

PEKING REVIEW

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Decision of C.P.C. Central Committee Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

(Adopted on August 8, 1966)

C.P.C. Central Committee Decides On Large-Scale Publication of Chairman Mao's Works

*Peking Commemorates Chairman Mao's
Statement Supporting American
Negroes' Struggle*

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Pakistan Parliamentary Delegation In Peking

ABDUL JABBAR KHAN, Speaker of the National Assembly of Pakistan, and his wife and the parliamentary delegation he headed arrived in Peking on August 7 on a visit to China at the invitation of Chu Teh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. Warmly greeting the Pakistan guests at the airport were Chairman Chu Teh and his wife and more than 1,000 people from all walks of life in the capital.

In the evening, Chairman and Mme. Chu Teh gave a banquet in honour of the Pakistan guests. In his speech, Chu Teh reiterated: The Chinese people firmly support the Pakistan people in their just struggle to safeguard national independence and firmly support the Kashmiri people in their struggle for the right to self-determination. This principled stand of ours is consistent and unshakable. He praised the Pakistan people for their remarkable success in opposing outside intervention, resisting foreign aggression and consolidating their national independence.

Chu Teh spoke of the deep friendship forged between the Chinese and Pakistan peoples in opposing imperialism and colonialism, winning and safeguarding national independence and building up their respective countries. He said: "The friendship between our two countries accords with the fundamental interests of our two peoples. Attempts by the imperialists and reactionaries to sow discord between us will not be tolerated by the people of our two countries and are doomed to failure."

Abdul Jabbar Khan, in his speech, said that the friendship between Pakistan and China was not a matter of expediency and that those who tried to sabotage it would never succeed. He said: "The invaluable

assistance and support given by you to us in the hour of our national peril has become engraved in our people's conscience and has further cemented the bonds that tie our two countries together." He added that the Pakistan people greatly valued China's support to the just cause of the people of Jammu and Kashmir now struggling for the right to decide their own future. He noted that their struggle might be hard, but it would certainly be victorious in the end.

Jabbar Khan also told the gathering that the Pakistan people had great respect for the gifted and industrious people of China and admired the achievements they had scored, under the brilliant leadership of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, in the economic and social development of their motherland on the basis of self-reliance. He continued: "Pakistan does not believe that the Chinese people threaten anyone. We believe that the Chinese people support the ways of friendly co-operation with other peoples. In this our two peoples stand together."

Chairman Liu Receives Zambian Goodwill Mission

Chairman Liu Shao-chi on August 5 received Justin Chimba, Zambian Minister of Commerce and Industry, and members of the goodwill mission he led. They had a cordial and friendly conversation.

The Zambian goodwill mission arrived in Peking on July 31 and was greeted by more than 1,000 people at the airport. Acting Minister of Foreign Trade Lin Hai-yun and Vice-President of the Chinese-African People's Friendship Association Nan Han-chen gave a banquet for the mission the same day. Among those who attended was Vice-Premier Chen Yi. On August 3, Premier Chou En-lai received the Zam-

bian guests and later gave a dinner in their honour.

The Zambian goodwill mission left Peking for home on August 6.

China Firmly Supports Cambodia

On August 7 the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued a statement firmly supporting the August 3 statement of the Royal Government of Cambodia on the continuous air intrusions over that country and the wanton bombing of a Cambodian border village by aircraft of U.S. imperialism and its south Vietnamese vassal, and strongly condemning the new criminal act of aggression committed by U.S. imperialism and its south Vietnamese lackeys.

The Chinese Foreign Ministry's statement said: "On July 31 and August 2, aircraft of U.S. imperialism and its south Vietnamese vassal intruded into Cambodian air space three times in succession to carry out wanton bombing of a border village in Kompong Cham Province, killing three and wounding nine innocent inhabitants and causing heavy damage to that peaceful village. On August 3 the Royal Government of Cambodia issued a statement most strongly protesting against this and appealing to the peace-loving countries and people to take necessary measures to stop the aggression. The Chinese Government and people firmly support the statement of the Royal Government of Cambodia and strongly condemn U.S. imperialism and its south Vietnamese vassal for their new criminal act of aggression."

The statement said that the repeated bombing of Cambodia's peaceful villages by U.S. aircraft showed that U.S. imperialism would never give up its aggressive designs against Cambodia and that it was vigorously pressing ahead with its adventurist scheme for expanding the war of aggression in and around south Vietnam.

Pointing out in particular that the latest three successive violations of

Cambodian territory by U.S. imperialism had taken place at a time when the Johnson Administration was making a series of "friendly" gestures to Cambodia, the statement declared: "The facts have relentlessly exposed the hypocrisy of the Johnson Administration. They tell people that the 'nice words' of U.S. imperialism are not to be trusted and that its aggressive nature will never change."

"The Chinese people will for ever remain the most trustworthy friend of the Cambodian people in their just cause of opposing U.S. imperialism and its lackeys," the statement concluded.

Upholding Glorious Tradition of Movement Against Atomic And Hydrogen Bombs

Delegates from six countries — Australia, New Zealand, Ceylon, Basutoland, Belgium and the Sudan — who withdrew from the 12th World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs in defence of the glorious tradition of the anti-atomic and hydrogen bomb movement arrived in Peking on August 6 on a visit to China at the invitation of the China Peace Committee. Among those who gave these foreign friends a warm welcome at the airport were Kuo Mo-jo, Chairman of the China Peace Committee; Liao Cheng-chih, Chairman of the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity and Vice-Chairman of the China Peace Committee; and Liu Ning-I, leader of the Chinese delegation which originally planned to attend the conference, President of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions and Vice-Chairman of the China Peace Committee. Another group of delegates — from Colombia, Panama, Brazil and the United States — arrived in Canton on August 7.

The 12th World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs opened in Tokyo on July 30. Thirty-two delegates from 16 countries were compelled to declare their withdrawal on August 3 from the conference because some leaders of the Japan Council Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs (Gensuikyo) acted in contravention of the tradition of

the world conference, worked hand in glove with the Soviet modern revisionists who had all along been sabotaging the conference, and rejected the demand of foreign delegates that the representative of the World Federation of Democratic Youth, which is controlled by the Soviet revisionist leading clique, be barred from attending the conference. These foreign delegates gave a press conference in Tokyo early in the morning of August 3 and released a statement which condemned some leaders of the Japan Council Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs for trampling underfoot the glorious tradition of Gensuikyo against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys and against the disruptive activities of the Soviet revisionists, and for flagrantly inviting the representative of the World Federation of Democratic Youth, a Soviet national by the name of Vladimir Orel, to attend.

Liu Ning-I and Liao Cheng-chih gave a banquet on August 7 in honour of the foreign delegates who had come to Peking. In his speech, Liu Ning-I praised the foreign delegates for justly persisting in their principled stand at the Tokyo conference and congratulated them on their brilliant success at the conference. He said: "Persistent opposition to U.S. imperialism and to the splittist activities of the Soviet modern revisionists represents the glorious tradition of the movement against atomic and hydrogen bombs. U.S. imperialism, Soviet modern revisionism, the Japanese reactionaries and all their parrots fear this tradition and are trying by every possible means to undermine it. This can never be tolerated by the people of Japan and the rest of the world." He said that the unity of the people of all countries had been further strengthened, not weakened, in the anti-imperialist and anti-revisionist struggle. "Let us raise still higher the banner of anti-imperialism and anti-revisionism, unite still more closely and march forward valiantly," he declared.

At the banquet, friends from Australia, the Sudan, Ceylon and New Zealand described the struggle of the delegates from various countries at the Tokyo conference. They

acclaimed with special warmth the message sent to the conference by Premier Chou En-lai, which gave tremendous encouragement and support to the broad masses of the Japanese people and to the delegates from various countries.

William Morrow of Australia, in his speech about the Tokyo conference, told the gathering that when the leaders of Gensuikyo turned down the just request of the foreign delegates, the latter sharply pointed out to them that since a co-operation agreement had been reached between the Sato government and the Soviet Government, acceptance of the representative of the World Federation of Democratic Youth would mean nothing but co-operation with the Sato government. The foreign delegates declared that they would never collaborate with imperialism and its partners.

Osman Hassan Ahmed of the Sudan said: "We made it quite clear at the conference that we could not unite with the imperialists and their accomplices. We held high the banner of Marxism-Leninism, took a stand on principle and waged a resolute struggle. In the end we triumphed in our struggle."

Laksen Mututantri of Ceylon said: "When we found that the representative of the W.F.D.Y. was sneaking into the Tokyo world conference, our determination to struggle became stronger. The majority of foreign delegations united with each other, adhered to their correct stand, and refused to be corrupted or intimidated by the special agents of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency and the police of the Sato government." The Ceylonese friend added that revolutionary principles should be adhered to and imperialism and opportunism should be opposed.

Nancy Goddard of New Zealand told how she felt the growing strength of the progressive forces during the conference and how proud she was of them.

Kinkazu Saionji, the Japanese peace champion in Peking, also spoke at the banquet. He said: "The glorious tradition of the movement against atomic and hydrogen bombs has been established gradually, over

the past 11 years, by the Japanese people together with the people of various other countries. Now, a handful of the leading members of Gen-suikyo, by brazenly trampling on the principles and tradition for which we have striven, are selling out the Japanese people and their comrades-in-arms the world over. I hold this handful of people in utter contempt. We cannot but condemn them, because they do not serve the people but serve the most unholy 'Holy Alliance,' that is, the U.S. militarism of Johnson, the modern revisionism headed by the Soviet leading clique and the Japanese reactionaries headed by the Sato government."

Kinkazu Saionji added: "The glorious tradition of the movement in Japan against atomic and hydrogen bombs is still alive. The broad masses of the Japanese people will safeguard this tradition and I hope we shall fight together."

Indian Government's Manoeuvres for "Two Chinas" Protested

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs delivered a note to the Indian Embassy in China on July 28, refuting the quibbling arguments presented in the May 13 note of the Indian Ministry of External Affairs in an attempt to cover up the Indian Government's schemes of tailing after U.S. imperialism in the "two Chinas" plot and of colluding with the Chiang Kai-shek clique to oppose China. It lodged a strong protest with the Indian Government.

The Chinese note pointed out that the Indian note in itself constituted another big exposure of these scheming activities which India had been carrying out. The Indian note repeatedly called the elements of the Chiang Kai-shek clique, entrenched in China's province of Taiwan, "Formosan delegations" and "delegates from Taiwan," and brazenly described Taiwan as a so-called "member" of international organizations. This was clearly an interference in China's sovereignty and internal affairs, a flagrant attempt to create "one China and one Taiwan" and an attempt to legalize the state in which elements of the Chiang Kai-

shek gang would continue their illegal occupation of China's seat in the United Nations and other international organizations. The Chinese note said: "The Chinese Government lodges a strong protest with the Indian Government against this and reiterates: Taiwan is an inalienable part of China's sacred territory and China's sovereignty over Taiwan absolutely brooks no outside interference. The Chinese Government firmly opposes the scheme of 'two Chinas' in any form conducted by anyone at any time and in any circumstances."

The Chinese note pointed out that it was entirely impossible for the Indian note to deny the facts about the Indian Government's collusion with the Chiang Kai-shek gang and its crude interference in China's internal affairs as cited in the Chinese Government's notes of November 6, 1965 and April 2, 1966. It cited facts showing how the Indian Government had tried hard to press forward with the "two Chinas" plot by making use of international conferences, connived at the open anti-Chinese activities conducted in India by elements of the Chiang Kai-shek gang, and sent officials to Taiwan to work hand in hand with the Chiang gang in joint opposition to China.

The Chinese note said that the anti-Chinese activities conducted by the Indian side constituted a grave encroachment upon China's sovereignty and a gross interference in China's internal affairs. The note declared that facts over the past few years showed that, despite the repeated protests lodged by the Chinese Government, the Indian Government, far from restraining itself, had gone from bad to worse and had become daily more undisguised in its activities of pushing the "two Chinas" plot and colluding with the Chiang Kai-shek gang in opposing China. These acts and deeds of the Indian Government contradicted its repeated pledge that it recognized only the People's Republic of China and its promise that it would "prevent any pro-Kuomintang meeting and demonstration" and would "not permit any activities designed to promote the idea of 'two Chinas.'"

All this fully exposed the hypocrisy and perfidy of the Indian Government.

The Chinese note said in conclusion: "The Chinese Government must warn the Indian Government in all seriousness: by so unscrupulously serving U.S. imperialism in creating 'two Chinas' and willingly acting as the flunkey of imperialism and modern revisionism in opposing China, you will only further expose your ugly features. No anti-Chinese 'hero' in the world will ever come to a good end and you are certainly no exception either."

Indonesian Government Rebuked For Occupying Chinese Mission Premises

In its August 1 note to the Indonesian Embassy in China, the Chinese Foreign Ministry rebukes the Indonesian Government for trying, in its notes of May 17 and 25, 1966, to cover up its crimes of damaging, looting and forcibly occupying the premises of Chinese missions in Indonesia.

The note says that the Chinese missions in Indonesia have been repeatedly and savagely raided, with the result that large amounts of property have been looted or destroyed and premises in nine places have been forcibly occupied.

The Indonesian Government vainly tried to ascribe the above-mentioned outrages in violation of diplomatic privileges to the reaction of the Indonesian people and to the Chinese Government's permission for some Indonesians to stay in China. This is indeed the height of absurdity. The damaging and forcible occupation of the premises of the Chinese missions were all clearly the work of the Indonesian Government's armymen and officially employed ruffians. China is a sovereign country, a socialist country persisting in revolution. The Chinese Government's permission for some anti-imperialist Indonesian revolutionaries to stay in China is unimpeachable, whether legally or from the point of view of international practice.

(Continued on p. 39.)

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

(Adopted on August 8, 1966)

I

A New Stage in the Socialist Revolution

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.

At the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: To overthrow a political power, it is always necessary, first of all, to create public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the revolutionary class as well as for the counter-revolutionary class. This thesis of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's has been proved entirely correct in practice.

Although the bourgeoisie has been overthrown, it is still trying to use the old ideas, culture, customs and habits of the exploiting classes to corrupt the masses, capture their minds and endeavour to stage a come-back. The proletariat must do just the opposite: it must meet head-on every challenge of the bourgeoisie in the ideological field and use the new ideas, culture, customs and habits of the proletariat to change the mental outlook of the whole of society. At present, our objective is to struggle against and crush those persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road, to criticize and repudiate the reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities" and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting

classes and to transform education, literature and art and all other parts of the superstructure that do not correspond to the socialist economic base, so as to facilitate the consolidation and development of the socialist system.

2

The Main Current and the Zigzags

The masses of the workers, peasants, soldiers, revolutionary intellectuals and revolutionary cadres form the main force in this great cultural revolution. Large numbers of revolutionary young people, previously unknown, have become courageous and daring pathbreakers. They are vigorous in action and intelligent. Through the media of big-character posters and great debates, they argue things out, expose and criticize thoroughly, and launch resolute attacks on the open and hidden representatives of the bourgeoisie. In such a great revolutionary movement, it is hardly avoidable that they should show shortcomings of one kind or another, but their main revolutionary orientation has been correct from the beginning. This is the main current in the great proletarian cultural revolution. It is the main direction along which the great proletarian cultural revolution continues to advance.

Since the cultural revolution is a revolution, it inevitably meets with resistance. This resistance comes chiefly from those in authority who have wormed their way into the Party and are taking the capitalist road. It also comes from the old force of

habit in society. At present, this resistance is still fairly strong and stubborn. However, the great proletarian cultural revolution is, after all, an irresistible general trend. There is abundant evidence that such resistance will crumble fast once the masses become fully aroused.

Because the resistance is fairly strong, there will be reversals and even repeated reversals in this struggle. There is no harm in this. It tempers the proletariat and other working people, and especially the younger generation, teaches them lessons and gives them experience, and helps them to understand that the revolutionary road is a zigzag one, and not plain sailing.

3

Put Daring Above Everything Else And Boldly Arouse the Masses

The outcome of this great cultural revolution will be determined by whether the Party leadership does or does not dare boldly to arouse the masses.

Currently, there are four different situations with regard to the leadership being given to the movement of cultural revolution by Party organizations at various levels:

(1) There is the situation in which the persons in charge of Party organizations stand in the van of the movement and dare to arouse the masses boldly. They put daring above everything else, they are dauntless communist fighters and good pupils of Chairman Mao. They advocate the big-character posters and great debates. They encourage the masses to expose every kind of ghost and monster and also to criticize the shortcomings and errors in the work of the persons in charge. This correct kind of leadership is the result of putting proletarian politics in the forefront and Mao Tse-tung's thought in the lead.

(2) In many units, the persons in charge have a very poor understanding of the task of leadership in this great struggle, their leadership is far from being conscientious and effective, and they accordingly find themselves incompetent and in a weak position. They put fear above everything else, stick to out-moded ways and regulations, and are unwilling to break away from conventional practices and move ahead. They have been taken

unawares by the new order of things, the revolutionary order of the masses, with the result that their leadership lags behind the situation, lags behind the masses.

(3) In some units, the persons in charge, who made mistakes of one kind or another in the past, are even more prone to put fear above everything else, being afraid that the masses will catch them out. Actually, if they make serious self-criticism and accept the criticism of the masses, the Party and the masses will make allowances for their mistakes. But if the persons in charge don't, they will continue to make mistakes and become obstacles to the mass movement.

(4) Some units are controlled by those who have wormed their way into the Party and are taking the capitalist road. Such persons in authority are extremely afraid of being exposed by the masses and therefore seek every possible pretext to suppress the mass movement. They resort to such tactics as shifting the targets for attack and turning black into white in an attempt to lead the movement astray. When they find themselves very isolated and no longer able to carry on as before, they resort still more to intrigues, stabbing people in the back, spreading rumours, and blurring the distinction between revolution and counter-revolution as much as they can, all for the purpose of attacking the revolutionaries.

What the Central Committee of the Party demands of the Party committees at all levels is that they persevere in giving correct leadership, put daring above everything else, boldly arouse the masses, change the state of weakness and incompetence where it exists, encourage those comrades who have made mistakes but are willing to correct them to cast off their mental burdens and join in the struggle, and dismiss from their leading posts all those in authority who are taking the capitalist road and so make possible the recapture of the leadership for the proletarian revolutionaries.

4

Let the Masses Educate Themselves in the Movement

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.

Trust the masses, rely on them and respect their initiative. Cast out fear. Don't be afraid of disorder. Chairman Mao has often told us that revolution cannot be so very refined, so gentle, so temperate, kind, courteous, restrained and magnanimous. Let the masses educate themselves in this great revolutionary movement and learn to distinguish between right and wrong and between correct and incorrect ways of doing things.

Make the fullest use of big-character posters and great debates to argue matters out, so that the masses can clarify the correct views, criticize the wrong views and expose all the ghosts and monsters. In this way the masses will be able to raise their political consciousness in the course of the struggle, enhance their abilities and talents, distinguish right from wrong and draw a clear line between the enemy and ourselves.

5

Firmly Apply the Class Line Of the Party

Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of the first importance for the revolution and it is likewise a question of the first importance for the great cultural revolution.

Party leadership should be good at discovering the Left and developing and strengthening the ranks of the Left, and should firmly rely on the revolutionary Left. During the movement this is the only way to isolate thoroughly the most reactionary Rightists, win over the middle and unite with the great majority so that by the end of the movement we shall achieve the unity of more than 95 per cent of the cadres and more than 95 per cent of the masses.

Concentrate all forces to strike at the handful of ultra-reactionary bourgeois Rightists and counter-revolutionary revisionists, and expose and criticize to the full their crimes against the Party, against socialism and against Mao Tse-tung's thought so as to isolate them to the maximum.

The main target of the present movement is those within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road.

Care should be taken to distinguish strictly between the anti-Party, anti-socialist Rightists and those who support the Party and socialism but have said or done something wrong or have written some bad articles or other works.

Care should be taken to distinguish strictly between the reactionary bourgeois scholar despots and "authorities" on the one hand and people who have the ordinary bourgeois academic ideas on the other.

6

Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People

A strict distinction must be made between the two different types of contradictions: those among the people and those between ourselves and the enemy. Contradictions among the people must not be made into contradictions between ourselves and the enemy; nor must contradictions between ourselves and the enemy be regarded as those among the people.

It is normal for the masses to hold different views. Contention between different views is unavoidable, necessary and beneficial. In the course of normal and full debate, the masses will affirm what is right, correct what is wrong and gradually reach unanimity.

The method to be used in debates is to present the facts, reason things out, and persuade through reasoning. Any method of forcing a minority holding different views to submit is impermissible. The minority should be protected, because sometimes the truth is with the minority. Even if the minority is wrong, they should still be allowed to argue their case and reserve their views.

When there is a debate, it should be conducted by reasoning, not by coercion or force.

In the course of debate, every revolutionary should be good at thinking things out for himself and should develop the communist spirit of daring to think, daring to speak and daring to act.

On the premise that they have the same main orientation, revolutionary comrades should, for the sake of strengthening unity, avoid endless debate over side issues.

7

Be on Guard Against Those Who Brand the Revolutionary Masses As "Counter-Revolutionaries"

In certain schools, units, and work teams of the cultural revolution, some of the persons in charge have organized counter-attacks against the masses who put up big-character posters against them. These people have even 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, means counter-revolution. In this way it is inevitable that their blows will fall on some really revolutionary activists. This is an error on matters of orientation, an error of line, and is absolutely impermissible.

A number of persons who suffer from serious ideological errors, and particularly some of the anti-Party and anti-socialist Rightists, are taking advantage of certain shortcomings and mistakes in the mass movement to spread rumours and gossip, and engage in agitation, deliberately branding some of the masses as "counter-revolutionaries." It is necessary to beware of such "pick-pockets" and expose their tricks in good time.

In the course of the movement, with the exception of cases of active counter-revolutionaries where there is clear evidence of crimes such as murder, arson, poisoning, sabotage or theft of state secrets, which should be handled in accordance with the law, no measures should be taken against students at universities, colleges, middle schools and primary schools because of problems that arise in the movement. To prevent the struggle from being diverted from its main objective, it is not allowed, whatever the pretext, to incite the masses to struggle against each other or the students to do likewise. Even proven Rightists should be dealt with on the merits of each case at a later stage of the movement.

August 12, 1966

8

The Question of Cadres

The cadres fall roughly into the following four categories:

- (1) good;
- (2) comparatively good;
- (3) those who have made serious mistakes but have not become anti-Party, anti-socialist Rightists;
- (4) the small number of anti-Party, anti-socialist Rightists.

In ordinary situations, the first two categories (good and comparatively good) are the great majority.

The anti-Party, anti-socialist Rightists must be fully exposed, hit hard, pulled down and completely discredited and their influence eliminated. At the same time, they should be given a way out so that they can turn over a new leaf.

9

Cultural Revolutionary Groups, Committees and Congresses

Many new things have begun to emerge in the great proletarian cultural revolution. The cultural revolutionary groups, committees and other organizational forms created by the masses in many schools and units are something new and of great historic importance.

These cultural revolutionary groups, committees and congresses are excellent new forms of organization whereby under the leadership of the Communist Party the masses are educating themselves. They are an excellent bridge to keep our Party in close contact with the masses. They are organs of power of the proletarian cultural revolution.

The struggle of the proletariat against the old ideas, culture, customs and habits left over from all the exploiting classes over thousands of years will necessarily take a very, very long time. Therefore, the cultural revolutionary groups, committees and congresses should not be temporary organizations

but permanent, standing mass organizations. They are suitable not only for colleges, schools and government and other organizations, but generally also for factories, mines, other enterprises, urban districts and villages.

It is necessary to institute a system of general elections, like that of the Paris Commune, for electing members to the cultural revolutionary groups and committees and delegates to the cultural revolutionary congresses. The lists of candidates should be put forward by the revolutionary masses after full discussion, and the elections should be held after the masses have discussed the lists over and over again.

The masses are entitled at any time to criticize members of the cultural revolutionary groups and committees and delegates elected to the cultural revolutionary congresses. If these members or delegates prove incompetent, they can be replaced through election or recalled by the masses after discussion.

The cultural revolutionary groups, committees and congresses in colleges and schools should consist mainly of representatives of the revolutionary students. At the same time, they should have a certain number of representatives of the revolutionary teaching staff and workers.

10

Educational Reform

In the great proletarian cultural revolution a most important task is to transform the old educational system and the old principles and methods of teaching.

In this great cultural revolution, the phenomenon of our schools being dominated by bourgeois intellectuals must be completely changed.

In every kind of school we must apply thoroughly the policy advanced by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, of education serving proletarian politics and education being combined with productive labour, so as to enable those receiving an education to develop morally, intellectually and physically and to become labourers with socialist consciousness and culture.

The period of schooling should be shortened. Courses should be fewer and better. The teaching material should be thoroughly transformed, in some

cases beginning with simplifying complicated material. While their main task is to study, students should also learn other things. That is to say, in addition to their studies they should also learn industrial work, farming and military affairs, and take part in the struggles of the cultural revolution as they occur to criticize the bourgeoisie.

11

The Question of Criticizing By Name in the Press

In the course of the mass movement of the cultural revolution, the criticism of bourgeois and feudal ideology should be well combined with the dissemination of the proletarian world outlook and of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Criticism should be organized of typical bourgeois representatives who have wormed their way into the Party and typical reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities," and this should include criticism of various kinds of reactionary views in philosophy, history, political economy and education, in works and theories of literature and art, in theories of natural science, and in other fields.

Criticism of anyone by name in the press should be decided after discussion by the Party committee at the same level, and in some cases submitted to the Party committee at a higher level for approval.

12

Policy Towards Scientists, Technicians and Ordinary Members Of Working Staffs

As regards scientists, technicians and ordinary members of working staffs, as long as they are patriotic, work energetically, are not against the Party and socialism, and maintain no illicit relations with any foreign country, we should in the present movement continue to apply the policy of "unity, criticism, unity." Special care should be taken of those scientists and scientific and technical personnel who have made contributions. Efforts should be made to help them gradually transform their world outlook and their style of work.

13

The Question of Arrangements For Integration With the Socialist Education Movement in City And Countryside

The cultural and educational units and leading organs of the Party and government in the large and medium cities are the points of concentration of the present proletarian cultural revolution.

The great cultural revolution has enriched the socialist education movement in both city and countryside and raised it to a higher level. Efforts should be made to conduct these two movements in close combination. Arrangements to this effect may be made by various regions and departments in the light of the specific conditions.

The socialist education movement now going on in the countryside and in enterprises in the cities should not be upset where the original arrangements are appropriate and the movement is going well, but should continue in accordance with the original arrangements. However, the questions that are arising in the present great proletarian cultural revolution should be put to the masses for discussion at a proper time, so as to further foster vigorously proletarian ideology and eradicate bourgeois ideology.

In some places, the great proletarian cultural revolution is being used as the focus in order to add momentum to the socialist education movement and clean things up in the fields of politics, ideology, organization and economy. This may be done where the local Party committee thinks it appropriate.

14

Take Firm Hold of the Revolution And Stimulate Production

The aim of the great proletarian cultural revolution is to revolutionize people's ideology and as a consequence to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in all fields of work. If the masses are fully aroused and proper arrangements are made, it is possible to carry on both the cultural revolution and production without one hampering the other, while guaranteeing high quality in all our work.

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

of counterposing the great cultural revolution against the development of production is incorrect.

15

The Armed Forces

In the armed forces, the cultural revolution and the socialist education movement should be carried out in accordance with the instructions of the Military Commission of the Central Committee and the General Political Department of the People's Liberation Army.

16

Mao Tse-tung's Thought Is the Guide for Action in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

In the great proletarian cultural revolution, it is imperative to hold aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and put proletarian politics in command. The movement for the creative study and application of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's works should be carried forward among the masses of the workers, peasants and soldiers, the cadres and the intellectuals, and Mao Tse-tung's thought should be taken as the guide for action in the cultural revolution.

In this complex great cultural revolution, Party committees at all levels must study and apply Chairman Mao's works all the more conscientiously and in a creative way. In particular, they must study over and over again Chairman Mao's writings on the cultural revolution and on the Party's methods of leadership, such as *On New Democracy*, *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*, *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, *Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work*, *Some Questions Concerning Methods of Leadership* and *Methods of Work of Party Committees*.

Party committees at all levels must abide by the directions given by Chairman Mao over the years, namely that they should thoroughly apply the mass line of "from the masses and to the masses" and that they should be pupils before they become teachers. They should try to avoid being one-sided or narrow. They should foster materialist dialectics and oppose metaphysics and scholasticism.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is bound to achieve brilliant victory under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

Statement Supporting the American Negroes In Their Just Struggle Against Racial Discrimination by U.S. Imperialism

August 8, 1963

Mao Tse-tung

AN American Negro leader now taking refuge in Cuba, Mr. Robert Williams, the former President of the Monroe, North Carolina, Chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, has twice this year asked me for a statement in support of the American Negroes' struggle against racial discrimination. On behalf of the Chinese people, I wish to take this opportunity to express our resolute support for the American Negroes in their struggle against racial discrimination and for freedom and equal rights.

There are more than 19 million Negroes in the United States, or about 11 per cent of the total population. They are enslaved, oppressed and discriminated against—such is their position in society. The overwhelming majority are deprived of their right to vote. In general, only the most backbreaking and despised jobs are open to them. Their average wages are barely a third or a half those of the white people. The proportion of unemployment among the Negroes is the highest. In many states they are forbidden to go to the same school, eat at the same table, or travel in the same section of a bus or train as the white people. Negroes are often arrested, beaten up or murdered at will by the U.S. authorities at various levels and by members of the Ku Klux Klan and other racists. About half the American Negroes are concentrated in eleven southern states, where the discrimination and persecution they suffer are especially shocking.

The American Negroes are awakening and their resistance is growing stronger and stronger. Recent years have witnessed a continuous expansion of their mass struggle against racial discrimination and for freedom and equal rights.

Note: We reprint this statement in commemoration of the third anniversary of the day Chairman Mao made it.
— *Peking Review* Ed.

In 1957 the Negro people in Little Rock, Arkansas, waged a fierce struggle against the barring of their children from public schools. The authorities used armed force against them, creating the Little Rock incident which shocked the world.

In 1960 Negroes in more than twenty states held "sit-in" demonstrations protesting against racial segregation in local restaurants, shops and other public places.

In 1961 the Negroes launched the "freedom riders" campaign to oppose racial segregation in public transportation, a campaign which rapidly spread to many states.

In 1962 the Negroes in Mississippi fought for the equal right to enrol in colleges and met with bloody suppression by the authorities.

This year, the American Negroes started their struggle early in April in Birmingham, Alabama. Unarmed and bare-handed Negro people were arrested en masse and most barbarously suppressed merely for holding meetings and parades against racial discrimination. On June 12 Mr. Medgar Evers, a leader of the Negro people in Mississippi, was murdered in cold blood. Defying brutality and violence, the indignant Negro masses waged their struggle even more heroically and quickly won the support of Negroes and other people of various strata throughout the United States. A gigantic and vigorous nationwide struggle is going on in nearly every city and state, and the struggle is mounting. American Negro organizations have decided to start a "freedom march" on Washington on August 28, in which 250,000 people will take part.

The speedy development of the struggle of the American Negroes is a manifestation of sharpening

class struggle and sharpening national struggle within the United States; it has been causing increasing anxiety among U.S. ruling circles. The Kennedy Administration is insidiously using dual tactics. On the one hand, it continues to connive at and take part in discrimination against Negroes and their persecution, and it even sends troops to suppress them. On the other hand, in the attempt to numb the fighting will of the Negro people and deceive the masses of the country, the Kennedy Administration is parading as an advocate of "the defence of human rights" and "the protection of the civil rights of Negroes," calling upon the Negro people to exercise "restraint" and proposing the "civil rights legislation" to Congress. But more and more Negroes are seeing through these tactics of the Kennedy Administration. The fascist atrocities of the U.S. imperialists against the Negro people have exposed the true nature of so-called American democracy and freedom and revealed the inner link between the reactionary policies pursued by the U.S. Government at home and its policies of aggression abroad.

I call on the workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals, enlightened elements of the bourgeoisie and other enlightened persons of all colours in the

world, whether white, black, yellow or brown, to unite to oppose the racial discrimination practised by U.S. imperialism and support the American Negroes in their struggle against racial discrimination. In the final analysis, national struggle is a matter of class struggle. Among the whites in the United States, it is only the reactionary ruling circles who oppress the Negro people. They can in no way represent the workers, farmers, revolutionary intellectuals and other enlightened persons who comprise the overwhelming majority of the white people. At present, it is the handful of imperialists headed by the United States, and their supporters, the reactionaries in different countries, who are oppressing, committing aggression against and menacing the overwhelming majority of the nations and peoples of the world. We are in the majority and they are in the minority. At most, they make up less than 10 per cent of the 3,000 million population of the world. I am firmly convinced that, with the support of more than 90 per cent of the people of the world, the American Negroes will be victorious in their just struggle. The evil system of colonialism and imperialism arose and thrived with the enslavement of Negroes and the trade in Negroes, and it will surely come to its end with the complete emancipation of the black people.

C.P.C. Central Committee Decides On Large-Scale Publication of Chairman Mao's Works

The Ministry of Culture convenes a conference to work out plans; 35 million sets of the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* will be printed and distributed this year and next; and *Selected Readings* and separate works in pamphlet form will be printed in the provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities. Conference representatives from all parts of the country tell of the infinite esteem and love which people throughout the land have for their great leader Chairman Mao, their boundless love for, belief in and veneration for Mao Tse-tung's thought, and how eager they are to get copies of Chairman Mao's writings. The decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party is an event of tremendous historic significance in China's political life and yet another victory for the current great cultural revolution.

THE Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party has decided to speed up the large-scale publication of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's works in order to meet the urgent needs of the broad masses of the

people in studying Mao Tse-tung's thought. It has called on the broad masses of cadres and workers and staff members of publication, printing and distribution departments throughout the country to mobilize im-

mediately, make all-out efforts and take the publication and distribution of Chairman Mao's works as their foremost task. Following the speed-up in the mass printing of Chairman Mao's works this year and next, these works, for which there has been a pressing demand by the broad masses, will gradually come to be in plentiful supply throughout the country.

Recently the Ministry of Culture, in accordance with the directive of the Party's Central Committee, convened a national conference on the work of printing and distributing Chairman Mao's works, at which concrete plans for their large-scale printing and plans for their distribution were mapped out. Thirty-five million sets of the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* will be

printed and distributed this year and next. The collections A and B of *Selected Readings From Mao Tse-tung's Works*, and Chairman Mao's works in pamphlet form will in general be printed in the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions so that gradually, over this year and next year, they will fully meet the needs of the broad masses.

That the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party has decided to speed up the large-scale publication and distribution of Chairman Mao's works is an event of tremendous historic significance in China's political life, an event bringing great joy to the people of the whole country, and yet another victory for the current great proletarian cultural revolutionary movement.

National Conference on the Work Of Printing and Distributing Chairman Mao's Works

ACTING on the directive of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the Ministry of Culture recently convened in Peking a national conference on the work of printing and distributing Chairman Mao Tse-tung's works. The conference urged printing, publishing and distribution organizations throughout the country to take immediate revolutionary measures and endeavour in every possible way to speed up the mass printing of Chairman Mao's works so that gradually a plentiful supply of them will be ensured throughout the country. This is to meet the urgent needs of the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and of revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals in their study of Chairman Mao's thought.

In recent years, since the nationwide campaign to creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's works was launched among the worker, peasant and soldier masses, and revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals, the contradiction between the demand for and the supply of Chairman Mao's works became acute. The complete control of many propaganda and publishing departments by the sinister gang which was opposed to the Party, to socialism and to Mao Tse-tung's thought, and the restrictions it imposed, under various pretexts, on the numbers of copies of Chairman Mao's works to be printed and issued, further aggravated the already acute supply situation. This state of affairs aroused strong dissatisfaction among the broad masses of the people. In order to change the situation once and for all in which the publication and distribution of Chair-

man Mao's works lag behind the circumstances and the needs of the masses, the conference asked printing, publishing and distribution organizations throughout the country to rely firmly on the leadership of the Communist Party committees at various levels, fully mobilize the masses, give full play to the revolutionary initiative of the entire body of workers and staff, work in the spirit of self-reliance, overcome all difficulties, mobilize all printing houses, where conditions permit, to undertake the glorious political task of printing Chairman Mao's works, adopt the method of tackling a task with concentrated forces and endeavour by all possible means to print and distribute more copies of Chairman Mao's works.

Chang Ping-hua, Deputy Director of the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, spoke at the conference.

Representatives of printing, publishing and distribution organizations and other organizations concerned from various parts of the country told their colleagues of the great attention which their respective local Party committees were giving to the conference and the firm determination of the masses of workers and staff. With especially great revolutionary enthusiasm, all insistently requested the conference to assign them as large a share of the work as possible. Those units which were given the honourable duty to print Chairman Mao's writings for the first time were particularly keen. With great emotion and pride, representatives of these units said: "The printing of Chairman Mao's works is a need of the revolution. This is the most glorious, urgent and important task our time has entrusted to us. Not even the worst difficulties can deter us. We pledge to fulfil our task."

RELIG-
ION

Conference representatives cited many stirring examples showing the infinite esteem and love which the people throughout the land have for their great leader Chairman Mao, their boundless love for, belief in and veneration for Mao Tse-tung's thought, and how eager they are to get copies of Chairman Mao's writings. In hundreds of thousands of letters, they say that the foremost need for all the revolutionary people in China is to study Chairman Mao's works. The letters say that Chairman Mao's works are the best, most revolutionary and most scientific works. Every word in Chairman Mao's works is gold and every sentence is truth. Mao Tse-tung's thought is the red sun in the hearts of the whole Chinese people and of the revolutionary people the world over. It is our source of life and our treasure. Fish cannot live without water, and without Mao Tse-tung's thought how can we make revolution! Of all books, we love to read Chairman Mao's works most. To be proletarian revolutionaries, to follow the Chinese Communist Party for ever and to hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought in all our work, Chairman Mao's works must be studied.

At discussions, speakers read out portions of letters from people describing the eagerness with which the revolutionary people of China, in their thousands upon thousands, like people thirsting for water, avidly search out copies of Chairman Mao's works to buy.

Many workers, peasants, People's Liberation Army men, revolutionary cadres and students are constantly on the look-out for a chance to obtain Chairman Mao's works. Many people who have failed to get them, tirelessly copy down article after article and quotation after quotation from Chairman Mao's works. Lu Chintou, a worker in an electronic instruments plant in Yingkow city, Liaoning Province, who is an activist in the study of Chairman Mao's works, has since 1960 copied out by hand all of the contents of the first three volumes of the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, using paper the same size as the printed edition.

At the conference many representatives of printing, publishing and distribution organizations indignantly accused the handful of representatives of the bourgeoisie who had wormed their way into the Party of their towering crimes in monopolizing power in various propaganda and publishing organizations, and frantically suppressing the publication and distribution of Chairman Mao's works. They said that over the past few years, there had been a constant struggle between the proletarian and bourgeois roads on the question of the publication of Chairman Mao's works. These anti-Party ringleaders of the sinister gang, more venomous than reptiles, had been bitterly hostile to

Mao Tse-tung's thought and particularly afraid that it should be grasped by the worker, peasant and soldier masses. For this reason, they put countless obstacles in the way of printing, publishing and distributing Chairman Mao's works. They permitted only a few printing plants in the country, a few printing presses and a few workers to engage in the printing of the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, and laid down many complicated rules and regulations that were beyond realization under existing conditions. During those few years, a flood of vicious books came out against the Party, socialism and Mao Tse-tung's thought as well as evil books that propagated feudalism, capitalism and revisionism to poison the mind of the masses. These books were given preferential treatment, published in several editions, carefully printed and luxuriously bound. By such base, underhand tricks, the sinister anti-Party gang turned publication and distribution enterprises into their tools to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism.

The masses of revolutionary workers and staff of many printing, publishing and distribution organizations in Peking were elated when told that their organizations had been entrusted with the publication and distribution of Chairman Mao's works. They lost no time in spreading the news and congratulating each other. There was general elation. In a single day, the walls of their enterprises were covered with workers' pledges expressing at the same time their happiness in being able to contribute their share to the project. **They pledged: Printing Chairman Mao's works means producing the most powerful spiritual atom bombs, and we are willing to print Chairman Mao's books our whole lives.** The masses of revolutionary workers and staff in all printing, publishing and distribution organizations unanimously hold that the spreading of Mao Tse-tung's thought is the most fundamental task in cultural and publishing work and is their highest duty. The more the enemy opposes the publication of Chairman Mao's works, the more they will be published, and published quickly, at the rate of making "one year equal to sixteen." They will be published with the greatest enthusiasm, up to the highest standards, the highest quality and at the highest speed, put into the hands of the workers, peasants and soldiers to arm our class brothers and spur the victorious advance of the great proletarian cultural revolution. In this great era in which the workers, peasants and soldiers are studying and mastering Mao Tse-tung's thought, the great thought of Mao Tse-tung must become an infinitely great material force, thus ensuring that the revolutionary cause will for ever maintain its youthful vigour and that China will for ever be strong and prosperous.

A Great and Joyous Event for People In the Whole Country

IN accordance with the urgent demand of the broad masses of the people, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party has decided that the Ministry of Culture promptly take revolutionary measures and mobilize forces on every side to print and distribute the works of Chairman Mao in large numbers and in various forms. This is a great and joyous event for the people throughout the country! This is yet another tremendous victory for the great proletarian cultural revolution!

The broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, revolutionary intellectuals and cadres have the greatest love for Chairman Mao's writings. They describe these as their food, their weapon and their steering wheel and take them as their guide in all their actions.

The study of Chairman Mao's writings has become a prime necessity of the people of our country in their political life. Hundreds of millions of people are ardently and zealously studying Chairman Mao's works and consciously using Mao Tse-tung's thought to transform their subjective world and the objective world. This is a great mass movement, a large-scale popularization of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, an extraordinary event that has no parallel in the more than one hundred years' history of the communist movement. This mass drive has started a new era in which the working people are directly getting a grip of Marxism-Leninism.

Once armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, the masses become possessed of inexhaustible revolutionary courage and wisdom and generate boundless revolutionary power. Once our 700 million people have Mao Tse-tung's thought—this unifying, correct and revolutionary thought—we will assuredly be able to carry the socialist revolution in our country through to the end and carry our country's socialist construction forward from victory to victory.

In the current great proletarian cultural revolution, the masses are holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and are studying and applying Chairman Mao's works extensively. They are studying and applying them in the course of struggle. They are using Mao Tse-tung's thought as their weapon to struggle against those Party members in leading positions who are taking the capitalist road, to criticize bourgeois, reactionary academic "authorities" and the ideologies of the bourgeoisie and all other

exploiting classes, and to reform the educational system, policy and methods and all parts of the superstructure that are not suited to the socialist economic base. The mental outlook of our people is undergoing a tremendous and unprecedented change.

Such a situation has set new and higher demands on the publication of Chairman Mao's works. We did do a great deal of work in the past in printing and distributing considerable numbers of Chairman Mao's works and quotations from his works in various forms. These were warmly welcomed by the masses. Many people keep the "quotations" handy and study them at every possible moment. However, the number of copies printed and distributed in the past falls far short of the masses' actual needs; it lags way behind their demands.

The enthusiastic movement of the masses to study and apply Chairman Mao's works in a creative way was, at one time, impeded by sinister anti-Party and anti-socialist elements. This handful of sinister elements had an inveterate hatred for Mao Tse-tung's thought. They were mortally afraid that the masses should come in contact with Mao Tse-tung's thought and slanderously described the study of Chairman Mao's works by the worker, peasant and soldier masses as "vulgarization," "over-simplification" and "pragmatism." In the areas and departments where they seized hold of leading posts, they used various pretexts to restrict the printing and distribution of Chairman Mao's works in a vain attempt to deprive the masses of their right to study them.

The greater the hatred of the class enemy for Mao Tse-tung's thought, the more ardently we love it. The more the class enemy tries to prevent the masses from coming in contact with Mao Tse-tung's thought, the more and the better we will propagate it, the more we will print and distribute Chairman Mao's works on a large scale and get them into the hands of tens of millions of workers, peasants and soldiers.

Taking revolutionary measures to print and distribute 35 million sets of the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* and large numbers of the *Selected Readings From Mao Tse-tung's Works* as well as quotations from his works in a year and more is indeed a great and glorious, but difficult, task. This will meet, to a greater extent, the urgent needs of the masses for

Chairman Mao's works. But China is a great country with 700 million people and the mass movement to study Chairman Mao's works is surging forward and gaining in momentum. It is, therefore, not possible to meet fully in a very short period the demands of hundreds of millions of people for Chairman Mao's works. Persistent efforts are necessary.

The people of our country are jubilantly acclaiming the large-scale printing and distribution of Chairman Mao's works. We are fully convinced that the study and application of his works in a creative way and the grasping of his thought by hundreds of

millions of people in China will turn into a tremendous material force transforming our motherland. When a country that accounts for one-fourth of the world's population is turned into a great school for the study of Mao Tse-tung's thought and when Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought is popularized even more widely and in a more thoroughgoing way, this will ensure that our socialist state under the dictatorship of the proletariat will never change colour and that it will make ever greater contributions to the revolutionary movement of the world's people.

(“Renmin Ribao” editorial, August 8.)

Chairman Mao's Swim in the Yangtse Inspires the People of China And the World

CHAIRMAN MAO, the most respected and beloved leader of the Chinese people, had a good swim in the Yangtse River on July 16. He was in the water for 65 minutes and covered a distance of nearly 15 kilometres downstream. As the good news spread through the country, it was greeted with unprecedented enthusiasm. People expressed the heartfelt wish for a long, long life for their most venerated and beloved leader, and their determination to follow for ever the revolutionary road charted by Chairman Mao advancing through the tempestuous storms of class struggle at home and in the international arena. As the news spread around the world, friends welcomed it, and hailed Chairman Mao's good health as a cause of happiness not only for the people of China but for the people of the whole world.

The Chinese People's Pledges and Resolve

When the people of Peking heard the good news and saw the photos showing Chairman Mao in glowing health, they burst into song, singing *The East Is Red*, a song in praise of their leader, and gave the slogan “Long live Chairman Mao!” There were meetings; people wrote big-character posters and letters to the press to express their elation. Students of Class 603 of the faculty of engineering physics of Tsinghua University in a letter to Chairman Mao said: Chairman Mao, you led us to overthrow the three great mountains that weighed down on the Chinese people, carry on socialist revolution and construction, overcome one obstacle after another, scale mountains and cross rivers, and brave the wind and the waves to win victory after victory. No words can express the boundless love, respect and veneration we have for you!

Made up of representatives of five nationalities from Inner Mongolia, the Ulanmuchi troupe, which is now in Peking, poured their love and enthusiasm into a new song and dance in praise of Chairman Mao and wishing our great leader eternal life. Each performance of this new item is greeted with thunderous applause.

News of Chairman Mao's swim in the Yangtse has given new strength to the fighting will of the broad masses of the people as they advance in the current stormy class struggle. In the northeast, the hundreds of thousands of workers in Shenyang city's hundreds of factories elatedly discussed the good news for several days. Wu Ta-yu, a technician in a high-tension switch factory, declared: “We are now in the midst of a great cultural revolution. In this tempestuous class struggle we must creatively study and apply the works of Chairman Mao, use the powerful weapon of Mao Tse-tung's thought to sweep away all monsters and demons, and smash the black anti-Party, anti-socialist line.”

Sun Pao-hang, a “five good” worker of the Maanshan Iron and Steel Company in Anhwei Province, said: “Chairman Mao has always encouraged people to toughen their physique in the rivers, lakes and seas, temper their will power and courage to do battle with nature and struggle against the class enemy. We will follow Chairman Mao for ever, and advance in the teeth of the storm; we will fear neither monsters and demons nor hardships and difficulties; we will fight bravely for the complete victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution, to carry on socialist construction still better and to promote the world revolution.

When the news reached Fangxiang Production Brigade, Hankiang County, Kiangsu Province, commune

members jumped for joy and ran to spread the news. Communist Youth League secretary of the brigade Lu Kuang-teh said: We will read Chairman Mao's works, follow his teachings and act in accordance with his instructions, dare to be critics of the old world, struggle against all monsters, old ideology, old culture, old customs and old habits, transform society, transform nature and be ever revolutionaries!

In Shaoshan, where Chairman Mao was born, Liu Hsueh-o, the 20-year-old Party secretary of the Tiepi Production Brigade of the Shaoshan People's Commune, said: "Chairman Mao's swim in the Yangtse has not only given us greater strength to overcome difficulties, but also shown us how to temper ourselves!" She expressed her resolute determination to hold firm to the correct political line in storm and stress, temper herself and become a red successor to the revolutionary cause.

Revolutionary teachers and students of the Peking Municipal No. 4 Middle School who had recently expressed enthusiastic support for the abolishment of the old college entrance examination system, declared their determination to promote the revolutionary spirit of fearing nothing and to resolutely struggle against the class enemy in the storm and stress of the great cultural revolution.

Nine years ago, when Chairman Mao swam the Yangtse for the fourth time, he said: People say that the Yangtse is a very big river, actually there is nothing to be afraid of about its size. Isn't U.S. imperialism very big? It turned out to be nothing when we rebuffed it once. So, there are actually some big things in the world that are not to be feared. Chairman Mao's latest swim and this statement of his gave the deepest joy and inspiration to the commanders and soldiers of the People's Liberation Army on the coastal front and to the people of Kwangtung, Kwangsi and Yunnan in the van of the front to support Vietnam and resist U.S. aggression. Chi Jui-hsuan, a heroic scout on the coastal front, said: We will follow Chairman Mao's example of dauntless revolutionary spirit. Fearing neither heaven nor earth we will wipe out any enemy who dares to attack us.

When revolutionary teachers and students of ten nationalities of the Chinese literature and language faculty of the Kwangsi Nationalities College heard the happy news, they expressed their readiness to answer the call of the motherland and at any time, side by side with their Vietnamese brothers, thrash the aggressors.

News of Chairman Mao's swim in the Yangtse enhanced the enthusiasm and ardour of the people of the whole nation in socialist construction. Yao Chien-kang, a driller in the Taching Oilfield, declared: Chairman Mao's swim in the Yangtse, his great revolutionary spirit in mastering nature, has given us great encouragement in drilling China's first super-deep oil well. We must advance in the teeth of storms, blaze a new trail for drilling our first super-deep well.

When the news reached Harbin in northeast China, the workers in the locomotive and rolling-stock plant there enthusiastically responded with an expression of determination to summon up all the spirit of braving wind and waves to fulfil and overfulfil their production plans and win a double victory—in the cultural revolution and in production. An emulation drive is now under way in the machine shop, and many workers have introduced new tools and improved work methods, and as a result labour productivity has been greatly raised.

Asian-African Friends Rejoice

On hearing the good news from China, Leang Hap An, Acting Chairman of the Cambodian Writers' Association, said: The report that the great leader of the Chinese people and the revolutionary teacher of the people of the world has once again swum in the Yangtse River has inspired the 700 million Chinese people and the people of Asia and the whole world. It shows what good health Chairman Mao enjoys. The health of Chairman Mao is the happiness of the people of the whole world, for Chairman Mao has become the beacon light in the hearts of the people of the whole world. We Cambodian writers warmly congratulate the Chinese people and wish Chairman Mao long life.

Ahmed, a social worker in Rawalpindi, interim capital of Pakistan, said: "Chairman Mao's swim in the Yangtse River shows not only his wonderful health but also his unmatched revolutionary vitality. His repeated successful swim in the rough waters of the Yangtse is an augury that the Chinese people under his leadership will surely overcome all difficulties and win complete victory."

Poorna Bahadur, Chairman of the Nepal-China Friendship Association, told Hsinhua in Kathmandu, capital of Nepal, that "the news of Chairman Mao's swim in the Yangtse is a blow to the imperialists and all reactionaries; it is a source of strength for the people who are struggling against imperialism and colonialism."

Many friends in Damascus, capital of Syria, hailed as remarkable Chairman Mao's swim in the Yangtse at the advanced age of more than seventy. The whole world was stirred by the news, they said.

In the United Republic of Tanzania, an old man of Zanzibar who has read some of Chairman Mao's writings said, "I am very happy to learn that Chairman Mao recently swam downstream on the broad Yangtse River for more than an hour despite his advanced age. This shows that Chairman Mao is full of vigour and symbolizes the revolutionary will of the Chinese people."

On hearing the news of Chairman Mao's swim in the Yangtse, a Malian trade union leader exclaimed: "Glad news, glad news!" He said that he was just then reading Chairman Mao's "Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art" and declared that he would

study more frequently and deeply Chairman Mao's works. "Chairman Mao's works are our beacon-light. Mao Tse-tung's thought enables us to distinguish who are our friends and who are our enemies," he declared.

The news of Chairman Mao's swim in the Yangtse has greatly inspired African freedom-fighters in Cairo, capital of U.A.R. A nationalist leader from the fighting Congo (Leopoldville) told a Hsinhua correspondent enthusiastically that "the news is indeed encouraging to our fighting people." Freedom-fighters from Azania (South Africa) said: Chairman Mao's good swim in the Yangtse is thrilling and happy news which shows the revolutionary spirit of Chairman Mao and

the Chinese people. A Swaziland writer, who had just returned from Peking where he attended the Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting, excitedly showed photos of Chairman Mao receiving Afro-Asian writers and photos of the mass cross-Yangtse swim. "I saw with my own eyes that Chairman Mao is in good health. This is a blessing for our Chinese friends as well as for us Afro-Asian people," he added. A freedom-fighter from South West Africa said: "The swim of several thousand people in the Yangtse shows that the Chinese people are faithfully following Chairman Mao's teaching to prepare themselves ideologically and physically to counter U.S. imperialist aggression."

Peking Rally

Support American Negroes' Use of Revolutionary Violence Against Counter-Revolutionary Violence

AUGUST 8 marked the third anniversary of the great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung's Statement Supporting the American Negroes in Their Just Struggle Against Racial Discrimination by U.S. Imperialism. It was the day that more than 10,000 people in Peking gathered to commemorate the occasion, expressing firm support for the American Negro people who are meeting U.S. imperialism's counter-revolutionary violence with revolutionary violence. The big rally was attended by Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi; also present were many foreign friends in Peking. In the Great Hall of the People, where the rally took place, banners inscribed with slogans in support of the American Negro people were displayed. One of them read: "People of the whole world, unite to form the broadest, most genuine united front to overthrow U.S. imperialism!"

Liao Cheng-chih, Chairman of the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity and Vice-Chairman of the China Peace Committee, delivered the opening speech. In commemorating Chairman Mao's statement (reprinted in this issue, p. 12), which has a far-reaching political influence and is of great historic significance, we must hold still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, resolutely support the just struggle of our American Negro brothers and the liberation struggles of all oppressed peoples and nations of the world and carry the struggle against U.S. imperialism through to the end, Liao Cheng-chih declared.

Following his speech, a message from William Epton, Vice-President of the U.S. Progressive Labour Party, in New York, to Robert Williams, the American



Premier Chou En-lai shakes hands warmly with Robert Williams after the latter concluded his speech at the rally

Negro leader now in Peking, was read to the rally. It said: "The black people in the U.S.A. are in the midst of their struggle to achieve their self-determination and liberation. We, at the same time, offer our resolute support to the heroic Vietnamese people who are waging

a militant armed struggle against U.S. imperialism to win their self-determination. We salute the Chinese people for giving leadership to the world revolutionary movement against U.S. imperialism, and revisionism led by the Soviet Union. We join hands with you on this occasion with the knowledge that the world revolutionary movement will be victorious over U.S. imperialism and its revisionist collaborators."

Kuo Mo-jo, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and Chairman of the China Peace Committee, then addressed the rally (see below). The guest speakers were Robert Williams, (see p. 24); Sidney Rittenberg, an American friend; and Ahmed Mohammed Kheir, a Sudanese peace partisan.

Chairman Mao's brilliant analysis of the national struggle, which, when one gets right down to the bottom of it, is a matter of class struggle, has opened the way for the rise of the black freedom struggle to a new stage, for the beginning of a new anti-imperialist mass movement in America, Rittenberg said. He noted that the American Negro people are abandoning the false doctrine of "non-violence" for slogans of "meet counter-revolutionary violence with revolutionary violence." He also said that they are increasingly identifying their fight with the Champion of Liberation, Mao Tse-tung, and the Gospel of Freedom, Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Kheir strongly condemned U.S. imperialism whose pursuit of racist policies internally, he said, has always been accompanied by the moral and material

support of other racist regimes and their policies. Kheir said: We declare to our Negro brothers in the United States, that being a victim of U.S. imperialist intervention and aggression, we have a stronger link binding us together in the fight against this common enemy of the whole people of the world — U.S. imperialism and neo-colonialism.

A message supporting the American Negro people's struggle was adopted at the conclusion of the rally (see p. 21).

American Negro People March Courageously Forward

Renmin Ribao in its editorial of August 8 pointed out: In their struggle against police violence, the American Negro people have raised the slogan "Black Power!" This was an important new development in the struggle of the American Negro people. The editorial quoted Chairman Mao who has said: "All the revolutionary struggles in the world are aimed at seizing political power and consolidating it. And it is likewise for the sole purpose of maintaining its political power that counter-revolution wages desperate struggles against the revolutionary forces." Now, *Renmin Ribao* said, the American Negro masses have not only come to realize the need to win power but also to understand that power has to be seized by means of violence. This was a momentous turning point in the history of the American Negro people's revolutionary struggle. The future of the United States does not belong to the American reactionaries, who are outwardly strong but inwardly weak; it belongs to the American people, including the Negro people, the editorial concluded.

Speech by Kuo Mo-jo

Comrades and Friends,

This day three years ago, our most esteemed and beloved leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung issued the "Statement Supporting the American Negroes in Their Just Struggle Against Racial Discrimination by U.S. Imperialism." Today, when the just struggle of the American Negro people against racial discrimination is witnessing a new upsurge, it is of great practical significance that we people of all circles in Peking are gathered here at this rally in solemn commemoration of the third anniversary of the publication of Chairman Mao's statement. First of all, let us pay high tribute and express firm support and heartfelt regards to our American Negro brothers who are waging a heroic struggle against racial discrimination in defiance of U.S. imperialism's barbarous suppression and persecution.

Chairman Mao's statement has a far-reaching political influence and is of great historic significance. It is a great call to fight against the racial discrimination practised by U.S. imperialism. It has immensely inspired the fighting will of the American Negroes. The entire Chinese people firmly support it! The American people, and particularly the American Negroes, warmly respond to it! The people of Asia, Africa and Latin America actively support it! And the people of the whole world fervently praise it! They say that Chairman Mao's statement has brought hope to the American Negroes and that, like a torch, it has lighted up the hearts of all Negro people! They say Chairman Mao's statement has pointed to the correct path and direction for the American Negroes and all oppressed nations and oppressed peoples to win independence, freedom and liberation!

Message From the Rally

TODAY ten thousand people of all circles in Peking, the capital of China, are holding this rally in solemn commemoration of the third anniversary of the publication of the Statement Supporting the American Negroes in Their Just Struggle Against Racial Discrimination by U.S. Imperialism, a statement by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the most esteemed and beloved leader of the Chinese people.

The rally expresses high tribute and resolute support to the heroic American Negro brothers who are engaged in the struggle against racial discrimination! It extends heartfelt regards to the American Negro brothers who have been persecuted in the struggle! It expresses boundless indignation and strong protest against U.S. imperialism which is ruthlessly persecuting and sanguinarily suppressing the American Negro people!

The Statement issued by Chairman Mao three years ago shines forth with the brilliance of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought. Chairman Mao's Statement has a far-reaching political influence and great historic significance. It is a great call to fight against U.S. imperialist racial discrimination, and it has immensely inspired the fighting will of the American Negro people! The rally reaffirms the firmest and warmest support of the 700 million Chinese people for Chairman Mao's Statement.

The development of the American Negroes' struggle in the past three years has proved that the theses in Chairman Mao's Statement are very wise and entirely correct and represent the incontrovertible truth.

In the past three years the American Negroes' struggles against racial discrimination have swept the length and breadth of the United States like a prairie fire. Since the beginning of this summer, a series of Negro people's armed struggles against tyranny have again broken out in Chicago and other big cities of the United States. The American Negroes' struggle has begun to take the road of using revolutionary violence against counter-revolutionary violence. This

marks a new stage in the struggle of the American Negro people.

The American Negro people's class consciousness has been constantly raised through the practice of their struggle over the past few years. They are more and more clearly directing the spearhead of their struggle against the reactionary U.S. ruling clique which comprises a handful of persons. The American Negroes' struggle has been ever more closely linked up with the American people's movement against the U.S. imperialist war of aggression against Vietnam. This constitutes a powerful support to the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation as well as to the anti-U.S. struggle of the people of the whole world.

Imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers. U.S. imperialism has been heavily besieged by the people of the world. It is sitting on a volcano which may erupt at any time. The reactionary U.S. ruling clique is in morbid fear of the American Negroes' struggle against tyranny. This fully reveals the intrinsic weakness of U.S. imperialism.

The American Negroes' struggle is by no means isolated. They will for ever receive boundless sympathy and resolute support from the 700 million Chinese people and will certainly receive sympathy and support from all peace-loving peoples of the whole world. We are deeply convinced that the American Negro people will definitely win the great victory of complete emancipation, so long as they further close their ranks, unite with all oppressed peoples and nations and wage a tit-for-tat struggle against the reactionary foreign and domestic policies of U.S. imperialism.

**U.S. imperialism is bound to be defeated!
The American Negro people are bound to win!**

**Rally of People of All Circles in Peking
Opposing U.S. Imperialism and Supporting
the American Negro People in Their
Struggle Against Racial Discrimination**

Peking, August 8, 1966

The very facts of the American Negroes' struggle against racial discrimination in the past three years have fully proved that the theses in Chairman Mao's statement are entirely correct and represent the incontrovertible truth and that Mao Tse-tung's thought is Marxism-Leninism of the present era and the sharpest weapon for combating imperialism, modern revisionism and reactionaries of all countries.

Chairman Mao has said that the American Negroes are awakening and their resistance is growing stronger and stronger. Chairman Mao has most penetratingly pointed out that the class contradictions and national contradictions within the United States are becoming increasingly acute.

In the past three years, the storms of the American Negroes' struggle have swept the whole of the United States, from south to north and from east to west. In 1963, 250,000 people from various parts of the United States made the "March on Washington." In 1964, the Negro people in the Harlem area of New York City raised the curtain to the Negroes' struggle to defend themselves by the use of violence. In 1965, the Negro people in the Watts area of Los Angeles waged a still more fierce armed struggle against tyranny. The American Negroes' struggles are surging forward wave upon wave, rising higher and higher. Since the beginning of this summer, there has been a succession of Negro armed struggles against tyranny in such important cities as Chicago, New York, San Francisco and

Cleveland. Using bricks, tile fragments, bottles of gasoline, and guns, the masses of the Negroes fought long and fierce battles with thousands of policemen and troops who had come to suppress them. This struggle has thrown the reactionary U.S. ruling clique into great panic and put them in a terrible dilemma.

Fearing neither tyranny nor the making of sacrifices, the American Negro people have been conducting valiant, indomitable and persistent struggles, thus composing a soul-stirring epic. This dauntless spirit of daring to struggle on the part of the American Negro people is a source of great inspiration to all oppressed peoples and oppressed nations. The Chinese people hail the heroic struggle of their American Negro brothers!

Chairman Mao has said that in the final analysis, national struggle is a matter of class struggle. Chairman Mao has most penetratingly pointed out the essence of the American Negroes' struggle.

The American Negro people live right at the bottom of U.S. capitalist society which is rotten to the core. The heavy yokes built by profit-grabbing U.S. monopoly capital fall first and foremost on the broad masses of the American Negro people. They are the worst sufferers from poverty, unemployment, taxation and all similar scourges. For a long time, the American Negro people have been subjected to the most ruthless economic exploitation and the most barbarous political oppression. In the final analysis, the U.S. ruling class's incitement to racial discrimination and oppression of the American Negroes are class persecution and are determined by the interests of U.S. monopoly capital. Where there is oppression, there is resistance. Where the oppression is the most brutal, there the resistance is the most fierce. The facts have proved that the exploited and oppressed American Negro people are the most staunch and most reliable revolutionary force in the United States.

As Chairman Mao has pointed out, among the whites in the United States, it is only the reactionary ruling circles who oppress the Negro people. They can in no way represent the workers, farmers, revolutionary intellectuals and other enlightened persons who comprise the overwhelming majority of the white people. This, too, is a manifestation of the truth which Chairman Mao has often taught us: "Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of the first importance for the revolution." The revolutionary American Negro people are finding the answer to this question through the practice of struggle. This is forcefully borne out by the fact that the American Negroes are ever more clearly directing the spearhead of their struggle against the reactionary U.S. ruling clique.

The reactionary U.S. ruling clique is in morbid fear of the raging struggle of the American Negro people. On the one hand, it is carrying out frantic fascist suppression of the American Negro people's struggle; on the other hand, it is adopting deceptive means to numb

their fighting will, to blur their sense of class distinction and divert the direction of their struggle. But the American Negro people, who have been growing in strength in the midst of struggles and whose class consciousness has been constantly raised, are neither to be duped nor to be cowed. It is entirely futile for the reactionary U.S. ruling clique to attempt in a thousand and one ways to stamp-out the raging flames of the American Negro people's struggle, and this attempt is doomed to ignominious failure.

Chairman Mao has said that the fascist atrocities of the U.S. imperialists against the Negro people have exposed the true nature of the so-called American democracy and freedom and revealed the inner link between the reactionary policies pursued by the U.S. Government at home and its policies of aggression abroad.

In order to hoodwink people, the reactionary U.S. ruling clique has been lauding to the sky the so-called "civil rights bill," "war on poverty" programme and "struggle for civil rights by non-violence." But its own deeds invariably serve to expose its deceptive tactics thoroughly. The facts have shown that all it says is false while its police, army and prisons are real. Like all reactionary ruling classes in history, the reactionary U.S. ruling clique has all along relied on violence to maintain its rule. Therefore, it is inevitable that the American Negro people should use violence to resist the reactionary U.S. ruling clique. In the past three years, the American Negroes' struggle has gradually embarked on the correct road of using revolutionary violence against counter-revolutionary violence. This marks a new stage in the American Negro people's struggle.

The facts over the past three years have likewise convincingly proved that the more U.S. imperialism vigorously pushes forward with its policies of aggression and war, and particularly the more it expands its war of aggression against Vietnam, the more it will intensify its attacks on the American people, and particularly on the American Negro people. In expanding its war of aggression against Vietnam, U.S. imperialism has not only brought grave disasters to the Vietnamese people but has also brought conscription, tax increases, inflation and fascist persecution to the American people, and particularly to the American Negroes. U.S. imperialism is the most ferocious enemy, not only of the Vietnamese people and the people of the world but of the American people as well.

In the struggle against U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war, the people of the world and the American people stand together, and they have always sympathized with and supported and assisted each other. By striking hard at U.S. imperialism in the battlefield, the Vietnamese people have rendered powerful support to the struggle of the American Negro people. Similarly, by fighting against U.S. imperialist racial discrimination, the American Negro people have in turn given important support to the

Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. In the past three years, our American Negro brothers have firmly opposed U.S. imperialism's expansion of its war of aggression against Vietnam by refusing to enlist and burning draft cards, and have thus more and more closely linked the struggle against political and economic persecution with the movement against U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam. They have done a good thing, and the right thing too! We are deeply convinced that, with the support of American people and the people of the whole world, our American Negro brothers with their glorious tradition of struggle will surely rise in still more vigorous action and push their struggle against tyranny to a new high in order to support the Vietnamese people in their struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation and in order to win their own freedom and equal rights.

Comrades and friends! In the struggle of the people of the world against U.S. imperialism, the Soviet revisionist leading clique is playing the role of number one accomplice to U.S. imperialism in all fields. It has never supported our American Negro brothers in their struggle against U.S. imperialism. To cover up its traitorous activities, it absurdly describes the correct stand of supporting the national-liberation movement as "substituting a racial point of view for the point of view of class struggle." On the Vietnam question, it is doing its utmost to serve U.S. imperialism, not hesitating to sell out the interests of the Vietnamese people. It acts in co-ordination with U.S. imperialism in promoting the scheme of "forcing peace talks through bombing" and has turned Moscow into a stock exchange for helping U.S. imperialism to peddle the peace talks plot. It connives at the external policy of aggression pursued by U.S. imperialism and consequently gives support to U.S. imperialism's reactionary internal policy. Not only does it serve as an accomplice of U.S. imperialism in the latter's expansion of the war of aggression, but it has at the same time placed itself in the shameful position of helping U.S. imperialism attack the American people and the American Negroes.

Chairman Mao pointed out long ago that U.S. imperialism is a paper tiger. It is already at the end of its tether and in a terrible dilemma, both at home and abroad. The oppressed peoples and oppressed nations throughout the world are opposing U.S. imperialism. U.S. imperialism is sitting on a volcano. The present American Negro people's struggle against tyranny has struck dismay into the heart of U.S. imperialism, which is on pins and needles. The days of U.S. imperialism are numbered.

In the excellent revolutionary situation in which "the four seas are rising, clouds and waters raging, the five continents are rocking, wind and thunders roaring," it is our primary task at present to form the broadest and most genuine international united front against U.S. imperialism. This front includes the

broad masses of the American Negroes and the American people, all the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations of the world, and all the countries and peoples subjected to U.S. imperialist aggression, control, intervention or bullying, but it absolutely must not include the flunkies and accomplices of U.S. imperialism. Willingly serving U.S. imperialism, the modern revisionist leading clique of the Soviet Union is vainly attempting to undermine this genuine anti-U.S. united front in a thousand and one ways under the signboard of so-called "united action." At the recent 12th World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs held in Japan, the Soviet revisionist clique has once again been engaged in sabotage and has smuggled into the conference the delegation of the World Federation of Democratic Youth which is under its control. In order to protest against this act, delegates from 16 countries have declared their withdrawal from the conference. Some of these delegates have already arrived in Peking and are attending our rally today. Let us express warm welcome to them. The Chinese people fully support their just stand in upholding principles. This has, moreover, demonstrated once again that, in order to oppose U.S. imperialism, it is imperative to oppose modern revisionism with the leading clique of the C.P.S.U. as its centre, and that the revolutionary people of the world are becoming more discerning than ever and U.S. imperialism and its accomplices will not succeed in whatever schemes and tricks they resort to.

Comrades and friends! Three years ago **Chairman Mao said in his Statement, ". . . with the support of more than 90 per cent of the people of the world, the American Negroes will be victorious in their just struggle. The evil system of colonialism and imperialism arose and thrived with the enslavement of Negroes and the trade in Negroes, and it will surely come to its end with the complete emancipation of the black people."** This prediction of Chairman Mao's will certainly come true.

The Chinese people are friendly to the American people. They are the most reliable friend of the American Negro people. In your struggle, you will always receive infinite sympathy and active support from the Chinese people. We are deeply convinced that our American Negro brothers will certainly further close their ranks, unite with all the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations, form the broadest united front and wage a tit-for-tat struggle against U.S. imperialism. You are sure to win victory! You are sure to win emancipation!

Finally, let us shout:

Defeat to U.S. imperialism!

Victory to the American Negro people!

Victory to the American people!

Victory to the people of the world!

Long live Chairman Mao!

Speech by U.S. Negro Leader Robert Williams

Brothers, Sisters, Patriots, Revolutionaries:

Once again, I want to thank Chairman Mao Tse-tung and our brothers, the great Chinese people for their support of our struggle. Commemorating the third anniversary of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's Statement calling upon the people of the world to unite against racial discrimination by U.S. imperialism and support the American Negroes in their struggle against racial discrimination, the greatest tribute that can be paid to the correctness of his immortal words lie in a current analysis and assessment of the present development of struggle being waged by the Afro-American people.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung's statement of August 8, 1963 gave inspiration to a people long and brutally oppressed and dehumanized, then laboring under the Masochist-like philosophy of neo-Gandhism. His words gave impetus to a floundering and feeble movement of armed self-defence. And today all of the reactionary world is shocked and terrified by the turbulent winds of ever increasing armed resistance now sweeping the mighty fortress of savage imperialism and beastly racism. In racist America's mighty northern cities, in the small towns, in the countryside, in the dark and deep jungle wilderness of the southland, from coast to coast oppressed and dehumanized black people are meeting oppressive racist terrorist's violence with revolutionary violence. The thunder of BLACK POWER echoes throughout the land. A mighty firestorm sweeps through the black ghettos rife with rebellion. In their paradise of stolen wealth, ringed by massive arsenals of horrible death weapons, the tyrannical kings of imperialism tremble from the terrifying shock of a confrontation with wretched and angry slaves, armed with a common household match and a bottle of gasoline.

What is the meaning of this cry BLACK POWER in a land dominated by the unmerciful power of white intruders who murdered and all but exterminated the rightful owners, the American Indians? Black Power means that black men want to have some control over their own lives, to have a respected voice in public affairs that affect them. We resent being a colonial people, treated as third class citizens in our own native land. We resent being forbidden to speak for ourselves, even in black belts where we constitute as much as 85

percent of the population. We resent being deformed by a white man's mold in a degenerate white supremacy society that derides and belittles our African heritage and makes us ashamed of our ethnic characteristics. Black Power is the vehicle by which we hope to reach a stage wherein we can be proud black people without the necessity of an apology for our non Anglo-Saxon features. The dominant society in racist America is reactionary, imperialist, racist and decadent and we wish to disassociate ourselves from it. Black Power is a dissident force challenging the racist white power structure that is so heinously exterminating the people of Vietnam and threatening the world with nuclear destruction.

We have been victims of white racism for 400 years in the new world. We have been victims of racist barbarism for almost 200 years under the present form of government. Our people are slaughtered like swine on the main streets of racist America. Our churches and homes have been bombed. Our women are raped with impunity. Our men have been emasculated. We are hated and murdered for no other reason than being born black and because we refuse to commend and love our savage oppressors, we are called racists.

We are oppressed people. Our objective is to destroy the hurtful stranglehold of our enemy oppressors. An opponent without the courage to designate his enemy by his true characteristics cannot expect to confront and defeat him. We propose to call our enemies what they are. We propose to rally our people and fight on this basis. We do not propose to mince our words for the sake of peaceful coexistence. It is a natural law that a humble lamb cannot peacefully coexist with a rabid wolf in close proximity.

Yes, we have some white Americans with us in our struggle. They are our true brothers. These revolutionaries understand and share our anger. They know it is justified. Their spirit is an extension of the glorious spirit of the great and noble anti-slavery fighter, John Brown. Yes, they too are a hated and persecuted minority people in Johnson's majority mob rule Hitlerite jungle society. Yes, and like all other peoples we have enemies in our ranks. We have black traitors who practice treason for 30 pieces of silver. We have black Judases, insensate running dogs for the Johnson ad-

ministration and its racist white power structure. Like their white puppet masters, these black puppets too have days that are numbered.

Our wrath is as intense against the black lackeys of our white oppressors, as it is against the white supremacy oppressors themselves. These mercenary Uncle Toms are the most vocal nonviolent peace peddlers in the storm centers of racist America today. The ghettos are ablaze but they advocate peaceful submission to continued tyranny and oppression.

Johnson, the great civil rights advocate, the former senator from the racist state of Texas who as senator voted against every civil rights bill that came before the U.S. Senate, claimed to be a modern day Moses to black Americans so long as they passively allowed themselves to be mauled and maimed by white supremacy brutes and thugs. But now, with brutal white supremacy Federal Power, he threatens those who defend themselves, their homes and their women and children. Mr. Johnson, the big daddy white supremacist, would remind our people that we are a minority and the brutal racist white savages are a majority. Like his fellowtravelling Ku Klux Klansmen, he endeavors to frighten and intimidate us by the mere numbers of our eternal oppressors. In the same fashion that Mr. Johnson would like to intimidate the Chinese people with a massive arsenal of nuclear weapons he is endeavoring to intimidate the black American by alluding to great hordes of white supremacists who are ready and willing to exterminate our people. We say to Mr. Johnson that intimidation, violence and brutality will not stop the raging fires in the people's liberation struggle. The only force on earth powerful enough to halt the flames engulfing the ghettos and main streets of racist America consists of fair play, brotherhood, equality and justice.

We serve notice on big daddy Texas Lyndon B. Johnson that he can no more intimidate the Afro-American people with his threat of unleashing his great hordes of maddog racists than he can intimidate the Chinese people with his threat of unleashing a nuclear attack. The day when brutal white racist oppressors and imperialists can frighten colored peoples into submission by threats of savage violence are gone for ever!

We revolutionary Afro-Americans respond to Mr. Johnson and his Ku Klux Klan fraternity of white supremacy with the cry of BLACK POWER, FREEDOM NOW! JUSTICE! We proclaim our inalienable right to live as human beings and we shall implement our demand with blood and fire. Yes, Mr. Johnson, we are a minority but more than that we are an oppressed minority determined at all costs to be free, and we are resolved to pay any price to perform any task and to go to any length for our freedom.

August 12, 1966

Yes, we are a minority but we are a minority with the power of a righteous cause and justice on our side. We are a minority marching in the endless files of the great multi-racial masses of the invincible anti-imperialist and anti-racist forces of the world. For the benefit of Mr. Johnson, who puts so much stock in numbers, we remind him once again, **in the words of a great people's leader, a liberator whose words, thought and teachings stand as impeccable in the turbulent winds of time as the mighty Rock of Gibraltar**, yes, we remind him once again that **our great leader and teacher, Chairman Mao Tse-tung has said:**

“. . . We are in the majority and they are in the minority. At most, they make up less than ten per cent of the three thousand million population of the world. I am firmly convinced that, with the support of more than ninety per cent of the people of the world, the American Negroes will be victorious in their just struggle. The evil system of colonialism and imperialism arose and thrived with the enslavement of Negroes and the trade in Negroes, and it will surely come to its end with the complete emancipation of the black people.”

Today, in the social jungle of racist America the rights of colored people are less respected than those of common street dogs. The law and the kangaroo courts of the so-called free world of “Christian” democracy protect the rights of common street dogs and other dumb animals but there is not a single court of law that dispenses even-handed justice and unbiased constitutional and human rights to colored Americans. The long brutal and miserable plight of our people throughout the history of barbaric America encompasses one of the most shameful and savage chapters in the history of slavery and man's injustice to man.

The dominant class in racist America is one of the most hypocritical the world has ever seen. It captured the African in Africa, enslaved him, ripped his culture from him, raped him, reproduced from him, completely dehumanized him and reduced him to the level of beast of burden and stamped him with the name Negro as a tribute to the white man's creation and invention of a new implement of agriculture and an instrument of labour. And all the while, he promoted this brutal slavery, he proclaimed himself architect of democracy and a Christian society. All the while he brutally and savagely exterminated the American Indian and piously proclaimed Thanksgiving to his white god for being so generous in blessing him with the bounty of the Indian's rich land and paradise. He built a brutal imperialist prison wall around the peoples of Latin America and piously named it the protective Monroe Doctrine. He stretched his bloody hand to Asia and arrogantly called it an “Open Door Policy.”

The Open Door Policy was the policy of an armed bandit at the door of a peaceful man. Today, the same bandit rapes and plunders the land of Vietnam, murders defenseless women and children and exterminates the people in the name of "free world Christian democracy."

The same bandit who exterminated and starved the American Indian on his own native soil now piously proclaims to practice charity to the nation of India in a hypocritical effort to use them in his campaign to subdue and enslave the peoples of Asia. What is the nature of his democracy? What does such a beastly, imperialist racist savage know about democracy? Should not democracy, like charity, start first at home and then spread abroad? What is the democracy of the Black American captives in the miserable ghettos, in the cotton fields of Mississippi, battered by the savage policeman's club in Washington, D.C.? What is the democracy of the Puerto Ricans, of the Mexicans and of the American Indians in racist America? Only the most naive can believe the empty words and promises of such a morally bankrupt charlatan.

Deceptive American white supremacy is personified by hypocrites like Bobby Kennedy, a sophisticated huckster and charlatan of the first magnitude who struts and sways into the hotbed of African white supremacy and colonialism, hugging and kissing black babies and masquerading as a great white father and savior of the black Africans. Mr. Kennedy's actions in racist America are quite a contrast to his deceitful conduct in Africa. When Mr. Kennedy served as the Attorney General of the U.S.A. he was sworn to uphold the right of equal protection under law, yet he collaborated with the most barbaric racists in the nation. He entered into a "white gentleman's agreement" with the notorious racist Governor of Mississippi, Ross Barnett. Defenseless and helpless black women and children were bombed, gassed, clubbed, raped and murdered on the main streets of racist America and Mr. Kennedy is yet to punish a single white supremacist heathen transgressor. As Attorney General he did nothing about the fact that Africans were being beaten in the United States, even the diplomats assigned to the United Nations.

It is strange indeed how Mr. Kennedy can perform in the racist chorus of those who chant slogans of hatred, vilification and dehumanization for black people in America while proclaiming his pretended great love for black humanity in Africa. Such is the nature of a deceptive and barbaric Yankee.

In America, Mr. Kennedy publicly proclaims himself to be opposed to black nationalism. In his white supremacy logic he calls it racism in reverse. Black nationalism is a survival reaction to white nationalism. White nationalism transcends religious, class, social and political lines. The reason that no massive black-white unity on a national scale exists today is that the white supremacy ruling class has poisoned the minds of white workers. Most white workers identify with their white imperialist rulers. White liberals insist on paternalism.

Even bourgeois minded so-called socialists are more and more identifying and grouping on a racial basis rather than on a class basis. We Afro-American revolutionaries have discovered that some so-called socialists, we thought to be our comrades and class brothers, have joined the international Ku Klux Klan fraternity for white supremacy world domination. To our consternation, we have discovered that the bourgeois orientated power structure of some socialist states, even one with a black and white population, would prefer to preserve the white reactionary anti-communist power structure in racist America, their natural national enemy, than to see a just, democratic, fraternal socialist state brought about by the revolutionary action of oppressed blacks that would serve the best interests of all people of all races. Like their Yankee counterparts that they love to ape so well, even to the point of emulating their racism, they are moving might and main to frustrate and defeat the revolutionary movements of the oppressed peoples throughout the world.

We of the Afro-American liberation movement resolutely condemn and oppose all counter revolutionaries and purveyors of white supremacy whether they cloak their treachery in the garb of Marxist-Leninist phraseology or the hideous bed sheets of the Ku Klux Klan and its phoney Christian doctrine.

We who are engaged in the struggle for liberation and survival vehemently condemn the use of black dehumanized troops as cannon fodder in a white man's war of imperialism in Vietnam. We oppose Johnson's vicious crusade to dehumanize, emasculate and enslave the great Vietnamese people.

Black boys—from the slum housing of black ghettos, ill-educated in segregated schools, emasculated and dehumanized by police brutality and a savage white power structure—yes, black boys who cannot find employment, black boys who are victims of white racists who hate them because of the color of their skin—black boys whose mothers, sisters and loved ones are being savagely clubbed, gassed, raped, maimed, lynched and railroaded to prison in racist kangaroo courts simply for begging and praying for elementary justice are forced to share fox holes and shed their blood alongside racist Negro haters in Vietnam, who like in racist America refuse to fraternize with them in places of amusement in Tokyo and Saigon. Even out of proportion to the self-styled master race, vast numbers of black soldiers are forced to suffer and die in that vain effort to prolong and extend the brutal racist white man's imperialism. They are forced to suffer and die in the cause of a racist power structure that is as much the enemy of black people in America as it is the people of peace and freedom loving Vietnam.

And why do we call the massive Ku Klux Klan type action in Vietnam a racist white man's war of imperialism while many black men are fighting there? It is because in racist America no black man is part of Johnson's policy making clique. The United States is

governed by white power. The Pentagon is a white dominated repressive arm of a ruthless elite white power structure. Wall Street is an exclusive club of the great white chiefs of business and industry. Black Americans are resisting the racist and imperialist lily white power structure. How can a people who are fighting and dying simply to wrest the most basic of human rights from an intransigent and tyrannical power structure be said to be partners of that power structure and willing participants in its racist and imperialist ventures and crimes against humanity?

The United States today is a fascist society more brutal than any the world has ever known. It has all but exterminated a whole people. It has robbed and raped an entire continent with impunity. It has divided the peoples of the world into national factions and set them against themselves and their brothers. With no more authority than the wave of its bloody imperialist hand it has abrogated the right of self-determination of small nations. It has appointed and crowned itself both king and armoured knight of the whole universe. It threatens the globe with annihilation. It is a super colonial power that is colonializing the colonials.

The world famed and brilliant philosopher, Lord Bertrand Russell has justifiably stated that racist America has exterminated more black people than Hitler exterminated Jews in Nazi Germany. Lord Russell and many other fair minded humanists throughout the world have justifiably stated that the U.S. military aggression in Vietnam is executed in a more cruel and barbarous manner than even the horrible campaigns of aggression, genocide and conquest carried out by Hitler's fascist Germany.

Yet, there is a mighty tendency, promoted by the sinister American devil himself, to engender more sympathy and fraternalism for the so-called "good reasonable Americans" than for the wretched victims of vicious and brutal U.S. imperialism. The U.S. constitutes one of the greatest fascist threats ever to cast its ugly shadow across the face of the earth. When the butchers of Nazi Germany were on the plunder, the world cry was "Crush Nazism!" "Crush the Fascist Power Structure!" "Crush Germany!" Total war was unleashed without deference to any who may have been considered "good Germans" inside Nazi Germany. No sane person opposed to Fascism pleaded for a soft policy toward Nazi Germany or pleaded for the victims to wait for deliverance through the benevolence of "good German workers and liberals." Racist America didn't give a damn about sparing the good Japanese people when they dropped their horrible and devastating atom bombs.

What is the motive of those who plead for the exemption of liberal Americans, whose feigned liberalism merely serves as a cloak and shield around the naked power of savage and racist U.S. imperialism? The

time is fast approaching when the so-called good reasonable American must make a decision either to overtly side with American chauvinism and jingoism or to take a resolute anti-imperialist and anti-racist stand that will be a firm basis for a just and lasting world peace.

We who are brutally oppressed and victimized cannot forever afford to spare the fortress of social reaction and tyranny because there are allegedly silent dissenters within its gates. Those who are without principle and conviction to declare themselves for the righteous cause of the oppressed must be prepared to suffer the consequences of the gathering storm of the violent and turbulent winds of retribution. A good man who is silent and inactive in times of great injustice and oppression is no good man at all. He is no ally to freedom and justice but is a silent partner to tyranny and oppression. He does not deserve exemption from the condemnation and vengeance of those whom his silence allows to be victimized. The myth of the good reasonable American who is yet to be heard is a ruse perpetrated by the psychological arm of the imperialist forces of tyranny. It is one minute to zero in racist America. Four hundred bloody and gruesome years have passed. For 400 years our good silent partners have remained silent and inactive. Time is running out and they stand at the dividing line still beseeching patience, still beseeching the slave to leave his fate to his silent friends ever infected with inertia. They plead for deference on behalf of the good people who yet stand at one minute to zero in the tyrannical shadows of the enemy camp. We call to them to separate themselves from the devil's legions. We inform them that they have not 400 more years to make a decision but one minute before the hour of zero, before the Armageddon between the slavemaster and the slave.

Once again, in closing, let me thank our great leader and teacher, the architect of people's warfare, Chairman Mao Tse-tung, for his great and inspiring statement in support of our struggle. And to our great Chinese brothers and true revolutionaries throughout the world, we revolutionary Afro-Americans vow that we shall take the torch of freedom and justice into the streets of racist America and we shall set the last great stronghold of Yankee imperialism ablaze with our battle cry of Black Power! FREEDOM! FREEDOM! FREEDOM NOW OR DEATH! For our people, for our country and for our compatriots throughout the world, we shall reclaim the nobility of the American Revolution. We shall raise our flag in honor, true peace and brotherhood to all the world.

Long live the People's Republic of China!

Long live Chairman Mao Tse-tung!

Long live the people's resistance to imperialism, racism, and tyranny!

Long live the militant friendship between the Chinese and revolutionary American people!

The Chinese People's Most Precious Gift to the World's People

— Tributes to Mao Tse-tung's Thought From Afro-Asian Writers Touring China

AT the close of the Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting on July 9, delegates from various countries toured different parts of China. During their journey through the country they sang the praises of Mao Tse-tung's thought, hailing Chairman Mao as the red sun in the hearts of the world's people. Mao Tse-tung's thought, they said, is the most precious gift of the Chinese people to the peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America and to the people of the whole world.

Mao Tse-tung's Thought Creates Wonders

On July 11 writers from a number of countries braved a downpour to visit the Shashihiyu Production Brigade of the Yuehkechuang People's Commune in Tsunhwa County, Hopei Province. Members of this production brigade, guided by the great Mao Tse-tung's thought, displayed the revolutionary spirit of "working hard for the nation's prosperity and relying on one's own efforts" and the perseverance of the fabled "Foolish Old Man." They worked hard, unceasingly, intelligently, and after more than ten years successfully turned what was formerly a poor village — where "soil is as precious as pearls and water as precious as oil and nothing except rocks and boulders grows on the hills" — into a brand new socialist village with terraced fields and row after row of fruit trees growing all over the once barren hills. Here the people have won national renown for setting an outstanding example of creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's works in the conquest of nature.

During their visit, these friends from overseas lauded Chairman Mao from the bottom of their hearts. They expressed a common view — that here they have seen the translation of Mao Tse-tung's thought into action. Facts prove that once grasped by the masses of the people, the great Mao Tse-tung's thought creates wonders in changing the face of the earth.

Abdulaziz Nur Hersi, the Somali delegate, said that the tremendous changes that had taken place in Shashihiyu and in China as a whole testified to the great victory of Mao Tse-tung's thought on self-reliance. **Feze Marcel, delegate from the Cameroons,** said to the deputy leader of the production brigade, Li Shu-chen: "Chairman Mao Tse-tung has said man is the primary factor. That is perfectly true. I have seen with my own eyes how Mao Tse-tung's thought is put into practice. Not only should you study Chairman Mao's works, we ought to, too."

Members of the delegation from south Vietnam were guests at the home of Wang Chen-kuei, a commune member. The head of the delegation, Tran Dinh Van, presented Wang and his family with a copy of

his famous work, *Nguyen Van Troi As He Was*, and badges of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation. He said: "We are so glad to see that you have accomplished such great deeds of transforming nature. We'll take this spirit of self-reliance of yours back to south Vietnam. It will be an encouragement to our people in overcoming difficulties and fighting the enemy."

Jaoudat al-Rikabi and Salame Oubied of Syria, who were entertained at the home of Chou Feng-lin, a commune member, had a good time talking with their host. Chou told his guests that the people of Shashihiyu were resolved to work hard in order to support the world revolution. The visitors were greatly impressed and moved. Jaoudat al-Rikabi said with deep feeling: "The Chinese peasants are very forward-looking. That's the result of guidance by Mao Tse-tung's thought. From our visit today we can see how the revolutionary peasants of China have taken hold of Mao Tse-tung's thought, and how this has produced a great force."

Mao Tse-tung's Thinking on Literature and Art Is The Advancing Torch for Afro-Asian Writers

On the morning of July 19, with infinite respect for Yen-an, some of the delegates to the Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting visited Yangchialing, Chairman Mao's former residence there. It was here in May 1942 that Chairman Mao gave his *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*. The delegates walked to the former conference room of the General Office of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, where the forum had taken place. In the same room, the delegates held discussions with some Chinese writers and local literary and art workers.

After a Chinese writer talked about the historical background and great significance of Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*, the Afro-Asian writers, one after the other, made speeches. They warmly praised this work by Chairman Mao for having developed, creatively and with great talent, the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and theory on literature and art. They took Mao Tse-tung's thinking on literature and art as the torch illuminating the forward path for the Afro-Asian writers.

Amado V. Hernandez, a writer from the Philippines, said that he had read this work by Chairman Mao several times. He was deeply convinced that Chairman Mao is not only a great leader of the revolution and a talented statesman and economist, but also a giant in culture. This friend from the Philippines emphasized that the revolutionary Afro-Asian writers should all

follow Chairman Mao's directive of 24 years ago very well.

Kularb Saipradit, a famous writer from Thailand, said that Chairman Mao in his work had given a detailed and clear-cut answer to the question of whom literature and art should serve. In order that literature and art can well serve the workers, peasants and soldiers, the literary and art workers must integrate themselves with the masses. This was a most valuable directive. He also said that this work had made a deep impression. It was a torch illuminating the direction in which the literature and art in his country should be created. Under the light of this torch, literature and art in his country are becoming a revolutionary weapon in the present struggle against U.S. imperialism.

Hong Chuong, a writer from the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, praised the *Talks* by Chairman Mao as a great contribution to the Marxist-Leninist theory on literature and art because they had answered many fundamental questions in the field of literature and art.

Agam Wispi, an Indonesian writer, said that the *Talks* by Chairman Mao had opened a bright path forward for the revolutionary literary and art workers. He expressed his wish to do still better from now on in learning from the masses, integrating himself with them and studying Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Mao Tse-tung's Thought Illuminates All Mankind

While visiting the Anshan Iron and Steel Company on July 20, **Laotian delegate Outama Choulamany** said: "With Mao Tse-tung's thought, man can work miracles. The development of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company from small to big, from few to many, from being weak to powerful, from producing low-quality products to high-quality products is the result of the brilliant guidance by Mao Tse-tung's thought. The great achievements of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company show that Mao Tse-tung's thought has taken deep root in people's minds and that it is the never setting sun."

Cameroon delegate Mouzong said: "The people all over the world have an ardent love for Chairman Mao. Mao Tse-tung's thought is of universal significance. It belongs not only to the people of China, but to the revolutionary people of the whole world. The imperialists and Soviet modern revisionists spare no effort in opposing Mao Tse-tung's thought. This fully shows that Mao Tse-tung's thought is absolutely correct. The more they oppose it, the more we will defend it. This is the task of both the Chinese people and the Cameroon people."

On July 20 the foreign friends who visited the Hunan Provincial No. 1 Normal School in Changsha saw the exhibition on revolutionary mementos of Chairman Mao's youth. **Mohamed Dahan of Somali Coast ("French")** said: "Every word of Chairman Mao is precious, for it deals with the Chinese revolution and the world revolution. Since 1919, Chairman Mao has taken part in revolutionary activities not only to transform Chinese society, but to transform the whole

world, making China the cradle of the world revolution."

On July 21 the Asian and African friends arrived at Shaoshan in Siangtan County, Hunan Province, to visit Chairman Mao Tse-tung's birthplace. When **Absalom Bahule of Mozambique** saw a pestle and mortar and was told that it was here that Comrade Mao Tse-tung used to hull rice when he was young, he could not restrain himself and stepped on to the platform to work the pestle. He said: "Now that I have seen the place where he worked, I feel that Chairman Mao has never been divorced from the peasants. He is a genuine Marxist. He is not only the leader of the Chinese people but of the revolutionary people the world over. The people of the world place their hopes on Mao Tse-tung's thought." After seeing the photos and objects in the exhibition hall here, the Asian and African friends made entries in the visitors' book, warmly praising the great thought of Mao Tse-tung. **Kibwe Constantin-Marie, delegate from the Congo (L),** wrote: "The Congolese people have always held Mao Tse-tung's thought in high esteem, because it is a torch lighting the way for all mankind, a compass to show the way for the oppressed people in Asia, Africa and Latin America."

While talking to workers during a visit to the State-Owned Northwest No. 4 Cotton Mill and the State-Owned No. 1 Printing and Dyeing Plant in Sian on July 22, **Mrs. Nancy Grant, a writer from Sierra Leone,** said: "We cherish Chairman Mao's works just as you do. I have read through the four volumes of his selected works. Chairman Mao's thesis that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers is particularly significant. Imperialism and socialism are two antagonistic social systems. How can they coexist peacefully? While opposing U.S. imperialism, one must at the same time oppose its accomplices."

On July 23 the Asian and African friends who visited the Sian People's Enamel Factory, an advanced enterprise of the Taching type, had a talk with workers, peasants and soldiers who are activists in studying Chairman Mao's works. **Viriato Dacruz of Angola** said that Mao Tse-tung's thought was the universal truth of the world revolution and that China was now the centre of the world revolution, and Mao Tse-tung's thought was guiding the people all over the world in opposing U.S. imperialism and modern revisionism.

Plunging Into the Seething Struggle Of the People

"We, progressive Afro-Asian writers, are determined to use our pens as weapons, to plunge ourselves into the seething struggle of the people against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and to strive for the implementation of this glorious and great historical task in the struggle of winning and safeguarding national independence and serving the broad masses of the people. We are convinced that a new Afro-Asian culture, literature and art will certainly develop along with the development of the Afro-Asian people's revolutionary struggle and will burst forth in

even more brilliant radiance than before; the Afro-Asian people are sure to make greater contributions to the world culture."

This was said by **Kuo Mo-jo, Chairman of the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles and Leader of the Chinese Delegation to the Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting**, in a speech at a mass rally in Shanghai on August 2. The rally, attended by more than 10,000 people, was held to bid farewell to friends from various countries who had attended the Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting in Peking. On that day, these delegates from different countries, who had toured the country by several routes, gathered in Shanghai. R.D. Senanayake, Secretary-General of the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau, who has made great contributions to the Afro-Asian writers' movement in its persistent struggle against imperialism and colonialism, and his wife, also arrived in Shanghai to attend the rally.

The rally warmly acclaimed the great victory of the Afro-Asian people's solidarity against imperialism. It gave full expression to the firm determination of the Chinese people and the Afro-Asian people to carry through to the end the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and their confidence in victory.

The recent Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting. Kuo Mo-jo said, was an unprecedented great meeting of the solidarity of the Afro-Asian writers, and also an unprecedented great meeting of victorious demonstration against divisive activities.

He strongly condemned the U.S. imperialists' unscrupulous bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong in an attempt to "force peace talks through bombing." He also denounced the accomplices of U.S. imperialism for their vigorous efforts to run errands for it. Moscow and even Tokyo had become the marketplace for peddling the "peace talks" fraud.

Secretary-General Senanayake made an enthusiastic speech. He said that the writer delegates had been touring China for well over two weeks and their deepest impression was how Chairman Mao Tse-tung's thought was applied by the millions of Chinese people, old and young, in the transformation of the cultural, social, economic and political fields. He said: "The road of Chairman Mao Tse-tung is the road to victory of all the oppressed and exploited peoples of the world who are waging heroic struggles against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. Chairman Mao, the great hero and liberator of mankind, is there to guide the oppressed peoples to victory on the path the great Lenin pointed out. That is why the oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America have placed confidence in Peking today and not in Moscow."

He stated that delegates from 53 countries and regions had participated in the historic meeting in Peking. The most significant absentee was the Soviet writers who had chosen the path of revisionism. He emphatically pointed out that the fighters against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism also had

to wage a resolute struggle against modern revisionism in order to achieve final victory.

Tran Van Hien, Cultural Attache of the Embassy of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in China, severely denounced U.S. imperialism for its crimes of aggression and gave an account of the victories won by the Vietnamese people in their struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. He said that no matter what methods U.S. imperialism might resort to, whether it was armed force or the fraud of "peace talks," they could only end in disastrous defeat. The Vietnamese people would never submit. The Vietnamese people were very proud of the fact that in their struggle they always have the 700 million fraternal Chinese people, armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, as powerful backing, and the vast territory of China as their solid rear area.

Nguyen Thuan Hua, representative of the Permanent Mission of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation in China, gave an account of the towering crimes committed by U.S. imperialism in Vietnam and then firmly declared that the people of south Vietnam had no other way but to rise and fight for their independence and freedom.

Ahmed Mohammed Kheir of the Sudan said: "The more we make progress together with our peoples in our revolutionary struggle against U.S. imperialism and its stooges, the more we hold firm to our revolutionary principles, the more it becomes clear to us that the Soviet leading revisionists and their followers, be they in the Sudan or somewhere else, are nothing but a wretched hired clique in the service of U.S. imperialism." He said: "The thought of Mao Tse-tung is the living embodiment and brilliant summary of the practical experience of more than 700 million people during whole decades of unprecedentedly difficult revolutionary struggles. For this reason, the thought of Mao Tse-tung is the most precious gift the Chinese people present to the peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the peoples of the world."

Yahya Mohamed Hassani, leader of the Tanzanian Delegation, strongly condemned the Soviet revisionists for their criminal efforts to undermine and split the Afro-Asian writers' movement. He said that the Afro-Asian writers' movement was a revolutionary movement, and a movement fighting against imperialism and its lackeys and against reactionaries. He added that Mao Tse-tung's thought was the guiding light to success not only for the Chinese people but for the other people of the world as well. Mao Tse-tung's thought not only illuminated the workers, peasants and soldiers of China but shone far beyond the boundaries of China to the working people of the vast world. "Anyone, whether in China or outside China, who arms himself with Mao Tse-tung's thought, is bound to succeed."

Shaukat Siddiqui, leader of the Pakistan Writers' Delegation, Kibwe Constantin-Marie, leader of the Congolese (L) Delegation, Amado V. Hernandez, leader of the Philippine Delegation, and Indonesian delegate Agam Wispi, also spoke at the rally.

No One Can Block the Eyes and Ears of the Whole World

by "RENMIN RIBAO" COMMENTATOR

AFTER China exposed to the world the Soviet-U.S. collusion in the scheme to "force peace talks through bombing" on Vietnam, the Soviet revisionist leading clique found itself in a quandary. It will never consent to give up its scheme but at the same time it is afraid it might be working too much in the open. In this situation, the Soviet paper *Pravda* on July 28, under the boldface headline: "Sino-American Dialogue," carried selections from an interview by a U.S. magazine with the U.S. Ambassador to Poland who said that the Sino-American talks in Warsaw "provide a forum for discussing a whole series of issues that confront both nations, in Southeast Asia particularly, but also throughout the world," that "they [the talks] are useful for a whole series of reasons" "in connection with Vietnam" and that "both sides obviously want them to go on."

People can tell at a glance what *Pravda's* motive is in publishing these extracts. The Soviet revisionist leading clique obviously wants to say: You expose our collusion with the United States. But aren't you, too, having a "dialogue" with the United States? Why is it all right for you to talk with the United States in Warsaw but criminal for us to promote peace talks on Vietnam?

Gentlemen in Moscow, this kind of renegade logic can in no way absolve you of your crimes.

Our attitude to the question of negotiations has been consistent. We have firmly adhered to the Marxist-Leninist principle that it is necessary to wage a tit-for-tat struggle. Chairman Mao Tse-tung pointed out as early as in 1945: "How to give 'tit-for-tat' depends on the situation. Sometimes, not going to negotiations is tit-for-tat; and sometimes, going to negotiations is also tit-for-tat." This is the Marxist-Leninist attitude towards negotiations.

The Sino-American ambassadorial talks have been dragging on for more than 10 years and have long ceased to be news. Because China takes a firm Marxist-Leninist stand and absolutely refuses to bargain over principles, the United States has failed to obtain anything from the Sino-American talks. At these meetings, as on other occasions, China has severely condemned the bloody U.S. crimes of aggression in Vietnam and all the U.S. peace talks swindles on the Vietnam question. It has firmly supported the Vietnamese people's sacred struggle to resist U.S. aggression and save their country. For *Pravda* to insinuate that China is making some political deal with the United States on the Vietnam question is the height of absurdity.

Lately, on a number of occasions, while attacking China by implication, the Soviet revisionist leading clique has struck a pose of not being interested in "peace talks." But this is in fact a revealing admission to the contrary. For who was it that said the U.S. bombing of Hanoi would not affect agreement on disarmament between the Soviet Union and the United States? Who was it that reacted with such coldness to President Ho Chi Minh's militant statement, his Appeal to the People of the Whole Country? Who was it that recently received in Moscow Mrs. Indira Gandhi and Harold Wilson, pedlars of the U.S. "peace talks"? Who is it that has just held "warm" talks with U Thant over the "three-point plan" for "peace negotiation" on Vietnam? And whose foreign minister has just been to Tokyo talking non-stop with the Eisaku Sato government on Vietnam? No one can block the eyes and ears of the whole world. How does the Soviet revisionist leading clique explain this chain of activities?

The Vietnam people's army paper *Quan Doi Nhan Dan* recently denounced severely the various absurd "arguments" used to demand that the Vietnamese people accept "peace talks," all of which served the purpose of U.S. imperialism. The paper pointed out: "To propose negotiations with the United States and to urge the south Vietnamese people to 'cease fighting' the United States, while the latter is still stubbornly denying the Vietnamese people all their sacred and fundamental national rights, is feverishly stepping up its war of aggression in Vietnam and seeking to apply military pressure, amounts to encouragement of the U.S. aggressors to go ahead." This just stand of the Vietnamese people has the support of the Chinese people and the revolutionary people of the whole world. But the Soviet revisionist leading clique is trying in vain to make a deal with U.S. imperialism at the expense of the blood of the Vietnamese people, in order to realize its fond dream of "U.S.-Soviet co-operation for world domination." What kind of cold-blooded people are they that sit in power in the Kremlin?

There is a saying in the Soviet Union that "you can write anything on a piece of paper." The editor of *Pravda* can scrawl anything he pleases on his paper, but not even another hundred items on China printed with ulterior motives can conceal the true face of the Soviet revisionist leading clique as a group of renegades who, serving as U.S. imperialism's accomplices, are betraying the fundamental interests of the Vietnamese people.

("Renmin Ribao," August 3.)

Raising High the Great Red Banner of Mao Tse-tung's Thought and Wrathfully Denouncing Chou Yang, Ringleader of the Sinister Gang in Literary And Art Circles

Unanimously expresses that the revisionist black line in literature and art represented by Chou Yang and opposed to the Party, socialism and Mao Tse-tung's thought must be thoroughly eradicated, that the poison spread by this counter-revolutionary black line must be thoroughly and wholly cleaned out, and that all the positions usurped by Chou Yang and company must be resolutely taken back and firmly occupied.

THE Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party recently held a meeting which wrathfully denounced the towering crimes of Chou Yang, chief ringleader of the black line in literary and art circles, in opposing the Communist Party, socialism and Mao Tse-tung's thought.

The meeting was presided over by Chang Ping-hua, deputy director of the Propaganda Department of the Party's Central Committee.

Comrades attending the meeting cited very many facts to prove that Chou Yang is a representative of the bourgeoisie who sneaked into the Party, an out-and-out counter-revolutionary revisionist, and the arch-criminal responsible for the black line which is opposed to the Party, socialism and Mao Tse-tung's thought in literary and art circles. From the 1930s up to the 1960s, this big schemer, who waved "red flags" to oppose the red flag, consistently engaged in counter-revolutionary dual tactics, spared no efforts in opposing Mao Tse-tung's thinking on literature and art and stubbornly pushed through the counter-revolutionary revisionist line on literature and art. At the same time, he did all he could to recruit deserters and enlist renegades and to set up a clique to serve his selfish interests. He raked together such old anti-Party hands as Lin Mo-han, Hsia Yen, Tien Han, Yang Han-sheng and Shao Chuan-lin and formed a counter-revolutionary revisionist clique with this gang of representatives of the black line in literature and art as its core; they usurped many leading positions in literary and art circles. Making use of these positions, they corrupted and undermined our literary and art ranks, energetically promoted "peaceful evolution," frantically engaged in criminal activities opposing the Party, socialism and Mao Tse-tung's thought, and plotted to usurp the Party leadership and stage a

capitalist restoration. Chou Yang's sinister hands extended not only to literary and art circles, but to education, academic research, publications and all other aspects of ideological work. **Comrades attending the meeting, with anger in their hearts, unanimously expressed their determination to hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and thoroughly expose all Chou Yang's criminal activities, thoroughly dig out the counter-revolutionary revisionist black line in literature and art represented by Chou Yang and opposed to the Party, socialism and Mao Tse-tung's thought, thoroughly and wholly clean out the poison spread by this black line, and resolutely take back and firmly occupy all the positions usurped by Chou Yang and company.**

Chou Yang Consistently Waved "Red Flags" To Oppose the Red Flag and Played Counter-Revolutionary Dual Tactics as a Sham Leftist and A Real Rightist; Irrefutable Facts Prove That He Is a Political Thief, an Anti-Party Conspirator and A Counter-Revolutionary Revisionist

From the 1930s right up to the 1960s, Chou Yang always regarded himself as "commander-in-chief" of the revolutionary literary and art movement in China, and posed as "the Party's literary and art theoretician," as well as "the top authority" and the representative of the "correct line" in literary and art circles. At the All-China Conference of Young Activists in Spare-Time Creative Writing held in 1965, Chou Yang made a big effort to deliver a report "summing up" the "experience" of the numerous important struggles on the literary and art front since the founding of New China. What role did Chou Yang play in these struggles? Citing numerous facts, comrades attending the meeting angrily unmasked Chou Yang; they unreservedly ex-

posed to the light of day all his counter-revolutionary dual tactics of consistently waving "red flags" to oppose the red flag, consistently playing the trick of acting one way in the open and another in the dark, and being a sham Leftist but a real Rightist, as well as his ugly features — those of a bourgeois conspirator who everywhere bluffed and deceived and pilfered political capital. **Since our revolution entered the socialist stage, it has been the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao Tse-tung who have personally led or lead all the important series of struggles on the cultural front such as the criticism of the film *The Life of Wu Hsun*, the criticism of the book *Studies in the "Dream of the Red Chamber,"* the struggle against the Hu Feng counter-revolutionary clique, the struggle against the bourgeois Rightists and the current great proletarian cultural revolution that is unprecedented in history.** All these important struggles are tit-for-tat struggles between the literary and art line of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought on the one hand and the black literary and art line represented by Chou Yang on the other. Chou Yang nursed an inveterate hatred against these important struggles which were personally led by the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao. At the crucial moments in all these struggles, he determinedly took the stand of the bourgeois Rightists and the counter-revolutionary revisionists, set himself up against the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao, and joined with the Rightists and counter-revolutionaries in a frantic attack on the Party and socialism. When Chou Yang saw that his counter-revolutionary schemes could not be realized, he immediately costumed himself for a new role as a "hero" in the struggles against Hu Feng and the Rightists, shamelessly appropriated to himself the meritorious services of others and put down to his own "credit" the fruits of victory in these struggles, thereby amassing political capital. In the spring of 1957, anti-China and anti-communist black clouds were rolling up both at home and abroad, monsters and demons of all kinds were emerging one after another and Chou Yang then served as a busy vanguard in the ranks of the bourgeois Rightists. Making speeches and fanning fires everywhere, he used the most poisonous words to attack the Party's leadership and the dictatorship of the proletariat, distorted the Party's policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend," openly advocated the publication of "periodicals run by like-thinking friends," fought for the freedom of speech of the counter-revolutionaries and Rightists and for their leadership, and vainly hoped to stage a capitalist restoration. Instigated by Chou Yang, many Rightists in literary and art circles went into immediate action and launched frenzied attacks against the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao. Soon afterwards, the people of the whole country, under the leadership of the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao, launched powerful counter-attacks against the Rightists. Seeing that the situation was unfavourable to him, Chou Yang, ever sailing with the wind, im-

mediately usurped the leadership in the struggle against the Rightists in literary and art circles. Thus, a big bourgeois Rightist made himself out to be a "hero" in the struggle against the Rightists in literary and art circles. In the struggle against modern revisionism, Chou Yang played the same trick. At the Third Congress of Chinese Literary and Art Workers in 1960, and at the Fourth Enlarged Conference of the Committee of the Department of Philosophy and Social Science of the Chinese Academy of Sciences in 1963, both of which were presided over by Chou Yang, he unfurled the banner of opposition to revisionism, sang out, high and loud, against revisionism and masqueraded as an "anti-revisionist fighter." But, as in all the important struggles of the past, Chou Yang was madly engaged in counter-revolutionary dual tactics. At the sessions he said one thing, and at smaller meetings and outside the meetings, he said the opposite. In the light he pretended to be a human being, in the shade he was a monster. At the same time as he was loudly delivering his anti-revisionist lectures, Chou Yang was peddling revisionist contraband in a big way in literary, art, academic and educational circles, and making venomous attacks against the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao. At the Third Congress of Chinese Literary and Art Workers, Chou Yang appeared to be calling loudly for repudiation of bourgeois and revisionist literature and art, but outside the conference, together with Lin Mo-han, he was wheeling and dealing and advocating the showing of films propagating capitalist and revisionist poison. The Fourth Enlarged Conference of the Committee of the Department of Philosophy and Social Science of the Chinese Academy of Sciences was held under the direct and close attention of the Party's Central Committee. Comrade Liu Shao-chi, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, gave an important address to the representatives at the conference. He called on those engaged in work on philosophy and the social sciences to study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought, and clearly instructed that philosophy and the social sciences must take opposition to modern revisionism as the key link. The sinister and crafty Chou Yang, on the one hand, plagiarized important instructions of the Central Committee of the Party and made an anti-revisionist report to the conference in order to reap political capital, and on the other hand, in the smaller meetings and outside the conference, he disseminated counter-revolutionary contraband which was antagonistic to the spirit of the instructions of the Party's Central Committee; he openly instigated academic circles to oppose Mao Tse-tung's thought, to boycott the anti-revisionist struggle, and blabbered that it was "not for everyone to go and oppose revisionism," "everyone should keep to his proper place," and he spread such reactionary nonsense as "study is anti-revisionist," "archaeological studies are also a contribution against revisionism," "staging *The Drunken Beauty*, too, complements the struggle against revisionism," and so on. Iron-clad facts prove that Chou Yang is a political

thief, an anti-Party conspirator and a counter-revolutionary revisionist.

Chou Yang Began the Conspiratorial Activities of a Political Speculator as Early as the 1930s, Consistently Pursued a Bourgeois Line in Literature and Art and Thus Served as an Agent Of the Bourgeoisie Within the Party

Comrades attending the meeting cited facts showing that Chou Yang had begun his intrigues as a political speculator as early as the 1930s. He not only consistently pursued a bourgeois line in literature and art and thus served as an agent of the bourgeoisie within the Party, but was also a falsifier of history and a liar. In the 1930s, he had been the first to raise the bourgeois literary slogan of "a literature of national defence" in opposition to Lu Hsun's proletarian literary slogan of "a literature of the masses for the national revolutionary war." At the same time, organizationally Chou Yang and company practised closed-doorism and sectarianism, attacked Lu Hsun, the great standard-bearer of the Left-wing literary and art movement, and tried to split and undermine this movement. **Lu Hsun waged a principled struggle against the bourgeois line in literature and art which Chou Yang represented, and against Chou Yang's slogan of "a literature of national defence." In the early forties Chairman Mao had drawn conclusions on this question giving a high evaluation of Lu Hsun's contribution to the new culture movement and criticizing the bourgeois line in literature and art which Chou Yang represented.** This bourgeois political careerist Chou Yang has ever since nursed a hatred against the struggle that Lu Hsun waged against him in the 1930s and the historical conclusions which Chairman Mao drew concerning the literary and art movement of the 1930s. In Chou Yang's view, he had to topple Lu Hsun; he had to drag down this revolutionary red flag — Lu Hsun; he had to reverse the historical conclusions made by Chairman Mao on the literary and art movement of the 1930s, otherwise he could not erect his own commemorative tablet and enter his name in the chronicles and could not keep that tight grip on the leadership which he held till today in literary and art circles. To this end, he tried in every possible way to tamper with and turn upside down the history of the literary and art movement in the 1930s and took every opportunity to slander Lu Hsun in order to reverse the correct judgment passed on the bourgeois literary and art line of the "1930s" which Chou Yang himself represented.

After the nationwide liberation, on various occasions, Chou Yang wildly boasted and bragged about the achievements of the "1930s" and did his utmost to reverse the correct judgment passed on the slogan of "a literature of national defence." At Chou Yang's instigation and with his support an ill wind sprang up in literary and art circles for publicizing the "1930s," and many representatives of the literary and art black line of the "1930s" made a scramble back on to the

stage to make capital for themselves and to boost up Chou Yang. They made use of every position and every opportunity to ferociously demand that the "tradition of the '1930s,'" be inherited and to venomously attack Mao Tse-tung's thinking on literature and art.

Chou Yang Brazenly Brought Out a Complete, Counter-Revolutionary Revisionist Programme for "A Literature and Art of the Whole People" and in Every Way Distorted the Line of Literature and Art Serving the Workers, Peasants And Soldiers as Formulated by Chairman Mao Tse-tung

Comrades attending the meeting indignantly pointed out that Chou Yang had all along opposed Mao Tse-tung's thinking on literature and art and stubbornly refused to carry out Chairman Mao's line on literature and art. By 1962, when class enemies in China and abroad came out frantically against China, Chou Yang's opposition and resistance reached a frenzy. He brazenly brought out a complete and systematic counter-revolutionary revisionist programme for literature and art, cooked up the "Ten Points for Literary and Art Work," and in an every way distorted the line for literature and art which Chairman Mao Tse-tung had formulated, namely, that it must serve the workers, peasants and soldiers. Chou Yang talked twaddle about this line being "out of date," and said that the "whole people," including the bourgeoisie, should be served by our literature and art. The comrades at the meeting pointed out that Chou Yang's slogan of "a literature and art of the whole people" was in the same vein as the slogan of "a literature of national defence" and the theory of "a literature of the whole nation" which he put forward in the 1930s. It directly echoed Khrushchov's reactionary slogans of "a state of the whole people" and "a party of the entire people" and was a product of the political line of Khrushchov modern revisionism. Chou Yang publicized the fallacy of "a literature and art of the whole people" with the aim of transforming the revolutionary literature and art of the proletariat into bourgeois, revisionist literature and art and thus preparing people's minds for the restoration of capitalism. **Chairman Mao has taught us: "In the world today all culture, all literature and art belong to definite classes and are geared to definite political lines." In class society, every class will create a literature and art serving its own class interests. There is in fact no such thing as literature and art acceptable to all classes and arousing an echo in all classes.** Chou Yang's theory of "a literature and art of the whole people" is out-and-out revisionist stuff.

Comrades at the meeting brought to light how Chou Yang deliberately distorted the Party's policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend," distorting this extremely firm class policy as "free competition" and "free discussion." He did his utmost to boost the revisionist line formulated at the 20th Congress of the

C.P.S.U. Riding the ill wind of Khrushchov's attack on Stalin and the so-called "personality cult," Chou Yang frantically carried out bourgeois liberalization, incited and supported the monsters and demons to come out into the open en masse and indulge in producing poisonous weeds and attacking the Party.

Those attending the meeting cited the fact that Chou Yang peddled a contraband range of reactionary bourgeois concepts of literature and art to show that he represented, in its most concentrated form, bourgeois and revisionist ideas on literature and art, the so-called literature and art of the "1930s," and all sorts of other reactionary ideas on literature and art. He deliberately denied the class character of man and advocated the bourgeois theory of human nature; he opposed the Marxist-Leninist theory of knowledge and banged the drum for the bourgeois idealist theory of "thinking in terms of images;" he did his utmost to oppose Mao Tse-tung's thought as the guide line for creative work in literature and art, and talked nonsense about creative work in literature and art "starting from a thematic idea" being the root cause that led to formularization and set concepts; he opposed the method of creative writing of integrating revolutionary realism and revolutionary romanticism as proposed by Chairman Mao, and energetically promoted bourgeois critical realism, the theory of "truthful writing" and the exposure of the so-called "seamy side" of socialist society; he did his utmost to oppose the portrayal of ideal worker, peasant and soldier heroes and widely peddled the theory of "middle characters." He did everything within his power to oppose writers and artists portraying the great era of Mao Tse-tung and to oppose writing on significant themes. On the pretext of opposing the theory of "subject matter as the decisive factor," he advocated "full freedom" for writers and artists in the choice of subject matter and emphasized creating works which he called "harmless," "piquant" and "able to raise the level of appreciation and taste." He was against literature and art serving proletarian politics and pressed for the so-called theory of "indirect co-ordination," in order fundamentally to change the subordinate position that literature and art must occupy in relation to politics. He frantically opposed the principle put forward by Chairman Mao Tse-tung that in literary and art criticism the political criterion should be put first and the artistic criterion second, and raved that artistic quality "plays the decisive role" and "only when a high artistic level is reached can politics come first." Comrades attending the meeting pointed out that these reactionary bourgeois viewpoints of literature and art advocated by Chou Yang must be thoroughly criticized and repudiated and their poisonous influence in literary and art circles and among the masses must be thoroughly eradicated.

Another crime committed by Chou Yang against Mao Tse-tung's thinking on literature and art was his energetic advocacy of the worship of what is foreign and the restoration of what is ancient, and his resis-

tance to the socialist transformation of literature and art. The long post-liberation domination of the theatre in our country by emperors and kings, generals and ministers, scholars and beauties, and ancients and foreigners was the result of the fostering and propagation of feudal, capitalist and revisionist literature and art by the sinister gang in literary and art circles headed by Chou Yang. The ultimate aim of Chou Yang's frenzied advocacy of feudal, capitalist and revisionist literature and art was to counteract and crowd out proletarian literature and art, unleash all monsters and demons and let all sorts of poisonous weeds grow rampant in order to corrupt the soul and sap the will power of the revolutionary people and bring about a restoration of capitalism.

In Pursuing His Counter-Revolutionary, Revisionist Organizational Line, Chou Yang Tried in Every Possible Way to Recruit Deserters and Enlist Renegades, to Form a Clique to Further Their Selfish Interests and to Exercise in Literary and Art Circles a Dictatorship of the Black Line Headed by Chou Yang

Comrades attending the meeting angrily revealed that, to ensure the smooth carrying out of his counter-revolutionary, revisionist line on literature and art, Chou Yang made use of the leading post he usurped as Deputy Director of the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party to push a counter-revolutionary, revisionist organizational line. By a thousand and one ways, he tried to recruit deserters and enlist renegades, to form a clique to serve their selfish interests and to rig up and enlarge his sinister counter-revolutionary, revisionist gang. After the founding of New China, Chou Yang worked actively to gather together renegades, traitors, Rightists, counter-revolutionaries, reactionary bourgeois men of letters, survivals of the past and other social scum. He appointed a great number of big-wigs of the black line in the literature and art of "the 1930s," such as Hsia Yen, Tien Han, Yang Han-sheng and Shao Chuan-lin, installing these old anti-Party hands in leading posts in the Ministry of Culture and various departments in literary and art circles to carry out a dictatorship of the black line headed by Chou Yang. Using the despicable means of concealing facts from his superiors and bullying his subordinates and usurping the name of the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Chou Yang appointed Tien Han and Yang Han-sheng to the posts of secretaries of the Party groups leading respectively the Union of Chinese Stage Artists and the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles. Thus for a decade and more these two organizations were under the dictatorship of these two sinister secretaries — Tien Han and Yang Han-sheng. Chou Yang not only protected such monsters and demons politically, but also gave them every consideration in work and showed great concern for their well-being. For instance, the extremely notorious and reactionary

traitor Chou Tso-jen, the Rightists Ting Ling and Chen Chi-hsia were all Chou Yang's proteges. While serving a term to remould himself through physical labour, Kung Chueh, a bad element and Chou Yang's favourite student, wrote to Chou Yang, demanding his release ahead of time. Chou Yang not only granted his request, but installed him in a post as an editor in the Peasants' Library Publishing House so that this scoundrel, most rotten at heart, could try again to poison the working people. Such criminal evidence fully proves that Chou Yang is the representative of the elements of the landlord class and the bourgeoisie, and degenerated elements.

On the one hand, Chou Yang tried to recruit deserters and enlist renegades, to form a clique to serve their own selfish interests and to usurp the leadership in literary and art circles; on the other hand, he peddled the revisionist black stock of the "three famous" principle — famous writers, famous directors and famous actors — and the "three highs" policy — high salaries, high royalties and high awards. He was an advocate of the "opening windows" proposal, calling on literary and art workers to imitate foreign capitalist and modern revisionist literature and art. That is how the arch criminal of this counter-revolutionary, revisionist clique tried by every possible means to corrupt our literary and art ranks in the vain attempt to groom an army of bourgeois literary and art forces to corrode our Party and our people, so that our country would change its colour.

Chou Yang's Gang of Counter-Revolutionary Revisionist Diehards Stubbornly Resisted the Series of Extremely Important Instructions on and Severe Criticisms of Literary and Art Work Issued by the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao, and Frenziedly Undermined the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

In recent years, the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman Mao issued a series of extremely important instructions on and severe criticisms of literary and art work. But Chou Yang all along refused to put them into practice or examine the mistakes; he instituted a strict blockade and did not transmit them to people at the lower levels. Instead, he stubbornly persisted in pushing through his counter-revolutionary, revisionist black line on literature and art and preparing people's mind for a bourgeois restoration. In 1962, at the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party, Chairman Mao issued the great call: "Never Forget the Class Struggle!" and he also gave important instructions on literary and art work, pointing out that some people were making use of the writing of novels to carry on anti-Party activities and were creating a public opinion for the restoration of capitalism. Chou Yang was the advertiser and supporter of these anti-Party novels. After the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party, Chou Yang did his utmost to whitewash and

justify his anti-Party words and deeds. Besides, he did nothing to examine and criticize the anti-Party works. Chou Yang was consistently opposed to weeding out the old of feudalism and capitalism to let the socialist new emerge. Hypocritically he advocated the so-called "simultaneous triple development" of traditional plays, new historical plays and plays on contemporary themes, which actually was to squeeze out plays on contemporary themes by staging traditional plays and historical plays in a big way. **In December 1963, Chairman Mao pointed out in his instruction: 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.** Chou Yang not only did not examine the problems in literary and art circles and his own problems in accordance with Chairman Mao's instruction but, on the contrary, went to collect so-called "new phenomena" in literary and art circles to write a report to the Central Committee of the Party and set himself up against the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao. But, he had hardly finished writing his report on "new phenomena" when **in June 1964, during the rectification movement within the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles and its affiliated associations, Chairman Mao again pointed out: In the past 15 years these associations and most of their publications (a few said to be good) for the most part (this did not apply to every individual) had not carried out the policies of the Party and had acted as high and mighty bureaucrats, had not gone to the workers, peasants and soldiers and had not reflected the socialist revolution and construction. In recent years, they had even slid to the verge of revisionism. If serious steps were not taken to remould them, they were bound at some future date to become groups like the Hungarian Petofi Club.**

This great instruction of Chairman Mao's hit Chou Yang and his gang squarely in a sore spot. However, Chou Yang and his gang of counter-revolutionary revisionist diehards, cornered as they were, continued to put up a stiff resistance. An evidence of their crime of resisting the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao and opposing the cultural revolution was their intrigue in concocting a sham rectification movement in literary and art circles.

In this so-called "rectification movement" Chou Yang in general forbade open criticism of the sinister gang in literary and art circles which was opposed to the Party, opposed to socialism and opposed to Mao Tse-tung's thought. As for those few members of the sinister gang like Tien Han, Hsia Yen and Shao Chuanlin for whom open criticism was inevitable, he played a series of tricks of sham criticism but actual defence. He also worked out all sorts of taboos for this open

criticism in order to restrain the revolutionary masses from thoroughly exposing and criticizing this gang of anti-Party monsters and demons.

Comrades attending the meeting denounced with deep indignation the crimes of Chou Yang in undermining the great proletarian cultural revolution. After the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao issued the important instruction concerning the criticism of *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office*, Chou Yang, who personally engineered and prepared *Hai Jui Sends in a Memorial to the Throne*, tried by every conceivable means to resist and block this instruction of the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao. What was more, he even blatantly sponsored the writing of an article under the name of Fang Chiu in which he resorted to the vicious tactics of using eclecticism to cover up the anti-Party essence of *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office* in an attempt to limit this political struggle to the sphere of "purely academic" discussion. Comrades attending the meeting unanimously pointed out: Chou Yang was frantic in his resistance to the instructions of the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao and he tried a hundred and one ways to undermine the great cultural revolution, but all his attempts were vain and futile. **Armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, the broad masses of workers, peasants, soldiers and of revolutionary cadres and revolutionary cultural and art workers are, with the force of an avalanche, sweeping away all monsters and demons.** Now that the reactionary face of Chou Yang has been thoroughly exposed to the light of day, it is necessary to smash up completely the throne hall of this lord of hell, to overthrow this living lord of hell, defeat him and make his name stink to high heaven, so that he can no longer spread poison everywhere and harm the people.

In Co-ordination With the Anti-China Chorus Of Imperialists, Modern Revisionists and the Reactionaries of Various Countries, and the Frantic Counter-Attack by the Landlords, Rich Peasants, Counter-Revolutionaries, Bad Elements And Rightists at Home, Chou Yang Unbridledly Opposed the General Line, the Great Leap Forward and the People's Communes, Opposed The Party's Leadership and the Proletarian Dictatorship

Hosts of facts brought forward at the meeting to denounce Chou Yang showed that he, the ringleader of the black line in literature and art, utterly frenziedly opposed the general line for building socialism, the great leap forward and the people's communes, and the Party's leadership and China's socialist system.

Beginning from 1958, the Chinese people, inspired by the general line for building socialism put forward by the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao, has become a people daring to think, to speak, to act

and to break through, with boundless enthusiasm and firm determination. This resulted in an unprecedented, great leap forward in China's socialist cause. It was just at that juncture, in co-ordination with the anti-China chorus of the imperialists, modern revisionists and the reactionaries of various countries, and the frantic counter-attack of the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists at home, that Chou Yang shot one poisonous arrow after another at the Party. He uttered the nonsense that the correctness of the general line "has not yet been proved"; he spread slanderous rumours that "the 'all-round leap forward' in 1958 has caused a disproportion in the economy," and so on. At the Talien forum on creative work held in 1962, Chou Yang vociferously advocated the restoration of individual economy, spreading around the nonsense that "production will certainly be raised once the fixing of output quotas is based on the household." Spreading poison unscrupulously like this, Chou Yang still complained of "not enough freedom," and "lack of democracy." Going further, he aimed his spearhead of attack at the Party's leadership and the proletarian dictatorship. He said: "In ancient times, there were the royal way and the tyrant's way. If socialism does not give democracy, then it is the tyrant's way." Comrades attending the meeting pointed out that, as taught by Chairman Mao, in regard to the reactionary representatives of the bourgeoisie like Chou Yang and company, we must enforce our dictatorship over them, use the "tyrant's way," permitting them only to behave themselves and not to be unruly in word or deed.

The meeting's participants expressed extremely deep anger against Chou Yang who had viciously attacked our great leader Chairman Mao and frenziedly slandered and defamed the great thought of Mao Tse-tung. In order to detract from the high esteem in which Mao Tse-tung's thought is held by the revolutionary people, Chou Yang by hook or by crook distorted the theories of Chairman Mao which are theories of genius, and at the same time, like a mad dog barking at the sun, vainly attempted to depreciate Chairman Mao's great development of Marxism-Leninism. When revolutionary literary and art workers, filled with revolutionary enthusiasm, eulogized the great leader Chairman Mao and the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, this ringleader of the black line in literature and art always sprang up in his rage to suppress or obstruct them. The studying of Chairman Mao's works by the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers has also been venomously attacked by Chou Yang. He even employed methods similar to Khrushchov's; after tampering with the history of the cultural movement in the 1930s, he also vainly attempted to tamper with the whole history of the Party. In arranging exhibits describing Chinese revolutionary history and in compiling and writing textbooks, he opposed the giving of prominence to Mao Tse-tung's thought, and the presentation, in accordance with historical truth, of the con-

sistently correct, brilliant, and outstanding leading role played by Chairman Mao.

Comrades attending the meeting said, Chairman Mao is the red sun in the hearts of the Chinese people and the revolutionary people throughout the world, and Mao Tse-tung's thought is Marxism-Leninism in the era in which imperialism is approaching complete collapse and socialism is advancing to victory all over the world. The brilliance of Mao Tse-tung's thought could not be dimmed no matter how Chou Yang and

company hated and abused it. The meeting's participants unanimously pledged that they must hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, and, together with the worker, peasant and soldier masses, carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end, thoroughly smash the sinister gang headed by Chou Yang which opposed the Party, opposed socialism and opposed Mao Tse-tung's thought, and thoroughly repudiate and completely eradicate the counter-revolutionary revisionist black line in literature and art represented by Chou Yang.

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

Mao Tse-tung's Thought Is a Compass for All People Aspiring to Change the World

— V.G. Wilcox greets the 45th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of China

V.G. WILCOX, General Secretary of the Communist Party of New Zealand, in a statement issued on August 2 on behalf of the Party's National Secretariat, said: "The Communist Party of China has set the world a great example in the creative application of Marxism-Leninism to the conditions in one's own country. Its Central Committee, headed by the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our day, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, has brilliantly integrated the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution."

This statement issued to greet the 45th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of China pointed out: "China stands today as the great bastion of the world's peoples against the savagery of U.S. imperialism, the common enemy of all mankind. Under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, China has never wavered in its determination to uphold the interests of the toiling people of the world in the face of U.S. nuclear threats and constant war provocations.

"The peoples of the colonial and dependent countries who are waging national-liberation struggles against imperialist oppression draw strength from the knowledge that China champions their cause and that the Chinese people and Party stand shoulder to shoulder with them in the struggle.

"Above all, this is true of the embattled people of Vietnam, who are heroically resisting the armed might of the U.S. aggressors, and who know with certainty that China will stand by them, come what may."

The statement noted: "Just as the Communist Party of China stands in the forefront of the struggle against imperialism, so, too, it stands in the forefront of the struggle to unite the world communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

"The Communist Party of China has performed a service of incalculable value to the international working class and the revolutionary peoples in heading the struggle against the attempts by Khrushchov and his revisionist followers to emasculate Marxism-Leninism of its revolutionary content." It said: "The Communist Party of China has played the leading role in exposing their [the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union] betrayals and rallying the genuine revolutionaries in the communist movement to the defence of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism."

It pointed out: "The steadfastness of the Communist Party of China in applying and upholding the basic principles of communism, in defending proletarian internationalism and Marxist-Leninist ideology, is in a great measure due to the outstanding leadership and creative genius of Comrade Mao Tse-tung."

Warmly praising Mao Tse-tung's thought, the statement said: "In his theoretical works, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has creatively enriched the teachings of the great Marxist-Leninists of the past — Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. Comrade Mao's works brilliantly combine the scientific approach of Marxism-Leninism with unquenchable revolutionary spirit. Expressing the thought of a great revolutionary, they are a com-

pass for the guidance and inspiration of all people aspiring to change the world.

"The thought of Mao Tse-tung, which has guided the Communist Party of China from success to success in the most difficult and complex of circumstances, is the embodiment of Marxism-Leninism in the present era of imperialism in decline and the transition to socialism on a world scale."

The statement said that it was Comrade Mao Tse-tung and the Communist Party of China who first showed, on the basis of a profound analysis of the developing world situation, that the storm centres of revolution had shifted from Europe and the West to Asia, Africa and Latin America. "This correct viewpoint, which emphasizes the need for the working class of the West to unite with and support the struggle of the oppressed peoples, points the way forward both for the national-liberation movement and for the working class of the developed capitalist countries, including New Zealand."

Of tremendous importance is Comrade Mao's contribution showing the necessity of carrying through the socialist revolution to the end in the field of culture and ideology, the statement continued.

"The experience of the world communist movement is that the process of eliminating bourgeois ideology from its entrenched positions is a much more protracted one than the actual political revolution.

Only by carrying through the class struggle to the end as a necessary task of the socialist revolution can bourgeois ideology be eliminated.

"Recognition of this necessity, pointed out by Comrade Mao and the Communist Party of China, arms the working class and all revolutionaries against the dangers of ideological degeneration in Communist Parties of socialist countries, and thereby guards against the possibility of a 'peaceful transition' from socialism back to capitalism, such as is now taking place in the U.S.S.R. and some other socialist countries under revisionist leadership." The statement hailed the great cultural revolution now proceeding in China, seeing in it an earnest of the Chinese people's determination never to permit the restoration of capitalism.

It said: "The leadership and the theoretical work of Comrade Mao has been of decisive importance in making the science of Marxism-Leninism the daily guide and working tool of tens of millions to a degree never before known. As a result, Marxist-Leninist theory has become a mighty material force for the further rapid economic and cultural development of China. At the same time, a great new impetus has been given to making Marxism-Leninism a mass question among the toiling people internationally.

"Our Party is confident that the Communist Party of China will continue the glorious traditions established over 45 years of fighting history and will advance still further the cause of world socialism," the statement concluded.

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(Continued from p. 5.)

The note repudiates the Indonesian Government's assertion that the forcible occupation of the premises of the Chinese missions is "purely intended to protect the buildings of the Chinese missions from suffering greater damage" and that "the buildings of the Chinese diplomatic missions will be speedily returned when circumstances fully permit." The Indonesian Government even preposterously proposes that these questions be settled "on the basis of consultation and in a spirit of consultation." Could it be called protection of the Chinese diplomatic missions when their property was destroyed, their premises occupied, and the care-takers of the premises were beaten up and driven out? Is it not a deliberate delay to put off the return of the forcibly occupied buildings until circumstances fully permit? What is there to consult

about when the Indonesian Government refers to so-called consultation after the open occupation of the buildings by force? It is perfectly just and natural that house-breaking bandits should be punished and the seized premises and looted property should be returned. What is more, matters concerning the violation of diplomatic privileges and the principles guiding international relations admit of no bargaining whatsoever.

The note points out that the Indonesian Government has even raised serious obstacles over matters on which consultation should be held. In the past two months, high-ranking officials of the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs have gone so far as to refuse to receive the Chinese diplomatic representative by creating all kinds of pretexts.

The note points out that the Indonesian Government has also resorted to threatening tactics in order to compel China to stop making

further truthful charges about these crimes, and raising proper and reasonable demands. Otherwise, the Indonesian Government asserts, "the Government of the People's Republic of China must be held fully responsible for all the consequences arising therefrom in society." The note adds: "These threats can cow no one. But we will condemn you as far as you go in your wrongdoing."

The note concludes: The Chinese Government once again demands that the Indonesian Government must, in accordance with the reasonable demands contained in the former's two notes of April 22 and 24, immediately return the office premises and living quarters of the Chinese missions which have been illegally and forcibly occupied, immediately compensate for all losses, and guarantee against the recurrence of similar incidents. Otherwise, the Indonesian Government must be held responsible for all the consequences arising therefrom.

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