lower-middle peasants of the Huangtugang People's Commune in the suburbs of Peking said: Each word and each sentence of the brilliant decision of the Party Central Committee shines with the radiance of Mao Tse-tung's thought, greatly enhancing the will of us revolutionary masses and heavily deflating the arrogance of all ghosts and monsters. Together with representatives from other people's communes they expressed their unanimous determination to follow Chairman Mao's teachings and be the mainstay of the great cultural revolution.

"Just at a time when we stood in urgent need of the Party's policy, our respected and beloved Party Central Committee and our wise and brilliant leader Chairman Mao brought out this decision concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution. This is like timely rain, a compass guiding our actions in this revolution. Each word, each sentence goes straight to our hearts," says a big-character poster written by Ma Ling-huan and other students of the faculty of industrial



Revolutionary teachers and students of Shanghai's East China Teachers' College elatedly greet the 16-point Decision at an evening demonstration

economy of the China People's University in Peking. They declared their firmest support for the decision, pledged the utmost resolution in carrying it out and promised to propagate it with the utmost enthusiasm and defend it with unshakable courage.

When the revolutionary people of China's biggest industrial centre, Shanghai, heard the Party Central Committee's decision broadcast, they held demonstrations down many of the main thoroughfares of the city, carrying giant portraits of Chairman Mao, and red banners, shouting slogans and singing revolutionary songs. Chi Chih-chao, a model in creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's works and the leader of the Honglei Youth Group of the Shanghai Synthetic Fibre Research Institute, said at a discussion: "With this decision we young revolutionaries will be better able than ever to develop the communist spirit of boldness in thought, speech and action and in advancing victoriously in the direction pointed out by the Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao."

It was an inspiring moment when the commune members on the outskirts of Shanghai heard the decision of the Party Central Committee over the air while they were at the height of the autumn harvest and sowing. Pan Tung-tsai, an advanced commune member and Party secretary of the Zhangjianbang Production Brigade of the Wusong People's Commune in Paoshan County, Shanghai, said: "This decision is like timely rain on our fields. With it, we are sure to gather in a bumper harvest from the current cultural revolution."

Chou Mu-chen, a lathe worker and a militia member of the Canton Heavy Machinery Plant, said: "I am greatly inspired by the great task given us masses by the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman Mao who have pointed out that in the great proletarian cultural revolution the only method is for the masses to liberate themselves, and any method of doing things on their behalf must not be used."

Li Su-wen, deputy political instructor of the Heping Non-Staple Foodstuff Store in Shenyang, said at the forum held there: Our respected and beloved Party Central Committee and our respected and beloved leader Chairman Mao have not only shown us the importance of the current great cultural revolution, but at the same time with warm concern given us the policies and methods to carry it out. Indeed, the more I read it, the clearer my mind, the sharper my eyes, the tougher my bones, the bolder I grow and the more inventive do I become.

The commanders and fighters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, like the rest of the people of the whole country, expressed in many forms their resolute support for the brilliant decision of the Party Central Committee and their earnest determination to carry it out. Pilots of a certain wing of the P.L.A. Air Force, on hearing the decision broadcast, started a keen discussion on it that very evening. These fighters said: Every sentence of the decision goes straight to our

hearts; every word is a reinforcement of the revolutionary masses and a crushing blow to all ghosts and monsters. This decision is a steering wheel that guides the victorious development of the great proletarian cultural revolution; it is another new contribution given by Chairman Mao to the Chinese as well as the world revolution. Cadres of the political department of a certain regiment in the Sinkiang Military Area, on hearing the decision over the air, braved a cloudburst to go down to the companies to hold discussions with the fighters. Everyone agreed that the decision would assuredly guide the nation's great proletarian cultural revolution—a revolution unprecedented in history—to sweep ahead magnificently.

Pledge to Carry the Cultural Revolution Through to the End

The representatives of the workers of the Taojanting High Tension Electric Appliance Plant in Peking, brought their pledges to be read out in the reception hall of the Party Central Committee. In them they expressed the heroic spirit of the capital's workers to implement most resolutely and defend most courageously the decision. They declared: This decision is an infinitely powerful moral atom bomb which boosts the will of revolutionaries and deflates the arrogance of all ghosts and monsters. We will resolutely follow the teachings of the Party Central Committee and are determined to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

The very same evening the revolutionary teachers and students of Nanking University, who are waging a struggle against members of the sinister anti-Party and anti-socialist gang there, heard the announcement of the decision, they put up more than 200 bright red posters of greeting. Revolutionary teachers and students of the foreign languages faculty wrote in their posters: The decision of the Party Central Committee is most timely, most wise and brilliant, correct and comprehensive. It illumines the road of the great proletarian cultural revolution. We must take this decision as our programme for action, for ever follow the Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao Tse-tung and march forward for ever braving wind and storm!

When the happy tidings reached Ching kang Mountain, Juichin, Hsingkuo and other places, the old revolutionary base areas in Kiangsi Province, many old comrades who had followed Chairman Mao in the revolutionary struggle at that time and the revolutionary masses spoke at forums. They declared that with the same revolutionary spirit with which the armed "encirclement and suppression" campaigns launched by the reactionary Kuomintang were smashed at that time, they were determined to stand in the van of the great cultural revolution, firmly follow the teachings of the Party and Chairman Mao and sweep away all ghosts and monsters so as to defend our socialist motherland for all the generations to come.

People in the old revolutionary base areas of western Fukien Province, who have a glorious revolutionary

tradition, warmly acclaimed the decision. In the Houtian Production Brigade, Lungyan County, old revolutionaries said elatedly: Over 30 years ago, Chairman Mao personally led us here in making the revolution to overthrow the three big mountains of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism. Today, Chairman Mao again is personally leading us in unfolding this great cultural revolution. We must follow close behind Chairman Mao in our advance, we must carry the great cultural revolution through to the end.

In Harbin, the revolutionary teachers and students in Heilungkiang University were inaugurating the preparatory committee of their cultural revolutionary committee. Immediately after hearing the announcement of the great decision, they adopted a resolution to "study, propagate and discuss it in a big way." The workers of the university's printing shop that same evening printed the Party Central Committee's decision in pamphlet form. The broad mass of revolutionary teachers and students said: It seems that Chairman Mao is here at our side, showing us his concern and giving us encouragement. We have boundless love for Chairman Mao and are even firmer in our determination to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

In Urumchi, Sinkiang, northwest China, Jilil Niyaz, a Uighur steel worker of the "August 1" Iron and Steel Plant, said: The Party Central Committee's decision is filled with the spirit of trust and reliance on the masses; it fully embodies Mao Tse-tung's thought. I am greatly inspired by the decision and am resolved, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao, to carry the great cultural revolution through to the end. Gupur, a Uighur student in the Chinese language faculty of Sinkiang University, said: This decision is a militant, revolutionary decision; it is a fundamental guarantee for the complete victory of the great cultural revolution.

In Lhasa, the revolutionary masses of both Tibetan and Han nationalities called the decision "a sun with shining rays." Tzurenzongpo, an emancipated Tibetan serf and now Chairman of the Township Security Committee, said: Although Tibetan feudal serfdom has been overthrown, its old ideology, culture, customs and habits remain to corrupt and poison us in a vain endeavour to restore the old system. Using the new ideology, culture, customs and habits of the proletariat, we, the emancipated peasants, are resolved to change utterly the face of the Tibetan rural areas.

人民日报
RENMIN RIBAO

Master the Ideological Weapon of The Great Cultural Revolution

THE Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution [see *Peking Review*, No. 33, 1966] has enabled the popular masses of our country to hear the voice of our great leader Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

This decision sums up the new experiences which have been created by the broad masses of China in the course of the proletarian cultural revolution. It reflects their revolutionary initiative.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung says: Our policy must be made known not only to the leaders and to the cadres but also to the broad masses. Once the masses know the truth and have a common aim, they will work with one heart. When the masses are of one heart, everything becomes easy.

The broad worker, peasant and soldier masses, all the members of the Communist Party, revolutionary members of the working staffs, revolutionary intellec-

tuals, and revolutionary teachers and students should all study this decision of the Central Committee of the Party in real earnest. They should familiarize themselves with it, be well versed in it and apply it. They should make a comparative study of the situation of the cultural revolution in their own units in the previous period in the light of the principles and policies laid down in this decision, continue to do accordingly what is right, resolutely correct what is wrong, and do what remains to be done.

There are two opposite principles, policies and methods of work. One is to trust the masses, rely on them and boldly arouse them, believing that they are capable of liberating and educating themselves in the course of the movement, and giving enthusiastic support to their revolutionary spirit and revolutionary action. The other is to stand on the opposite side to the masses and suppress them at the crucial moment of the revolution. The former represents the putting into practice of the revolutionary line of Marxism-Leninism and Mao

Tse-tung's thought, whereas the latter is the implementation of the erroneous line in opposition to Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought.

It is necessary to block, repudiate and struggle against the erroneous line. In this way it will be possible to fully implement the correct line and carry the great cultural revolution through to victory.

The proletarian cultural revolution is an unprecedented, great revolution. Such a revolution inevitably meets with resistance of various kinds. Just as the decision points out, "At present, this resistance is still fairly strong and stubborn." To carry through and implement this decision of the Party's Central Committee, it is necessary to struggle against the erroneous line within the Party, against opportunism of one kind or another, and against the old forces of habit in society.

Marx and Engels said in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*: "The Communist revolution is the most radical rupture with traditional property relations; no

wonder that its development involves the most radical rupture with traditional ideas." [English edition, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1965, p. 57.]

The current great proletarian cultural revolution is for the elimination of the ideologies of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, for the liquidation of the old ideas, old culture, old customs and old habits which prepare the ground for a capitalist restoration, and to enable the broadest masses to grasp Mao Tse-tung's thought so that they can create the new ideas, new culture, new customs and new habits of socialism.

After mastering this powerful ideological weapon — the decision of the Party's Central Committee — the 700 million Chinese people are sure to unite still more closely, to burst through all obstacles and, with the force of an avalanche, to overthrow those within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road and to sweep away all ghosts and monsters.

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



A Programmatic Document of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

AT this crucial moment in the development of the great proletarian cultural revolution in our country, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party published the Decision Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. This document which was drawn up under the personal guidance of Comrade Mao Tse-tung summed up, in a scientific way, the experience in recent months of the mass movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution. It is the programme of China's great proletarian cultural revolution. The decision is bound to push the great proletarian cultural revolutionary movement to a new high.

The decision has correctly analysed the nature, situation and tasks of the great proletarian cultural revolution in our country and laid down the Party's principles and policies for the great revolution.

The decision says: "The great proletarian cultural revolution now unfolding is a great revolution that touches people to their very souls and constitutes a new stage in the development of the socialist revolution in our country, a deeper and more extensive stage."

Ten years ago when the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production in our

country was in the main completed, Comrade Mao Tse-tung already wisely pointed out: "The class struggle is by no means over. The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between the different political forces, and the class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will continue to be long and tortuous and at times will even become very acute. The proletariat seeks to transform the world according to its own world outlook, and so does the bourgeoisie. In this respect, the question of which will win out, socialism or capitalism, is still not really settled."

The great proletarian cultural revolution is to fully mobilize the masses and step by step settle this question of which is to win out in the ideological field under the leadership of our Party.

This great cultural revolution is a struggle of the proletarian world outlook against the bourgeois world outlook, a struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie over the leadership in the ideological field.

All class struggles are political struggles. The present great cultural revolution is, in the final analysis, a life-and-death struggle between the socialist system and the capitalist system, a struggle in which one side wants to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat

while the other side wants to turn the proletarian dictatorship into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. It is an extremely fierce, extremely sharp and extremely deep-going class struggle, a struggle for the proletariat to prevent the restoration of capitalism, a struggle to prevent imperialism and modern revisionism from carrying out their subversive plots and "peaceful evolution" in our country. This is a struggle that affects the future of our great motherland.

The tasks of the present great proletarian cultural revolution are, just as the decision points out, firstly, to struggle against and crush those persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road; secondly, to criticize and repudiate the reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities" and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes; and thirdly, to transform education, literature and art and all other parts of the superstructure that do not correspond to the socialist economic base.

At present, an excellent situation prevails in the great proletarian cultural revolution in our country. It is a reflection of throbbing prosperity in the political, economic and other spheres of our country. In this great cultural revolution, unprecedented in history, which is led by the Chinese Communist Party, new changes have taken place in the relationships among the various classes and the various political forces. Where the mass movement has really set going, it is vigorous and irresistible. The broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, revolutionary intellectuals and revolutionary cadres have plunged themselves into the torrential current of the revolution, and the reactionary bastions of the bourgeoisie have been shattered one after another. This is the main current of the great cultural revolution. But, it must be noted, resistance to the movement is at present still fairly strong and stubborn. Many places and units are still in a state of seemingly being aroused but not yet aroused, or in a relatively lukewarm state and the lid of the class struggle has not yet been completely lifted or has not been lifted at all. In some places and units, there have been zigzags and reverses. There, the persons in charge or those in charge of the work teams sent there have made an error on matters of orientation, an error of line. These persons in charge have organized counter-attacks against the masses who put up big-character posters against them, or even have advanced such slogans as: opposition to the leaders of a unit or a work team means opposition to the Party's Central Committee, means opposition to the Party and socialism and means counter-revolution. They have spearheaded the struggle against the really revolutionary activists, rounded upon and attacked the revolutionary Left and suppressed the revolutionary mass movement. Of course, the great proletarian cultural revolution is, after all, the general trend; it is irresistible. Once the masses have been fully aroused such resistance will crumble fast. After zigzags and reverses, the movement will proceed in an ever more vigorous and healthy manner.

Our Party's task is to dare to lead this great revolution and be good at leading it. The key of decisive importance to Party leadership is to put daring above everything else and boldly arouse the masses.

Like one's attitude towards other revolutionary movements, the fundamental criterion of whether one can or cannot lead this great proletarian cultural revolution lies in whether one does or does not dare to boldly arouse the masses.

The spirit running through this decision is to trust the masses, rely on them and respect their initiative. Cast out fear. Don't be afraid of full and frank expression of views and opinions, of big-character posters and great debates. Don't be afraid of disorder. All these fears boil down to one thing, that of being afraid of the masses. Any person who does not cast out fear cannot lead this revolutionary movement, and will even become an obstacle to the mass movement. Let the masses educate themselves, run their own affairs and rise to make revolution themselves in this great revolutionary movement. Let the masses learn in revolutionary struggle to distinguish between right and wrong and between correct and incorrect ways of doing things. Revolutionary order cannot be created by drawing up a set of restrictions in advance; rather, we must rely on the masses to establish it in accordance with their experience in struggle.

Chairman Mao has constantly taught us: "It has to be understood that the masses are the real heroes, while we ourselves are often childish and ignorant, and without this understanding it is impossible to acquire even the most rudimentary knowledge." Only by being pupils of the masses can we become the teachers of the masses. In the great proletarian cultural revolution, there are some comrades who have forgotten this. They inevitably blindly think themselves wise and do not believe that the masses are wise. Actually, it is only the broad masses who are really wise. The masses can teach us many things. We must listen to them, learn from and understand their experiences, desires and criticisms, gather these together, ascertain the sum total of what they require and then take this back to the masses as policy. Any leading personnel who does not go and learn from the masses will have no knowledge whatsoever.

In the great proletarian cultural revolution, many new things have emerged, such as the cultural revolutionary groups, committees, etc., which were not dreamt up by anyone and forced on the masses, but which were created by the masses themselves in the course of the cultural revolutionary movement. Chairman Mao and the Central Committee of the Party have summarized the experiences of the masses and in this decision have affirmed them as new things of great historic significance.

The appearance of these new things at first did not receive people's attention, and they were even suppressed and attacked.

The attitude one takes towards new things represents one's attitude towards the masses, towards revolution and towards revolutionary mass movements.

Chairman Mao has penetratingly pointed out: "The people are filled with an immense enthusiasm for socialism. In a revolutionary period those who only know how to follow the routine paths cannot see this enthusiasm at all. They are blind. All is dark before them. At times they rant to a point of standing truth on its head and confusing black with white. Haven't we had enough of persons of that sort? Those who can only travel the well-trodden paths always underestimate the enthusiasm of the people. Let something new appear and they invariably disapprove, they rush to oppose it. Later, they admit defeat and do a bit of self-criticism. But the next time something new appears, they do the same things again — and in the same sequence. This becomes their regular routine in regard to anything and everything new. That sort of person is always passive. He can never get going at a critical moment. Someone always has to give him a poke in the back before he will move forward."

There are very big dangers among some comrades who are bent on standing on a commanding height and divorcing themselves from the masses. On the political and ideological level, they lag far behind those previously unknown and those youngsters who have the courage to break through. Nevertheless, they regard themselves as nobles head and shoulders above the "lower orders." They are merely accustomed to monopolizing everything themselves, giving orders and reducing the masses to inactivity; they have invariably developed from standing aloof from and fearing the masses to opposing and suppressing them. They have always trembled before the revolutionary storm, not knowing what to do, and as soon as they recover from their fear, they impatiently try to pull the revolutionary movement back. Standing on the side of the reactionary bourgeoisie, they oppress the revolutionaries, put a damper on dissenting opinions and exercise the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

Experience has shown that the cultural revolutionary work in various units should be conducted by the masses there themselves, and must not be monopolized by the higher organizations. In general, the higher organizations should not send work teams of the cultural revolution. And the personnel appointed by the higher organizations to keep in contact with the various units should not pose as "imperial envoys," making a hullabaloo and spouting opinions "the moment they alight from the official carriage," and formulating preconceived ideas as soon as they hear one side's opinions. They should sincerely and earnestly contact the masses and identify themselves with the masses, seeing more, asking more, hearing more and thinking more.

How can the Party's leadership be realized in such an unprecedented mass movement — the great cultural revolution? The Party organizations at all levels should take Mao Tse-tung's thought as their guide to action, conscientiously implement the correct line, principles and policies formulated by the Party's Central Com-

mittee headed by Chairman Mao Tse-tung and resolutely resist the erroneous leadership that is detrimental to the revolution. To do this, it is necessary to share the same fate with the broad masses, to go through thick and thin with the masses, come from the masses and go back to the masses. Some comrades counterpose the Party's leadership against the practice of boldly arousing the masses. This is quite wrong.

If the masses are to be boldly aroused in the correct manner, the Party's policies must be put into the hands of the masses. The proclamation of this decision directly brings to the masses the Party's various policies concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution. This is all the more favourable for boldly arousing the masses.

In the course of the movement, it is necessary to let the masses thoroughly expose those bourgeois Rightists who have yet to expose themselves or who have not exposed themselves to the full, to criticize and repudiate them thoroughly and isolate them to the greatest possible extent. Thus, it is imperative that those within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road should first be identified, and that the utmost should be done to identify them without error and to unmask them completely.

The masses fully understand that it is necessary to make a vigorous effort to win over the middle elements who are wavering and are unclear about the cardinal issues of right and wrong. True, when the masses are aroused the big-character posters put up in the units where they work may refer to some of the middle elements by name; this is unavoidable. But if these big-character posters are not published in the press and they are allowed to put up big-character posters to defend themselves, no harm can come to them; instead, this can stir them into making progress. We believe that in the course of the movement some of the middle elements will change and join the ranks of the Left.

To rely on the Left is even more at one with arousing the masses on an extensive scale. Only by being good at discovering the Left, developing and expanding its ranks and firmly relying on the revolutionary Left can the most reactionary Rightists be thoroughly isolated, the middle elements won over and the majority united during the movement and the unity of more than 95 per cent of the cadres and more than 95 per cent of the masses be finally achieved by the end of the movement.

It is necessary in the course of the struggle to raise continuously the ideological and political level of the Left and help them study and apply Chairman Mao's works creatively. Only with a revolutionary contingent of the proletariat, that is, a staunch contingent of the Left, that is armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought and is extremely revolutionized and extremely militant, can victory be won in this great cultural revolution.

Long live the victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution under the invincible banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought!

Study the 16 Points, Know Them Well And Apply Them

THE Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution [see *Peking Review*, No. 33, 1966], i.e., the 16 Points, was formulated under the personal guidance of Comrade Mao Tse-tung. The basic spirit running through the 16 Points is: trust the masses, rely on them, boldly arouse them and respect their initiative. That is to say, in the great proletarian cultural revolution, the only method is for the masses to educate and liberate themselves, and no method of doing things on their behalf must be used.

The masses are the masters of our society. The great proletarian cultural revolution must rely on the conscious action of the masses and be made by them.

Can the cultural revolution be carried through successfully by relying on the masses of the school or unit in question? Yes, it can! Every revolutionary teacher or student and every revolutionary comrade should be fired with the great and lofty aspirations of the proletariat. Comrades of various schools and units will surely be able to win victory in the great cultural revolution by relying on the masses' own strength, provided that they conscientiously study the 16 Points, know them well and apply them.

A revolutionary mass movement is a great crucible. Every revolutionary teacher or student and every revolutionary comrade must stand the test, be tempered and acquire the ability to make revolutions in this crucible.

Once the revolutionary masses master the 16 Points, they will have a clear direction in the cultural revolution, distinguish right from wrong in their work, and correctly plan their future action. We should analyse and assess the preceding part of the movement in the light of the 16 Points and see what is right and what is wrong and what methods are correct and what methods are erroneous.

The cultural revolutionary groups, committees and congresses are new forms of organization whereby under the leadership of the Communist Party the masses themselves are rising to make the cultural revolution. In accordance with the stipulations of the 16 Points, it is necessary to hold general elections like those of the

Paris Commune. There should be a full exchange of views for several days on the questions of whom to elect and how, and these should be discussed over and over again. Should those elected prove incompetent, they can be replaced by elections or recalled.

The revolutionary masses of each school or unit should devote their main efforts to running the cultural revolution well in their own school or unit. They should learn to analyse the specific conditions of their own school or unit concretely, find solutions for existing problems and themselves amass experience in practice. This is the best support for other schools and units. The cultural revolution in each school or unit can be unfolded and conducted successfully only when it is carried out by the masses themselves in their own school or unit. We should have confidence in ourselves as well as in the revolutionary masses of other schools and units being able to solve their own problems and win their own liberation by themselves.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is an ideological and political struggle which touches the people to their very souls. This struggle should be carried out by reasoning, not by coercion or force. The truth is in the hands of the proletariat. Struggle by reasoning and not struggle by coercion or force should be applied even in dealing with bourgeois Rightists. Struggle by reasoning helps to fully expose the ugly features of the bourgeois Rightists and to thoroughly refute their fallacies so that they will be isolated to the greatest extent.

The 16 Points are the programme advanced by Comrade Mao Tse-tung for the great proletarian cultural revolution; they are the revolutionary masses' guide in unifying their understanding and action.

The masses of the workers, peasants, soldiers, revolutionary intellectuals and revolutionary cadres resolutely support the 16 Points. We, the revolutionary masses, must conscientiously study these 16 Points, using them as a weapon to size up the actual situation of the movement in our own school or unit. We should continue to do what conforms to the 16 Points and correct what does not conform to them. Persons in charge in schools or units who resist the 16 Points should be exposed and repudiated.

(*Renmin Ribao* editorial, August 13.)

We Absolutely Cannot Accept Taking "United Action" With the Soviet Revisionist Leading Clique

— Speech by Comrade Liu Ning-I

Following is a translation of the full text of Liu Ning-I's speech at the Peking rally welcoming friends from various countries who firmly adhered to the correct line at the 12th World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs in Tokyo. Liu Ning-I is Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and head of the Chinese delegation which was unable to attend the Tokyo conference because of obstructions by the Japanese Government.— Ed.

Friends and Comrades,

Today we people of all circles in Peking are gathered here to express warm welcome to our foreign friends who adhered to principles and persevered in struggle at the 12th World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs. You have maintained a clear-cut stand and firmly upheld the correct line and glorious tradition of the movement for the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen bombs. The Chinese people hereby pay high tribute to you.

As our friends are aware, the Chinese people sent their own delegation which was ready, together with you and the Japanese people, to take part in the 12th World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs, oppose the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war, support the Japanese people's struggle for complete national independence, support the Vietnamese people in their struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation and support the people of all countries in their anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle; it was ready, together with you and the Japanese people, to fight against the nuclear monopoly and nuclear blackmail by U.S. imperialism and for the realization of the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons, and to fight to uphold unity and oppose splittism.

However, the Chinese delegation was prevented from taking part in the 12th World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs owing to the fact that the Sato government of Japan had, acting against the Japanese people's will, submissively followed U.S. imperialism, shown hostility towards China and the Chinese people and truculently and unreasonably barred

the entry of the head of the Chinese delegation. The Chinese people express utmost indignation at this and once again lodge a strong protest with the Sato government.

Our friends went to Japan to attend the conference with the same objective as that of the Chinese delegation. At the conference, you waged a principled struggle to uphold the correct line and glorious tradition of the movement for the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen bombs. It was regrettable that certain leading members of the Japan Council Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs and of the Japanese delegation adopted a hostile attitude towards the friends who upheld principle, manipulated the conference single-handed and insisted on imposing their erroneous line on you in disregard of your long and patient persuasion. In these circumstances, you were compelled to withdraw from the conference. The Chinese people express great admiration and resolute support for this just action on your part. We are convinced that the broad masses of the Japanese people will understand and support this just action of our friends.

As is known to all, for many years the Soviet splitters have tried in a thousand and one ways to sabotage the movement for the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen bombs. The resolution of the 11th World Conference pointed out that the Soviet splitters "negate the history and tradition of the movement against nuclear weapons and evade the struggle against the war forces headed by U.S. imperialism, using many arguments aimed at making the movement retreat to a position harmless to imperialism and colonialism; pay lip-service to 'prohibition of nuclear bombs'; and have repeated a series of splitting and disruptive actions." This year the Soviet splitters not only continued to attend the splittist meeting but also instigated a delegate of the World Federation of Democratic Youth which is under their control to break into the 12th World Conference to disrupt it from within.

Your statement has rightly said: "At the 10th World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs, the World Federation of Democratic Youth took a leading part in organizing a splittist meeting with the evil aim of sabotaging in Japan and in the world the great movement of all the peoples against the

aggressive policy of nuclear blackmail, oppression and of war of imperialism, led by U.S. imperialism." During the 12th World Conference, the World Federation of Democratic Youth clung to a line of splittism and again sent its delegate to attend the splittist meeting. In these circumstances, how can they be allowed to sneak into our ranks?

It was perfectly correct for you to firmly reject the participation in the conference of the delegate of W.F.D.Y., and to categorically refuse to wallow in the mire with the splitters. It was utterly wrong for certain leading members of the Japan Council Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs and of the Japanese delegation to persist in their obstinate stand and allow the so-called delegate of W.F.D.Y. to attend the conference. It was entirely proper for our friends to demand that they "admit their mistake and apologize to the Japanese and all peace-loving peoples for their responsibility for the failure of the 12th World Conference."

The admission of the delegate of W.F.D.Y. into the conference by certain leading members of the Japan Council Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs and of the Japanese delegation under the slogan of "united action" was not a mere mistake on partial questions, but an error of line. They sing the same tune with the Soviet revisionist clique, talking glibly about "strengthening" the unity of "all peace and democratic forces" and prating about "united action." No matter what they say, their aim is none other than to drag the Soviet revisionist leading clique, the Number One accomplice of U.S. imperialism, into the anti-U.S. united front and to take "united action" with it. This is what we absolutely cannot accept.

In his message of greetings to the 12th World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs, Premier Chou En-lai pointed out: "To isolate and deal blows at U.S. imperialism to the greatest possible extent, the people of the whole world must form the broadest and most genuine international united front against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. . . . The modern revisionists, with the leading clique of the Soviet Communist Party as their centre, have long collaborated with U.S. imperialism and have become its accomplices. Therefore, they can never be included in the international anti-U.S. united front, nor can there be any 'united action' taken together with them. Any proposal to take 'united action' with them will only help them to deceive the world's people, and to camouflage their renegade features of sham anti-imperialism but real capitulation, sham support but real betrayal, sham unity but a real split."

During the 12th conference, friends of the 16 overseas delegations who persisted in their correct stand expressed in a joint statement "their firm determination to further the establishment of a broad, genuine international united front against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, particularly in solidarity with the valiant and unwavering fight of the Vietnamese people." The statement goes on: "We are fully convinced that such a

front can only be formed of honest anti-imperialist strugglers and cannot contain agents of imperialism, namely, collaborators controlled by the present rulers in Moscow. The so-called 'united action' slogan which draws no line of demarcation between friend and foe is a slogan intended to open the doors to the enemy, including its disguised agents who try to infiltrate our ranks." This is entirely correct. The Chinese people fully support this solemn and just statement of our friends.

The complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons are the objective of struggle consistently persevered in by the movement for the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen bombs and represent the common desire of the people of the whole world. In order to achieve this objective, **one of the most urgent tasks at present is to expose and condemn the scheme of the two big nuclear powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, in holding negotiations in Geneva on the so-called non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. Non-proliferation of nuclear weapons simply means that only the United States and the Soviet Union are allowed to possess and develop nuclear weapons, whereas other countries which love peace are not allowed to develop nuclear weapons for self-defence. This is another big swindle following the Moscow tripartite treaty to dupe the people of the world.**

During this world conference, certain leading members of the Japan Council Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs and of the Japanese delegation even went so far as neither to condemn nor to expose this big swindle created by the Soviet Union and the United States either at the meetings or in the documents of the conference on the pretext that peace and democratic forces differed on the question of a "treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons." This runs diametrically counter to the correct line consistently adhered to by our movement and has nothing at all in common with the struggle for the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons.

Friends and comrades! At present U.S. imperialism has escalated its war of aggression against Vietnam to a new and still graver stage and is vainly attempting to realize its scheme of "forcing peace talks through bombing." In his Appeal to the People of the Whole Country issued on July 17, President Ho Chi Minh exposed the U.S. "peace talks" swindle and once again solemnly proclaimed the determination of the Vietnamese people to resolutely carry on a protracted war of resistance, resolutely to fight on and fight through to the end until the U.S. aggressors are totally and completely driven out of Vietnam and final victory is won. All countries and peoples that genuinely support the Vietnamese people's war of resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salvation must rise in vigorous action to support the Vietnamese people in driving the U.S. gangsters out of Vietnam. We the 700 million Chinese people provide powerful backing for the Vietnamese people. The vast expanse of our territory is the reliable rear area of the Vietnamese

people. The Chinese people have made up their minds and have made every preparation to take such actions at any time and in any place as the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples deem necessary for dealing joint blows at the U.S. aggressors.

Comrades and friends! **Sino-Japanese friendship is a matter of cardinal importance which concerns the fundamental interests of the peoples of China and Japan, and which affects the future of Asia and world peace.** The Chinese and Japanese peoples must be seriously on guard against the scheme of U.S. imperialism, the Japanese reactionaries and Soviet revisionism to deliberately undermine Sino-Japanese friendship. The peoples of China and Japan should make joint efforts to thoroughly smash this scheme. If the friendship between the two peoples is undermined, it will only benefit U.S. imperialism and the Japanese reactionaries, but not the peoples of China and Japan. This is fully borne out by the past history of the Japanese militarists' aggression against China.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung has said, "In Japan, except for pro-American monopoly capital and the militarist warlords, the broad masses of the people are our friends." The Chinese people consistently follow Chairman Mao's teaching and have adhered to the policy of friendship between the Chinese and Japanese peoples. Like the Japanese people, we highly treasure the militant unity and friendship forged by the peoples of China and Japan in their common struggle against U.S. imperialism. Sino-Japanese friendship has developed into a mighty historical current. Many heart-stirring scenes appeared in the First China-Japan Youth Friendship Festival held in China last year, which was a big demonstration of unity against U.S. imperialism. The Chinese youth are now making active preparations

for the Second China-Japan Youth Friendship Festival. We warmly welcome more Japanese young friends to come to China to participate in it. The Chinese people also warmly welcome Japanese friends from all walks of life to make tours and visits in China so that the friendship between our two peoples may develop with each passing day.

The Chinese people have full confidence in the development and consolidation of the friendly relations between the peoples of China and Japan. **No force can undermine the fraternal friendship and militant unity between our two peoples.** It cannot be undermined by either the U.S. imperialists or the Japanese militarists, and it absolutely cannot be undermined by the Soviet revisionist leading clique and its old and new followers of various descriptions. All scheming activities designed to sow discord in, to harm and undermine these relations are bound to meet with joint resistance and opposition from the Chinese and Japanese peoples and are doomed to bankruptcy. The peoples of China and Japan should closely unite and thoroughly smash the monstrous plot of U.S. imperialism to control Japan, contain China and undermine Sino-Japanese friendship!

Comrades and friends! In the excellent situation of the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle of the world's people, let us hold high the banner of opposing U.S. imperialism, the banner of supporting the Vietnamese people, the banner of supporting the national-liberation movement and the banner of defending world peace, and courageously march forward!

Long live the great unity between the peoples of China and Japan!

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

Forming an International United Front and Persisting in Opposing U.S. Imperialism And Soviet Revisionism

**— Peking rally welcoming friends from various countries who firmly adhered
to the correct line at the 12th World Conference Against Atomic
and Hydrogen Bombs in Tokyo**

THE delegates of 14 countries and regions who withdrew from the 12th World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs are paying a friendship visit to China. Holding high the banner of opposing imperialism and revisionism, they have waged a principled struggle in defence of the correct line and glorious tradition of the movement for the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen bombs and in opposition to division and sabotage. On August 12, more than 10,000

people of all circles in Peking held a big rally extending a warm welcome to them.

At the 12th World Conference, certain leaders of the Japan Council Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs and of the Japanese delegation attempted to impose an erroneous line on others in open collaboration with the Soviet revisionists. Paying no heed to the resolute opposition and patient advice of the overwhelming majority of the foreign delegations, they insisted on

foisting upon the conference the delegate of the World Federation of Democratic Youth whose purpose was to carry out divisive and sabotage activities. This extremely wrong action aroused the dissatisfaction and indignation of the delegates of the various countries. On August 3, 32 delegates from 16 countries issued a statement and declared their withdrawal from the conference. (For the full text of the statement see p. 28)

Their just action was resolutely supported by the people of all circles in Peking at the August 12 welcome rally.

The rally took place in the Great Hall of the People, which was filled with a revolutionary sentiment of solidarity against imperialism. The participants sang *The East Is Red, Proletariat of the Whole World, Unite!* and other revolutionary songs. And they jointly recited extracts from Chairman Mao's writings concerning solidarity against imperialism.

Among those who attended the rally were Vice-Premier Chen Yi, Kuo Mo-jo, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and Chairman of the China Peace Committee, and Liu Ning-I, Vice-Chairman of the N.P.C. Standing Committee and leader of the Chinese delegation which, owing to the Japanese Government's obstruction, was unable to attend the 12th World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs.

Liao Cheng-chih, Chairman of the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity and Vice-Chairman of the China Peace Committee, made an opening speech at the rally. He said that the action taken by the delegates from various countries at the Tokyo conference was entirely just and conformed with the interests of the Japanese people and the people of the whole world. "They have done the right thing and done it well. We give them full support and warmly congratulate them on their brilliant victory in this struggle," Liao Cheng-chih said.

Liu Ning-I spoke next (for the full text of his speech, see p. 22).

Resolutely Upholding the Militant Tradition of the World Movement Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs

In his speech, **Kinkazu Saionji, Japanese peace champion,** pointed out that the resolute struggle waged by friends of various countries in defence of the glorious tradition of the world movement against atomic and hydrogen bombs was a powerful support and encouragement to many Japanese people who firmly defended this glorious tradition. For this he expressed heartfelt thanks.

He condemned the reactionary and anti-China Sato government, which had joined hands with U.S. imperialism and the Soviet revisionists in a notorious "Holy Alliance," for unwarrantedly refusing to allow Liu Ning-I, head of the Chinese delegation to enter

Japan, thus obstructing the participation of the Chinese delegation in the Tokyo conference and violating the will of the Japanese people who aspire to increase Sino-Japanese friendship. He said that the Japanese people must wage resolute struggles against this arrogant and unreasonable Sato government.

He went on to say that the leaders of the Japan Council Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs had committed grave crimes. They had abandoned the principles which the Japan Council Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs had formulated after 12 years of hard efforts and the glorious tradition which had been gradually formed in the course of the 11 previous World Conferences Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs. In doing so they were digging their own graves. He added that this glorious tradition was a tradition of daring to struggle and of a clear understanding that there was no other way but to fight against U.S. imperialism. Later on because the Soviet revisionists collaborated with U.S. imperialism and became its accomplice, and tried to sabotage and divide the movement against atomic and hydrogen bombs, the movement also had acquired the tradition of regarding the Soviet revisionists and their stooges as its enemy.

He added: "So long as we are truly faithful to the struggle against atomic and hydrogen bombs, so long as we persistently strive for the realization of a world without nuclear weapons and nuclear war, we must defend this tradition. That is to say, while we are struggling against U.S. imperialism, we must, at the same time, wage a resolute, uncompromising struggle against Soviet revisionism."

Kinkazu Saionji stressed: "Although U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism had tried in every way to prevent China from possessing atomic and hydrogen bombs, the Chinese people, under the brilliant leadership of Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the common slogan of self-reliance, are advancing in big strides and have successfully conducted three nuclear tests. All the truly revolutionary people of Japan heartily rejoiced over this and extended their congratulations."

He stated that the overwhelming majority of the Japanese people regarded China as the real bulwark of peace, and held that only by strengthening friendly relations with the Chinese people and restoring diplomatic relations at an early date and establishing relations of positive co-operation with China was it possible to drive the aggressors out of Asia and contribute to peace in Asia.

He also said, "Many among the Japanese people are determined to bring our tradition to full play and to struggle against U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism and, together with all the other peoples, to strive for the realization of a world without nuclear weapons and nuclear war, and for national liberation and a genuine peaceful world."

He concluded his speech by shouting, "Long live the revolutionary solidarity of the peoples of the world!"

and "Long live Mao Tse-tung's thought and the victory of the great cultural revolution!"

Mao Tse-tung's Thought — All-powerful Weapon For Guiding World Revolution

Then, friends from 14 countries and regions spoke at the rally.

William Morrow, a friend from Australia, condemned the leadership of the Japan Council Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs for their splitting activities. He said: "We wish to express our gratitude and thanks to the Communist Party of China and Chairman Mao, for their great foresight and for passing on to the world their honest, good and sound advice and leadership in the cause of world revolution. Also to thank the Chinese people for their great demonstration in the cause of peace."

Matooane William Laud Mapefane, a friend from Basutoland, denounced those who controlled the Tokyo conference for betraying the glorious tradition of the world movement against atomic and hydrogen bombs. He said that the World Federation of Democratic Youth was a revisionist clique and had collaborated with U.S. imperialism on more than one occasion and therefore had become its accomplice. "In such circumstances," he said, "the overseas delegates could not include this body in the international united front against U.S. imperialism, much less take any 'united action' with them."

Junny Sechele, a friend from Bechuanaland, warmly praised the Chinese people for holding high the red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought to continue to fight. And he praised them for resolutely supporting the struggle by the Vietnamese people and the revolutionary people of the world, and expressed the firm determination of the people of Bechuanaland to support the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression.

He said that since the leadership of the Tokyo conference had sunk into the abyss of revisionism and betrayed the Japanese people, the withdrawal from the conference would do the Japanese people good than harm.

"We therefore," he stressed, "refused, rejected and objected to be part and parcel to the ogress of betrayal to the revolution of the world's people and the Japanese people in particular. We are however convinced that the Japanese people will never let this state of affairs go unchecked."

Luc-Daniel Dupire, a friend from Belgium, stressed, "We cannot unite with those who associate themselves with the main enemy of the peoples, U.S. imperialism." "A genuine international united front against U.S. imperialism cannot include the Soviet opportunists and their collaborators. On the contrary, a genuine international united front should be directed against the Soviet leading group, its allies and its followers in the same way as it is directed against the U.S. imperialism that they serve."

In our struggle, he declared, the great People's Republic of China, which was the indestructible bastion built by the glorious Communist Party of China under the brilliant leadership of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, was for ever firmly at our side.

Brazilian friend Alfredo Guilherme Galliano sternly denounced U.S. imperialism for turning Brazil into a new-type colony and a giant military base for aggression against fraternal Latin American peoples. He said that "this severe and bitter reality taught us a valuable lesson. We learnt to distinguish between friends and the enemy, between true and false revolutionaries." The Brazilian people, he added, will never be vanquished by oppression.

"To win victory," he declared, "we need the broadest international united front against imperialism. But this united front must be true, genuine and real and cannot include the collaborators, lackeys and puppets of Yankee imperialism. This united front cannot include any representatives of the present Soviet revisionist leadership, which is a traitor to the peoples. This is a basic question of principle, from which we must never deviate if we want to win victory."

At the end of his speech, he shouted: "Long live the victory of Mao Tse-tung's thought in the whole world!"

Laksen Mututantri, a friend from Ceylon, said that the modern revisionists, accomplices of U.S. imperialism, could never be included in the international anti-U.S. front; nor could there ever be any "united action" taken together with them. We revolutionaries, he continued, refused to insult the heroic Vietnamese people, or the gallant anti-imperialist masses of Japan, by using their names to perpetrate the fraud under the palpably false slogan of sham unity. We would never be silent witnesses of or active participants in the deliberate act of double-crossing, he said.

In closing his speech he shouted: "Long live the Chinese Communist Party and its beloved leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung!"

Chilean friend Jaime Barros in his speech stressed that the Soviet revisionist leaders were concluding all kinds of agreements with the United States. Under the cover of sham "support to Vietnam," he said, they were plotting the betrayal of the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people through the U.S. "peace talks." "How can we unite with them? How can we revolutionaries have 'unity of action' with those who have been carrying on 'united action' with the executioners of the world?" he asked.

He pointed out that in order to fight successfully and defeat U.S. imperialism, it was absolutely necessary and inevitable to fight also against modern revisionism and its open and concealed agents. "This is a stand of principle on which we shall never compromise," he declared.

At the end of his speech he shouted: "Long live the great Chinese people and their supreme leader, Comrade Mao Tse-tung!"

Colombian friend Ricardo Samper said that "in the era of the revolution of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, Mao Tse-tung's thought is an all-powerful weapon which is not only being mastered by the Chinese people, but is also being mastered by more and more fighters of the countries and peoples of the world. They are good at using this weapon to fight for their own victory."

He said that the more than 30 delegates from 16 countries, firmly bearing in mind Chairman Mao's thesis that imperialism and all reactionaries were only paper tigers and that the atom bomb was also a paper tiger used by U.S. imperialism to scare people, upheld the correct positions won by the peoples of the world in their struggle against nuclear weapons, nuclear blackmail and the reactionary monopoly of these weapons.

Mrs. Nancy Goddard, a friend from New Zealand, said: "We must not be a party to such so-called 'negotiations' [on the Vietnam question] no matter from what quarter they may come. We must not unite with those who do not stand determined to battle U.S. imperialism to the end no matter how bitter the fight may be. We must not join hands with those who would close their eyes while some people blackmail the world with their nuclear power, yet who hold up their hands in horror when those who are threatened take steps to defend themselves."

"The Chinese people, led by Chairman Mao and the Communist Party of China, are the vanguard and the guide in the world struggle for peace and national independence," she stressed. In concluding her speech she shouted: "Long live Chairman Mao Tse-tung! Long live the Communist Party of China!"

Panamanian friend A. Menendez Franco said: "Guided by the brilliant and profound thought of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the peoples of the world, all the revolutionaries and upright people, should make concerted efforts to deal a fatal blow to the imperialist rule on earth."

He pointed out that the modern revisionist clique headed by the Soviet leaders had become the last spiritual and political props of imperialism and that "we cannot sit at the same table with them, nor drink from the same bottle."

"We are for unity based on the correct interpretation of the problems of war and peace, which is no other than the Marxist-Leninist interpretation, in which the powerful, revolutionary and anti-revisionist thought of Mao Tse-tung has supported us in our correct anti-imperialist line. We advocate unity amongst the revolutionaries of the world who are ready to wipe out imperialism to win lasting peace," he stressed.

In closing, he declared with revolutionary fervour: "We have scored victory before the masses of the world because we were guided by the profound and clear thought of Mao Tse-tung, the most brilliant Marxist-Leninist of our times."

Moses K. Katjuongua, a friend from South West Africa, warmly pointed out that the Chinese people under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung were resolutely standing shoulder to shoulder with the oppressed and revolutionary peoples in the common struggle against imperialism and old and new colonialism and that the oppressed and revolutionary peoples drew enormous strength and inspiration from this fact.

He said that the majority of the overseas delegates felt that they would serve the anti-imperialist cause best and support the Japanese people's anti-imperialist and anti-revisionist struggle by refusing to have any truck with political prostitution carried out by certain leaders of the Japan Council Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs.

He emphatically declared that "all who cherish peace and are interested in stepping up the struggle for peace must not have 'united action' with revisionism . . . we shall always continue to combine the struggle against imperialism with the struggle against modern revisionism."

In his speech, **Sudanese friend Ahmed Mohammed Kheir** condemned some leaders of the Japan Council Against A and H Bombs for taking "united action" with the splittists. He said: "We would like to tell them that a genuine broad united front against U.S. imperialism must not, under any circumstances, include the accomplices and apologists of U.S. imperialism — namely the Soviet modern revisionists and their followers."

Herbert Hector Sika Nkosi, a friend from Swaziland, said: Our struggle in the Tokyo conference was a dispute between the progressive revolutionary policy and the revisionist policy. "After making a brief analysis of the Tokyo conference," he said, "we have come to one conclusion, as the well noted leader of our times, Chairman Mao Tse-tung puts it, 'Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of the first importance for the revolution.'"

"All genuine revolutionaries must firmly unite, mutually support and closely co-operate with each other for the victory in our common struggle against world imperialism and revisionism," Nkosi declared.

He ended his speech with the shout: "Long live Chairman Mao!"

In his speech, **American friend John Noel Hawkins** first of all warmly praised the outstanding achievements made by the Chinese revolution under the leadership of Chairman Mao. He said: "What we have seen thus far has convinced us that China has remained honest to the principles of revolution and has done so through the courageous and wise leadership of Chairman Mao." "The example set by the Chinese people has served as a guide-post to countless nations who are fighting against the insidious and pernicious influence of imperialism," he added.

In conclusion, **Yang Chi, Vice-Chairman of the China Peace Committee**, announced that the nine Chinese people's organizations which sponsored the meeting have, as in past years, donated 100,000 yuan and offered their profound sympathy and regards to the fraternal Japanese people who were victims of U.S. atomic and hydrogen bombs in Hiroshima, Nagasaki and Bikini.

That evening the China Peace Committee and the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity jointly held a grand reception to warmly welcome the friends from various countries who had upheld the glorious tradition of the movement against atomic and hydrogen bombs. Among those attending the reception was Premier Chou En-lai.

Statement of Delegates From 16 Countries

Declaring that they were compelled to withdraw from the 12th World Conference
Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs

Following is a written statement issued by 32 delegates from 16 countries on August 3 in Tokyo. — Ed.

THE overwhelming majority of the overseas delegations to the 12th World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs, organized by Gensuikyo [Japan Council Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs], have this morning been compelled to withdraw from that conference. This step was made necessary by the refusal of the Gensuikyo leadership to accept the entirely proper request of the overseas delegations for the exclusion from the conference of the delegation of the World Federation of Democratic Youth controlled by the present Soviet ruling clique.

At the 10th World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs, the World Federation of Democratic Youth took a leading part in organizing a splittist meeting with the evil aim of sabotaging in Japan and in the world the great movement of all the peoples against the aggressive policy of nuclear blackmail, oppression and of war of imperialism, led by U.S. imperialism. Since then, the World Federation of Democratic Youth has stepped up its collaboration with these aggressive forces.

The overseas delegations, with great enthusiasm, took part from the beginning in the present 12th World Conference, which gave every sign of proving a brilliant success. However, suddenly at midday on August 1, the overseas delegations learnt that the Gensuikyo had registered and accepted into the conference a delegation from the World Federation of Democratic Youth, although this organization was also going to take part in the splittist Gensuikin [Japan Congress Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs] conference.

The overseas delegations at once strongly opposed this step taken by the Gensuikyo leadership. On returning for the afternoon session, the overseas delegations put forward the request to the Gensuikyo leadership to exclude the W.F.D.Y. delegation from the conference, and took the stand that they would be unable to accept a resumption of the conference unless and

until this request was accepted by the Gensuikyo leadership. The overseas delegations expressed the strong desire to proceed with the normal functioning of the conference as soon as possible, without the obstruction caused by the attendance of this disruptionist delegation.

However, the Gensuikyo leadership rejected our just and proper request in spite of all our efforts to reach an agreement on the basis of our long and patient consultations with them, in accordance with the past tradition of Gensuikyo.

The undersigned sixteen overseas delegations express their firm determination to further the establishment of a broad, genuine international united front against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, particularly in solidarity with the valiant and unwavering fight of the Vietnamese people. We are fully convinced that such a front can only be formed of honest anti-imperialist strugglers and cannot contain agents of imperialism, namely, collaborators controlled by the present rulers in Moscow.

The so-called "united action" slogan which draws no line of demarcation between friend and foe is a slogan intended to open the doors to the enemy, including its disguised agents who try to infiltrate our ranks.

We are certain that our principled efforts will achieve the aim of helping the struggle of the peoples of the world, particularly of the heroic Japanese people, against imperialism.

Signed by the delegations of **Australia** (four delegates), **Basutoland** (three), **Bechuanaland** (one), **Belgium** (five), **Brazil** (one), **Britain** (Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation) (one), **Ceylon** (two), **Colombia** (one), **Malaya** (four), **New Zealand** (two), **Panama** (one), **Philippines** (one), **Sudan** (one), **Swaziland** (one), **U.S.A.** (three), **South West Africa** (one).

Repudiate Chou Yang's Revisionist Programme for Literature and Art

by WU CHI-YEN

CHOU YANG, a representative of the bourgeoisie who wormed his way into the Party, was the ringleader of the black line against the Party, socialism and Mao Tse-tung's thought in literary and art circles. This black line dated back a long time; it ran from the 1930s into the 1960s. For a long time before liberation, Chou Yang had been the most faithful and most resolute executor of Wang Ming's "Left" opportunist and Right capitulationist lines. He was the representative of Wang Ming's line on the literary and art front. After the nationwide victory, Chou Yang mustered a group of old anti-Party hands in literary and art circles, such as Tien Han, Hsia Yen, Yang Han-sheng, Lin Mo-han and Shao Chuan-lin. They entrenched themselves in literary and art circles, and frantically engaged in criminal activities against the Party, socialism and Mao Tse-tung's thought. Politically, they represented the overthrown landlord and bourgeois classes, neo-bourgeois elements and degenerated elements; ideologically, they represented a hotchpotch of feudalism, capitalism and modern revisionism; and organizationally, they formed a counter-revolutionary revisionist clique whose nucleus was the representatives of the capitulationist literary and art line of the 1930s. It was this clique that advocated in the 1930s the so-called "a literature of national defence" and attacked Lu Hsun, the great standard-bearer of the proletarian Left-wing literary and art movement; during the periods of the War of Resistance Against Japan and the War of Liberation, it was this clique that set up a rival stage in opposition to Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*, and, after the founding of the People's Republic of China, it was the same clique which exercised dictatorial rule over our proletarian literary and art circles for more than a decade. This clique had a comprehensive and systematic counter-revolutionary, revisionist programme for literature and art. For over a decade, by using their usurped leading positions in literary and art circles, they stubbornly pushed this programme to counter Mao Tse-tung's thinking on literature and art, controlling and corrupting those circles. We must use Mao Tse-tung's thought as the weapon to thoroughly expose and repudiate the counter-revolutionary, revisionist programme for literature and art of Chou Yang and company. Only by doing so is it possible to see through the ugly features of Chou Yang and company, to do away with the black line in literary and art circles, to overthrow Chou Yang, the ringleader of the black line, and to wipe out completely

the evil influence exerted by this black line in literary and art circles, so that Mao Tse-tung's thought occupies all positions in literature and art.

Chou Yang's counter-revolutionary, revisionist programme for literature and art is repudiated in the following eight aspects:

1. Chou Yang Opposed the Spread of Mao Tse-tung's Thought, in the Vain Attempt to Remove the Soul of Proletarian Literature and Art

Chairman Mao teaches us: "... to ensure that literature and art fit well into the whole revolutionary machine as a component part, that they operate as powerful weapons for uniting and educating the people and for attacking and destroying the enemy, and that they help the people fight the enemy with one heart and one mind."¹

What is the common ideological foundation of the unity and the revolution of the people of the whole country? It is Mao Tse-tung's thought. What is the source of strength that inspires the people of the whole country in their triumphant advance? It is Mao Tse-tung's thought. What is our sharpest weapon in attacking and destroying the enemy? It is Mao Tse-tung's thought. Mao Tse-tung's thought is the acme of Marxism-Leninism in the present era, living Marxism-Leninism at its highest, the truth that is universally applicable, and the red sun in the hearts of the Chinese people and the revolutionary people of the whole world. Chairman Mao is the greatest Marxist-Leninist of the present era. Chairman Mao's works are the supreme directive for all our work. Mao Tse-tung's thought is the soul of our socialist literature and art. Singing the praise of the Party and Chairman Mao, and propagating Mao Tse-tung's thought and the heroes among the workers, peasants and soldiers of the Mao Tse-tung era is the most glorious and lofty fighting task of our socialist literature and art.

Led by his reactionary class instinct, Chou Yang used extremely venomous language to vilify our dissemination of Mao Tse-tung's thought as "the cult of the individual" and "strangling people's initiative." He also talked such rubbish as "talking about Chairman Mao every day does not mean Chairman Mao's thought."

The attitude one takes towards Mao Tse-tung's thought, whether one supports it or opposes it, is the

watershed between a genuine and a sham revolutionary, between a revolutionary and a counter-revolutionary, and between a Marxist-Leninist and a revisionist — and the touchstone distinguishing one from the other.

The sole political criterion that distinguishes proletarian literature and art from bourgeois literature and art is whether it does or does not propagate Mao Tse-tung's thought. China's hundreds of millions of workers, peasants and soldiers, and revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals have boundless confidence in and veneration and love for Chairman Mao and Mao Tse-tung's thought. They ardently want our literature and art to be an instrument for propagating Mao Tse-tung's thought in a popular and graphic way so that every book one reads, every play and every film one sees, every song one sings and every broadcast one listens to will enable one to draw educational benefit and inspiration from Mao Tse-tung's thought. But Chou Yang stubbornly opposed our propagation of Mao Tse-tung's thought in the vain attempt to remove the soul of socialist literature and art, and to alter the political orientation for proletarian literature and art. This fully shows Chou Yang to be a sham revolutionary, a counter-revolutionary and an out-and-out revisionist.

The propagation of Mao Tse-tung's thought involves a sharp class struggle. The more Chou Yang and company are opposed to this, the more we must propagate it, do this work consciously, and become life-long propagators of Mao Tse-tung's thought. In order to defend and propagate Mao Tse-tung's thought, we are ready to climb a mountain of swords or plunge into a sea of flames; we are not afraid if it costs our heads or the shedding of our blood, and we will not flinch even if we are threatened with utter destruction.

2. Chou Yang Flagrantly Opposed the Orientation for Literature and Art — To Serve the Workers, Peasants and Soldiers — As Formulated By Chairman Mao, and Advocated Revisionist "Literature and Art of the Whole People"

The question of "for whom" is a fundamental one for literature and art; it is a question of principle. The orientation for literature and art — to serve the workers, peasants and soldiers — as formulated by Chairman Mao thoroughly solved, for the first time in the history of the development of proletarian literature and art, this fundamental question, this question of principle in literature and art. It is the most complete, most thoroughgoing and most revolutionary proletarian line for literature and art; it is a creative development, with genius, of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and theory on literature and art.

Chairman Mao teaches us that literature and art are part of the superstructure and the ideological reflection of the politics and economy of a given society and serve the politics and economy of a given society. Literature and art that serve the landlord class are feudal literature and art; literature and art that serve

the bourgeoisie are bourgeois literature and art. Proletarian literature and art are for the workers, peasants and soldiers; they are created for the workers, peasants and soldiers and are for their use. They are a powerful weapon for the proletariat in carrying out revolutionary struggle. Prior to the revolution, proletarian literature and art make the ideological preparations for the revolution. In the course of the revolution, they are a requisite and important sector on the overall revolutionary battlefield. After the proletariat wins state power, they are an instrument for carrying out the struggle to foster what is proletarian and eradicate what is bourgeois in the sphere of ideology; they serve to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and prepare people's minds for bringing about the transition from socialism to communism.

Openly proposing the slogan of a "literature and art of the whole people," Chou Yang unscrupulously opposed the orientation for literature and art — of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers — formulated by Chairman Mao. He spread the nonsense that this had "already become outdated," that "the object of service is the people of the whole country; in this respect, it is different from what it was at the time of the Yen'an Forum on Literature and Art, it is wider than at that time," and that therefore, today's "literature and art should be acceptable to all kinds of people." He described revolutionary literature and art as a tool for communicating the ideas and feelings of different classes. He said: "An echo has nothing much to do with class character. The art of any class is definitely not to be appreciated merely by that class itself. It is to be appreciated by all classes and arouses an echo in all people." He also said: "Some works reflect both class interests and the interests of the whole people."

Chairman Mao says: "In the world today all culture, all literature and art belong to definite classes and are geared to definite political lines. There is in fact no such thing as art for art's sake, art that stands above classes or art that is detached from or independent of politics."² The "literature and art of the whole people" advocated by Chou Yang, just as the so-called "state of the whole people" publicized by Khrushchov, were nothing but bourgeois and revisionist rubbish designed to deceive the people. Khrushchov used the slogan of a "state of the whole people" to eliminate the most fundamental thing in the proletarian revolution — the dictatorship of the proletariat; Chou Yang, on his part, used the slogan of "literature and art of the whole people" to eliminate the most fundamental thing in proletarian literature and art — serving the workers, peasants and soldiers. A socialist country that eliminates the dictatorship of the proletariat is bound to degenerate into a capitalist country; proletarian literature and art that depart from the orientation of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers are bound to turn into bourgeois literature and art. There is absolutely no such thing as literature and art that are acceptable to all classes and are able to evoke an echo in all classes. The true purpose of Chou Yang's agitation for "literature and art of

the whole people" was to transform proletarian literature and art into bourgeois literature and art and so open the path for the bourgeoisie to stage a come-back.

3. Chou Yang Distorted the Party's Policy Of "Let a Hundred Flowers Blossom and a Hundred Schools of Thought Contend," and Energetically Worked for Bourgeois Liberalization

The Party's policy of "let a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" is an extremely firm class policy of the proletariat. The policy is put forward on the basis of the fact that classes and class struggle still exist in socialist society. It is a policy that serves to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country through class struggle in the ideological sphere — the struggle to foster what is proletarian and eradicate what is bourgeois. It is a policy that facilitates the development of Marxism-Leninism in the struggle against all kinds of bourgeois ideas. It is a policy that helps the socialist culture of our country to grow and thrive. The implementation of this policy greatly strengthens the leading position of Marxism-Leninism, of Mao Tse-tung's thought in the sphere of ideology and culture.

Taking up a position entirely on the bourgeois, reactionary side and proceeding from the class needs of the bourgeoisie, Chou Yang purposely obliterated the class content of these two slogans — "let a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" — and presented them in a distorted fashion as a policy opposing the "monopoly of ideology," opposing "dogmatism," opposing "administrative method," opposing "let one single flower blossom and only one school of thought speak out." By opposing the "monopoly of ideology," he actually meant opposing the leading position of Marxism-Leninism, of Mao Tse-tung's thought. The "dogmatism" which he opposed was precisely the most fundamental thing in Mao Tse-tung's thought on literature and art, that is: literature and art must serve the workers, peasants and soldiers and serve socialism. The "administrative method" which he objected was exactly the Party's leadership in literature and art. When he raised a clamour against "let one single flower blossom and only one school of thought speak out," it was to prevent us from developing socialist literature and art. The purpose of Chou Yang's deliberate distortion of the Party's policy of "let a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" was to promote a bourgeois liberalization in a big way and let all ghosts and monsters come out and "open wide." This meant he would allow only the bourgeoisie to "open wide" but prohibit the proletariat from doing so, and he vainly attempted to choke the fragrant flowers of the proletariat by cultivating poisonous weeds of the landlord and bourgeois classes. At the same time, Chou Yang also set himself up as the guardian angel of the bourgeoisie to protect the poisonous weeds. If the proletariat wanted to root out the poisonous weeds, then this was encroaching upon the "liberty" of Chou Yang

and company and flouting their prohibitions, and they would charge you with "violating the policy of 'let a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend'" and they would use the big stick on you.

Bourgeois liberalization is one of the black flags of modern revisionism. This was the flag hoisted by the Petofi Club in Hungary, by the revisionist elements of Soviet literary and art circles, and also by Chou Yang. In 1956, after the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U., Chou Yang turned into a parrot for Khrushchov, openly praising the Congress as "having the great advantage that it has emancipated the mind and broken down the ideological monopoly which existed in the past." In 1957, Chou Yang came out as the spokesman of the bourgeois Rightists, when he said with rapturous joy: "The severe cold of the past is now thawing." But he was still not satisfied with that. So he clamoured: "Though there has been a thaw, dogmatism and sectarianism are still rampant. The present situation can be described as 'the cool of spring,' the period of real spring warmth and blossom time has not yet come." What kind of "period of spring warmth and blossom time" did Chou Yang persistently dream of? It was a period of the restoration of capitalism, of full "liberalization" for Chou Yang and company, when poisonous weeds would sprout everywhere and ghosts and monsters would be free to do whatever they like.

Chairman Mao has said: "All erroneous ideas, all poisonous weeds, all ghosts and monsters, must be subjected to criticism; in no circumstance should they be allowed to spread unchecked."³ We must adhere to the teachings of Chairman Mao, uproot Chou Yang's black flag of bourgeois liberalization, knock Chou Yang off his perch as the guardian angel of the bourgeoisie, and let the sunlight of Mao Tse-tung's thought shine over the good earth and let the socialist hundred flowers bloom all over the world.

4. Chou Yang Peddled a Wide Range of Bourgeois, Reactionary Viewpoints on Literature And Art and Opposed the Marxist Viewpoints on Literature and Art

The various bourgeois viewpoints on literature and art which were criticized by Chairman Mao in his *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*, and the various bourgeois and revisionist viewpoints on literature and art which have been criticized since the founding of the People's Republic of China and are still being criticized — such as "the theory of human nature," "the theory of thinking in terms of images," "the theory of emotionalism," "the theory of the broad path of realism," "the theory of truthful writing," "the theory of portraying middle characters," "the theory of broad subject-matter," "the theory of indirect co-ordination," etc. — were all goods displayed in Chou Yang's black market, stamped with the "Chou Family Brand" and disposed of by him through wholesale and retail outlets.

Chou Yang peddled the bourgeois "theory of human nature" and opposed the Marxist theory of classes. **Chairman Mao has said: "In class society everyone lives as a member of a particular class, and every kind of thinking, without exception, is stamped with the brand of a class."**⁴ But Chou Yang said that to take men as the "personification of classes and with only class character" was "class labellism." He vociferously advocated that works of literature and art should express human nature and not class nature. He advocated "hunting for a kind of true man who is comparatively more human," "expressing the innocent mind of a child," "writing about true people and true hearts" and writing about "the brotherhood of men." Marxists hold that in class society there is only human nature of a class character, that there is absolutely no human nature above classes. What Chou Yang calls human nature above classes — like his so-called "the innocent mind of a child," "true hearts" and "the brotherhood of men" — is in essence bourgeois human nature and bourgeois individualism.

Chou Yang peddled the "theory of thinking in terms of images" and opposed the Marxist theories of knowledge and reflection. He said that "thinking in terms of images" was the particular law of art and that "the thinking in terms of images and the thinking of logic are two different things." The "thinking in terms of images" advertised by Chou Yang was, according to him, a kind of pure perceptual activity ruling out reason; a kind of activity of pure images excluding logical thinking; a kind of activity leading from perception to perception and from image to image. This mystical "thinking in terms of images" was a fiction; it simply does not exist in fact. **Chairman Mao has said: "Fully to reflect a thing in its totality, to reflect its essence, to reflect its inherent laws, it is necessary through the exercise of thought to reconstruct the rich data of sense perception, discarding the dross and selecting the essential, eliminating the false and retaining the true, proceeding from the one to the other and from the outside to the inside, in order to form a system of concepts and theories — it is necessary to make a leap from perceptual to rational knowledge."**⁵ This is a universal truth. Only by going through this process of cognition can writers and artists gain a knowledge of the world and engage in creating works of literature and art. The so-called "theory of thinking in terms of images" advocated by Chou Yang is anti-Marxist. Its aim is to radically oppose the application of the viewpoints of dialectical materialism and historical materialism by writers and artists in their observation of the world, of society and of literature and art; its aim is to deny completely the guiding role exercised by the world outlook of writers and artists over their creative work in literature and art. Chou Yang spoke of writers and artists as if they were an extraordinary type of people and of creative work in literature and art as an extraordinary kind of activity over which nobody can

exercise control. He fabricated a theoretical basis for opposing the Party's leadership in literature and art and for opposing the communist world outlook.

Chou Yang peddled bourgeois realism and blew the trumpet for the "theory of truthful writing." He was a most fanatical worshipper of European bourgeois realism of the 18th and 19th centuries. The essence of bourgeois realism is "truthful writing." The so-called "truthful writing" means exposure. From the armoury of bourgeois literature and art, Chou Yang picked out this "talismán" of bourgeois realism in order to oppose the method of creative work put forward by Chairman Mao, in which revolutionary realism and revolutionary romanticism are combined, in order to dissuade writers and artists from eulogizing socialism and encourage them to expose the so-called "seamy side" of socialism. Chou Yang said that in works of literature and art "the theme can only be the conclusion drawn from the observation of life," and when a writer's "viewpoint is removed from that of the Party, he should be faithful to life, faithful to truth and faithful to objective things." "If he only searches for rosy things, that is not truth." He frantically clamoured that we "should expose our defects, should expose the seamy side of the socialist system." **Chairman Mao has pointed out: "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."**⁶ Chou Yang is precisely the former. Like all landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists, Chou Yang loved what the working people hated and hated what the working people loved, and was full to the marrow of class hatred for the Party, for socialism and for the working people. He put on counter-revolutionary coloured spectacles to search only for the so-called "seamy side" of the radiant socialist reality. For more than a decade he shouted himself hoarse for "truthful writing" for the sake of instigating writers and artists to attack the socialist system and to caricature the working people.

Chou Yang peddled the "theory of portraying middle characters" and opposed the portrayal of worker, peasant and soldier heroes. To portray worker, peasant and soldier heroes is a fundamental task of proletarian literature and art. In our era the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie on the literary and art front is focussed on the question of which class's heroes should be portrayed and which class's characters should be allowed to hold the centre of the stage in works of literature and art. This is the boundary line which separates the literature and art of one class from the other. We have always advocated that revolutionary writers and artists should enthusiastically portray worker, peasant and soldier heroes armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought. Yet on this question Chou

Yang took an attitude completely antagonistic to ours. Under the pretext of examining everybody in the light of the concept of "one divides into two," he said that in life there was no "perfect person without a single defect" and opposed the creation of ideal proletarian characters in our literary and art works. He advocated writing about "the inherent flaws in the character" of poor peasants, workers and Party members and the "wounded feelings" of the working people; in fact he aimed at encouraging the portrayal of "middle characters," namely, the backward people. On the one hand, Chou Yang exerted the utmost efforts to oppose our portrayal of worker, peasant and soldier heroes; on the other he advocated the eulogizing of the representatives of the landlord and bourgeois classes. He spread the nonsense that "any class, any clique has its progressive aspect," that "there is also a progressive aspect in the circles of bourgeois industrialists and businessmen," that "there are also good emperors," and that "there are also some relatively sober-minded people among the feudal rulers." Truly as the sayings go: "A special kind of melon comes from a special kind of vine; the people of a particular class have their own particular kind of talk." There is no mistaking here what Chou Yang loved and what he hated.

Chou Yang canvassed the "theory of broad subject-matter" and opposed writing on significant themes. The question of subject-matter in creating works of literature and art is a very important one. In selecting subject-matter for creative work, writers and artists must subordinate their choice to the requirements of classes and class struggle. We advocate that all revolutionary writers and artists should strive to depict the great Mao Tse-tung era, the great socialist revolution and socialist construction, the great people's war, heroes armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought and their heroic exploits, and so on. These are the significant themes of our era. On the pretext of opposing the "theory of subject-matter as the decisive factor," Chou Yang opposed writing about important subject-matter. He said that "not depicting our times" and "not necessarily meeting the needs of the people's struggles completely" can also serve socialism. He sounded the trumpet for the "theory of broad subject-matter," advocated that subject-matter should be "varied," and shouted that writers and artists should have "full freedom" in choosing their subject-matter and that "those familiar with ancient times should write about ancient times and those familiar with modern times should write about modern times." He laid special stress on producing things that he called "harmless," "piquant," and "able to raise the level of appreciation and taste," in a vain attempt to lead the writers and artists on to the wrong track so that they would divorce themselves from proletarian politics and from the reality of class struggle.

Chou Yang canvassed the "theory of indirect co-ordination" and opposed the view that literature and

art should serve proletarian politics. **Chairman Mao has said: "Party work in literature and art occupies a definite and assigned position in Party revolutionary work as a whole and is subordinated to the revolutionary tasks set by the Party in a given revolutionary period."**⁷ Proletarian literature and art must become an obedient instrument of the Party, serve the revolutionary tasks set by the Party in a given period, serve giving prominence to politics and the promotion of the revolutionization of man's ideology, and help the people fight the enemy with one heart and one mind. To stray from this standpoint is to betray the fundamental task of proletarian literature and art. However, Chou Yang arrogantly asserted: "There is something not quite right about the idea of serving; at most one can speak of direct co-ordination or indirect co-ordination." Here Chou Yang put forward the "theory of indirect co-ordination" to effect a radical change in the subordinate position of literature and art in relation to politics. He considered that the relationship between literature and art and politics should be that of "placing an order for goods," of state and private joint ownership. He considered that writers and artists "may accept" or "may refuse" tasks assigned them by the Party; he scoffed at us for subordinating literature and art to political tasks, saying that it is outdated "art troupe experience"; he abused us for "writing about, performing, and painting the central task," describing it as "narrow, improper." What is Chou Yang's so-called "indirect co-ordination"? "Without political content," he said, "[literature and art] can also serve politics." In essence what he wanted was not serving proletarian politics, but serving bourgeois politics.

For more than ten years Chou Yang, this big dealer in contraband, put up the signboard of revolution behind which he actually peddled counter-revolution. Under the signboards of "authority," "specialist" and "supreme master" he sold the black merchandise of the bourgeois, reactionary viewpoints on literature and art, and defrauded and poisoned many people. The question of what outlook each writer or artist adopts on literature and art is one that is related to his soul. If Chou Yang's whole bourgeois, reactionary outlook on literature and art is not completely repudiated and discredited, it will be impossible to recognize clearly the essence of his counter-revolutionary revisionist programme for literature and art, and it will also be impossible to eradicate the poisonous effects of his bourgeois outlook on literature and art from literary and art circles.

5. Chou Yang Frantically Advocated the Worship of What Is Foreign and the Restoration Of What Is Ancient; He Obstinate Resisted Socialist Transformation of Literature and Art

The proletarian cultural revolution is a great revolution which touches the people to their very

souls. It is to eliminate thoroughly the old ideas and old culture, old customs and old habits which were fostered by all the exploiting classes for thousands of years to poison the minds of the people. It is to create and form among the broad masses of the people entirely new ideas, new culture, new customs and new habits of the proletariat.

For the last decade and more, Chou Yang consistently and obstinately resisted the socialist transformation of literature and art and fanatically promoted feudal and capitalist literature and art. He was all servility before "foreigners" and was a pious scion of the ancients. He was a diehard royalist in the matter of feudal and capitalist literature and art.

Chou Yang lauded European bourgeois culture of the 18th and 19th centuries as "the summit of human culture in the world"; he praised the Russian bourgeois literary critic Chernyshevsky as the founder of the Marxist theory on literature and art and as a Karl Marx who had "transformed literature." Chou Yang opposed with all his might our criticism of the bourgeois masters of literature and art, arguing, for example, that Stanislavski was "a very important -ski" and "a very big -ski"; that "he had very important achievements to his credit" and "he must not and could not be overthrown." He advocated "the continuous introduction" into China of the bourgeois literature and art of other countries. He wanted the theatre and opera to present such pieces as *La Traviata*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Othello*, *King Lear*, so that these works would be "quickly popularized in China." He also wanted us to learn from the "nouvelle vague" (new wave) and "modernist" literature and art, which are the most reactionary and most decadent of the contemporary bourgeois schools of literature and art. Chou Yang held that "without this condition, there can be no upsurge of (socialist) culture."

Chou Yang said: "To exploit legacy is of decisive importance to the development of socialist literature and art and to the creation of a national character." He added: "In my view, it is unfilial to recognize only a part of the works created after liberation and to label the old works as feudal and those produced after the May 4th Movement as bourgeois." He even had the effrontery to call the literature and art of the period following the May 4th Movement the "father" and the literature and art of the feudal period the "grandfather," adding, "without them, how could you have come into being? Whether you like it or not, you cannot deny your grandfather and father." Therefore, he advocated publishing en masse traditional theatrical pieces so as to let various theatrical troupes perform them and "popularize among the masses" such feudal stuff so that they would "glitter with sparkling radiance till the communist era." While energetically promoting feudal literature and art, Chou Yang advocated "the theory of inheriting old ethical values" and made the absurd assertion that "although the political philosophy, ethics, the principles governing the relations between

emperor and minister and between father and son, etc., which the Chinese people accumulated in the prolonged feudal society, are feudal things, we still can learn something from them," and his attempt was to "systematically preserve the ideology of the old times in today's literature and art."

As early as 1944, Chairman Mao pointed out that history was created by the people. But in the old theatre (and in all old literature and art which were divorced from the people), the people were portrayed as riffraff while the lords and ladies and their sons and daughters dominated the stage. This distortion of history had to be put right, so as to restore the true historical fact. In 1950, Chairman Mao put forward the policy of "let a hundred flowers blossom and weed through the old to let the new emerge." In 1963, he pointed out 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. Being a pious scion of feudal literature and art, Chou Yang persistently and stubbornly resisted Chairman Mao's instructions, opposed the reform of the traditional operatic art and opposed the staging of dramas on contemporary, revolutionary themes. He disparaged the reform of the traditional operatic art as "crude," and advocated that "we should not strain" to carry out the reform "lest the result should be a monstrosity like nothing on earth." Indeed, Chou Yang was loyal and filial to the hilt to the emperors, kings, generals, ministers, scholars and beauties. In his eyes, whoever was in favour of reform was virtually desecrating the graves of his ancestors and leaving his family without posterity. Chou Yang, however, did not entirely refrain from talking about reform. But his so-called reform amounted to weeding through the old to let the old emerge, or even weeding through the new to let the old emerge, instead of weeding through the old to let the new emerge. He required the theatre of the modern drama, which originally mainly presented plays on revolutionary themes, to perform such things as *Lord Chiao Steps Into a Bride's Sedan Chair*, *A Frustrated Scholar's Tragedy*, *Generals of the Yang Family* and *Golden Beach*. This was regressive, reactionary and counter-revolutionary "reform."

Chou Yang showed tremendous zeal in promoting feudal and capitalist literature and art, with the purpose of squeezing out proletarian literature and art and calling forth a flood of landlord and bourgeois literature and art and bringing about a general restoration of feudalism and capitalism.

Marxists never refuse to accept and learn from both Chinese and foreign literary and art legacies. **Chairman**

Mao Tse-tung has said: "As for foreign culture, it would be a wrong policy to shut it out, rather we should as far as possible draw on what is progressive in it for use in the development of China's new culture; it would also be wrong to copy it blindly, rather we should draw on it critically to meet the actual needs of the Chinese people. . . . Similarly, ancient Chinese culture should neither be totally rejected nor blindly copied, but should be accepted discriminatingly so as to help the progress of China's new culture."⁸

Obviously, it is a Marxist policy to accept discriminatingly both Chinese and foreign literary and art legacies; it is a policy conducive to the development of new socialist literature and art. Chou Yang's total and uncritical acceptance of Chinese and foreign literary and art legacies is a policy running counter to Marxism, a policy designed to undermine new socialist literature and art; it is a counter-revolutionary, revisionist policy. Revolutionary literary and art workers must abide by the only correct policy formulated by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, integrate themselves with the broad masses of the workers, peasants and soldiers and be critics of the old culture and creators of the new culture.

6. Chou Yang Opposed Proletarian Literary And Art Criticism and Attacked the Struggle on The Literary and Art Front to Foster Proletarian Ideology and Eradicate Bourgeois Ideology

Proletarian literary and art criticism is an important aspect of the struggle to foster proletarian ideology and eradicate bourgeois ideology on the ideological and cultural front; it is an important means by which the Party gives leadership in literary and art work, and an important factor which helps socialist literary and artistic creation to thrive. There are two criteria in literary and art criticism — the political and the artistic. **Chairman Mao has said: "Each class in every class society has its own political and artistic criteria. But all classes in all class societies invariably put the political criterion first and the artistic criterion second."**⁹ Chou Yang, however, opposed this brilliant thesis of Chairman Mao's with the nonsense that "only when a high artistic level is reached can politics come first." For films, he laid down the four criteria of "good plot, good shots, good cast and good music," deliberately leaving out good politics. Like all reactionary bourgeois literary and art critics, Chou Yang's absurd thesis about placing the artistic criterion first was simply designed to oppose proletarian politics and peddle bourgeois politics under an "art comes first" cover. On the pretext of "do not vulgarize the political criterion," Chou Yang flagrantly tampered with Chairman Mao's six political criteria for distinguishing fragrant flowers from poisonous weeds; he divided literary and art work into "beneficial, harmless and harmful categories," and devised the "theory of harmless and beneficial," — meaning politically "harmless"

and somewhat "beneficial" to life — in order to open the door wide to trash about emperors and kings, generals and prime ministers, scholars and beauties, flowers and birds, fish and insects, prodigies and ancient lovers, etc.

Chairman Mao has taught us that there is no construction without destruction, no flowing without damming and no motion without rest. Destruction here means criticism, means revolution. Destruction comes first, and, in the course of it, there is construction. But Chou Yang loudly sang an opposing tune, setting out the absurd theory that "construction must come before destruction" and that "destruction is easy while construction is difficult." He said: "Destruction is comparatively easy but construction is more difficult. Not all destruction equates with construction." In opposing destruction, Chou Yang intended to prevent the proletariat from uprooting poisonous weeds, from making revolution. To this end, he laid down many taboos to restrict the proletarian Left, such as they must not "use such methods as the movements employed in repudiating Hu Shih, and Hu Feng, and in criticizing Yu Ping-po in the past, but should use comparatively mild methods," they must not slap on "political labels," they must "strictly distinguish academic question from political question," they must "argue entirely on academic grounds," and so on. He vainly attempted to bind the proletarian Left hand and foot with these and eliminate proletarian literary and art criticism.

Chou Yang aired grievances on behalf of the ghosts and monsters who had been criticized in the various major struggles on the literary and art front since liberation and campaigned widely to have the judgments on them reversed. He viciously attacked the proletariat for the struggle against the bourgeois Rightists and the criticism of the various poisonous weeds; he said it was a "big chopping off and cutting down." "the ruffraff mounting an offensive to the beating of drums" and "impossible for scholars to reason with soldiers." He maligned past political movements as creating "abysses"; "a Rightist abyss, an anti-Party abyss, a Right opportunist abyss, a revisionist abyss. There are too many abysses and if one falls into one of them there is no hope of getting out." The tree may prefer calm but the wind does not subside. Class struggle is independent of man's will. All reactionaries create abysses for themselves and jump into them of their own free will. Chou Yang's slander that we create "abysses" was simply a futile effort to counter-attack in revenge. The struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is a life-and-death struggle — if the proletariat does not exercise dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, the bourgeoisie will exercise dictatorship over the proletariat. However much Chou Yang and his ilk attack or abuse us, the proletariat will not even for a moment stop or relax the struggle against you representatives of the bourgeoisie and all the other ghosts and monsters, who

are against the Party, socialism and Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Revolutionary literary and art criticism is one of the chief weapons of the proletariat in its struggle against the bourgeoisie. We must advocate revolutionary, militant, mass literary and art criticism, place the weapon of literary and art criticism in the hands of the broad masses of the workers, peasants and soldiers, and ensure that the professional critics are integrated with the amateur critics from among the masses. In the great proletarian cultural revolution, all the 700 million people are critics. Taking the great thought of Mao Tse-tung as their weapon, they are valiantly engaged in fierce battles with the ghosts and monsters and are showing a clear and firm class stand and a fearless revolutionary spirit. Is not "the offensive launched to the beating of drums" by the proletarian Left and the revolutionary masses what Chou Yang fears most? We will indeed beat the drums of battle and rush forward in a mass offensive against you ghosts and monsters.

7. Chou Yang Disseminated the Fallacy That Class Struggle Had Died Down, Advocated the "Three-Famous" Principle and "the Three-Highs" Policy, Scheming to Bring About a "Peaceful Evolution" Throughout the Ranks of the Literary And Art Workers

In 1957, in his "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," Chairman Mao Tse-tung pointed out: "In China, although in the main socialist transformation has been completed with respect to the system of ownership, and although the large-scale and turbulent class struggles of the masses characteristic of the previous revolutionary periods have in the main come to an end, there are still remnants of the overthrown landlord and comprador classes, there is still a bourgeoisie, and the remoulding of the petty bourgeoisie has only just started. The class struggle is by no means over. The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between the different political forces, and the class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will continue to be long and tortuous and at times will even become very acute. The proletariat seeks to transform the world according to its own world outlook, and so does the bourgeoisie. In this respect, the question of which will win out, socialism or capitalism, is still not really settled."¹⁰

Soon after Chairman Mao gave this important instruction, Chou Yang openly declared: "We have carried out the peaceful remoulding of the bourgeoisie. The present questions are all questions of contradictions among the people and the method of class struggle is no longer applicable."

In 1961, when the domestic and international class struggle was very sharp and the ghosts and monsters in literary and art circles became very active, launching wild attacks on the Party and on socialism, Chou Yang

came out with this statement: "As I see it, our ranks in literature and art belong to the revolutionary class, the proletariat, and not to the bourgeoisie," and "our literary and art circles, our intellectual circles, are a very lovable contingent." Referring to the bourgeois elements in literary and art circles who had been "subject to criticism and struggle," Chou Yang also said: "They are good comrades." In his opinion, classes and class struggle no longer existed in our literary and art ranks, and the class struggle had once and for all been extinguished.

Did Chou Yang really believe the theory that class struggle had come to an end? No. Here he was engaging in a great conspiracy: He wanted to stamp out the class struggle which the proletariat waged against the bourgeoisie; but at the same time he wanted to incite the latter to wage class struggle against the former. Behind the smokescreen of this theory, Chou Yang rabidly attacked our literary and art ranks without let-up throughout the last decade and more.

In these attacks, he resorted mainly to two methods:

One was to actively expand the skeleton force of his counter-revolutionary gangster inn by recruiting deserters and enlisting renegades and by forming cliques pursuing their own selfish interests. Chou Yang tried in every possible way to help the Rightists reverse the earlier correct decision on them. He made the preposterous assertion that "some people became Rightists because they muddle-headedly joined in kicking up a fuss." He said: "There are some very intelligent people among them" and "we should help them remove the label (of Rightists)." He added: "In this way, our ranks will grow and will not remain narrow in scope." Chou Yang attacked the Party's policy concerning cadres and abused the socialist system, alleging that it is "no less severe" in "ignoring" persons of talent. Having an axe to grind, he declared: "The trouble is not the lack of good horses that can gallop a thousand *li* a day, but the absence of Po Yueh, who can pick them out." Obviously regarding himself as Po Yueh, Chou Yang dragged in a number of bourgeois ultra-individualists and raked together the scum of society — Rightists, renegades, traitors, reactionary bourgeois men of letters and survivals of the past — and formed a diehard counter-revolutionary revisionist gang.

The other method Chou Yang used was ideological corrosion and peaceful evolution, by which he plotted to make the ranks of the revolutionary literary and art workers change colour. He opposed the study of Chairman Mao's works and slanderously described the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works by literary and art workers as "over-simplification and vulgarization." He advocated that literary and art workers should read more works by foreign authors of the 18th and 19th centuries, "even reactionary books," and that the brains of young people should be made "a little complicated" and that "the spirit of Hai Jui as shown in forwarding his memorial to the throne"

should be cultivated among the youths. Chou Yang was against going deep into life and ideological remoulding. To young people, he said: "It is impossible to draw experience from life by going to villages or factories" and "so it is not necessary to go there." To older people, he said: "Stay a week in the village and then spend another week in the county town to solve the problems of taking baths and gratifying your appetite." In a word, what he advocated was that people should lock themselves up in their studies and "strive to improve their skill" in seclusion. He was against giving prominence to politics and pursued the policy of "the three-highs" — high salaries, high royalties and high awards. He said: "Payment should be made according to the kind of stuff produced. The painters can sell their paintings. The film director who makes a film will get paid, if he does not, he won't. This is also applicable to writers. If they produce, they will be paid fees and get royalties." Chou Yang opposed the Party's cultivation of the younger generation. He preached a kind of "three-famous" principle — famous writers, famous directors and famous actors. In his opinion, "it is necessary to rely on the old experts to train young writers" and it depends on "one's personal endeavour to become a famous specialist." He urged young people to try and become "actors with a great power of attraction" or "representatives of dramatic art in one of its forms." This, he said, was as necessary as "a leader is to a political party."

We must tell Chou Yang sharply: That kind of thing won't work. Your scheming was doomed to failure.

The question of what kind of an army of literary and art workers is to be built is the key issue which determines whether proletarian literature and art will flourish or be extinguished. Unless there is an army of proletarian literary and art workers, there can be no proletarian literature and art. We understand this, and so does the enemy. This is why the enemy always tries in every way to corrode and disrupt the ranks of our literary and art workers. All along there has been a sharp and complicated class struggle in our literary and art ranks ever since the birth of proletarian literature and art in China. It is not at all surprising that Chou Yang racked his brains to change the colour of our literary and art ranks. Our revolutionary literary and art workers must go through storm and stress and remould their ideology in the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment, and in the heat of struggle and life of the workers, peasants and soldiers. They must temper themselves to become red fighters in literature and art who do not work for fame or fortune but are ready to defy hardship and death and serve the people wholeheartedly, so that the ranks of our literary and art workers will be turned into a highly proletarian and highly militant army which is infinitely loyal to the proletariat and the

working people, to the cause of the Party, and to Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought.

8. Chou Yang Opposed Party Leadership In the Work of Literature and Art in a Vain Attempt to Usurp Party Leadership, Seize Power, And Bring About the Restoration of Capitalism

Chairman Mao has said: "The force at the very core that leads our cause is the Communist Party of China."¹¹ Only with this core, can the cause of socialism and communism succeed. Only with this core, can socialist literature and art thrive and develop. So long as this core exists, no anti-Party and anti-socialist schemes for a counter-revolutionary restoration can succeed.

With his reactionary class stand, Chou Yang was well aware that Party leadership was the biggest barrier to the carrying through of his counter-revolutionary revisionist programme for literature and art, the most formidable opponent of his futile efforts to usurp Party leadership, seize power and bring about a capitalist restoration. That was why over the years in his various campaigns against one thing or another, Chou Yang invariably directed the spearhead of all his attacks against Party leadership. He vilified Party leadership as "monopoly of everything by a single party" and insidiously remarked that "old ideas sometimes appear in other forms, that is, old content in new form. The old content — feudal-patriarchal rule; the new form — the secretary of the Party committee in command." He abused the Party's political and ideological work, saying that it "occupied all and replaced everything." He called Party-member cadres "rulers" and "enslavers." Chou Yang clamoured that leadership in the Party's literature and art be handed over to "the specialists inside and outside the Party," to a "joint leadership" "with persons outside the Party," exercising leadership in "social ways," and "through an arts committee." He advocated that the associations of writers and artists should be their "own organizations and not become appendages of the government." He incited workers in literature and art not to follow the Party's instructions, asserting that "the saying 'to follow the Party's leadership unconditionally' needs consideration," and he declared that "the Party should not give orders regarding literature and art. The peony will blossom just the same in Loyang if it is exiled there."

From this complete repertory of scurrilous abuse by Chou Yang, we can see more clearly what deep hatred he harboured for our great, glorious and correct Party, and what a black-hearted, hideous character he is. In fact, it was none other than this same self-styled "supreme master," Chou Yang, who exercised feudal patriarchal rule over literary and art circles. The terms "rulers" and "enslavers" exactly fit Chou Yang, the lord of hell in literary and art circles, and his gang of ghosts and monsters. His sole purpose in

vilifying Party leadership was to get the Party to give up its position of leadership and hand it over. This is now obvious to everybody. His own statements and admissions make his ambition to usurp Party leadership and seize power as clear as day.

The black line in literature and art of which Chou Yang was the ringleader, and its counter-revolutionary, revisionist programme for literature and art, have played havoc in literary and art circles in China and have had grave consequences. In their capacity as leaders in literary and art circles, and under the signboards of old Party members, veteran "Left-wingers" and well-qualified veterans, they distorted Mao Tse-tung's thinking on literature and art just as they pleased, did everything they could to prevent any implementing of Mao Tse-tung's thinking and the Party's line and policy on literature and art and used their counter-revolutionary revisionist programme for literature and art to rule literary and art circles. They controlled the great majority of the leading organizations in literary and art circles, turned them into instruments of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat, abused their positions and powers, issued orders and instructions, attacked the proletarian Left, shielded the bourgeois Rightists, suppressed socialist literature and art and gave the green light to and granted licences for the spreading of poisonous weeds. They controlled many positions in literature and art such as literary and art periodicals, publishing houses, arts organizations, film studios and broadcasting stations. They produced a great many poisonous weeds and widely disseminated their poison among the masses of the people. They turned most of the literary and art associations into bodies of the Hungarian Petofi Club type and huge dyeing vats of revisionism, thus corrupting many literary and art workers. They transformed many art colleges and schools into workshops fostering successors to bourgeois literature and art and poisoned the minds of many young people.

In short, they were a pack of vicious wolves in sheep's clothing, serpents disguised as beauties. They waved "red flags" to oppose the red flag. They put up the signboard of proletarian literature and art to peddle bourgeois, revisionist literature and art. They carried the signboard of Communist Party member and yet they insidiously worked against the Communists and the people. They were an important field army of the recently exposed counter-revolutionary clique that opposed the Party, socialism and Mao Tse-tung's thought. They were a most dangerous time-bomb hidden inside our Party and literary and art circles.

Our struggle against the black line in literature and art, of which Chou Yang was the ringleader, is a sharp class struggle to foster what is proletarian and eradicate what is bourgeois on the ideological and cultural front, a struggle to defend Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, and to oppose bourgeois, revisionist ideology; it is a great life-and-death class struggle between the bourgeoisie scheming to restore capitalism and the proletariat determined to prevent it.

Chairman Mao has said: "... we recognize that in the general development of history the material determines the mental and social being determines social consciousness, we also — and indeed must — recognize the reaction of mental on material things, of social consciousness on social being and of the superstructure on the economic base."¹²

The Central Committee of the Party and Chairman Mao have always paid great attention to getting a grip on the class struggle in the sphere of ideology, on the superstructure, as a means of consolidating and developing the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system. Chou Yang and company, together with various other counter-revolutionary cliques, such as "the three-family village" and "the four-family inn," too, have always made desperate efforts to get a grip on the class struggle in the sphere of ideology and on the superstructure, in order to prepare the people's minds for a bourgeois restoration.

Over the last decade and more, every major struggle initiated and led personally by Chairman Mao in literary and art circles has been a class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, with the line on literature and art of Marxism-Leninism, of Mao Tse-tung's thought on the one side, and the black line on literature and art represented by Chou Yang, on the other. As far as the majority of the people in literary and art circles and the people of the country as a whole are concerned, each of these struggles has heightened their political consciousness, carried Mao Tse-tung's thought deeper into the hearts of the people, pushed the proletarian cultural revolution a step forward, and brought further progress in socialist construction.

Chou Yang, that sly old-hand in opposing the revolution, put up an appearance of being on the "Left" and dressed himself up as a "positive character" who was "always correct" each time the proletariat launched a counter-attack to rebuff an attack by the bourgeoisie. But when the tide of the revolutionary movement subsided, he would again stretch out his claws. Thus there was a situation in which their attacks on the proletariat were sometimes furious and sometimes subdued, sometimes overt and sometimes covert. But whatever form they may take they always attacked the Party and socialism. Even as late as 1965 when the storm of the great socialist cultural revolution in China had already started, acting on the orders of the chieftain of the counter-revolutionary sinister gang, who was recently exposed, Chou Yang threw his weight about with the arrogance of "the lord of hell," and using such arguments as "everyone is equal before the truth" and "avoid one-sidedness" as clubs for striking at the proletarian Left and the revolutionary masses, in the vain attempt to subdue the mighty tide of the great proletarian cultural revolution. Now that Chou Yang and his despicable crew have been exposed under the light of day, we have to hold on to them tightly, thoroughly denounce them and hold them up to shame

so that they can never again spread poison and harm people.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is now surging forward in a mighty torrent, sweeping aside all ghosts and monsters that have entrenched themselves in various departments of culture, storming their "kingdom of hell," overthrowing the "lord of hell," thoroughly breaking the monopoly exerted in culture by a handful of bourgeois "specialists," "celebrities," "authorities," and "supreme masters" who opposed the Party, socialism and Mao Tse-tung's thought, and eradicating all the old ideas, old culture, old customs and old habits by which the exploiting classes poisoned the minds of the people, and thus opening up a completely new epoch. Ours is the great epoch of Mao Tse-tung, one in which hundreds of millions of workers, peasants and soldiers are mastering Mao Tse-tung's thought and science and culture, an epoch in which heroes are coming forward in multitudes; it is an epoch in which proletarian revolutionary literature and art will surely sparkle with great brilliance.

July 12, 1966

THE WEEK

(Continued from p. 3.)

Soviet revisionists for plotting the convocation of a splittist meeting in Baku in an attempt to deceive the people with the "peace negotiations" fraud of the U.S. imperialists, thereby further splitting the Afro-Asian writers' movement and selling out the anti-imperialist cause of the Afro-Asian peoples.

The Executive Secretariat was established in conformity with the "Resolution on the Strengthening of the Afro-Asian Writers' Movement," which was adopted by the Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting held in Peking, and in accordance with the decision of the Bureau meeting on July 12, 1966. The Executive Secretariat will immediately start its work to assist the implementation of the decisions of the Bureau and of the Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting, and to make preparations for the third Afro-Asian writers' conference, which will be held in China. The Bureau called on all Afro-Asian writers to render all assistance and give all co-operation to the Bureau and to the newly established Executive Secretariat in order to make the third conference a great success. It urged them to heighten their vigil-

ance, strengthen their unity and actively plunge into the struggle of the Afro-Asian peoples to counter-attack and thwart the sabotage and splittist activities of the imperialists headed by the United States, their agents and their No. 1 accomplice, the Soviet revisionists, and achieve final victory.

Secretary-General Senanayake gave a reception on August 15 to celebrate the establishment in Peking of the Executive Secretariat. Vice-Premier Chen Yi was among those who attended.

Third Anniversary of August Revolution of Congo (B) Celebrated

Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Embassy of the Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville) Jean Daniel Bakoula gave a reception in Peking on August 14 to celebrate the third anniversary of his country's August Revolution. Vice-Chairman Tung Pi-wu, Vice-Premiers Chen Yi and Po I-po and other leaders attended. Both Charge d'Affaires Bakoula and Vice-Premier Chen Yi spoke at the banquet.

In his speech, Charge d'Affaires Bakoula stressed that the Congolese people had seized real independence by violence from the hands of the imperialists. He said that, in order

to defend the revolution and safeguard its fruits, it was necessary to combat the enemy promptly and resolutely with arms.

The Charge d'Affaires spoke of the friendship between the Congo and China. He said that this friendship was deepening and becoming increasingly close-knit day by day and that, in the days to come, it would improve constantly because the two countries had formed a common front in order to wage a decisive battle against international imperialism headed by the United States.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi warmly congratulated the Congolese people who, under the leadership of President Massamba-Debat and Prime Minister Ambroise Noumazalay, had taken up arms not long ago and once again successfully foiled a counter-revolutionary military coup d'etat launched by U.S.-led imperialism in collusion with the domestic reactionaries of the Congo (B). The Vice-Premier pointed out that the aggressive nature of old and new colonialism headed by the United States would never change. He said that "we must use the people's revolutionary armed force to oppose the counter-revolutionary armed force of the imperialists and use the people's revolutionary war to destroy the war of aggression of the imperialists."

NOTES:

¹ *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1965, Vol. III, p. 70.

² *Ibid.*, p. 86.

³ Mao Tse-tung, *Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work* (March 12, 1957), Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1966, p. 27.

⁴ *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1964, Vol. I, p. 296.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 303.

⁶ *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1965, Vol. III, p. 92.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 305.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

¹⁰ Mao Tse-tung, *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*.

¹¹ Mao Tse-tung, "Opening Address at the First Session of the First National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China," *Renmin Ribao*, Sept. 16, 1954.

¹² *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1964, Vol. I, p. 336.

THE GREAT SOCIALIST CULTURAL REVOLUTION IN CHINA

Nos. 3 and 4 of the series of booklets published under the
above title are just off the press

No. 3 contains the following four articles:

Sweep Away All Monsters

—Editorial of the *People's Daily* (Renmin Ribao) of June 1, 1966

A Great Revolution That Touches People to Their Very Souls

—Editorial of the *People's Daily* of June 2, 1966

Mao Tse-tung's Thought Is the Telescope and Microscope of Our Revolutionary Cause

—Editorial of the *Liberation Army Daily* (Jiefangjun Bao) of June 7, 1966

We Are Critics of the Old World

—Editorial of the *People's Daily* of June 8, 1966

<i>Paper cover edition</i>	20 × 14 cm.	28 pages
<i>Paper pocket size edition</i>	14 × 9.5 cm.	44 pages

No. 4 contains the following five articles:

Long Live the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

—Editorial of *Red Flag* (Hongqi) No. 8, 1966

Capture the Positions in the Field of Historical Studies Seized by the Bourgeoisie

—Editorial of the *People's Daily* of June 3, 1966

Tear Aside the Bourgeois Mask of "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity"

—Editorial of the *People's Daily* of June 4, 1966

New Victory for Mao Tse-tung's Thought

—Editorial of the *People's Daily* of June 4, 1966

To Be Proletarian Revolutionaries or Bourgeois Royalists?

—Editorial of the *People's Daily* of June 5, 1966

<i>Paper cover edition</i>	20 × 14 cm.	52 pages
----------------------------	-------------	----------

Published by: **FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS**, Peking, China

Distributed by: **GUOZI SHUDIAN** (China Publications Centre), P.O. Box 399, Peking, China

Order from your local dealer or write direct to the

Mail Order Dept., GUOZI SHUDIAN, P.O. Box 399, Peking, China