

# China Reconstructs

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# CHAIRMAN MAO SWIMS IN THE YANGTZE

CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG, our great leader, who is 73 years old, once again had a good swim in the Yangtze River, braving the wind and waves on July 16, 1966.

The sky over Wuhan that day was bright and clear. The waters of the river seemed to be smiling. Cheering crowds lined both banks, which were decorated with colourful banners and huge posters with

Chairman Mao swims in the Yangtze, braving winds and waves.



slogans. It was a joyous festive scene.

Chairman Mao had swum across the Yangtze at Wuhan three times in June 1956, and had written his magnificent and powerful poem "Swimming — to the melody *Shui Tiao Keh Tou*". Now, ten years later, Chairman Mao again swam in the great river, staying in the water for 65 minutes and covering a distance of nearly 15 kilometres,

looking as fresh and buoyant as ever. It was as Chairman Mao had said in his poem:

*I care not that the wind blows  
and the waves beat;  
It is better than idly strolling  
in a courtyard.*

The happy news about Chairman Mao's latest swim in the Yangtze soon spread all over the country. Filled with great joy, the people passed on the word: "Our respected and beloved leader Chairman Mao is so very healthy. This is the greatest happiness for the entire Chinese people and for the revolutionary people of the whole world!"

Acting in accordance with Chairman Mao's instruction to go and swim in the big rivers and seas to steel themselves, 5,000 swimmers in Wuhan, following the course charted by Chairman Mao, enthusiastically took part in the 11th Cross-Yangtze Swimming Competition on the morning of July 16. Our great leader Chairman Mao arrived in a launch and reviewed the competitors. It was a tremendous inspiration to all the people of Wuhan.

At 9.20 in the morning, the strains of "The East Is Red", a song in praise of our beloved leader Chairman Mao, came through the loudspeakers on both banks, stirring the hearts of everyone on the spot. They thought to themselves: It was Chairman Mao who opened a broad, smooth path on the Yangtze for us. How wonderful it would be if he could



Chairman Mao stands on deck of the launch, reviewing the swimmers battling the waves of the Yangtze.

come today and see us cross the river!

Chairman Mao is the red sun in our hearts. He is with us for ever. The competition had just started when a fast launch cut through the waves from the east where the sun was rising and sailed towards the swimmers. One of the swimmers caught sight of the great leader on the launch, and, hardly able to contain his joy, shouted out: "Chairman Mao has arrived! Long live Chairman Mao!" Instantly, the swimmers, holding hundreds of red banners high above the water, swam towards Chairman Mao. The eyes of thousands upon thousands of people on the banks and in the river, which

began red with the reflections of the banners, were turned on Chairman Mao! They all expressed the same wish: May our great Chairman Mao live ten thousand years! And they all shouted in one voice from their hearts: Long live Chairman Mao! Simultaneously with the cheers, all the ships at anchor sounded their whistles in honour of the great leader. Cheers intermingled with whistles to form a thunderous roar which shook the sky over Wuhan.

Radiant with vigour and in buoyant spirits, Chairman Mao stood on the deck and reviewed the swimmers battling the waves. Holding red banners high and big boards inscribed with quotations

from Chairman Mao's works, the swimmers formed a Great Wall on the wide river, cleft the waves and valiantly forged ahead. The inscriptions read: "Unity, alertness, earnestness and liveliness", "The imperialists are bullying us in such a manner that we have to deal with them seriously", "Be resolute and unafraid of sacrifice, surmount every difficulty to win victory". The swimmers' revolutionary spirit, firm determination and strong fighting will filled Chairman Mao with great joy. Now walking to the starboard and now to the port side, he waved to the swimmers amid enthusiastic cheers and called out to them in a loud voice: "Greetings, comrades! Long live you comrades!"

The children's swimming contingent of 200 primary school pupils received particular attention from Chairman Mao. Most of them Young Pioneers from 8 to 14 years old, the children breasted the waves and swam vigorously onward with a board inscribed with Chairman Mao's words: "Study diligently and make progress every day", singing the song "We Are Successors to the Cause of Communism", demonstrating the revolutionary spirit of red youngsters in the Mao Tse-tung era. Chairman Mao asked that the launch be steered towards them. Seeing Chairman Mao, the Young Pioneers enthusiastically shouted: "Long live Chairman Mao!" Beaming with warm smiles, Chairman Mao waved to them and said in an affectionate tone: "Greetings, children!"

Chairman Mao's encouragement gave great strength to the children. Braving the rolling waves, they swam towards their destination.

Nieh Chang-hsin, a swimmer from the militia of the Hankow Thermal Power Plant, became so excited when he saw Chairman Mao that he forgot he was in the water. Raising both hands, he shouted, "Long live Chairman Mao! Long live Chairman Mao!" While trying to leap up, he sank into the river and gulped several

mouthfuls, but the water tasted especially sweet to him. All 5,000 swimmers swam past Chairman Mao in groups and, cheering "Long live Chairman Mao", covered the whole course of 5,000 metres in one stretch to triumphantly reach the destination.

As soon as they went ashore they turned round and, together with the tens of thousands of people there, warmly cheered Chairman Mao who was on board the launch in midstream. As the vessel moved towards the shore Chairman Mao, who was standing at the bow, kept waving his hand and shouted: "Long live the people!" This sent the crowds on the shore into seething exuberant spirits and they burst into thunderous cheers which drowned the roar of the Yangtze's tempestuous waters.

It was at this jubilant moment that Chairman Mao's launch arrived near the mouth of the Wuchang dykes. With steady steps, Chairman Mao walked down the gangway, immersed himself in the water for a while, then stretched out his arms and began to swim. It was exactly 11 o'clock.

The Yangtze was in spate; its current was swift and the rolling waves pounded the shores. Swimming in the vast river, Chairman Mao sometimes made his way through the turbulent waters by sidestroking and sometimes floated on his back, looking at the azure sky. Close by his side in the water were Comrade Wang Jen-chung, Second Secretary of the Central-South China Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and First Secretary of the Hupeh Provincial Party Committee, and a group of robust young men and women.

As Chairman Mao swam through the waves, he chatted animatedly with the comrades around him. A young woman told him, "This is the second time I'm swimming in the Yangtze." Smiling, Chairman Mao said, "The Yangtze is wide and deep. It is a good place to swim in." When Chairman Mao discovered that another young woman accompanying him could only

swim in one style, he amiably taught her the back-stroke. He said, "The Yangtze is deep and its current is swift. This can help you train your body and strengthen your will-power."

When crossing the Yangtze for the fourth time in 1957, Chairman Mao had pointed to a lesson: People say that the Yangtze is a very big river. Actually there is nothing to be afraid of about bigness. Isn't U.S. imperialism very big? It turned out to be nothing when we rebuffed it once. So there are some big things in the world, but actually there is nothing to be afraid of about them.

While swimming, Chairman Mao also chatted with Comrade Wang Jen-chung at his side. "How are the young people in Wuhan taking to swimming?" he asked. "More and more of them are taking to the water," replied Wang Jen-chung. "They have shown themselves to be bold, brave and quick in learning. In general, they can swim by themselves after only five or six days." Then Chairman Mao asked, "Can one in every three swim?" Comrade Wang Jen-chung replied, "Yes." Very much pleased, Chairman Mao said, "That's very good!"

Comrade Wang Jen-chung told Chairman Mao that men of the Chinese People's Liberation Army and the militia swam across the Yangtze fully armed last year, and that students of the Wuhan Institute of Water Conservancy and Electric Power swam across Tunghu Lake in Wuhan during the winter. He said that more and more people had learned to swim and that every year more had become able to swim across the Yangtze.

Chairman Mao's first swim across the Yangtze in 1956 was a great inspiration to the broad masses. In the past few years tens of thousands of youth and the masses of the people have followed Chairman Mao's instructions: "Swimming is a sport of battling against nature. You should go into the big rivers and seas to temper yourselves", and have taken part in swimming across the

rivers on an increasingly extensive scale. In the first across-the-Yangtze swim, only some two dozen girls and one young boy took part. Now 1,000 girls swim the whole course every year, while the children have become the vanguard in the crossing. Many born after 1956 when Chairman Mao first swam across the river now figure prominently in the annual crossing.

Close to noon, a strong wind swept over the wide river, churning up big waves. The launch waiting in the middle of the river moved towards Chairman Mao to take him aboard. Comrade Wang Jen-chung asked him several times to go on board to take a rest. Chairman Mao asked how long they had been swimming. When the comrades around him said that they had been swimming for 45 minutes, he replied in high spirits, "It's not even an hour yet!" With that, he continued swimming eastward. When they had swum 65 minutes, Comrade Wang Jen-chung again asked Chairman Mao to go aboard the launch for a rest. Chairman Mao joked, "Since you are First Secretary of the Provincial Party Committee here, I have to obey your order!"

Starting from near the mouth of the Wuchang dykes, Chairman Mao swam downstream for nearly 15 kilometres to a place near the Wuhan Iron and Steel Works. When he boarded the launch, he radiated vigour and showed no sign of fatigue.

The news of Chairman Mao's swim in the Yangtze stirred all hearts and brought immense inspiration and strength to everybody.

Wei Yueh-an is political instructor of the 205th team of the Wuhan Port Administration and an outstanding student in the study of Chairman Mao's writings in the Yangtze navigation departments. After returning from the swim, he described to his comrades the memorable scene of how Chairman Mao reviewed the swimmers and how the great leader had a



Swimmers advance through the waves, shouting slogans and pushing boards inscribed with quotations from Chairman Mao's works.

good swim in the Yangtze. With deep emotion, he said: "I was a docker who spent dozens of years on the water front and had my full share of the bitterness and agony of the old society. Since the liberation, the people have become masters of their country. That I was able to swim in the Yangtze together with Chairman Mao today is an event I'll never forget for the rest of my life. From now on I'll try to do still better in following Chairman Mao's teachings. While working on the Yangtze, I'll keep the interests of the country and those of the world at heart, study and apply Chairman Mao's works creatively, do my part to carry out the great proletarian cultural revolution thoroughly, do a good job at work, and make my contribution to the building of our great motherland and to supporting the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggles of the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America. This is how I shall repay the solicitude shown me by the Party and Chairman Mao."

When worker-swimmer Liu Wuching of the Hankow Thermal Power Plant saw Chairman Mao in midstream, he pledged: "Chairman Mao, I'll study your writings still better and emulate Comrade

Liu Ying-chun.\* I will assiduously study the supreme guide (meaning Chairman Mao's works — Tr.), faithfully carry it out, enthusiastically propagate it and courageously defend it." On his way back to the power plant, Liu, stirred by deep feelings, sang "The East Is Red" together with the others. A Young Pioneer, tremendously happy and filled with emotion after the swim, took out his pocket diary and with great care recorded the most unforgettable event in his life: "I saw Chairman Mao at 10.35 on the morning of July 16, 1966."

On that day, friends from various countries who were visiting Wuhan after attending the Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting watched from on board boats the spectacular cross-Yangtze competition of the people of Wuhan. They met the Chinese

\* Liu Ying-chun, a soldier of an artillery company of the Chinese People's Liberation Army under the Shenyang command, was a pace-setter in the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's writings. In March this year he gave his life to save the lives of six children.

people's great leader Chairman Mao whom they had long wished to see. The foreign friends cheered Chairman Mao enthusiastically and exhilaration filled the excursion boats. Delegates from Niger, while attending the writers' meeting in Peking, collectively wrote a poem expressing their great love for Chairman Mao. It reads:

*Mao Tse-tung, you are our leader,*

*Mao Tse-tung, you are our beacon,*

*Which illuminates, so brightly, so brightly,*

*The darkest, the farthest horizons. . . .*

And they could not contain their excitement when they saw Chairman Mao that day. Some friends repeatedly called out, "Chairman Mao! Chairman Mao!" Others shouted in Chinese, "Long live Chairman Mao!" Still others on the boats kept clapping. Friends from Indonesia became so excited at seeing Chairman Mao that they cheered on and on and then broke

into revolutionary songs in powerful voices.

Warmly Chairman Mao clapped his hands and waved back at the foreign friends. They were all very glad to see him so healthy. Some exclaimed, "Chairman Mao is in excellent health!" A friend from Africa remarked, "Chairman Mao crosses the Yangtze at such an advanced age! For Chairman Mao to have good health and long life is a happiness for the world's oppressed people and for the people of the whole world."

Foreign friends very highly praised Chairman Mao's call to swim across the Yangtze and the fact that he personally took part in it. They considered it of great significance. They declared that it was a great, unprecedented event for Chairman Mao to have taken the lead in crossing the Yangtze and for the Chinese people to follow this with nationwide swimming activities. It showed the courage of the Chinese people and their defiance of all hardships and dangers. Jaoudat al-Rikabi, a delegate from Syria, commented: "All the swimmers taking part in

crossing the Yangtze today looked strong, enthusiastic and courageous. Chairman Mao's splendid initiative enables the young people to develop their physique and foster a sound ideology so that they are able to make a breakthrough however enormous the difficulties and however wide the river may be." These friends remarked that if the natural barrier of the Yangtze could be conquered, all hardships could be surmounted, and from this they saw the splendour of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Chairman Mao has once again braved the waves of the Yangtze and had a good swim for nearly 15 kilometres. This is a great event which has stirred the hearts of all the people. The cheers of "Long live Chairman Mao" on both banks that day lasted for more than four hours. These moving scenes have shown the boundless love and respect of the Chinese people for their great leader Chairman Mao. Guided by the brilliant thought of Mao Tse-tung, China's 700 million people are setting their sights on the future and riding on the wind and waves as they advance.

Mongolian Autonomous Region performing in Peking, its actors and actresses, who are of the Mongolian, Han, Daur, Owenk and Korean nationalities, stirred by deep emotions, wrote a song in praise of Chairman Mao, the beloved and respected leader of the people of all China's nationalities.

*Red ribbons whirl and swirl,  
We sing in praise of you,  
Chairman Mao,*

*The red sun in our hearts.  
Long live Chairman Mao,  
Long live the Communist Party,*

*Our children and children's children for ten thousand generations*

*Will sing and wish you long and immortal life.*

fighters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, bringing them boundless confidence and strength. Chi Jui-hsuan, a scout-hero who has crossed coastal waters dozens of times to enemy-held islands to capture "tongues" and to watch enemy movements, commented, "We defenders of the coast must follow the example of Chairman Mao's revolutionary spirit and wipe out all enemies who dare to attack us."

A regiment under the Kunming command, which swam across the Chinsha River two years ago in response to Chairman Mao's great call to steel and temper oneself in rivers and seas, hailed the good news of Chairman Mao's swim in the Yangtze and that same day cadres and soldiers of 11 companies again swam across the turbulent Chinsha.

Shanghai's one million workers cheered the news of Chairman Mao's good health with one voice. Workers and revolutionary cadres of the Shanghai No. 1 Cotton Mill were greatly inspired, particularly because in 1957 Chairman Mao had inspected their factory. Said the workers and cadres, "In 1957 our respected and beloved Chairman Mao came personally to look at our big-character posters, an event that gave us boundless strength and tremendous encouragement. Now we must hold still higher the ever-victorious great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end."

"Chairman Mao, we will follow you forever!" "Learn from Chairman Mao's great works and great revolutionary practice; advance bravely along the revolutionary path charted by Chairman Mao!" Pledges like these were made, letters expressing determination written, and slogans put up at artillery batteries, highland sentry posts and navy and air force bases and in the front lines of the nation's coastal and border defences. The great revolutionary spirit demonstrated by Chairman Mao in his swim was a tremendous inspiration to the commanders and

Chairman Mao we will be victorious."

In the Chingkang Mountains, where Chairman Mao personally founded the first revolutionary base, the people expressed their determination thus: "The people of the Chingkang Mountains followed Chairman Mao in making revolution in the past. We are doing it now and will always do so in the future." A platoon leader of the old Red Army said, "Chairman Mao is the red sun in our hearts, the beacon for the revolutionary people of the world. With Chairman Mao's leadership, we fear no storms or hazards. Chairman Mao led the struggles in the Chingkang Mountains; the single spark there started the fire that spread to all China. Now the revolutionary people of the whole world are studying Chairman Mao's writings with great enthusiasm. In the near future, single sparks will surely start fires that will spread through the whole world."

"Chairman Mao is the never-setting sun in the hearts of the people of all our nationalities. Mao Tse-tung's thought is the guiding orientation in all our work. With it to guide us, no storms or waves can stop our advance!" Such is the way in which the people of China's many nationalities greeted the great news of Chairman Mao's swim. In northernmost China, in the Heiho area deep in the Greater and Lesser Hsingan Mountains, the Olunchun people cherish boundless faith in and boundless love and reverence for Chairman Mao and wish him a long life of ten thousand years. In the fields of the Lhasa valley in Tibet, the liberated serfs sing, "The golden sun rises in the east. A rainbow of good luck appears in the sky. Chairman Mao's swim in the Yangtze is a supreme happiness for the people of all nationalities."

Chairman Mao's great feat brought boundless inspiration and strength to China's 700 million people, who are determined to follow him and advance in the teeth of great storms and waves.

## Follow Chairman Mao and Advance in the Teeth of Great Storms and Waves

THE NEWS of Chairman Mao's swim in the Yangtze aroused unprecedeted enthusiasm and joy right across the land. Many people, on seeing pictures in the newspapers showing Chairman Mao looking buoyant and full of vigour, could not contain their excitement. They jubilantly sang "The East Is Red" and recited over and over again the poem "Swimming — to the melody *Shui Tiao Keh Tou*"

written by Chairman Mao in 1956. Cheers of "Long live Chairman Mao!" "May Chairman Mao live ten thousand years!" resounded in China's cities and countryside.

The people of the capital, who are in the midst of the great proletarian cultural revolution, all expressed their determination to follow Chairman Mao's teachings not only to steel and temper them-

selves by swimming in rivers, lakes and seas, but to follow Chairman Mao and advance in the teeth of the great storms and waves of class struggle, to learn the art of swimming in the class struggle, and to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

When the news reached the *ulan muchir* troupe of the Inner

*The campaign among the Chinese people to study Chairman Mao's writings is reaching a new high as the great proletarian cultural revolution is developing with tremendous vigour throughout China. Comrade Mao Tse-tung's Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art, an important, epoch-making article written in May 1942, is one of the four programmatic documents guiding the present cultural revolution. On the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the founding of the Party, Hongqi (Red Flag), published by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, reprinted the article in its issue No. 9 released on July 1 of this year along with an editorial note entitled "The Compass for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution". Earlier on May 23, 1966, the Jiefangjun Bao (Liberation Army Daily), which is for circulation in the Chinese People's Liberation Army, published "Studying Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art". Below are translations of the Hongqi editorial note and the Jiefangjun Bao article.—Editor.*

# The Compass for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

— Hongqi Editorial Note on Reprinting  
"Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art"

IN commemoration of the 45th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of China, Hongqi is reprinting Comrade Mao Tse-tung's Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art with a view to promoting the development of China's great proletarian cultural revolution.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art was first published 24 years ago. In this article Comrade Mao Tse-tung, with great genius, creatively developed the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and Marxist-Leninist theory on literature and art. This is an important, epoch-making document. It scientifically sums up the basic experience of the movement for revolutionary literature and art in China since the May Fourth Movement, and also the basic experience of the movement for revolutionary literature and art of the international proletariat. It most completely, most comprehensively and most systematically sums up the struggle between the two lines on the cultural front. It offers, for the first time in the history of the proletarian revolution, the most complete, most thor-

oughgoing and most correct Marxist-Leninist line on literature and art.

Our experience in struggle over the past 24 years has proved that the line of demarcation between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism and between revolution and counter revolution is whether one supports or opposes Comrade Mao Tse-tung's line on literature and art.

These Talks of Comrade Mao Tse-tung made a systematic criticism of the bourgeois literature and art line of the 1930s represented by Comrade Chou Yang. Politically, this line was the product of Wang Ming's Right capitulationism and "Left" opportunism; ideologically, it was the manifestation of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois world outlook; organizationally, it was sectarianism, working for the interests of the individual or of a small group.

For 24 years Chou Yang and company have consistently refused to carry out Comrade Mao Tse-tung's line on literature and art and have stubbornly adhered to this bourgeois, revisionist black line on literature and art.

Since the liberation, Chou Yang and company, these bourgeois representatives within the Party who usurped the leadership of literary and art circles, have stubbornly insisted on carrying through their bourgeois literature and art line which is against the Party, against socialism and against Mao Tse-tung's thought. Controlled by this black line and under its influence came a spate of absurd theories and a profusion of poisonous weeds, creating a miasma in literary and art circles. These bourgeois representatives turned literature and art into tools to attack the dictatorship of the proletariat and into a means for the restoration of capitalism.

In December 1963 Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out that problems abounded in all forms of art—drama, storytelling, music, the fine arts, the dance, films, poetry and literature; many people were engaged in them; and in many departments the socialist transformation had had very little effect. Many departments were still dominated by "dead men". Wasn't it absurd that many Communists showed enthusiasm in advancing feudal and capitalist art but no zeal in promoting socialist art, Comrade Mao Tse-tung said.

In June 1964 Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out that in the past 15 years the literary and art circles for the most part (this did not apply to every individual) had not carried out the policies of the Party but 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 help them remould themselves, they were bound at some future date to become groups like the Hungarian Petofi Club.

These statements of Comrade Mao Tse-tung were directed precisely at Chou Yang and company.

In the course of the past few months the great proletarian cultural revolution, launched and led by the Party's Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, has lifted the lid from the rule this black line has held over literary and art circles during the 16 years since the founding of the Chinese People's Republic, has brought out into the open and exposed to the light of day one group of monsters after another, and has conducted a vast and powerful campaign of criticism and struggle against them. This great proletarian cultural revolution is a struggle to defend Mao Tse-tung's thought, a struggle of cardinal issue of right and wrong; it is an extremely intense, extremely sharp and extremely profound class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. It is an issue of prime importance which affects the destiny and future of our Party and country.

At this moment it is most important to make a new study of these talks by Comrade Mao Tse-tung. This is of immense practical and far-reaching significance.

The Talks are a compass which guides us in finding our direction in the complex and acute class struggle and helps us to distinguish between fragrant flowers and poisonous weeds, between revolution and counter revolution and between true revolution and sham revolution.

The Talks are a "magic mirror" for detecting demons. They are the sharpest weapon for thoroughly destroying all monsters. In the face of it, all words and deeds which oppose the Party, socialism and Mao Tse-tung's thought will be shown up in their true colours and will have no place to hide.

The Talks are the clarion that sounds the advance. They call on the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers to act as the main force, and on those who work in the field of literature and art to go among the workers, peasants and soldiers, to go into the heat of the struggle, to take an active part in this great proletarian cultural revolution, to repudiate thoroughly the reactionary culture of feudalism, capitalism and revisionism and to create an entirely new proletarian, socialist culture.

In this great proletarian cultural revolution, which touches the people to their very soul, when we learn to wield this sharpest of weapons, we shall be able to defeat all the old ideology and culture and all the old customs and habits and we shall be able to establish a thoroughly revolutionary proletarian world outlook.

In the new conditions of the domestic and international class struggle, and the new conditions of the struggles being waged against imperialism and modern revisionism in the present era by the proletariat, the oppressed nations, and the oppressed peoples in various countries, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has elevated Marxism-Leninism to a completely new stage. Mao Tse-tung's thought is the acme of Marxism-Leninism in the present era. Comrade Mao Tse-tung's four brilliant works—*Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art*, *On New Democracy*, *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* and *Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work*—are programmatic documents for the great proletarian cultural revolution.

We are reprinting this great work, *Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art*, so that it may be widely studied.

# Studying 'Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art'

## HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

CHAIRMAN Mao Tse-tung's *Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art* was published in May 1942. At that time the worldwide anti-fascist war was in its most difficult period and the Chinese people's War of Resistance Against Japan had been going on for five years. Japanese imperialism had intensified its large-scale "mopping-up" campaigns against the Liberated Areas and was carrying out its ruthless policy of "burn all, kill all, loot all". The Kuomintang reactionaries, lured by the Japanese imperialists to capitulate, were intensifying their policy of being passive in opposing Japan and active in trying to wipe out the Communists. They had openly sent hundreds of thousands of troops to encircle and blockade the Liberated Areas in an attempt to strangle the army and people there, and had secretly sent great numbers of troops to surrender to the Japanese aggressors for the purpose of attacking the Liberated Areas under Japanese direction. This situation placed our Party in an extremely difficult position. Within the Party, the "Left" opportunist line represented by Wang Ming and the erroneous capitulationist line which had appeared in the early stages of the War of Resistance Against Japan had had grave influence on and caused grave damage to the Party and the Chinese revolution and had not yet been thoroughly examined and repudiated. It was necessary to launch a rectification movement throughout the Party in order to reorganize its ranks ideologically, politically and organizationally, eliminate the evil influence of the Wang Ming line and strengthen the unity of the Party so as to defeat the enemy and win victory. The movement was a struggle between proletarian ideology and non-proletarian ideology, an education movement for the whole Party in Marxism-Leninism.

The rectification campaign in literature and art was an integral part of this great rectification movement. In the years preceding the publication of the *Talks*, many revolutionary literary and art workers had come to Yenan and other base areas from the Japanese-held areas and the areas under Chiang Kai-shek's control. Not having remoulded their world outlook well, these people viewed the new environment, the new masses and revolutionary literature and art work with their old world outlook, old ideas and feelings. Bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideas remained to a serious extent in the ranks of our literary and art workers. At the time, the controversy among literary and art workers in Yenan and the other anti-Japanese base areas centred on two problems. One was that of working for the masses and the other was how to work for them. Unless these

two problems were properly solved, there could be no clear orientation and our writers and artists would be ill-adapted to their environment and tasks and would encounter a series of difficulties from without and within and would not be able to bring revolutionary literature and art fully to bear on the militant task of "uniting and educating the people" and "attacking and destroying the enemy".

After the May 4th Movement in 1919, the militant Left-wing literature and art movement led by Lu Hsun had made important contributions to the Chinese revolution. But the Left-wing literature and art movement as a whole did not solve a fundamental problem: that literature and art must serve the workers, peasants and soldiers and that literature and art must be integrated with the workers, peasants and soldiers. Just as Chairman Mao has pointed out:

**"Literature and art have been an important and successful part of the cultural front since the May 4th Movement. During the ten years' civil war, the revolutionary literature and art movement grew greatly. That movement and the revolutionary war both headed in the same general direction, but these two fraternal armies were not linked together in their practical work . . . ."**

The reasons for this state of affairs were: The objective situation then was that the Kuomintang reactionaries' reign of white terror in the Chiang Kai-shek-controlled areas made it difficult for the writers to go into the midst of the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers to understand them, know them well and write about their life and struggle. With regard to leadership, it was influenced by the erroneous Wang Ming line. At that time, politically the Left-wing literature and art movement followed Wang Ming's "Left" opportunist line. Organizationally, it practised closed-doorism and sectarianism, and its theory of literature and art actually represented not proletarian ideology but the bourgeois-democratic ideas of Belinsky and other Russian writers. Towards the latter part of the thirties, some Left-wing leaders, influenced by Wang Ming's Right capitulationist line, abandoned the class standpoint of Marxism-Leninism and put forward the slogan of "a literature of national defence". It was a bourgeois slogan. It was Lu Hsun who put forward the proletarian slogan, "Literature of the masses for the national revolutionary war". Wang Ming's erroneous line seriously affected the integration of literature and art with the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and the ideological remoulding of writers and artists. On the subjective side, the writers and artists did not try very hard to remould their world outlook. Although talking much about "popularization", in actual fact they "to some extent . . . tend to look down upon the workers, peasants

and soldiers and divorce themselves from the masses". Therefore, both in content and form, their works were far removed from the workers, peasants and soldiers and, in their portrayal of workers, peasants and soldiers, "the clothes are the clothes of the working people, but the faces are those of petty-bourgeois intellectuals".

The problems of whom literature and art should serve and how to serve are the two most fundamental problems in literature and art. There has always been a sharp struggle between the two lines over these two problems. In 1941-42, when the situation in Yenan was extremely difficult, the struggle between bourgeois and proletarian ideology on the literary and art front, too, became sharper than ever before. Under the pretext of opposing "utilitarianism", some people opposed the Party's leadership and the policy that literature and art must serve politics. They claimed that "the task of literature and art has always been to expose" and incited writers to use "Lu Hsun's style" to attack the Party and "expose" the shortcomings of the people, propagated the false theory of "human nature", and advocated "love of humanity" to confuse the people's class outlook, etc. In a word, they stubbornly flaunted their bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideas and demanded that the Party and the world be remoulded according to their ideas.

Chairman Mao delivered his *Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art* in order to systematically summarize the experiences gained by the revolutionary literature and art movement since the May 4th Movement, eliminate the influence of the ideas of the literature and art of the "thirties", repudiate the literary and art line of the bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie, oppose the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideological trends in the ranks of the revolutionary literary and art workers, and solve a series of fundamental questions of proletarian revolutionary art and literature, such as that literature and art must serve the workers, peasants and soldiers and that literary and art workers must become one with workers, peasants and soldiers. With this brilliant work as their weapon, the literary and art workers in Yenan and in the other anti-Japanese base areas behind the enemy lines launched a large-scale rectification movement.

## GREAT SIGNIFICANCE

The *Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art* gave a complete theoretical refutation of the cultural line represented by Wang Ming, made a most complete, most comprehensive and most systematic historical summary of the struggle between the two

lines on the cultural front since the May 4th Movement, and creatively solved a series of fundamental questions in the Marxist-Leninist literature and art movement. This brilliant work carries on and develops the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and theory on literature and art. It is the acme of Marxist-Leninist theory on literature and art in the present era, and the most powerful weapon for defeating modern revisionism and all kinds of bourgeois ideas on literature and art and the supreme directive for our cultural and art work.

During the War of Resistance Against Japan and the War of Liberation, as a result of implementing Chairman Mao's instructions that literature and art must serve the workers, peasants and soldiers and that writers and artists must integrate themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers, literary and art workers in the revolutionary base areas, for a long period of time, went unreservedly and wholeheartedly into the heat of the struggle, and conscientiously remoulded their ideology and integrated themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers. The result was that our revolutionary literary and art workers underwent a tremendous change in their mental outlook, that a completely new situation arose in our revolutionary literature and art work and that many fine works of literature and art which were hailed by the workers, peasants and soldiers were created. All this had made a positive contribution to winning the revolutionary war.

In the socialist revolution and the building of socialism during the 16 years of the People's Republic of China, experience has taught us over and over again that our writers and artists maintain a correct orientation and go on creating and advancing only when they conscientiously apply Chairman Mao's instructions in *Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art*. Once they depart from Chairman Mao's instructions, they get off on the wrong track, their work becomes stagnant and revisionism emerges.

In the great socialist cultural revolution now going on in China, whether one supports or opposes *Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art* distinguishes him as a revolutionary or counter-revolutionary, a genuine revolutionary or a sham revolutionary. The bourgeoisie, modern revisionists and all monsters are very much afraid of the great power of the *Talks*. Therefore they desperately resist it, virulently attack it, shamelessly tamper with it and even cunningly and sinfully oppose it while waving the flag of the *Talks*. All revolutionary literary and art workers and all revolutionary fighters should draw spiritual strength from the *Talks*, arm them-



Ballet teachers and students of the Shanghai Dance School re-study and discuss Chairman Mao's Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art during the great proletarian cultural revolution.

selves spiritually with the *Talks* and make the *Talks* a powerful ideological weapon for launching heroic and tenacious counter-attacks against the black anti-Party and anti-socialist line. The *Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art* is a great revolutionary banner that leads us forward, a basic guarantee for defeating our enemies and winning victories.

This brilliant work is not only the highest directive for literary and art work but the highest directive for every revolutionary fighter, a sharp weapon for remoulding our ideology and doing a good job of all work. It is of exceedingly great significance in guiding our ideological struggle to foster what is proletarian and eradicate what is bourgeois and in helping us to develop a thoroughgoing revolutionary world outlook. In the *Talks* Chairman Mao has instructed us that we must maintain a firm proletarian stand, foster the idea of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers and the idea of serving the people, that we must go into the very midst of the masses and become one with the workers, peasants and soldiers, that we must take an active part in the flaming revolutionary struggle, etc. These instructions are of great importance in guiding each and every one of our comrades. We must study this article seriously and gain an understanding of its spirit and essence and resolutely carry out what is taught in it.

Since the Chinese revolution entered the socialist period, Chairman Mao has published *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* and *Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work*. These two articles are the newest summation of the historical experience of the proletarian revolutionary movement in ideology and the literature and art movement of China and other countries, a new development of Marxist-Leninist world outlook and theories on literature and art. What Chairman Mao teaches us in *On New Democracy*, *Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art*, *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* and *Speech*

at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work is enough for us proletariat to use for a long period to come.

## IMPORTANT POINTS OF THE CONTENT

The article consists of two sections.

### INTRODUCTION

This section points out first of all that the struggle on the cultural front is an indispensable component part of the entire revolutionary struggle. To make literature and art operate as powerful weapons for uniting and educating the people and for attacking and destroying the enemy and serve effectively the revolutionary struggle, literary and art workers must solve the following problems.

*The problem of class stand.* We must take the stand of the proletariat and of the masses. For Communist Party members this means keeping to the stand of the Party, keeping to the Party spirit and Party policy.

*The problem of attitude.* With regard to the enemy, the task is to expose his duplicity and cruelty and at the same time to point out the inevitability of his defeat. With regard to our allies, our attitude should be one of both alliance and criticism. As for the masses of the people and their vanguard, we should praise them. The people, too, have their shortcomings, but our attitude should be one of patience in educating them and helping them to correct their shortcomings and we should not ridicule them in a hostile way.

*The problem of audience.* The audience in the base areas are the workers, peasants and soldiers and revolutionary cadres. Literary and art workers must serve them well.

*The problem of work.* Since the audience consists of workers, peasants and soldiers and of their cadres, literary and art workers should make it their primary task to understand and know them well. To achieve this, they should go in the midst of the worker, peasant and soldier masses, become one with them and, through long periods of living together, remould their own thoughts and feelings.

*The problem of study.* We must study Marxism-Leninism and society, that is, the conditions of the various classes in society. Only in this way can we have literature and art that is rich in content and correct in orientation.

### CONCLUSION

In this section, Chairman Mao first of all points out the important principle that in discussing a problem we should start from reality and not from definitions. Then, centering on the two problems, (1) working for the masses and (2) how to work for the masses, Chairman Mao makes an extremely profound and penetrating elucidation in the following five parts.

*Part 1 sets forth the direction of our literature and art as serving the workers, peasants and soldiers.* Our literature and art are led by the proletariat and serve the masses of the people. All our literature and art are for the masses of the people, and in the first place for the workers, peasants and soldiers; they are created for the workers, peasants and soldiers and are for their use. The article stresses that the problem of whom to serve is a fundamental one. Unless this problem is solved, other problems will not be easily solved.

Members of the Honan opera troupe, Hupeh province, on their way to the hills and the villages to serve the broad masses of former poor and lower middle peasants and other commune members, study Chairman Mao's writings.



Part 2 solves the problem of how to serve the workers, peasants and soldiers. This part first raises and then correctly answers the question of popularization and the raising of standards. Popularization and the raising of standards must be considered under the prerequisite of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers. Popularization means to popularize among the workers, peasants and soldiers, and raising standards means to raise from their level. We must raise the level of literature and art in the direction in which the proletariat, the workers, peasants and soldiers are themselves advancing. The relationship between the two is that the raising of standards is based on popularization, while popularization is guided by the raising of standards.

The life of the people provides literature and art with an inexhaustible source, the only source. The literature and art works of the past are not a source but a stream. They were created by our predecessors and foreigners out of the literary and artistic raw materials they found in the life of the people of their time and place. We must take over all the fine things in our literary and artistic heritage, critically assimilate whatever is beneficial, and use them as samples for reference when we create works out of the literary and artistic raw materials in the life of the people of our own time and place. But taking over legacies and using them as samples for reference must never replace our own creative work. Revolutionary writers and artists, writers and artists of promise, must go among the masses, they must for a long period of time unreservedly and wholeheartedly go among the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, go into the heat of the struggle, go to the only source, the broadest and richest source, in order to observe, experience, study and analyse all the dif-



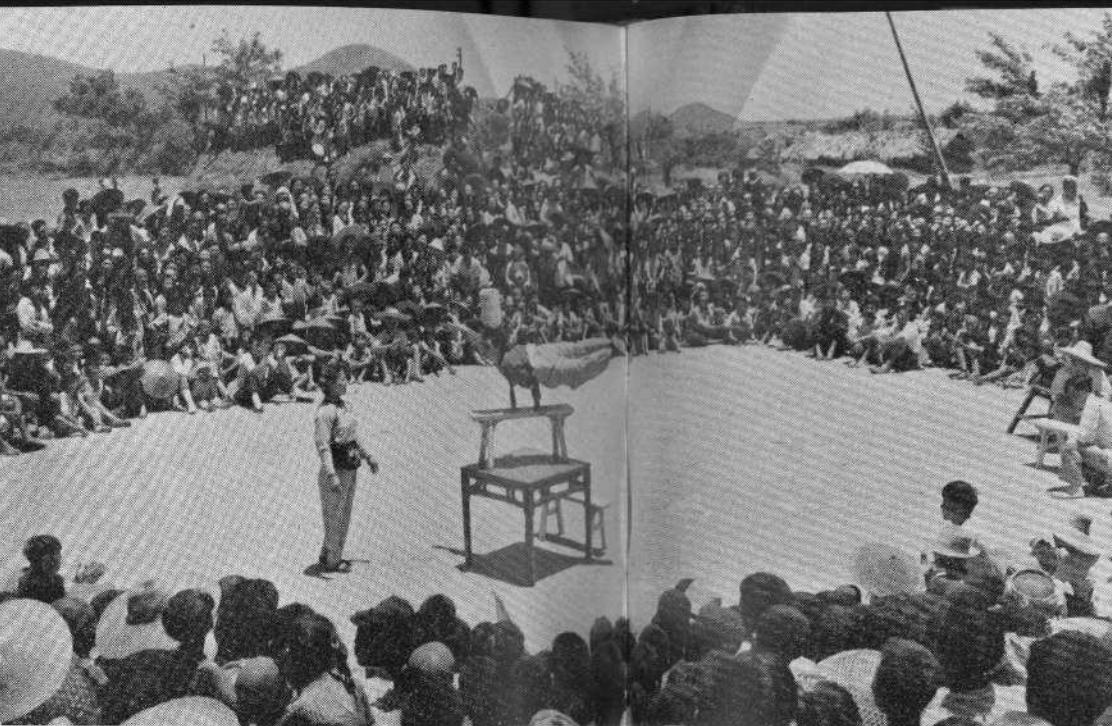
### Literature and Art Serve Workers, Peasants and Soldiers

*Left:* A member of the cultural team for factories and mines of Peking (standing) gives a performance down in the pit. Since the formation of the team in 1964, it has been going regularly into the Chinghsing mines, where its members live and work together with the miners. *Centre:* Hsia Chu-hua, woman member of the Wuhan Acrobatic Troupe and a deputy to the National People's Congress, performs the "reclining-fish position held up by one hand with bowls on head" for peasants of Wuhan's countryside. *Right:* Artists in the people's goodwill delegation of the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region perform for the border defence unit of the People's Liberation Army.

ferent kinds of people, all the classes, all the masses, all the vivid patterns of life and struggle, all the raw materials of literature and art. Only then can they proceed to creative work.

Our specialists in literature and art are not only for the cadres but also, and indeed chiefly, for the masses. They should pay attention to the wall newspapers of the masses, to the reportage and small drama troupes in the army and the villages, to the songs and fine arts of the masses. No revolutionary writer or artist can do any meaningful work unless he is closely linked with the masses, gives expression to their thoughts and feelings and serves them as a loyal spokesman. Only by speaking for the masses can he educate them and only by being their pupil can he be their teacher.

Part 3 deals with the relationship between literature and art on the one hand and politics on the other, between literature and art on the one hand and the entire revolutionary cause on the other, and the problem of the united front in the world of literature and art. In a class society, there are no such things as literature and art that are divorced from politics or that stand above classes. All culture or literature and art belong to definite classes and are geared to definite political lines. Proletarian literature and art are a part of the entire revolutionary cause. Party work in literature and art is subordinated to the revolutionary tasks set by the Party in a given revolutionary period. Literature and art are subordinate to politics, but in their turn exert a great and important influence on politics. Revolutionary literature and art are part of the entire revolutionary cause, nevertheless they are an indispensable part. If we had no literature and art even in the broadest and most ordinary sense, we could not carry on the revolutionary movement and win victory.



Chairman Mao discusses the united front in the world of literature and art, pointing out that we must carry out the policy of unity and struggle in the united front and not the wrong policies of "all unity and no struggle" or "all struggle and no unity".

Part 4 deals with literary and art criticism and makes profound criticism of a series of wrong ideas. Literary and art criticism is one of the principal methods of struggle in the world of literature and art and should be developed. There are two criteria in literary and art criticism: the political and the artistic. Any class in any class society invariably puts the political criterion first and the artistic criterion second. We proletariat must in the first place use our own political criterion to judge whether a work is good or bad. What we demand is the unity of politics and art, the unity of revolutionary political content and the highest possible perfection of artistic form. Chairman Mao makes a profound analysis and criticism of a series of wrong and muddled ideas, such as the "theory of human nature", "the fundamental point of departure for literature and art is love, love of humanity", "literary and artistic works have always laid equal stress on the bright and the dark, half and half", "the task of literature and art has always been to expose", and "this is still the period of the satirical essay, and Lu Hsun's style of writing is still needed", etc.

Part 5 deals with the need to carry out an effective and serious campaign of rectification in literary and art circles. The Talks points out that the main reason that many problems still exist in literary and art circles is that many comrades have not yet remoulded their world outlook and still carry a great deal of the muck of the exploiting classes in their

heads. They try stubbornly through literary and artistic means to project themselves and spread their views and they want the Party and the world to be remoulded in their own image. To yield to them would actually be to yield to the big landlord class and the big bourgeoisie and to run the risk of undermining our Party and our country. To develop the revolutionary movement more effectively, things must be put in order ideologically in our Party and our ranks. This requires a struggle of proletarian ideology against non-proletarian ideology. Chairman Mao calls on all comrades in literature and art to realize the seriousness of this great debate and join actively in this struggle in ideology so that our entire ranks may become truly united and consolidated ideologically and organizationally.

### IMPORTANT PROBLEMS TO GRASP

#### 1. To make literature and art serve the workers, peasants and soldiers is the fundamental direction of proletarian literature and art.

Chairman Mao says, ". . . all our literature and art are for the masses of the people, and in the first place for the workers, peasants and soldiers; they are created for the workers, peasants and soldiers and are for their use." The direction of literature and art of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers is the fundamental direction of proletarian literature and art, the watershed distinguishing proletarian literature and art from feudal and capitalist literature and art. To make literature and art serve workers, peasants and soldiers means to use literature and art as weapons against feudal, capitalist and modern revisionist ideas, and as tools to spread socialist and communist ideas, to disseminate Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought, and to enlighten and educate the people so that they will fight to promote the revolutionary cause and realize the great ideal of communism. Literary and art work in the armed forces must be closely linked with the tasks and thinking in the armed forces, help foster what is pro-

letarian and eradicate what is bourgeois, consolidate and raise the fighting capacity. Whether in the period of the new democratic revolution or the period of socialist revolution and the building of socialism, we must keep firmly to the direction of making literature and art serve the workers, peasants and soldiers.

Classes and class struggle continue to exist in the socialist period. In the past 16 years in China, a black anti-Party, anti-socialist line opposed to Mao Tse-tung's thought has existed in literary and art circles. Our struggle against this line is centred first of all on the fundamental problem of whether literature and art should serve the workers, peasants and soldiers or the bourgeoisie. We say that our literature and art should portray extensively the revolutionary heroes of the Mao Tse-tung era, but some people say we should write widely about "middle characters" who, in reality, are backward characters. These writers are trying to spread doubt, vacillation and discontent about socialism by writing about these backward characters. We say we should stage revolutionary dramas which reflect the stirring struggles of the workers, peasants and soldiers. But some people want to stage ancient dramas, ghost dramas and foreign dramas, portraying emperors, kings, generals, ministers, scholars and beauties. To them, these are the characters that should be eulogized, while workers, peasants and soldiers are not worth putting on stage. We say we should eulogize the great victory of people's war, but some people oppose "the smell of gunpowder" and want to discard the "classics of the revolution" and rebel against "the orthodoxy of people's war". They are revisionists. They oppose all revolutionary wars. We say we must follow the direction of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers as pointed out in Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art*. But some people want to carry on the so-called literary and art tradition of the "thirties", which is actually to do things the bourgeois way. Not only this, some people have gone so far as to put forth the idea that in the period of socialist construction, "the audience and scope for which literature and art serve are broader than any

time before", that "the whole people", including the bourgeoisie, are the audience whom our literature and art should serve. This is an overt attempt to tamper with the slogan of making literature and art serve the workers, peasants and soldiers. This is out-and-out revisionist nonsense and its purpose is to oppose the principle that literature and art must serve socialism and the workers, peasants and soldiers and instead to make them serve the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists and serve the restoration of capitalism.

Whom to serve is a matter of class stand. Without a firm proletarian stand, there can be no persisting in the direction of making literature and art serve the workers, peasants and soldiers. Literary and art workers must be determined to take the proletarian stand. Chairman Mao says, "... however long it takes, solve it we must and solve it unequivocally and thoroughly. Our literary and art workers must accomplish this task and shift their stand; they must gradually move their feet over to the side of the workers, peasants and soldiers, to the side of the proletariat. . ." Every literary and art worker must, through the process of studying Chairman Mao's works and going into the thick of practical struggles, become firm in his class stand and acquire a proletarian world outlook. "Only in this way can we have a literature and art that are truly for the workers, peasants and soldiers, a truly proletarian literature and art."

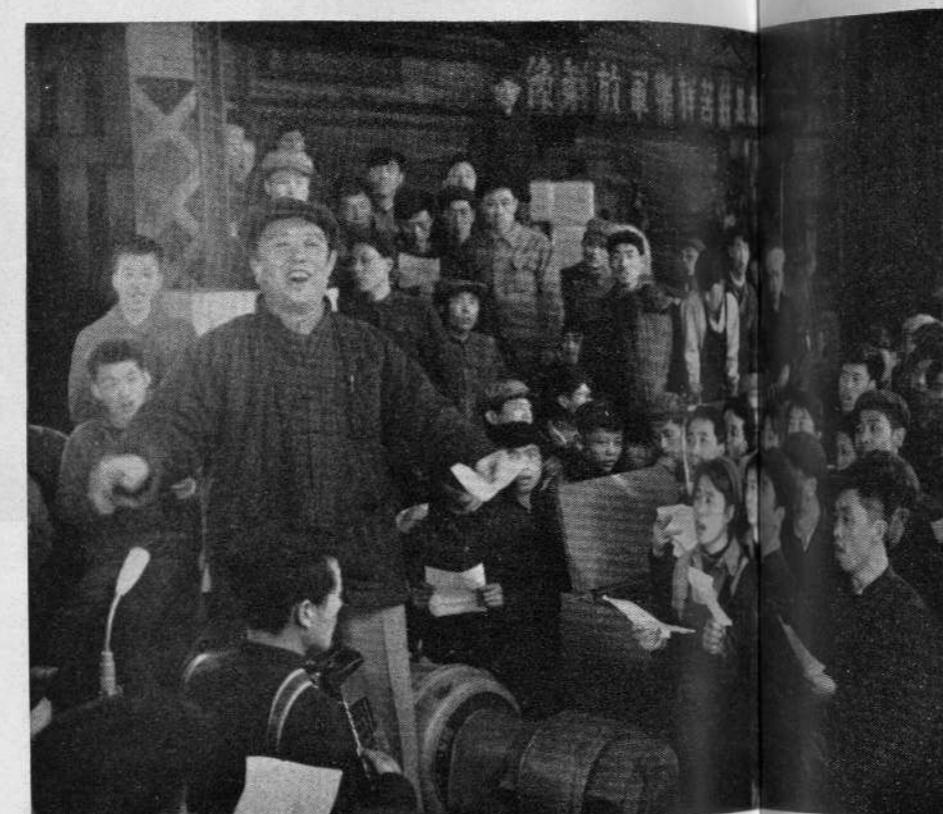
Chairman Mao's teaching that literary and art workers must take a firm proletarian stand is very important to every one of the revolutionary fighters. We come from different class origins and have had different experiences. Bourgeois thinking in society is continually assailing us. If we are not firm in our class stand, we will waver easily and not be able to distinguish the enemy from our own people, to tell right from wrong in the class struggle, and may even bring grave harm and danger to the revolutionary cause. We must therefore be firm in our proletarian stand and wholeheartedly serve the people, the people of China and the whole world.

## 2. Writers and artists must go into the midst of and integrate themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers.

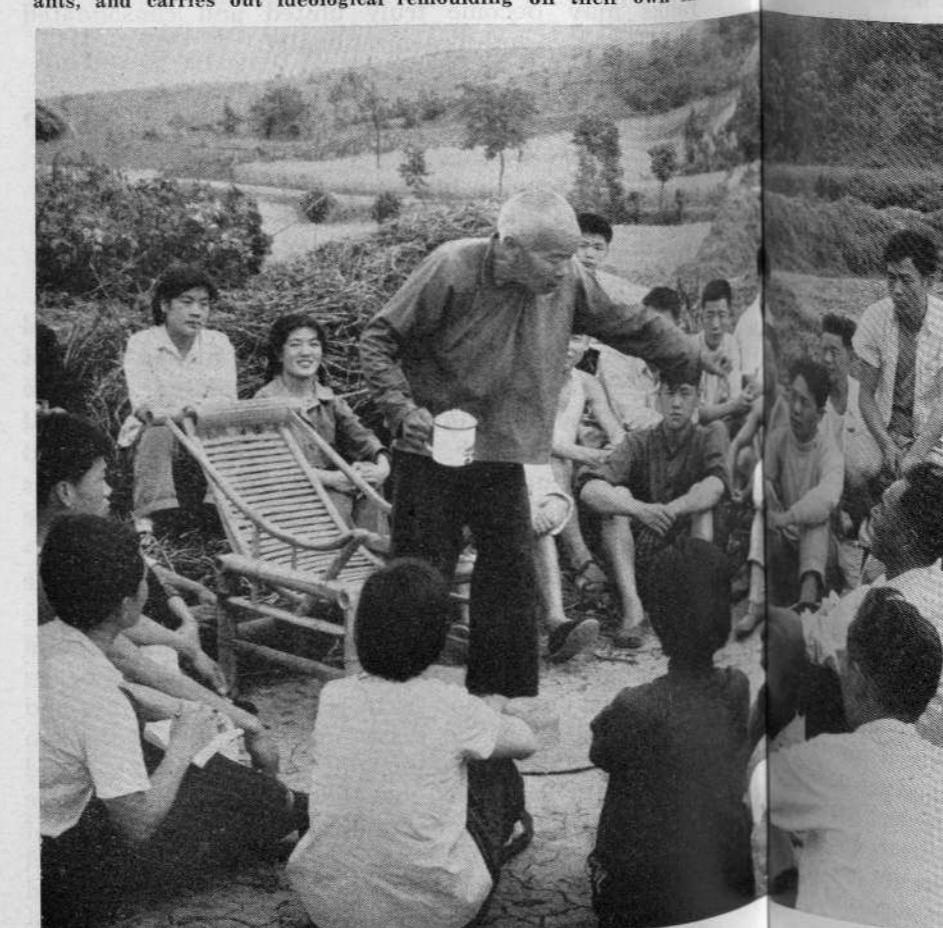
To persist in the direction that literature and art should serve the workers, peasants and soldiers, writers and artists must follow Chairman Mao's instructions that they integrate themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers and "for a long period of time unreservedly and whole-heartedly go among the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, go into the heat of the struggle, go to the only source, the broadest and richest source".

Writers and artists must first of all be revolutionary fighters and acquire a proletarian world outlook. This requires that they go among the masses, integrate themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers, and intensify their efforts in ideological remoulding. Only by constantly studying Chairman Mao's works and going into the midst of the masses

## Writers and Artists Integrate Themselves with Workers, Peasants and Soldiers



Li Chieh-fu, veteran composer and president of the Shenyang Conservatory of Music, teaches the workers to sing a revolutionary song at the Shenyang No. 1 Machine Tool Plant.



Members of the Honan opera troupe, Hupeh province, listening to 73-year-old peasant Lan Hsing-chi compare conditions in the old and the new society. The troupe follows Chairman Mao's teachings, goes to the countryside to learn from the former poor and lower middle peasants, and carries out ideological remoulding on their own initiative.



Members of the Inner Mongolian ulan muchir performing troupe during its tour of Shanghai visit the honour room of the "Good Eighth Company on Nanking Road". Li Ke-pao (right), vice political director of the company, relates the fighters' revolutionary tradition of hard work in the face of difficulties.



Members of the Kiangsi opera troupe of Pucheng, Honan province, join the peasants in reaping late rice on their tour of the countryside.

of workers, peasants and soldiers and by going through prolonged and repeated tempering can they become one with the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers in thoughts and feelings and gradually acquire a proletarian world outlook. Without this prolonged and arduous process of remoulding, the intellectuals will not be able to revolutionize themselves or transform themselves into labouring people, nor can they wholeheartedly serve the masses of the workers, peasants and soldiers. The fundamental guarantee against corruption by bourgeois ideas and the "change of colour" is that we actively plunge into the three great revolutionary movements—the class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experimentation—and never become divorced from reality, from labour or from the masses. Some people take the attitude or act as if going among the masses is merely to "experience life" for a while or to "collect material". They believe it is enough to "make some contact" with different strata of the masses. But these people actually stand above the masses, looking down on the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, acting in fact like bourgeois bureaucrats and masters, which is a bourgeois attitude and behaviour. It is impossible for such people to produce works that will be either popular or of educational value to the broad masses of the workers, peasants and soldiers.

Chairman Mao says that the materials in the life of the people "provide literature and art with an inexhaustible source, their only source. They are the only source, for there can be no other." If we want to reflect the actual life of workers, peasants and soldiers, on the basis of which to create images of heroic characters, we must go into the life of the masses, discover and unearth the raw materials for literature and art before we can proceed to write creatively. Only by going into the midst of the life of the masses can we become thoroughly acquainted with the life, thought, feelings and language of the workers, peasants and soldiers, understand the heroes among them and accurately, sharply and vividly portray them. Only thus can we create revolutionary works of literature and art that are "on a higher plane, more intense, more concentrated, more typical, nearer the ideal, and therefore more universal than actual everyday life". Only by seriously studying Chairman Mao's writings, persisting in the integration with workers, peasants and soldiers, and, as intellectuals, becoming revolutionaries and being identified with the labouring people, can we carry out Comrade Lin Piao's instructions and be ready to pass with flying colours any hard test in our thinking, our life and our professional skills. Only thus can our literary and art works better serve the workers, peasants and soldiers, better serve socialism and help to consolidate and raise the fighting capacity of our armed forces.

Those who oppose Mao Tse-tung's thought on literature and art, while opposing the idea that literature and art should serve the workers, peasants and soldiers, are bound to be opposed to the ideological remoulding of writers and artists and their integration with the workers, peasants and soldiers. In the

16 years since the founding of the People's Republic, the sinister anti-Party and anti-socialist gang in literary and art circles has put forward all sorts of absurd theories in their attempt to deny the necessity for writers and artists to remould their ideology and integrate themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers. The advocates of the literary and art line of the "thirties" maintain that the Left-wing literary and art movement of the thirties already had a completely Marxist-Leninist line on literature and art and had resolutely followed it in practice. This is utter nonsense which tries to idealize Wang Ming's opportunist line. The reason they proclaim this far and wide is to try to make people believe that such questions as that literature and art should serve the workers, peasants and soldiers, that writers and artists should integrate themselves with workers, peasants and soldiers and remould their world outlook were solved long ago, that Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art* is of no significance, that it is sufficient to merely continue the line on literature and art of the "thirties", and that there is no more need to talk about going into the midst of the masses, integrating with workers, peasants and soldiers and remoulding the world outlook. Others claim that the thoughts and feelings of writers and artists have already undergone radical change since the founding of the People's Republic, and that the crucial matter at present is to raise the quality of literature and art. And in order to do this, it is enough to merely strengthen "contacts" with "all the people". In other words, Chairman Mao's great call to the writers and artists unreservedly and wholeheartedly to go among the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers for a long period of time, go into the heat of the struggle, is outdated and it is not necessary for writers and artists to integrate themselves with workers, peasants and soldiers or carry on ideological remoulding. Their basic aim is for writers and artists to hold fast to the bourgeois world outlook and so lead our literary and art movement onto the bourgeois road. We must expose, criticize and completely smash their intrigues and plots.

### 3. Use Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art* as a weapon, foster proletarian ideology and liquidate bourgeois ideology on the cultural front, unwaveringly carry the great socialist cultural revolution through to the end.

Chairman Mao says, "Literature and art are subordinate to politics, but in their turn exert a great influence on politics." A given literature and art reflects and serves a given politics and economics. In a class society, all literature and art inevitably belong to definite classes, are the tools for class struggle, and any class will develop the literature and art which serve its own class interests. The proletariat must have its own literature and art to serve its own proletarian politics. Proletarian literature and art occupy an important place and play an important part in the entire revolutionary cause. Chairman Mao points out, "Revolutionary literature and art are part of the whole revolutionary cause, they are cogs and

wheels in it, . . . nevertheless they are indispensable cogs and wheels in the whole machine, an indispensable part of the entire revolutionary cause. If we had no literature and art even in the broadest and most ordinary sense, we could not carry on the revolutionary movement and win victory." The Central Committee of the Party and Chairman Mao have always attached great importance to revolutionary literary and art work. During the period of the new democratic revolution, under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman Mao, we built up a large cultural army, developed a revolutionary literature and art to serve the struggle against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism as well as the political and economic base of new democracy. It played an important role in uniting the people, defeating the enemy and completing the national democratic revolution.

In socialist society, we must create and develop socialist literature and art. Only then can they conform to the socialist economic base and serve the economic base and political line of socialism. It is inconceivable that while our politics and economics are socialist, our literature and art should remain capitalist, feudal or still new democratic. Socialist literature and art are the tools of the proletariat in carrying on the class struggle. They are used in the struggle to foster what is proletarian and liquidate what is bourgeois in the sphere of ideology, to serve socialism and to speed up and push forward the development of the socialist cause.

Chairman Mao has taught us that classes and class struggle continue to exist in socialist society. The struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie as to who will win out will be long, tortuous and at times very acute. This struggle will certainly be sharply reflected on the cultural front. The struggle to foster what is proletarian and liquidate what is bourgeois on the cultural front has always been an important part of the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the socialist road and the capitalist road. The proletariat seeks to change the world according to its own world outlook, and so does the bourgeoisie. The proletariat seeks to develop socialist culture, to make it serve the workers, peasants and soldiers, serve proletarian politics and the consolidation and development of the socialist system and its gradual transition to communism. The bourgeoisie seeks to develop capitalist and revisionist culture, to make it serve the bourgeoisie, the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists, and pave the way for the restoration of capitalism. If the proletariat does not seize hold of the cultural positions, the bourgeoisie certainly will. This is a sharp class struggle. We must fully realize that, in the cultural field, to energetically foster proletarian ideology and liquidate bourgeois ideology, to open fire on the black anti-Party and anti-socialist line is an important class struggle, an issue of prime importance affecting the destiny and future of our Party and state as well as the world revolution. If we do not attach importance to this struggle and achieve complete victory in this struggle, we will not be able to consolidate the vic-

tories on the economic and political fronts. We must never think that the furious attacks on us in the field of literature and art by a handful of revisionist and bourgeois elements are a question concerning only a few bad films and plays which amount to little. Neither should we think that this struggle against the black anti-Party and anti-socialist line on the literary and art front concerns only a few writers and artists and has little to do with us. We must realize that while we revolutionaries understand the importance of working on ideology and the superstructure, pay attention to revolutionary cultural work as a means to inspire and educate the people and seize political power, the counter-revolutionaries also work first on ideology and the superstructure, on the realm of the mind, and mould public opinion for themselves in their attempt to restore capitalism and carry out "peaceful evolution". This was what the Khrushchev revisionists did when they usurped the leadership, and what happened during the Hungarian counter-revolutionary riots in 1956. The class struggle in the cultural field is very often carried on in chitchat and laughter, in the form of a film, a play or a novel. Therefore, we must be firm about reading revolutionary books, singing revolutionary songs, staging revolutionary plays, telling revolutionary stories, watching revolutionary films, listening to revolutionary broadcasts, and we must resolutely stop up all channels through which the capitalist, revisionist and feudal thinking assails our armed forces. If we slacken our vigilance against the enemies without guns, if we do not counter-attack them resolutely, but instead give their bourgeois ideas free rein and allow their plots to be carried out, there is the danger that the foundations of our socialism will be undermined and that our country will change its colour.

Ours is the people's armed forces founded and led by the Party and Chairman Mao, is the most loyal tool of the Party and the people, and the mainstay of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It has always played an important role in the revolutionary cause of the proletariat and it will do so in this great socialist cultural revolution. We cannot stand aloof and be indifferent towards the struggle on a cardinal issue of right and wrong in the cultural field. In the present great proletarian cultural revolution, we should creatively study and apply the great historic document, *Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art*. That is, we must arm our heads with the thinking of Mao Tse-tung, use this invincible weapon to analyse and recognize the situation of the class struggle, distinguish fragrant flowers from poisonous weeds and expose the ugly nature of every kind of monster, to remould and steel ourselves, to heighten our class-consciousness and increase our power of differentiation. We must closely follow with great attention the development of the great cultural revolution, take an active part in this great struggle, resolutely destroy the bourgeois and revisionist black anti-Party and anti-socialist line, and unwaveringly carry the great socialist cultural revolution through to the end.

— *Jiefangjun Bao (Liberation Army Daily)* May 23, 1966

送戏上山  
Sòng Xì Shàng Shān

Sending Plays up to the Mountains

住在云南山区的少数民族苦聪  
Zhù zài Yúnnán shānqū de shǎoshùmínzú Kǔcōng  
Living in Yunnan mountain areas minority nationality Kutsung

人，过去很少看到戏。去年春节，  
rén, guòqù hěnshǎo kàn dào xì. Qùnián chūnjié,  
people, (in the) past rarely saw (a) play. Last year Spring Festival,

山里突然响起了锣鼓声。  
shānli tūrán xiǎngqíle luógǔ shēng.  
in mountains suddenly the noise arose of gongs (and) drums sound.

一群年轻人来到了这里。他们在  
Yíqún niánqīng rén láidàole zhělǐ. Tāmen zài  
A group (of) young people arrived here. They in

一个只有六户苦聪人的村子搭起了  
yíge zhǐyǒu liù hù Kǔcōng rén de cūnzi dāqíle  
a only six-household Kutsung people village put up

舞台，演戏唱歌。苦聪人  
wǔtái, yǎn xì chàng gē. Kǔcōng rén  
(a) stage, performed plays (and) sang songs. Kutsung people

看了都喜笑颜开。  
kànle dōu xǐxiào yánkāi.  
(after) seeing (them) all very happy.

这些年轻人是谁呢？他们是一个文艺  
Zhèxie niánqīng rén shì shuí ne? Tāmen shì yíge wén yì  
These young people were who? They were a literature (and)

工作团的演员，经常在少数民族  
gōngzuò tuán de yānyuán, jīngcháng zài shǎoshùmínzú  
art work troupe's actors, (who) frequently in minority nationality

地区演出。为了让苦聪人过个  
dìqū yǎnchū. Wèile ràng Kǔcōng rén guògè  
areas gave performances. In order to let Kutsung people pass a

愉快的春节，他们穿上草鞋，  
yúkuài de chūnjié, tāmen chuānshang cǎoxié,  
happy Spring Festival, they put on straw sandals,

背上行李，步行到了山村。  
bēishang xíngli, bùxíng dàole shāncūn.  
carried on back baggage, walked on foot to mountain villages.

半路上下大雨，山路又陡又滑，  
Bàn lùshàng xià dà yǔ, shānlù yòu dǒu yòu huá,  
Half way (it) heavily rained, mountain path both steep and slippery,

很困难走。但是，他们不怕困难，  
hěn nán zǒu. Dànshì, tāmen búpà kùnnan,  
very difficult (to) walk. But, they did not fear difficulties,

决心把戏送到山里。  
juéxìn bǎ xì sòng dào shānli.  
determined (to) plays send to (the) mountains.

Reworded Translation

In the past, the kutsung people, a minority nationality living in the mountain areas of Yunnan province, rarely had a chance to see a play. During last year's Spring Festival the sound of gongs and drums suddenly filled the mountains. A group of young people were arriving. They put up a temporary stage in a village of only six Kutsung households, gave performances and sang songs. After seeing them, the Kutsung people were all very happy.

Who were these young people? They were members of an art troupe who frequently gave performances in the national minority areas. To give the Kutsung people a joyful Spring Festival, they put on straw sandals and, carrying their baggage on their backs, set out for the mountain villages. It was hard going, for it rained heavily on the way and the mountain paths were steep and slippery. But, unafraid of the difficulties, they were determined to bring plays to the mountains.

Explanatory Notes

1. In Chinese, the object generally follows the verb. But when emphasis is required, the object is placed before the verb and preceded by the word *bǎ* 把, e.g., *bǎ xì sòng dào shānli* 把戏送到山里 (send plays to the mountains).

2. *Dào* 到 is a verb meaning "to arrive", e.g., *tā dào le Běijīng* 他到了北京 (he arrived in Peking). But it is also frequently used as a resultative complement meaning "attaining" or "reaching", e.g., *kān dào* 看到 means "to be able to see".

3. In Chinese, a phrase modifying a noun generally precedes the noun to which it is linked by the word *de* 的, e.g., *zhǐyǒu liù hù Kǔcōng rén de cūnzi* 只有六户苦聪人的村子 (a village of only six Kutsung households).

4. *Xǐxiào yánkāi* 喜笑颜开 translated literally means "happy, laughing, with open face". It is a popular idiomatic expression meaning "extremely happy" or "grinning broadly".

5. *Yòu . . . yòu . . .* 又 . . . 又 . . . is a construction often used in Chinese to connect two parallel elements and to stress that two states or characteristics exist at the same time. E.g., *yòu dōu yòu huá* 又陡又滑 (both steep and slippery); *yòu xīn yòu hǎo* 又新又好 (both new and good).

A Simple Key to Pronunciation

Consonants: *b, c (ts), d, f, g, h, j, k* (as in kill), *l, m, n, ng, p* (as in peak), *q* (as in cheer), *r* (as in run), *s, t, w, x* (as in ship), *y, z (dz)*, *zh* (as in rich), *ch* (as in chew), *sh* (as in shrub). The last three are pronounced with the tip of the tongue curved back.

Vowels: *a* (as in father), *o (ô)*, *e (ê)*, *i (î)*, *u (öö)*, *ü (as in German)*, after *j, q* and *x, u* pronounced as *ü*. The sounds of combination vowels such as *ai* and *iao* are as in English.

To save space, letters in which the sound is the same as, or similar to, that used in English are not further described.

A fuller key to pronunciation of the phonetic alphabet used in this column may be obtained on application to *China Reconstructs*.



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Members of oil workers' families write a pledge to take an active part in the construction of worker-peasant villages.

## 'THE RISING SUN'

— A Revolutionary First in Carrying Out Mao Tse-tung's Line on Literature and Art

AFTER a long and successful run in Peking of their own six-act play, *The Rising Sun*, the family members of the workers of the Taching oilfield have gone back to their factories and farms in Taching. They are the first among workers, peasants and soldiers to present on the stage a full-length modern drama on such a scale. The way it took the capital's theatre world by storm has left an unforgettable impression on their audiences. They had given *The*

*Rising Sun* 133 times before 220,000 theatregoers and won the acclaim: "In both content and form, this play is in every way a rising sun."

### A Newborn Thing

The play is the stirring story of how the family members of the workers of Taching oilfield, nurtured on the thinking of Mao Tse-tung, get organized to engage in collective productive labour and

take the road of the revolution. As production and construction of the oilfield go on, the wives, children and parents of the workers have been arriving group after group. Chairman Mao has instructed that large enterprises, aside from carrying on industrial production, should also engage in some agricultural production and commerce, run schools and have some military training. The Party committee of Taching oilfield follows this instruction and also acts in accordance with the instructions given by leading comrades of the Party's Central Committee to "combine industry with agriculture, combine town and country, facilitate production, give convenience to everyday life". It organizes the family members to study Chairman Mao's writings so that they become armed with the thinking of Mao Tse-tung and organizes them to take part in collective productive labour and the building up of a new type of socialist oil centre.

Having studied Chairman Mao's writings, the family members begin to understand what revolution means. Their outlook on life and the world changes, their horizons broaden. They begin to say, "In the past we had eyes only for our home and thoughts only for our husbands and children. But now we study Chairman Mao's writings, follow his teachings and do as he instructs. Standing here on the oilfield, we must also have our eyes on the whole country and the whole world." They join the oil workers and take an active part in socialist revolution and socialist construction.

Having conquered seemingly endless problems, a new type of socialist industrial centre appears. It is both town and country, where both industry and agriculture thrive, and where everyone, oil workers and family members alike, lives in a collective and a well organized system, takes part in labour and political studies and many go to either work-study or farm-study schools. This contributes to the gradual reduction of the differences between workers and peasants, town and country, physical and mental labour. This is a newborn thing with a great future and immense vitality. The

story of its growth is in itself a great song of the triumph of Mao Tse-tung's thinking, played by the real people of Taching who themselves have triumphed in the creative application of Mao Tse-tung's thinking.

The cast of *The Rising Sun* were ordinary family members of the oil workers, a few male characters being played by oil workers. Some drama "experts" and "authorities", though they admitted that the acting was excellent, categorically denied that the players could be oil workers and their families. "Ordinary workers and their families," they declared, "simply cannot put on such a good performance." But facts are facts. Family members of oil workers on the stage are actually family members of oil workers in real life. They work in the oil district's agricultural teams, are shop assistants, work in a sewing workshop or drive tractors. One is the mother of four children. Another had her nursing baby with her during the performances.

Attracting worker, peasant and soldier audiences like a magnet, the performances never failed to bring tears. Many times the audience would not leave after the last curtain, demanding that the cast come out to talk about the real-life experience and revolutionary spirit of Taching. They went backstage or to the hotel to visit the performers. Some held forums to discuss what they had learned from the play. Some, taking the people on the stage as their own comrades-in-arms, went to discuss their own problems with them and seek advice. Such incidents revealed the actor and audience to be of one heart and mind. This fusing of thought and emotion is an expression of a completely new situation in China's culture and art — that of workers, peasants and soldiers portraying themselves, and workers, peasants and soldiers watching themselves.

The success of the play of these ordinary working people was a resounding slap in the face of the bourgeois "experts" and "authorities". Like many fine literary and artistic works by the working people that have come out in the great

proletarian cultural revolution, *The Rising Sun* is another victory for the thinking of Mao Tse-tung. It says again to the world: The time has arrived for Chinese workers, peasants and soldiers to become the complete masters of the stage, of revolutionary literature and art, and of all culture!

### Striking a Blow for Workers, Peasants and Soldiers

The play was written collectively by members of Taching oil workers' families, workers and several playwrights who are now living and working in the oilfield. The Party organizations of the Ministry of Petroleum Industry and the Taching oilfield supported and led their efforts. In mid-December 1965, different sections of the oilfield selected for the casting workers and family members who were outstanding in both political understanding and work. Within a few days the cast was formed.

In the previous two or three years, many outside drama troupes had come to Taching to present good plays on contemporary revolutionary themes. But the workers and their families felt that not enough of these were based on life at Taching, that they did not "inspire revolutionary enthusiasm by using our own stories". And what made them angry was that some of the troupes put on bad plays, spreading the poison of feudal and capitalist thinking.

Taching's workers and their families understand that literature and art are important battle positions and that if the proletariat does not seize them, the bourgeoisie will. Writing and staging their own plays is in itself part of the great struggle to foster what is proletarian and eradicate what is bourgeois in culture. While opening up the oilfield and building the centre, they have also resolutely carried out Chairman Mao's line on literature and art,

man Mao, of the new people and new thinking of the oilfield.

Celebrations of new achievements in production or good harvests, and the year-end summing-up of work are always times when the people of Taching "report their victories" to the Party and Chairman Mao. They do it in performances of *kuai pan* storytelling, poetry recitation, one-act plays, all written by themselves and based on the deeds and thinking of outstanding people among them. These are first presented at the basic levels, then through selection at each higher level the best are finally chosen for presentation to the leading organization and the public.

Such performances are in fact a great inspection of mass cultural activities. From them have emerged many activists. One of them is Chu Shu-chin, a model family member and the political director of an agricultural production team. She played a mother in *The Rising Sun* and also wrote the words for the song "Taching Women Learn from Tachai", now a nationally-known record.

The Taching people took an important step in the great proletarian cultural revolution when they advanced from performing short items to a full-length modern stage play. To them, the fact that workers, peasants and soldiers portray their own life and struggle and express the thinking of Mao Tse-tung in a full-length drama has great revolutionary significance. Proudly they say, "We shall blaze a trail never travelled before. The more the bourgeois 'experts' and 'authorities' look down upon us, the more we want to show them! We are going on the modern drama stage to strike a blow for the workers, peasants and soldiers and to sweep away the arrogance of the bourgeoisie!"

Everyone in the Taching oilfield district regarded the production of *The Rising Sun* as a revolutionary first by the workers, peasants and soldiers in carrying out Chairman Mao's line on literature and art. Many went to the rehearsals and offered suggestions and their own services. When a piece of scenery or stage property was needed, fam-

ilies made it without being asked. If a scene was especially difficult to play well, workers and their families watching the rehearsal would start discussing it right there, helping to create better action and dialogue. Many came from distant parts of the oilfield to explain the actual people and events behind the characters in the play in order to help the actors understand their roles better. The Taching people told the cast, "You exert all your efforts on stage; we'll exert ours below stage. We work for the same aim: the revolution!"

#### The Key: Mao Tse-tung's Thinking

It took only 12 days for the cast to memorize the dialogue, rehearse and present the play. Drama workers admitted that such speed and the high quality had rarely been achieved even by professional troupes. *The Rising Sun*, with its strong revolutionary passion and vigour of life, has proved the creative daring of the working people in breaking down the old and setting up the new in art. What made them succeed in this? The answer — Mao Tse-tung's thinking.

Rehearsals began with the study of his writings. Throughout the rehearsals and performances, the

cast continued to study his works on wholeheartedly serving the people, surmounting all difficulties, developing confidence that the revolution will be victorious, and sections related to ideological, literary and art work. They studied each piece over and over again, even scores of times. This constant prolonged study brought the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thinking to their acting. They saw their work in the play as a way of spreading the thinking of Mao Tse-tung, a militant and honourable task.

Can workers, peasants and soldiers act in drama? Chairman Mao said long ago that literature and art must serve the workers, peasants and soldiers and must gradually become their very own. The cast declared happily, "Chairman Mao supports our going on stage! We must do a good job!" Are the workers, peasants and soldiers capable of acting well? Chairman Mao has answered this very clearly, too: the stirring life and struggle of the workers, peasants and soldiers is the only source, the broadest and richest source of all literature and art. The cast was confident: "We are the ones who know and love the life portrayed in our play. As long as we do as

Chairman Mao says, we can't go wrong. . . . We want to prove with living facts that as long as we working people are armed with the thinking of Mao Tse-tung, we will not only be able to do a good job of drilling oil wells and growing crops, but can also give good dramatic performances. We can do anything!"

One of the most moving scenes in the play is in Act IV, where members of the oil workers' families recall their bitter past and compare it with the good life today. The performers, with tears and voices choked with emotion, accused the old society of the miserable life which they suffered. This hardly leaves a dry eye in the audience. Teng Shu-chin, who in real life works in Taching's sewing workshop, plays Hsin Yu-hung, the leader of an agricultural production team. She had begged as a child of six before liberation. In every performance, Teng Shu-chin thought of the bitter days of the old society and her happiness today — a happiness brought about by the Communist Party and Chairman Mao. A strong proletarian feeling of hatred for the old and love for the new made for very moving acting.

Other unforgettable scenes are those in which the wives study Chairman Mao's writings and, armed with his thinking, struggle to remould both their subjective ideas and the objective world around them. Kuo Teh-ying, political director of the agricultural production team, declares in the play, "Just as the moon cannot give out light when there is no sun, so the family members will lose their direction in the revolution if they do without Chairman Mao's writings." The audiences' response to these words was electric. Many commented that the cast could not have put on such a sincere and powerful performance if they had not had the genuine proletarian feeling that comes only from real life experience.

To the cast, the life in *The Rising Sun* is their own, the characters are themselves. The language spoken is their own everyday speech. Of course, life portrayed on the stage should be more concentrated, typical and ideal than real life. The problem, therefore, so the worker-actors feel, is to learn from the kind of heroes and heroines they are to portray.

In real life Fan Kuei-lin, who plays the political director, is a shop assistant. At one time she had not wanted to take part in the collective work and had twice left Taching. Then, with the help of the political director of a production team, she began to study Chairman Mao's writings and learned to apply what she studied to solving her problems. She gained a deeper ideological understanding and finally joined the revolutionary ranks of the families of the oil workers.

This experience gave Fan Kuei-lin a better understanding of the thoughts and feelings of the advanced woman she played, the political director. She recognized her as the typical and ideal representative of the women of Taching, a heroine armed with the thinking of Mao Tse-tung. Whether she could play the role convincingly and movingly was no longer a personal problem but had become the big question of whether the invincibility of the thinking of Mao Tse-tung and the Taching spirit

could be expressed. She knew that there was a big gap between her own thinking and that of the political director she played, and was determined to bridge this gap.

She visited women who worked as political directors and studied pace-setters among the families of the oil workers. She measured her own thinking against the standards laid down by Chairman Mao in his writings on wholeheartedly serving the people. Remoulding her ideological thinking, she gradually narrowed the gap and became able to create the image of this advanced person successfully. She and the other members of the cast came to see that in order to play well the heroes and heroines of the socialist age, this kind of study and remoulding was necessary at every juncture, for it is the only way their experience in life can be elevated into a more concentrated, typical and ideal level of character portrayal.

The thinking of Mao Tse-tung was the inexhaustible source of the strength they needed to break through difficulties and make steady progress. It is true they had never acted in a full-length drama before, but it is also true that this meant that their minds were therefore free from bourgeois and revisionist rules and conventions, outdated customs and habits. This was an advantage. They paid no attention to such talk as "the strict division of labour" between playwright, director, actors and stage workers. Instead, they resolutely put to work what Chairman Mao said about the masses of the people having boundless creative power. After all, when a thing cannot be done by one person, it certainly can be done by many working together. They kept to the mass line throughout rehearsals and performances, mobilizing their own collective wisdom and strength, and creating collectively.

As long as a suggestion contributed to spreading the thinking of Mao Tse-tung, it was followed. As long as a thing was good for the revolution, it was done. Everyone, principal or minor, those on stage or backstage, pitched in to do whatever had to be done. They paid no attention to such things as "the

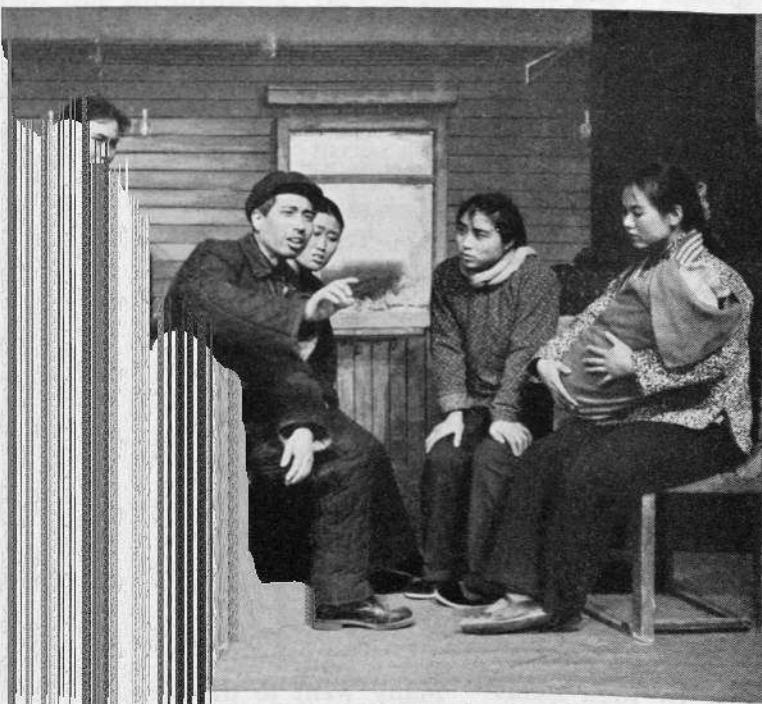
art of acting" or "stage techniques" of the bourgeoisie and the revisionists. There was only one thing in their minds: To express the ever-victorious power of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

With their revolutionary practice, the family members of the Taching oil workers demonstrated to all China that workers, peasants and soldiers who have grasped the creative thinking of Mao Tse-tung can not only win astounding victories in the class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experimentation, but, as the main force in the proletarian cultural revolution, can create a new socialist culture and art that accurately and vividly portray the revolutionary life and struggle of today.

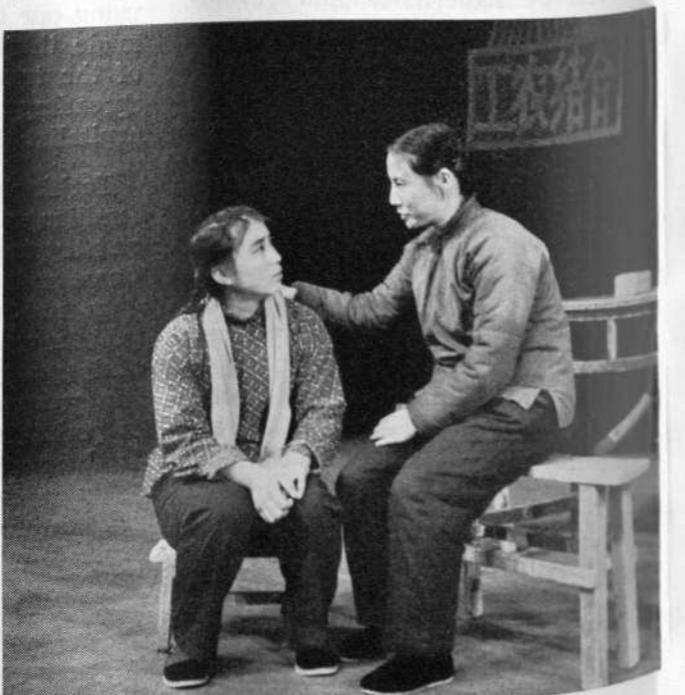
#### Open Fire on the Black Anti-Party, Anti-Socialist Line

During the great proletarian cultural revolution, the newspapers carried voluminous reports on the Teng To gang's rabid attacks on the Party and socialism and on other materials which reveal a black anti-Party anti-socialist line opposing the thinking of Mao Tse-tung. Anger burned in the hearts of the family members of Taching workers as they read these.

They said: "The enemy of the proletariat regards the thinking of Mao Tse-tung as a thorn in its side. We will sing loudly in praise of the thinking of Mao Tse-tung. The enemy of the proletariat uses the stage as a tool for preaching revisionism and the restoration of capitalism. We will turn the stage into a combat position for defending the Communist Party, the thinking of Mao Tse-tung and socialism. The stage is the battlefield, the cast are our revolutionary fighters, the properties are their arms, the dialogue are their bullets. The performance is our attack, opening fire on the black anti-Party, anti-socialist line. We must fight a winning battle and persist until victory." Full of confidence, the cast of *The Rising Sun* declare: "We want to act in plays. We can act in plays. We are masters of the great proletarian cultural revolution."



On the way to Taching by train, Party Secretary Lo of the drilling headquarters tells oil workers' wives and students on practical work the heroic story of the Taching people.



Hsin Yu-hung (left), a worker's wife recently appointed leader of an agricultural production team, meets difficulties in her work and receives warm help from Kuo Teh-ying, political director of the family members.



"Sing about Wang Chieh, Learn from Wang Chieh" — Fight to the end for the Chinese and the world revolution.

## A Flowering Spring in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

THE 7th Shanghai Spring Music Festival held last May was illuminated by the great thought of Mao Tse-tung. The festival praised this great thinking with unprecedented enthusiasm. It was a festival truly serving proletarian politics. Applying Chairman Mao's principle that: "all our literature and art are for the masses of the people, in the first place for the workers, peasants and soldiers...", the festival was not only created for them, but presented by them. Rising to take back and expand the realm of music and dance, they opened fire on the anti-Party and anti-socialist enemies and challenged bourgeois "authorities" and "specialists".

That this was art for the great masses of the people was proven by the enthusiasm with which 110,000 workers, peasants, soldiers, revolutionary cadres and young

students greeted the 38 performances during the 18 days of the festival. Over 200 militant revolutionary songs and dances were presented. Ten special programmes included such themes as "Long Live the Victory of People's War", "Ode to Heroes", "Learning from Ta-ching and Tachai", Musical Recital of Chairman Mao's Poems, and "The Masses Sing". Millions more enjoyed the programmes over radio and television.

The festival was marked by three characteristics. First, it raised high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking on literature and art. It was a large-scale demonstration of the results of the revolution in music and dance, eradicating bourgeois thinking and promoting and encouraging proletarian thinking. Second, the workers, peasants and soldiers appeared as the main fighting force

of the great cultural revolution by creating, performing and commenting on the festival items. Third, the festival performances were also taken out into the factories, villages and armed units around Shanghai, bringing revolutionary songs and dances right to the doorsteps of the workers, peasants and soldiers for their approval.

### Hold High the Great Red Banner of the Thought of Mao Tse-tung

The great thought of Mao Tse-tung is the acme of Marxism-Leninism in the present era and living Marxism-Leninism at its highest. It is an ideological weapon of great power used by the people of China and of the world in defeating imperialism, modern revisionism and reactionaries. To express the thought of Mao Tse-tung in all forms of literature and art

is the mark which distinguishes proletarian literature and art from those of all other classes. This is a matter of Party spirit in proletarian literature and art. This is the most important task facing revolutionary writers and artists.

The singers, musicians and dancers, whether workers, peasants, soldiers or professionals, took this task seriously and with devotion, studying the thinking of Chairman Mao and applying it throughout the creation and performance of their numbers. Stirring and spirited songs and dances repeatedly extolled the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

The musical recital of Chairman Mao's poems, so well-loved by the Chinese people, was given before audiences of 10,000 in the great Cultural Square Theatre. Other special programmes took as their themes "Chairman Mao is the red sun in our hearts" and "We must rely on Mao Tse-tung's thought in making revolution". Other themes taken from the many aspects of the thinking of Chairman Mao included the following: Never forget the class struggle; the masses of the people are the true heroes; people's war is the only effective way to defeating imperialism and its followers; self-reliance, determination to be strong, hard work, diligence and thrift are indispensable in building up the country. Still other themes praised the Chinese people who, armed with the thinking of Mao Tse-tung, are invincible, whose revolutionary heroes from the ranks of the workers, peasants and soldiers dare to make the sun and the moon shine in new skies and make spectacular achievements in the socialist revolution and in the building of socialism. The performances also showed that the people of China's different nationalities have great love and respect for Chairman Mao.

The special programme "Long Live the Victory of People's War" was an example. It includes a symphonic suite which takes four lines of a poem by Chairman Mao as its theme:

*The four seas are rising,  
Clouds and water raging,*

*The five continents are  
rocking,  
Wind and thunder roaring.*

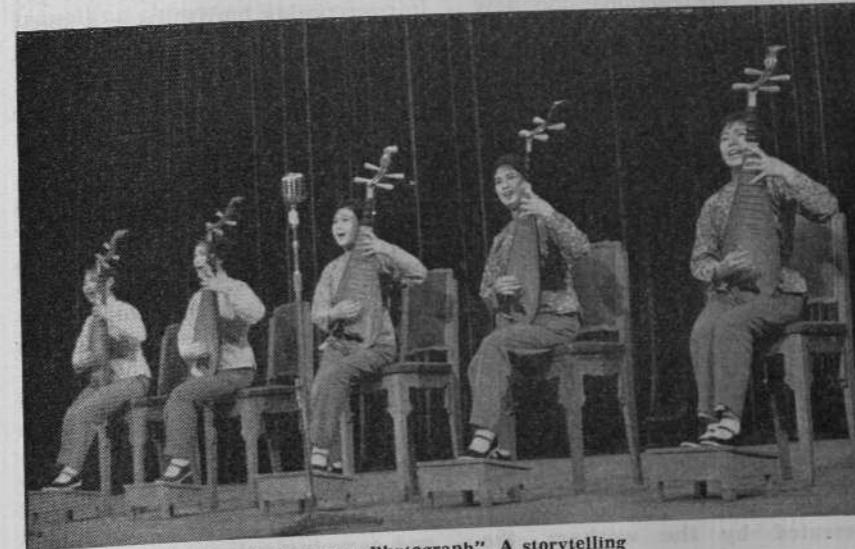
It is composed of six parts: the prelude, "Fighting Vietnam", "Storm Over Mount Fuji", "African War Drums", "The Beacons of Guerrilla War Spread Through Latin America" and "Peoples of the World Unite and Fight". It is a song of the triumph of the fact that "the East Wind prevails over the West Wind", and a description of the excellent situation of the revolutionary anti-imperialist thunderstorm now sweeping the entire globe. It restates Chairman Mao's thesis: The tide of the enraged people of the world in opposition to the U.S. aggressors is irresistible. The struggle of the people the world over against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys will win still greater victories.

A seven-act dance suite, "The Red Army Defies the Trials of the Long March", presses the confident theme that the revolution, guided by the thinking of Mao Tse-tung and carried out by revolutionary ranks armed with that thinking, will sweep aside all obstacles in its march forward. The suite was created collectively by the Shanghai Dance School and based on "The Suite of the Long March", written by the Comrades-in-Arms Cultural Troupe. Performed against projected backdrops by 57 dancers, the epic Long March is portrayed with a creative blend of

dance movements from Peking opera, dances of the minority peoples and other folk dances, accompanied by singing and recitation. The first half is devoted to the historic moment in 1935 when the Tsunyi Meeting of the Chinese Communist Party firmly established the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung. Choral singing voices the historic importance of this event to the cause of the people's liberation: "The brilliant leader takes the helm; the revolution sweeps powerfully forward." The people's determination to follow Chairman Mao and carry the revolution through to the end is expressed in happy and exuberant dancing.

The second half of the suite takes the audience into the most arduous part of the Long March. The music becomes strong, the singing majestic and the dancing steady and statuesque, for here it portrays the revolutionary fortitude and optimism of the Red Army heroes as they struggle up the rugged Hengtuan Mountains, force their way over the turbulent Tatu River between towering cliffs, make their way over the Great Snow Mountains and through the formidable marshlands.

The performances in "Long Live the Victory of People's War" effectively spread Chairman Mao's teaching — political power grows out of the barrel of a gun — and steels the determination in fighting against imperialism and modern



"Militia Women — Inscription on a Photograph". A storytelling item from the special programme of Chairman Mao's poems.

revisionism. Today, a small and sinister anti-socialist gang opposed to "the smell of gunpowder" tries to make us deviate from Marxism and Leninism and the thinking of Mao Tse-tung and betray the cause of the people's revolutionary war. The masses of the workers, peasants and soldiers angrily oppose this and in every form of literature and art praise the victory of Chairman Mao's thinking on people's war.

In all the special programmes, Shanghai workers extolled Comrade Mao Tse-tung's teachings on self-reliance and the determination to be strong through hard work. Wanting to show how they study and apply the principles and theses of Mao Tse-tung, chemical workers of the Kaochiao plant, with great proletarian feeling, wrote "Golden Light Comes from Chairman Mao's Writings":

*Chairman Mao's writings point  
the direction  
And illuminate the road forward.  
If you ask me the road I want to take,  
It is to follow the Party forever  
And carry on the revolution.*

"Blaze, blaze, blaze! Blaze a trail of our own!" is the pledge set to music by the workers of the Shanghai Steam Turbine Plant to show how firmly they stick to the road of self-reliance, scorn both the imperialists' blockade and the revisionists' obstructions, and how they surmounted every difficulty to produce a 6,000 kw. gas turbine. The song praises the correctness of the thinking of Mao Tse-tung and every line is a bomb aimed at imperialism and revisionism.

One of the most popular of the songs presented at the festival was "Three Power Lines Come to the Countryside", sung by the peasants of a commune near Shanghai. It describes how the socialist countryside has been made to thrive through the determination of the people to work hard and to become strong. Many such numbers affirmed Chairman Mao's words:

**The wealth of society is created by the workers, the peasants, the working intellec-**



"The Masses Sing", a special programme of revolutionary songs.

**tuals. If they take their destiny into their own hands, use Marxism-Leninism as their guide and energetically tackle problems instead of evading them, there is no difficulty in the world which they cannot overcome.**

The special programme "Ode to Heroes" praises proletarian heroes nurtured on the thinking of Mao Tse-tung. Presented at a time when the Chinese people are studying Chairman Mao's writings as never before and are learning from these heroes, the performance inspired its audience with a high resolve to follow their revolutionary examples even more earnestly.

In industry there is veteran worker Wang Chin-hsi,<sup>1</sup> praised in a dialogue-song, "Iron Man Wang", by two tenors. In the robust northern folk style, the song brings this man of the Taching oilfield to life, a revolutionary who "wears the sky as his hat and the grasslands as his shoes", who finds joy in overcoming hardships — a spirit that is inspiring men and women throughout the country to work selflessly for the fulfilment of the Third Five-Year Plan.

In agriculture there is Chen Yung-kuei,<sup>2</sup> Party secretary of the Tachai production brigade, sung of in a soprano solo, "We Dare to Make the Sun and the Moon Shine in New Skies". Echoing the thoughts of millions of peasants who are transforming their communes by working in the Tachai spirit, the lively song tells of Chen Yung-kuei leading the Tachai people in changing their land, building stone retaining walls in snow and ice, removing boulders by hand and carrying-pole and carving out terraced fields with hoes.

The brief but shining life of a young P.L.A. fighter inspired the choral composition "Sing about Wang Chieh, Learn from Wang Chieh",<sup>3</sup> in which 90 singers combined dramatic styles from Peking opera, Shanghai opera, Shaohsing opera, Kun-chu opera, comic drama and modern drama. In seven parts, the song extols the young soldier's revolutionary determination to remould himself into a true proletarian fearing neither hardship nor death, and it tells how this spirit is inspiring millions of Chinese young people to pick up their pens to write revolutionary diaries as Wang Chieh did and to take over Wang Chieh's rifle and fight for the Chinese revolution and the world revolution all their lives.

The festival sang of other national heroes — Lei Feng,<sup>4</sup> a P.L.A. soldier whose every act proved him to be a good fighter of Mao Tse-tung; Chiao Yu-lu,<sup>5</sup> the county Party secretary who wholeheartedly served the people in spite of a fatal illness; Chao Hsiao-shou,<sup>6</sup> an embassy staff member seriously wounded in Djakarta, Indonesia, while defending the five-starred flag of China; and many pacesetters in the creative study and application of the thinking of Chairman Mao. The programme has fully borne out Chairman Mao's clear statement on literature and art: If you are a proletarian writer or artist, you will eulogize not the bourgeoisie but the proletariat, the working people.

#### Main Force of the Great Cultural Revolution

Workers, peasants and soldiers are the reliable base and chief support of the revolution, the builders of socialism, and they are

the creators of the new socialist culture and art. The songs and dances they created and performed in this year's Shanghai Spring Music Festival have a clear-cut revolutionary stand and a strong proletarian character. They are marked with revolutionary heroism and optimism and the straightforwardness and simplicity of the working people.

That the intensity of the present upsurge in the great cultural revolution in China should find expression in both the content and form of many numbers given in the festival has a deep and far-reaching significance — the workers, peasants and soldiers have thrown themselves into the battle against bourgeois control and influence in culture. They are taking over the powerful weapons of music and dance, turning them into efficient weapons in the battle of eradicating bourgeois thinking and promoting proletarian thinking in the cultural front and expanding the positions of socialist culture for the proletariat. They are the powerful main force of the great proletarian cultural revolution, resolutely becoming the masters of culture.

This is illustrated in the story behind "Song of the Oil Refinery Workers", a musical portrait of the turbulent, forward-marching life of the oil workers. One of the composers is Liu Nien-lang, a young oil refinery worker. Two years ago when he first heard the news that China had become virtually self-sufficient in oil, stimulating words and music raced through his mind, urging him to cheer this great victory of the spirit of self-reliance and determination to be strong through hard work.

struggle in the great proletarian cultural revolution. And on this stage too we want to be vanguard fighters."

These numbers and many others like them in the festival both challenged and struck blows against bourgeois "authorities". In creating and performing their own music, dance and drama, the workers, peasants and soldiers showed their scorn for the ridiculous idea spread by these "authorities" that these realms of art are beyond the understanding and ability of the masses. Not held back by such straitjackets of thinking, they dared to create new and original socialist works. Lack of formal training has not stopped them from writing fine revolutionary songs. They have relied on revolutionary enthusiasm, the leadership of the Party and collective strength, and tempered themselves into workers skilled both in their everyday jobs and in cultural activities. They are the backbone of the cultural revolution.

#### Take Revolutionary Singing to the Masses

Literature and art, Chairman Mao states, must first of all be for the workers, peasants and soldiers and for their use. The professional musicians, singers and dancers who took part in the Shanghai festival set a new precedent in serving the masses of the people. For the first nine days of the festival, they performed in the concert halls and theatres of the city. But for the last nine days they went out to the factories, villages and armed units — to the very front of production and defence — presenting their best numbers on the thought of Mao Tse-tung and the stirring life and struggle of the workers, peasants and soldiers. They performed wherever people could gather easily, in fields, factory shops, clubs, dining halls, or auditoriums such as at the Minhang industrial centre or the East Shanghai Workers' Cultural Palace. It was a completely new step in the history of the Shanghai Spring Music Festival.

In the Weihai Foundry, where the workers worked in a factory

building made of simple mat sheds manufacturing their own special-purpose equipment and produced the best spring steel in the country, the festival performers sang, "Today the blacksmiths make machines and in mat sheds storm the peak of technology!" This song about themselves struck a strong chord of response with the foundry workers. One of them, worker-technician Ku Yao-tsui, exclaimed, "The anti-socialist Teng To gang attacked our Big Leap Forward as 'boasting' and 'great empty words'. But the facts sung about in this song are a real slap in the face for them."

The same warm reception greeted festival performers wherever they went. In the Hungchiao People's Commune, known for its high yields of vegetables, one group sang "A Bumper Crop of Commune Vegetables", "It Is All Because of the Good Leadership of the Party" and "I Love Best to Read Chairman Mao's Books". The buoyant singing, accompanied by the accordian and the *pipa*, won instant response. It was the first time such performances had been given in the commune fields. Chen Ah-mei, a poor peasant woman before liberation, grinned from ear to ear and kept saying, "How wonderful! How wonderful! The Shanghai Spring Festival comes right into our fields and sings about us! This could happen only with the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Party!"

In an auditorium of an air force unit, pilots just out of their planes, fighters whose pressing defence duties prevented them from going to the festival, heard and saw the festival items, thunderously applauding the revolutionary content and spirit—and especially the songs about the good fighters of Chairman Mao: Lei Feng, Wang Chieh, Ouyang Hai, Chiao Yu-lu and Mai Hsien-teh. A pilot said, "You sing of our own love for the Party and Chairman Mao, you sing our own thoughts. These are the kinds of revolutionary songs we want to hear because they inspire us to strengthen our fighting will."

By taking revolutionary songs and dances out into the midst of the workers, peasants and soldiers, the performers of this year's

Shanghai Spring Music Festival not only served the masses of the people better but proved that such works become good only after they have been heard, appraised and improved on by the very people they were created for. Moving the concert stage out to the doorstep of the people gave the performers a more direct feeling of the heroism of the people in their efforts to build up and defend their motherland. They learned even more the necessity of participating deeply in the actual life and struggle of the people. The experience pushed the revolution in their thinking further—a factor of the first importance in building up a new army of proletarian writers and artists. It is a focus in the struggle against the bourgeoisie to win over the minds and hearts of the younger generation.

#### The Masses Comment

During the festival, workers, peasants and soldiers offered warm comments and constructive criticism. Many wrote articles for the Shanghai newspapers. Others wrote letters or telephoned to the performing units. A dozen conferences were held between performers and some 100 worker, peasant and soldier critics. Their comment and criticism closely followed Chairman Mao's statement that in criticism of literature and art, political evaluation comes first, artistic evaluation second.

The enthusiastic opinion of the workers, peasants and soldiers who attended those forums was that the 7th Shanghai Spring Music Festival placed the thought of Mao Tse-tung foremost and in command. Every item in the festival was about the life and struggle of the workers, peasants and soldiers. Every song sang of their own thoughts and feelings. They understood these performances and found them very inspiring. The performances encourage them to study Chairman Mao's writings harder, to learn from these heroes and to be like them, and to go forward staunchly in the three great revolutionary movements (the class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experimentation).

The forum participants were especially excited that in this festival 3,000 worker, peasant and soldier amateurs took part, demonstrating the strength of the masses of the people as the main force in the great proletarian cultural revolution. This boosted the spirit of the people and struck a blow at the arrogance of the bourgeois "authorities". Thus the festival proved that workers, peasants and soldiers armed with the thought of Mao Tse-tung not only scorn bourgeois "authorities" but dare to seize the ideological and cultural positions held by them.

The participants praised the professional artists for their revolutionary spirit in freeing themselves from classical and foreign rules, and making their music and dance more revolutionary, national and popular. Lu Hao-chung, a Shanghai steelworker, compared the violin ensemble "Rely on the Helmsman When Sailing the Seas" with an old violin concerto. The warm, lively music which kindles enthusiasm today, he said, is in sharp contrast with the melancholy violin concerto, "Liang Shan-po and Chu Ying-tai", written many years ago and which depicts the tragic love story of a feudal scholar and a beautiful woman. Why were such different results produced from the same musical instrument? "This has nothing to do with the instrument, of course," said Lu. "It is a matter of whether the composer and the violinist think like revolutionaries. If so, they will produce revolutionary music, the kind we like to listen to. I think that the artists have produced this result because they responded to Chairman Mao's call to go among the workers, peasants and soldiers and into the thick of their stirring struggles."

(1) See "The Man of Iron"—Wang Chin-hsi" in *China Reconstructs*, May 1966.

(2) See "It's Man That Counts . . ." in *China Reconstructs*, October 1965.

(3) See "A Young Fighter—Wang Chieh" in *China Reconstructs*, May 1966.

(4) See "Why Millions Honour Lei Feng" in *China Reconstructs*, June 1963.

(5) See "County Party Secretary—Chiao Yu-lu" in *China Reconstructs*, May 1966.

(6) See "The Chinese People Will Not Be Bullied" in *China Reconstructs*, July 1966.

Right: Shanghai chemical workers sing "Golden Light Comes from Chairman Mao's Works".

Centre: "Think of the Consumers when Growing the Vegetables", by Hungchiao commune members.

Lower: An air force unit stationed in Shanghai sings "Song of the Eagles".





# THE 7TH SHANGHAI SPRING FESTIVAL

— Militant Music of the  
Great Proletarian  
Cultural Revolution



Golden light comes from Chairman Mao's works,  
Like a bright lamp it lights up every corner,  
So bright that the red flag becomes a red flame,  
So bright that the motherland prospers as never before . . .



Shanghai Music Conservatory students sing "We Dedicate Our Red Hearts to the People" for open-hearth workers at the Shanghai No. 3 Steel Plant.



"Husband and Wife Welcome Chairman Mao's Works", performed for the peasants of the Ssu Lian commune near Shanghai.



"Joining of Forces", a scene from "The Red Army Defies the Trials of the Long March".



Chairman Kuo Mo-jo speaking at the closing session of the Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting in Peking.

# Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting

## Introduction

THE AFRO-ASIAN Writers' Emergency Meeting held in Peking, capital of the People's Republic of China, attracted worldwide attention. It opened on June 27, 1966 and ended successfully on July 9. It was attended by 161 delegates from 53 countries and regions of Asia and Africa, and observers from five international organizations.

On July 17 Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of the Chinese people, received the delegates and observers. This was an event of deep and far-reaching significance in the history of the Afro-Asian writers' movement and raised the enthusiasm of all present to an unprecedented height.

The Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting was a revolutionary meeting, one of solidarity and of victory for the Afro-Asian peoples. It was a great demonstration by the 2,000 million Afro-Asian peoples against the imperialists headed by the United States. The programmatic communique and the resolutions which the meeting adopted in strict observance of the principle of democratic consultations have carried the Afro-Asian writers' movement forward to a new stage and set up an important milestone in the history of the Afro-Asian peoples' solidarity against imperialism.

The meeting strongly condemned the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war; it highly appraised and expressed most energetic support for the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. It also expressed warm sympathy and support for the liberation struggles of the peo-

ples of other Afro-Asian countries and all oppressed peoples and nations the world over. The meeting manifested the firm determination of the Afro-Asian peoples to carry through to the end the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and their strong conviction that their cause will be victorious; it reflected the militant spirit of the Afro-Asian peoples which is irresistible and capable of moving mountains and draining seas. It was precisely the revolutionary banner of opposing imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism which was the militant banner of this meeting.

The speeches of many delegates emphasized that to oppose imperialism, it is imperative to oppose revisionism, because the latter is an accomplice and co-plotter with U.S. imperialism. This meeting achieved unprecedented victory against splittist activities. In its communique, the Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting supported the solemn statement issued by the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau on June 23, 1966 which condemned the splittist meeting in these words: "By such deliberate and intentional sabotaging of the Afro-Asian writers' movement, the splittist Soviet writers have totally divorced themselves from the ranks of the Afro-Asian writers and forfeited all rights and place, forever, in the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau."

In their speeches at the Peking meeting, delegates from many Asian and African countries praised Chairman Mao, the great leader of the Chinese people, and the thought of Mao Tse-tung. Their words came from the bottom of

their hearts and their feelings were expressed in the most glowing terms. They said Chairman Mao is "the great teacher and leader of the people of the world", "the great helmsman of China and the whole world" and "the greatest hope of the oppressed people". They declared that Mao Tse-tung's great thought is "the acme of Marxism-Leninism in the present era", "the inextinguishable torch and red sun of the revolutionaries of the whole world" and a "weapon more powerful than the atomic bomb".

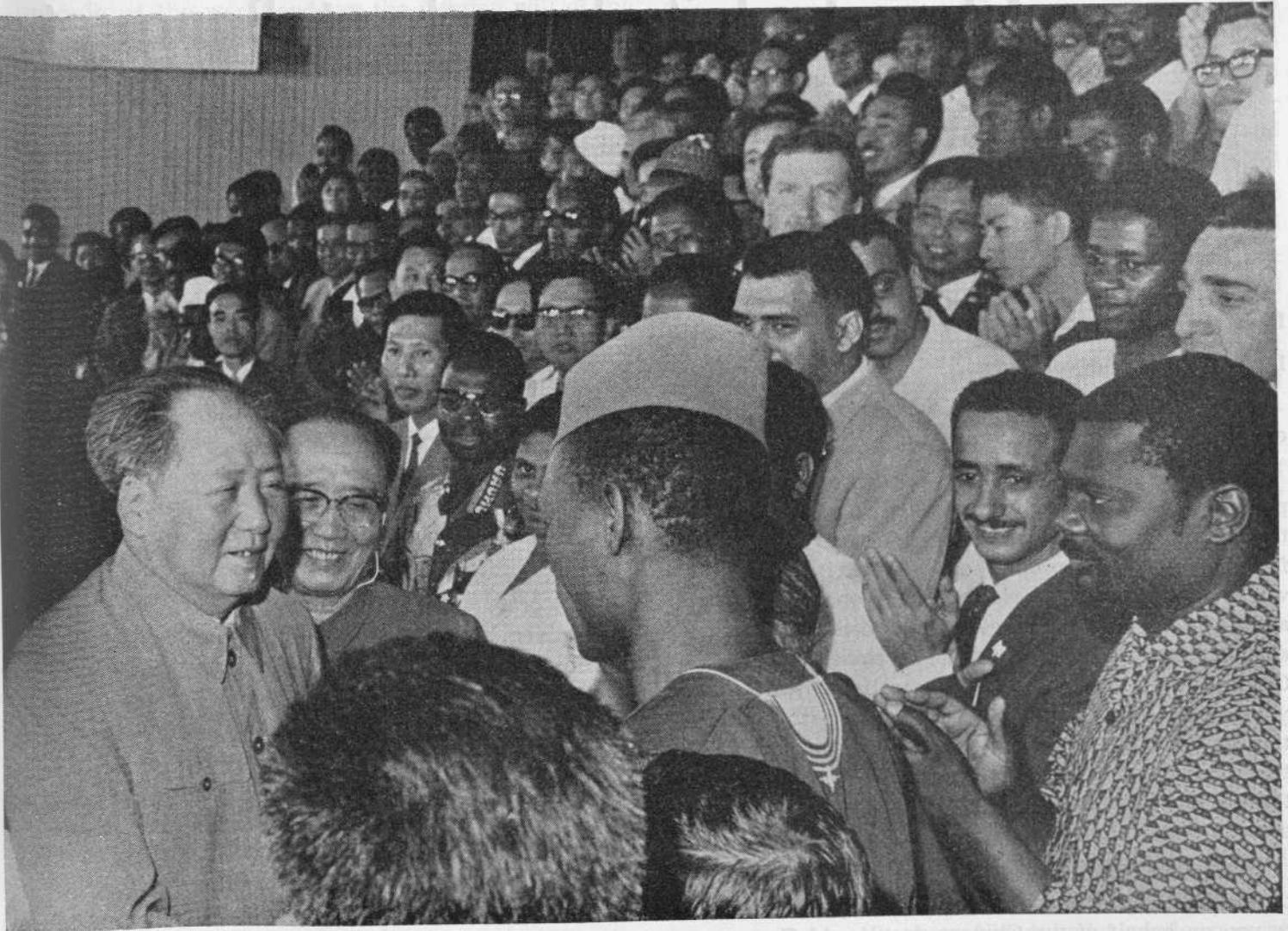
In its July 10, 1966 editorial, *Renmin Ribao* (*People's Daily*), hailing the victorious conclusion of the meeting, pointed out: "The Chinese people sincerely thank the Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting for its correct international appraisal of Mao Tse-tung's great thought and for its praise of China's experience in revolution and construction. The Chinese people attach great importance to the experience of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples in their struggle against imperialism and the revolutionary experience of the European and American peoples. They hold that these experiences are all worthy of study by the Chinese people."

Below we print Premier Chou En-lai's banquet speech, Vice-Premier Chen Yi's speech at the opening ceremony and some of the documents of the emergency meeting and the meeting of the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau. The texts of all the resolutions passed at the emergency meeting are carried in the No. 29, 1966 issue of *Peking Review*.



*Left:* All who attended the Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting are photographed with Chairman Mao Tse-tung (centre).

*Below:* Chairman Mao Tse-tung receives delegates and observers from international organizations to the Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting.





Premier Chou En-lai speaking at the banquet given on July 9 celebrating the triumphant closing of the Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting.

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

Dear guests,

Dear friends and comrades,

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

Holding aloft the militant banner of opposing imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism headed by the United States, your meeting has rendered powerful support to the peoples of Asia, Africa and the world in their anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle and to the heroic Vietnamese people in their struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. Giving play to the spirit of democratic consultation, your meeting has held full discussions on the question of developing the new national culture, literature and art of Asia and Africa, and has achieved tremendous successes. It is a revolutionary meeting, a meeting of solidarity and a meeting of victory.

Together with Comrades Kang Sheng, Chen Po-ta and Tao Chu, I now extend warm congratulations to you on behalf of the Chinese people and Government. At the same time, we extend revolutionary and

militant greetings to you Afro-Asian writers on behalf of the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and the revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals of the country, who are all engaged in the great cultural revolution under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought and under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party.

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

At the crucial moment of the U.S. imperialist expansion of the war of aggression against Vietnam,

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

This is a life-and-death struggle. One either defeats U.S. imperialism or submits to it. There is no middle road. All revolutionary people of the world must cast away any illusion whatsoever, believe in and rely on the people's strength, unite as one and persevere in the struggle so as thoroughly to defeat the U.S. aggressors.

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

China was a participating nation of the 1954 Geneva Conference. It must be pointed out that the Geneva Agreements were long ago torn to shreds by the United States. Speaking of the Geneva Agreements, the United States must unconditionally withdraw its armed forces from Vietnam immediately, completely, thoroughly and totally. Unless the U.S. troops are withdrawn, the reconvening of the Geneva Conference is entirely out of the question.

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

Everyone can see what an ignominious role the Indian reactionaries and the Soviet revisionist leading clique are playing in the U.S. imperialist expansion of its war of aggression against Vietnam. In order to isolate U.S. imperialism to the maximum and deal it the heaviest possible blows, it is necessary for the people of Asia, Africa and the whole world constantly to expand and strengthen in all spheres the united front against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. This united front must be based on the great unity of the revolutionary people of the whole

world and must include all countries and people subjected to U.S. imperialist aggression, intervention, control or bullying; but it absolutely must not include the Soviet revisionist leading clique and the Indian reactionaries. On the contrary, they can only be the targets of struggle by the international anti-U.S. united front.

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

Friends and comrades! At the meeting you expressed warm congratulations on the 45th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese Communist Party. Many delegates have paid warm tribute to Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of the Chinese people, and to the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, and they spoke highly of China's great socialist cultural revolution. This is an expression of infinite confidence in and support for the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung. It gives impetus and encouragement to the Chinese people in studying and applying Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought still better. For this we express heartfelt thanks to our friends. You can rest assured that the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Government and people will for ever remain loyal to the great thought of Mao Tse-tung and will never fail to live up to the earnest hopes which the people of the world have placed in us.

Now may we propose a toast

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

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

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

to the health of our friends and comrades present here!



Vice-Premier Chen Yi speaks at the opening meeting on June 27.

## Vice-Premier Chen Yi's Speech

**At the Opening Ceremony of the Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting, June 27, 1966**

**Mr. Chairman, Messrs. Delegates,  
Friends and Comrades:**

The Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting opens here in Peking today. It is a great honour for China to serve as the host of your meeting. On behalf of the Chinese Government and people, I express warm welcome to the participating Afro-Asian writers and heartfelt greetings to the meeting.

Participating in the meeting today are 152 delegates of writers and observers from 47 countries and regions in Asia and Africa and from three international organizations. You have come from the forefront of the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggle in Asia and Africa and from different posts. You are a glorious and important contingent of the cultural army of the Afro-Asian people. You have long used your pens as weapons to fight for the Afro-Asian people's cause of anti-imperialist revolutionary

unity. You have always used anti-imperialist revolutionary literature and art as weapons for criticism; in places like Vietnam and the Congo (Leopoldville), the situation has already developed into one of criticism by weapons. Your names and works are held in respect not only by the people of your own countries but also by the people of China and other parts of Asia and Africa.

You have come to this meeting in defiance of obstruction and sabotage by imperialism and its followers. You have brought with you happy new tidings about the awakening, unity, fight and victory of the two thousand million Afro-Asian people. This is a manifestation of the great anti-imperialist revolutionary unity of the Afro-Asian writers. The present meeting not only marks an entirely new stage in the Afro-Asian writers' movement, but also constitutes a tremendous support and encouragement to the fighting peoples of Asia, Africa and the whole world.

Friends and comrades! The current international situation is favourable to the people of Asia, Africa and the whole world, and is unfavourable to imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. The Afro-Asian people are against imperialism and for independence and freedom. The Afro-Asian people are more awakened than ever, their forces are growing from strength to strength and their struggle is deepening. This constitutes the main current in the Afro-Asian situation. Imperialism headed by the United States and a handful of reactionaries have been resorting to direct aggression, crude intervention, political subversion and other means to counter the revolutionary forces with wild attacks, stirring up a counter-revolutionary adverse current. However, this can in no way obstruct the triumphant advance of the Afro-Asian revolutionary people.

U.S. imperialism is redoubling its efforts in carrying out control, intervention, subversion and aggression in Asia and Africa, and is obdurately pursuing its policies of aggression and war in all parts of the world. It is the most insensate aggressor history has ever known, the principal prop of the reactionary forces throughout the world, and the most vicious enemy of all the people. The peoples of Asia and Africa have to wage a life-and-death and tit-for-tat struggle against U.S. imperialism in every forward step they take along the road of winning independence and progress.

The Soviet revisionists are bent on seeking U.S.-Soviet collaboration for world domination, and they are helping U.S. imperialism and its lackeys to maintain their reactionary rule, suppress the national-liberation movement, and undermine and disrupt the ranks of Afro-Asian solidarity against imperialism. They have degenerated into accomplices of U.S. imperialism. While opposing imperialism headed by the United States, the revolutionary people of Asia and Africa cannot but oppose modern revisionism with the Soviet leading clique as its centre.

The most urgent and most important historical task of the Afro-Asian people today is to oppose U.S.-led imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, to win and safeguard national independence and to carry the national revolution through to the end.

The people of those Afro-Asian countries which have not yet won independence are waging various forms of struggle, armed struggle included, to strive for independence and liberation.

The people of those Afro-Asian countries which have won independence are continuing to oppose the control, intervention, subversion and aggression by imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism in order to safeguard national independence and state sovereignty and develop national economy and culture.

The Chinese people share the destiny and life breath of the other Afro-Asian peoples. We will for ever stand by our anti-imperialist revolutionary brothers of Asia and Africa.

We firmly support the just struggles waged by the peoples of Vietnam, Korea, Cambodia, Laos, Thailand, Malaya, the Philippines, North Kalimantan, Indonesia and Japan, and firmly support the peoples of various Asian countries in their struggle to oppose imperialist aggression and to win and safeguard national independence.

We firmly support the just struggles waged by the peoples of South Yemen and Oman and the Arab people of Palestine and firmly support the peoples of the Arab countries in their struggle to win and safeguard national independence and oppose imperialism and its tool for aggression — Israel.

We firmly support the just struggles waged by the peoples of the Congo (Leopoldville), Angola, Mozambique, "Portuguese" Guinea, Zimbabwe, South Africa, Bechuanaland, Basutoland, Swaziland, Southwest Africa, Somali Coast ("French"), Comoro Islands and Canary Islands, and firmly support the peoples of various African countries in their struggle to oppose colonialism and neo-colonialism and to win and safeguard national independence.

We firmly support the efforts made by the new emerging independent countries in Asia and Africa to develop national economy and build their countries; on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, we will do our best to help them achieve economic self-reliance and get rid of imperialist control.

We are firmly prepared to make the maximum national sacrifices in supporting the anti-imperialist revolutionary cause of the Afro-Asian people and the people of the world. No matter what pressure imperialism headed by the United States may exert to force us to change our policy, we will persevere in our stand of opposing imperialism and supporting the anti-imperialist revolution of the people of all countries and will never vacillate or change.

The Vietnam question is at present the focal point of the international struggle against U.S. imperialism. The U.S. aggressors are carrying out the inhuman policy of "burn all, kill all, destroy all" in southern Vietnam with sanguinary means of unprecedented savagery, and conducting wanton bombing of northern Vietnam. But all this can in no way avert the inevitable doom of U.S. imperialism. In order to save itself from defeat, U.S. imperialism is using war expansion as a means of blackmail to carry out its peace talks scheme on the one hand and, on the other, is using the smokescreen of peace talks to cover up its crime of expanding the war, vainly hoping to achieve its aim of perpetuating the occupation of south Vietnam and the division of Vietnam.

The heroic Vietnamese people have given full play to the power of the people's war and won brilliant victories in their struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. The Vietnamese people have long been determined to defend the north, liberate the south, reunify their motherland and drive out the U.S. marauders completely. The Vietnam

question can only be solved in accordance with the will of the Vietnamese people. The United States must stop its aggression against the whole of Vietnam, withdraw all its armed forces from south Vietnam and let the Vietnamese people settle their own question by themselves. Otherwise, all empty talk about a peaceful settlement of the Vietnam question is a mere fraud.

The Soviet leading clique advertises that the United States also has the sincere desire for a peaceful settlement of the Vietnam question, trying its best to play down the Vietnamese people's just demands and vainly attempting to sell out the fundamental interests of the Vietnamese people and make their just struggle stop half way. This is absolutely impermissible. Unprincipled compromise can only give U.S. imperialism a breathing space, and bring still greater calamities to the people of Vietnam. In these circumstances, how can there be any talk about "united action" with the Soviet leading clique?

The people of Vietnam stand in the forefront of the world people's struggle against U.S. imperialism. Every drop of blood shed by the Vietnamese people has been shed for winning their own national independence and in the interests of the common cause of the Afro-Asian people against imperialism and colonialism. To do everything possible to support and aid the Vietnamese people in their struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation and completely to defeat the U.S. aggressors — this is the common internationalist duty of the Afro-Asian peoples.

Whatever tricks U.S. imperialism may play, to whatever extent it may escalate the war, and however great are the risks and however heavy the price, we Chinese people will do our utmost to support the Vietnamese people until they win final victory in their struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation.

In order to isolate U.S. imperialism to the maximum extent and deal it the heaviest blows, the people of Asia, Africa and the whole world must further expand and strengthen the international united front against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. This united front should persist in the genuine revolutionary policy which reflects the aspirations of the people of the whole world. It should be based on the great unity of the revolutionary people the world over. It should include all countries and peoples that are subjected to U.S. imperialist aggression, intervention, control or bullying, but it must in no case include the flunkies, accomplices and collaborators of U.S. imperialism.

In our epoch, it is not the forces of imperialism, but the forces of the revolutionary people, which are strong; it is not the revolutionary people who are afraid of imperialism, but imperialism which is afraid of the revolutionary people. The people of Asia and Africa have no fear for imperialism, colonialism and

neo-colonialism, and by relying on armed struggle and the anti-U.S. united front, they can assuredly defeat U.S. imperialism and win victory in the cause of national liberation. Just as Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out: "People all over the world, be courageous, dare to fight, defy difficulties and advance wave upon wave. Then the whole world will belong to the people. Monsters of all kinds shall be destroyed."

Friends and comrades! With the continuous development and victories of the national-liberation movement, the people of Asia and Africa have entered a great era of cultural rejuvenation. To create anti-imperialist revolutionary national new cultures of the broad masses of the Afro-Asian countries and to build Asia and Africa into a new Asia and a new Africa with modern science and culture — this is the historical task of the Afro-Asian peoples in the field of culture.

In order to fulfil this historical task, the peoples of Asia and Africa are making tremendous efforts to eradicate all the cultural, literary and artistic influences of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, which stem mainly from U.S. imperialism.

Since World War II, U.S. imperialism has spent hundreds of millions of dollars, set in motion all its propaganda machines, gone through various channels and employed all literary and art forms in order to propagate the so-called American civilization and way of life. American literature and art of this sort are reactionary, rotten and decadent to the extreme; they are also an expression of despair. They are opium to corrode the national consciousness and enslave the minds of the people of various countries. The aim is to use cultural infiltration to supplement its political subversion, economic plunder and military aggression. All progressive literature and art in the United States are suppressed and have no chance of emerging.

The modern revisionist literature and art have degenerated into imitations of the Western bourgeois literature and art and are in the service of imperialism and the reactionaries of different countries.

The new culture, literature and art of the Afro-Asian people have developed in the course of anti-imperialist revolutionary struggles and in the course of struggle against the reactionary culture, literature and art of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. This new culture and this literature and art are the most progressive, the most vital and in full accordance with the interests of the Afro-Asian peoples and the urgent needs of their anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle.

The Afro-Asian people's new culture, literature and art strongly reflect the great anti-imperialist revolutionary spirit of the present epoch, present a clear-cut national character and are closely integrated with the broad masses. Therefore, our new culture, literature and art constitute a part of the whole anti-

imperialist revolutionary machine and a powerful weapon for rallying and educating the people, hitting and destroying the imperialist forces and winning independence and liberation.

The Afro-Asian peoples created splendid ancient culture and made great contributions to human history. Today, they reappear on the stage of world history as revolutionary and progressive masters of their own destiny. The phase of modern world history in which we the people of Asia and Africa as well as our culture are looked down upon should come to a conclusion. With the victorious development of the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle of the Afro-Asian peoples, the new culture of the great Afro-Asian peoples is on the rise. As far as its ideological content is concerned, this new culture has far exceeded the entire old culture of imperialism and colonialism.

As the culture of Western imperialism is becoming daily more decadent and despondent and that of revisionism daily more degenerate, the industrious, brave and talented Afro-Asian peoples with their high sense of national dignity and confidence will certainly be able to make still greater contributions than their past ones to human civilization.

Friends and comrades! Under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung and adhering to the general line of going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism, the Chinese people are advancing in giant strides on the road of socialism. A new leap forward has been taken in China's industrial production not only in quantity, but, what is more important, in variety, quality and technique. In scale, speed and quality, our capital construction has far surpassed that of the last few years. In agriculture, good harvests have been reaped for four years running. An unprecedented, general upsurge has appeared in the national economy as a whole.

In the last few months, the Chinese people have unfolded an unprecedented movement for the great proletarian cultural revolution. It is a great revolutionary movement to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and promote the socialist cause in our country. This great revolution is the inevitable outcome of the historical development of our country.

The task of our great proletarian cultural revolution is to demolish thoroughly all the old ideology, culture, customs and habits which the exploiting classes fostered over thousands of years to poison the minds of the people; it is to create and foster among the broad masses entirely new proletarian ideology, culture, customs and habits. It is, in the tempest of the class struggle, creatively to study and apply Mao Tse-tung's thought, popularize Mao Tse-tung's thought and have it closely integrated with the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers.

In this great proletarian cultural revolution, the spearhead of our struggle is directed, with concentrated force, against the handful of counter-revolutionary elements, constituting only a few per cent of the total population, who are dead set against the Communist Party and against socialism. As for the overwhelming majority, we have always adopted and will continue to adopt the policy of "unity-criticism-unity." We will continue to adopt the policy of uniting with, educating and remoulding the great number of intellectuals who have come from the old society. This policy is firm and unshakable. Some reactionaries at home and abroad have slandered us, saying that our struggle is "directed against all intellectuals." This is sheer nonsense spread with ulterior motives.

In this great proletarian cultural revolution, we rely on the staunch proletarian revolutionaries, on the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals. Through the energetic study of Chairman Mao's works, the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers of our country have broken open the door to the theory of Marxism-Leninism; the times when small numbers of intellectuals monopolized theoretical learning and knowledge are gone for ever, never to return; and a new historic epoch in which the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers directly master theoretical learning and knowledge is already here. Under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought, large numbers of literary and art workers have emerged from among the workers, peasants and soldiers. Thoroughly emancipated from the shackles of the old literary and artistic ideas of the exploiting classes, they have been creating large numbers of literary and art works imbued with the revolutionary spirit of the socialist epoch. The facts have vividly demonstrated that Mao Tse-tung's thought, once grasped by the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, becomes a tremendous material force.

Seeing that we are carrying on the cultural revolution in a big way, a handful of imperialists and their followers think that something must have gone wrong with our country and our state power, and that it seems they will have something to gain therefrom. They attempt to make some capital out of it. These lords are more stupid than pigs. The fact that the Chinese Communist Party dares to boldly mobilize the masses to carry on the cultural revolution in a big way exactly proves that our country is powerful, our state power is consolidated and the people of the whole country are united. Is not all this very clear?

What is more important, the current great cultural revolution is precisely aimed at destroying the social base of imperialism and modern revisionism, preventing the revisionists from usurping the leadership of the Party and the state and averting the restoration of capitalism. This is Comrade Mao Tse-tung's great development of Marxism-Leninism.

Therefore, we can definitely tell our friends that our unprecedented, great cultural revolution is indeed an extremely heavy blow at imperialism, modern revisionism and reactionaries of different countries. Apart from despair, they will get nothing else whatsoever. We would like to ask: Dare the U.S. imperialists and Soviet modern revisionists launch, like China, a great cultural revolution in their countries? I can say categorically that they dare not.

Victory in this great cultural revolution will further consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country, provide a guarantee for the carrying through to the end of the Chinese people's socialist revolution and for the successful progress of our country's socialist construction; it will also prepare conditions for the future realization of communism. The Chinese people constituting one-fourth of the world's population will thus be able to give more and greater internationalist support and contribution to the progressive cause of the people of Asia, Africa and the whole world.

Friends and comrades!

The great cultural revolution being carried on by the Chinese people is a great practice of the thought of Mao Tse-tung. Mao Tse-tung's thought is the steering-wheel that guides this great cultural revolution.

Mao Tse-tung's thought is Marxism-Leninism creatively developed during the long period of practice in the Chinese revolution; it is Marxism-Lenin-

ism creatively developed in the Chinese people's great struggle against imperialism, modern revisionism and reactionaries of all countries. It is the sole guide of the Chinese people in their socialist revolution and socialist construction and a powerful weapon of the Chinese people with which to defeat imperialism and modern revisionism. Mao Tse-tung's thought is the acme of Marxism-Leninism in our epoch, and is living Marxism-Leninism at its highest.

Friends and comrades! As you are well aware, the Chinese people, who experienced untold sufferings, have won today's victory after 109 years of struggle. This victory has been won by traversing a tortuous, complicated and arduous course in which they fought, failed, fought again, failed again, fought again . . . till their victory. In order to remove the three big mountains — imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism — lying like a dead weight on the Chinese people, not a few people sought for various ideologies and methods and took various paths. We have travelled far and wide in the world to find a way to free ourselves from misery. But none of those ideologies worked and none of those paths led anywhere. The facts have taught the Chinese people that, apart from believing in Mao Tse-tung's thought, they can no longer have faith in any other thought. To sum up the experience of the revolutionary struggle of our country over the past decades, especially that of prolonged bloodshed and defeats, and concentrate it into one point, it is: Mao Tse-tung's thought alone can save China, and without

Mao Tse-tung's thought there would not have been New China. We had believed in various ideologies and experimented with various systems; they all ended in failure. But we win victory as soon as we believe in Mao Tse-tung's thought which is the integration of Marxism-Leninism with the practice of the Chinese revolution. From our own experience we Chinese people have come to understand deeply that Mao Tse-tung's thought is our lifeline, and that Chairman Mao's teachings are the supreme guide for all our work.

Today, with the struggle against U.S. imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism growing in depth, more and more people in all parts of the world, particularly in Asia, Africa and Latin America, want to study Mao Tse-tung's thought. We warmly welcome the desire of our friends to learn, and regard it as an encouragement and impetus to the Chinese people.

The Chinese people will certainly abide by Chairman Mao's teachings and learn with greater modesty from the revolutionary people all over the world, particularly from the militant and heroic peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. We Chinese people are grateful to the people of Asia and Africa for the support and assistance they have rendered us. The revolutionary people of the world, who stand at the forefront of the struggle, are all our teachers, and we are willing to be their students. Guided by Mao Tse-tung's thought, the Chinese people, together with the

other peoples of Asia, Africa and the whole world, will devote their utmost efforts to combating imperialism, modern revisionism and reactionaries in all countries and to supporting and aiding all the oppressed nations and people in their just struggles.

Friends and comrades! Imperialism and its followers are unhappy about this Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting and harbour a bitter hatred for the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist literature and art of Asia and Africa. Your meeting here is in itself a great victory for the Afro-Asian writers' friendship and solidarity. Through your efforts, this meeting will certainly make new contributions to the promotion of the revolutionary unity of the Afro-Asian writers. At the same time, I am convinced that, through the efforts of all of you, the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist revolutionary literature and art of Asia and Africa will surely make new progress and play a still greater militant role in the Afro-Asian people's noble cause of unity against imperialism. On behalf of the Chinese Government and people, I wish your meeting complete success!

Long live the great unity of the Afro-Asian peoples!

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

The Afro-Asian peoples will certainly win!

Imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism will certainly be defeated!



Delegates to the Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting showed the greatest respect and love for Chairman Mao Tse-tung. Here writers from Laos and Syria buy copies of Chairman Mao's works.



A get-together of foreign friends and artists in Wuhan.



In Shenyang, northeast China, a group of writer-delegates pose with Chinese youngsters at the "Friendship Grove", where they planted trees.

# Report of the Secretary-General of the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau

Read by D. Manuweera

Dear colleagues,

As you know, we have called this Emergency Meeting mainly to fulfil a bounden duty cast upon us, the writers, the progressive writers, of Africa and Asia, that is, to render our resolute support to the heroic people of Vietnam in the life-and-death struggle they are waging against the U.S. imperialists to liberate the South, defend the North and reunify their motherland.

The brave struggle of the people of Vietnam against the U.S. aggressors has, today, become the focus of attention of all the anti-imperialist peoples and forces in the world, particularly in Asia and Africa. Flagrantly violating the Geneva Agreements, totally ignoring the world-wide condemnation and completely disregarding all respect for sovereignty and independence, the U.S. imperialists have aroused the hatred and indignation of not only the Vietnamese people, but of all the peoples of the world, who love emancipation, who love freedom, who love peace.

Faced with a hopeless dilemma, faced with a people who are determined to fight on until their land is liberated, the U.S. imperialists have launched a mindless escalation of their aggressive war in south Vietnam. They have already shipped into it more than 275,000 aggressive troops and have recruited their flunkies, the governments of the Philippines, Thailand, Australia, New Zealand, and the Pak Jung Hi clique, to supply more cannon-fodder or to accelerate and strengthen their material co-operation in their aggression.

This new and futile escalation of its war to subdue the Vietnamese people has, on the one hand, further proven that U.S. imperialism is the enemy Number One of all the progressive and peace-loving peoples of the world, while, on the other, it has shown that U.S. imperialism has been thrown into a desperate position in south Vietnam. It has, on the one hand, proven that U.S. imperialism would go to any length to turn the tide against it in south Vietnam, while, on the other, it has shown that the determination of the Vietnamese people to resist the U.S. aggressors is becoming deeper and stronger. It has, on the one hand, proven that U.S. imperialism would not change its bellicose nature until completely defeated, while, on the other, it has shown that it is men, and not weapons, that constitute the decisive factor in a battle for freedom. The more they escalate

This is an abridged version of the report submitted by the Secretary-General of the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau, Ratne Deshapriya Senanayake. It was read by his representative, D. Manuweera, to the plenary session of the Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting on June 27, 1966.

their war, the nearer the U.S. imperialists draw themselves to their doom in Vietnam. The more they escalate their war, the greater are the magnificent victories scored by the valiant Vietnamese people. No savagery of any kind can weaken the iron will of the south Vietnamese people to fight until final victory is achieved.

Dear colleagues, what have the brilliant victories achieved by the heroic south Vietnamese people shown us? What lesson have they given to the world? The unparalleled victories scored by the people of south Vietnam have proved to the world that U.S. imperialism is not impossible to be defeated. Vietnam has distinctly demonstrated that arrows, machetes and bamboo spikes, in the hands of freedom-loving, revolutionary people, are much more powerful than the bombs, bullets and missiles of the imperialists. Vietnam has amply shown us that no weapons and no troops of imperialism can ever besiege and topple the mighty bastion of a people fighting for their national liberation. And it is in Vietnam we have seen that armed struggle is the one and only method of dealing with all imperialists, colonialists and neo-colonialists, headed by the U.S.

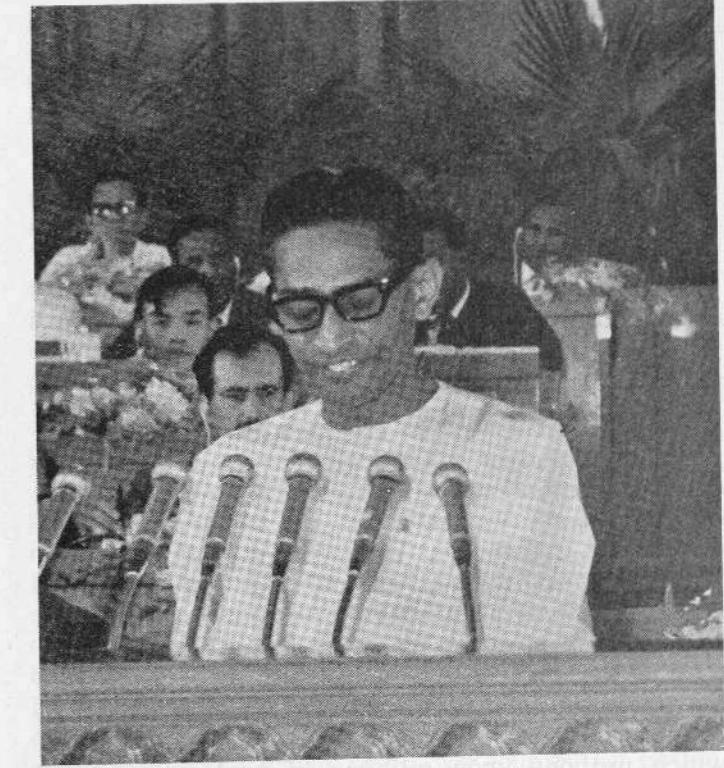
In a desperate bid to get out of the blind alley into which they have led themselves in south Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists have escalated their war of aggression into the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos and are even threatening China. They are wantonly bombing the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, unscrupulously encroaching on its territory and crudely provoking it. By its despicable and barbarous aggression against the people of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, U.S. imperialism hopes to intimidate and force them into submission. It hopes to weaken the fighting capacity of the heroic north Vietnamese people. But the courageous people of north Vietnam, who are steeled in struggle, have dealt resounding blows at the aggressors, teaching them the universal truth that a revolutionary people can never be intimidated or subjugated by them or any brand of imperialists, no matter what weapons they use. We fully endorse all measures adopted by the north Vietnamese people to safeguard their sovereignty and independence. The recent intruding into the territory of the People's Republic of China by the U.S. aggressor planes and shooting down of a Chinese plane that was on a training flight, is clear proof of the expansion of the U.S. aggressive war in Vietnam to other territories. We severely condemn this wanton provocative act of U.S. imperialism against the People's Republic of China. And we totally approve the firm stand taken by the

heroic Chinese people to safeguard their territorial integrity and their great socialist state.

Vainly hoping to save itself from the inextricable predicament in south Vietnam, from the morass in which it is sinking deeper and deeper, the Johnson Administration has come out with all types of cunning tricks to deceive the Vietnamese people. While increasing its military strength in south Vietnam, while wantonly bombing the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and while expanding its aggression into other territories, Johnson is loudly babbling about "peaceful negotiation", "unconditional discussion" and "social reforms" in order to cover up its war moves in an attempt to pacify the south Vietnamese and make them lay down their arms. But, the south Vietnamese know, the world knows, that behind this thin veil of cunning trickery there lurks the aggressive countenance of U.S. imperialism and its sinister motive to achieve across the table what it cannot win in the battlefield.

History is replete with glaring examples proving the incontrovertible truth that freedom and peace have to be won only through revolutionary struggle and only by defeating and destroying the aggressors. The Vietnamese people must also traverse, for their freedom, that same path all oppressed nations and people have traversed in the past for their freedom. These palpable frauds of Johnson will, with the contempt they deserve, be thrown into the dustbin of history. We Asian and African writers resolutely support the four-point stand of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the five-part statement of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation. U.S. imperialism must cease immediately its aggression against the whole of Vietnam, withdraw all aggressive troops from south Vietnam and recognize the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation as the sole representative of the people of south Vietnam. The question of Vietnam must be settled by the Vietnamese people themselves.

Dear colleagues, while U.S. imperialism has aroused the hatred and indignation of not only the Vietnamese people but of all the peace-loving and freedom-loving people of the world, and while it is on the brink of its grave, there are some people who have voluntarily come out to save it. These so-called revolutionaries have, today, become one of the greatest defenders of U.S. imperialism. They have, today, become the main ally of U.S. imperialism. They have coordinated their scheme and actions with those of the U.S. imperialists for world domination. They have completely capitulated to the U.S. imperialists and, having done so, betrayed the national liberation struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America. They are more dangerous than the U.S. imperialists themselves, for they are wolves in sheep's clothing. Pretending to support the Vietnamese people, they scheme and plan hand in glove with the U.S. imperialists to thwart the Vietnamese people's struggle. Loudly proclaiming that they are supporting the Vietnamese to liberate south Vietnam and defend the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, they are peddling round the world to sell the worn-out "peace talks" fraud of the U.S. imperialists to make the Vietnamese



D. Manuweera reads the report of the Secretary-General of the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau at the Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting.

surrender to their aggressors. But in their peddling round the world, these hypocrite revolutionaries have proved to be as inefficient as a third-rate salesman, no, a fourth-rate salesman. Turned out by the people, they have returned home with the goods. These political salesmen, who trade in the destiny of the Asian and African peoples, are not reconciled to their defeat and are continuing to peddle their dirty goods. Recently, they put forward in a roundabout way the so-called five "prerequisites" to "peaceful negotiations" for the settlement of the Vietnam question. They speak of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, the sole legitimate representative of the people of south Vietnam, as a "partner in the negotiation". They use such phrases as U.S. troops are "beginning to withdraw" and have "stopped to increase" as responding to Johnson's call for "phased" withdrawal of troops. They are, in fact, merely talking and not withdrawing. Moreover, under such covers as "internal affairs" of and "self-determination" for south Vietnam, they are trying to keep Vietnam divided for ever and so obstruct the Vietnamese people from realizing the reunification of their motherland. The attitude of these shameless renegades towards the just and heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people has completely exposed their degraded, disgraceful and despicable nature and the capitulationist line they pursue. By attempting to sell the "peace talks" fraud of U.S. imperialism, these fake revolutionaries are, actually, attempting to sell the south Vietnamese people in a vain effort to realize the scheme of world domination by two big powers. All their self-termed sincere suggestions to solve the Vietnam issue indicate that they have thoroughly collaborated with U.S. imperialism to make it continue its suppression of the south Vietnamese

namese people. No matter what capitulationist propaganda they are conducting, no matter what methods they are using to whitewash U.S. imperialism, the people of Vietnam and all the peoples throughout the world, who have chosen the line of revolution, will not be cheated by these turncoats. The Vietnamese people believe, all the revolutionary and progressive peoples the world over believe, that victory will surely belong to the people of Vietnam. We, Asian and African writers, severely condemn the criminal plots of these renegades and call upon the writers and peoples of Asia and Africa to rise as one man to totally denounce and repudiate them.

Dear colleagues, we are meeting here today in the face of a great change, greater than ever, in the current international situation. And in the process of this change we see a surging trend that is fast developing, faster than ever, throughout the world, particularly in Asia and Africa. It is a trend that is characterized by an upsurging fierce struggle, fiercer than ever, against all forces of imperialism, headed by the U.S., and all their lackeys. It is a struggle between two distinct forces, the forces of revolution and forces of counter-revolution. It is a struggle in which millions upon millions of people who fight for their liberation are heading towards their victory, while the imperialists led by the U.S. and their flunkies are heading towards their doom. At no time in the history of the world has U.S. imperialism been so isolated as today. At no time in the history of the world has U.S. imperialism suffered such disastrous defeats as today. At no time in the history of the world has U.S. imperialism been proved to be so weak and vulnerable as today. The political consciousness and the revolutionary spirit of the people, particularly those in Africa and Asia, have risen to such great heights that, today, they have taken up arms and are waging a resolute battle against the U.S.-led imperialists and their lackeys, who for decades had been oppressing them. Yes, the East Wind is prevailing over the West Wind. No force of U.S. imperialism, no force of its stooges, can ever extinguish the raging fire of revolution that is spreading through the length and breadth of the world, especially in Asia and Africa. It cannot avoid being dashed on the rocks by the mighty storm of the people's struggle that is sweeping across the continents of Asia, Africa and Latin America. U.S. imperialism, through all the criminal aggressions it has been perpetrating on people by its policy of counter-revolutionary global strategy, has prepared the way for its own end.

Dear colleagues, faced with a surging, angry tide that is sweeping through Asia against it, U.S. imperialism has tried another trick to save it from being perished. It has begun to shift its global strategy eastwards with the fond hope of waging a full-scale aggression in Asia. The primary aim of this malicious move of U.S. imperialism is, of course, to pursue its "contain China" policy. It has already been disclosed by the Johnson Administration itself that the new military aid programme of the U.S. will include more military assistance to south Vietnam, Thailand, the Pak Jung Hi clique, the Chiang Kai-shek gang

and its other puppets. This is, basically, intended to isolate China by reinforcing the cordon of military bases that has already been thrown round it. It must be pointed out that for this cordon, doomed to failure, the leading group of a socialist country, which has completely degenerated into an accomplice of U.S. imperialism, is busy piling up loose pieces in an attempt to reinforce it and isolate China. The 700 million Chinese people have sworn and are ever ready to face U.S. imperialism, its flunkies and accomplices, anywhere, any time. U.S. imperialism can never isolate China. It is a country growing from strength to strength; it is a country around which more and more revolutionary and progressive people are rallying. China has friends all over the world. In fact, the so-called cordon to isolate China is a noose round the neck of U.S. imperialism, its flunkies and accomplices and which will strangle them to death.

The recent explosion of China's third nuclear bomb has shattered the proud ambition of U.S. imperialism and the fake revolutionaries to own a nuclear monopoly and blackmail all revolutionary peoples. Nuclear weapons in the hands of China are weapons in the hands of all revolutionary peoples, who are fighting to liberate their countries. We believe, and all the peace-loving peoples in the world believe, that nuclear weapons in the possession of China are solely intended to defend itself and world peace. The possession of nuclear weapons in the hands of China is a great encouragement to the oppressed people in Asia, Africa and Latin America, who have risen up against U.S. imperialism. The possession of nuclear weapons in the hands of China also creates for the people of the world the favourable conditions for the complete banning and thorough destruction of all nuclear weapons.

We are firmly confident that China's territory of Taiwan, to which the U.S. is unreasonably clinging on, will eventually be regained by its legitimate owner.

The imperialists and colonialists have almost come to the end of their road in oppressing the African people and sapping the wealth of their countries. The people in this vast continent, who had been enslaved for decades, have risen up courageously to throw out the imperialist and colonial rule and fight for freedom and peace. Is this not proved by the glaring fact that since 1955, the number of independent countries in Africa has increased from four to thirty-six? Has this not proved the fact that Africa has awakened and is marching towards its goal? Yes, Africa should, and must, belong to the Africans. The imperialists and colonialists should, and must, get out of Africa. If they do not, they will be kicked out of Africa. And that is what the revolutionary and freedom-loving Africans are doing today.

In Latin America, U.S. imperialism, through its criminal aggressive acts, has aroused the Latin American people to intensify their resistance against it. However much the U.S. imperialists may try to sabotage the liberation movement in Latin America,

whether by trying to form armed forces for aggressive purposes or through economic blackmail, they are doomed to failure. The people of many Latin American countries have taken up arms and they will lay them down only when they have freed their countries from U.S. aggression.

It is true that U.S. imperialism is down the slippery path and approaching its extinction. But it is also true that, possessing the nature of all imperialist powers, U.S. imperialism, too, will never exterminate itself. It will not reconcile itself to its fate, the fate that all imperialists had faced in the past, before it puts up a last-ditch struggle for survival. Therefore, we see that in its death throes, U.S. imperialism is struggling frantically to hold on to its waning power in many parts of the world. It is desperately engineering, or trying to engineer, one coup after another and prop up a few puppets to serve its aims.

In Indonesia, U.S. imperialism and its agent, the CIA, after a long period of subversive activities and attempts of coups, have finally brought about a fascist military regime headed by the rightist generals, Nasution and Suharto. This fascist military regime is running amok, terrorizing, suppressing and persecuting the people of Indonesia, destroying the fruits and achievements of their revolution.

As we know, Indonesia had been in the forefront of the anti-imperialist struggles, firmly supporting the liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America. We all have been witnessing the tremendous revolutionary upsurge in art, literature and culture in Indonesia before the event of October 1965. At that time, the Indonesian progressive writers and artists were engaged in a revolutionary offensive against the cultural infiltration and subversion of the U.S. imperialists and against sham revolutionary culture advocated by the apologists of "Universal humanism", and to build up a people's culture with her own national identity. But today, we see that the Nasution-Suharto fascist military regime is tagging this country on to the tail-coat of U.S. imperialism and is trying to reverse the revolution of this country.

We, Afro-Asian writers, strongly denounce the barbarous crimes perpetrated by the Nasution-Suharto fascist military regime against the Indonesian people and express our firm support to the Indonesian revolutionary forces.

It is our firm belief that, armed with the experience of their revolutionary past and tempered in the present tempest of severe trials, the resistance movement of the patriotic Indonesian people will definitely gain momentum and that the dark night will soon be turned into a bright day of victory.

The right-wing coup in Ghana has completely exposed the perfidious scheme of the imperialists and colonialists, headed by the U.S., to attempt once more to recolonize young independent African states. This U.S.-British-hatched plot throws light on the new crude conspiracies of the imperialists against

independent African states to disrupt African unity. It is one of the attempts of the imperialists to retard the surging anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist movement in the African continent.

Ghana, since it attained independence, has been a thorn in the flesh of the imperialists, colonialists and their lackeys owing to its anti-imperialist stand. This act of sabotage perpetrated on Ghana is a bare-faced scheme of the imperialists and colonialists, led by the U.S., to overthrow, with the help of their local stooges, those governments in Africa which safeguard their sovereignty and independence.

In the past few years, the liberation movement in Africa has been growing day by day and the African peoples have taken a firm anti-imperialist stand and pursued an independent policy. It has so much frightened the imperialists that they are trying in a thousand and one ways to stem this tide and covertly or overtly undermine the African people's aspirations. This despicable action, designed and carried out together by the U.S. imperialists, the British colonialists and their stooges, constitutes an open challenge to all the African peoples and progressive peoples the world over. No country or nation in Africa, Asia or any other part of the world which cherishes freedom and peace will fail to condemn this provocative attack carried out jointly by the imperialists and their running dogs. We know that the Ghanaian people are going through a test and we also know that the Ghanaian people will eventually emerge victorious.

These interventions and subversions of the U.S. imperialists give a clear indication of the sinister ambition they still harbour to oppress people and keep them under their heel. They show that the imperialists and colonialists, before their final collapse, will use their last bit of strength to stir up a temporary adverse current in a vain attempt to save themselves from their doom. The mad counter-offensives staged by the imperialists in certain countries have, contrary to their expectations, alerted the people to greater vigilance and resistance. They have only accelerated the speed of the mighty anti-imperialist storm that is spreading throughout Asia, Africa and Latin America.

While U.S. imperialism is meeting opposition from the people all over the world, including the American people themselves who are giving it resounding blows from its very heart, while the great hurricane of the people's forces is smashing it to smithereens, we see today another dirty political trick being played by the Soviet revisionist leading group. While the rickety, shaky house of U.S. imperialism is crumbling to the ground, these hypocrite revolutionaries are today acting as props to save it. They have become a great defender of U.S. imperialism. They are collaborating and conniving with it to thwart the national liberation struggles now waged in many countries of the world. They have betrayed the revolutionary concepts and principles that are sacred and dear to all those who fight for their emancipation, peace and democracy.

In fact, they are none other than U.S. imperialist henchmen, saboteurs of national liberation movements and renegades selling out the interests of the Afro-Asian peoples. In fact, they act as the social prop for international imperialism, playing the inglorious role of a special detachment of imperialism in undermining the revolutionary struggle of the peoples and playing a part which no imperialists or reactionaries of any country could play. To realize their dream to dominate the world along with the U.S., they repeatedly croon praises for the imperialists, describe them as "enlightened groups", as "moderates" and say that Johnson has the "absolute mandate of the people". They repeatedly boast about their cooperation with the U.S. imperialists and propagate the saying that between the two countries there are "sufficiently broad areas for cooperation". They have concluded a great number of dirty political bargains with U.S. imperialism within and without the United Nations. They keep on declaring that it is possible to eliminate colonialism through the United Nations and to "bestow" independence on the oppressed peoples. In fact, they have been collaborating with U.S. imperialism in the United Nations to suppress the national liberation movements of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The acts and deeds of these renegades can only serve to fully expose them as sham anti-imperialist fighters and real capitulators, fake revolutionaries and real betrayers, false friends and real splittists.

The revolutionary people of the world are today getting closer and closer and are being firmly united under the banner of anti-imperialism, anti-colonialism and anti-neo-colonialism. Unlike those who pretend to be friends of the struggling people, we strive for unity based on a firm and correct anti-imperialist line. We want unity with all anti-imperialist revolutionary forces, and not unity with those who collaborate with and help the U.S. imperialists to suppress and oppress the people. We want unity, genuine unity, not sham unity. We can tell those fake revolutionaries that in a genuine, broad, united, international anti-U.S. imperialist front, they will have no place, because they have betrayed the people and their cause. If this united front could include these accomplices of U.S. imperialism, then would it not mean that U.S. imperialism itself could be included in it? Then, would not the united front against U.S. imperialism become a united front with U.S. imperialism? This is absolutely impossible. We can only do one thing in relation to them, and that is, to draw a thorough and clear-cut line of demarcation between them and ourselves in every respect, expose their criminal plots and fight against them.

Let these betrayers peacefully co-exist with the U.S. imperialists and compromise with them. But we cannot! We can neither co-exist nor compromise with them, because we know with certainty that U.S. imperialism is the common mortal enemy of the peoples of Asia and Africa and of the whole world.

As writers dedicated to the revolutionary cause of the people of the two continents, our duty and task is to turn our pen into a mighty weapon. All

dark forces endangering the cause of revolution of the Asian and African peoples must be exposed and all revolutionary struggles which give impetus to their advance must be eulogized. This is the sacred duty cast upon us, the progressive Asian and African writers. For the Asian and African people's common and just cause, we should use our pen to hit hard and expose the common enemies of the Asian and African peoples — U.S. imperialism and its flunkies and the renegade features of the cunning and fake revolutionaries, so that the masses of people in Asia and Africa can see clearly who their enemies and who their friends are. Meanwhile, we have the duty to let the whole world know the true situation of the Asian and African peoples' struggle and the duty to use our pen to extol their brave and magnificent spirit and encourage their militant will to fight against imperialism.

It is an incontrovertible truth that the source of all creative work is the people, their life and struggle. Militant and revolutionary writers must throw themselves into the seething struggle of the people. Only by so doing can we really understand the thoughts, feelings, aspirations and struggle of the people and turn out works which truly reflect their life and struggle, and contribute our share to their revolutionary cause. Art and literature should not, and cannot, be divorced from politics. Our criterion should be that all works which are helpful to the Asian and African people's solidarity against imperialism and for national liberation, and all works which promote the advance of history, are good works, while those which are detrimental to the Asian and African people's solidarity against imperialism and for national liberation, and all works which attempt to push history backward, are bad works. Herein lies the fundamental difference between the progressive, revolutionary art and literature of Asian and African peoples and the decadent and reactionary art and literature of imperialism and modern revisionism.

As we know, imperialism and colonialism often start their aggression by cultural infiltration. Art and literature are always one of the main weapons that they are utilizing to carry on aggression and infiltrate themselves into other countries. By such infiltration, U.S. imperialism intends to prepare the conditions to subvert, attack and invade other countries. U.S. imperialism exports, in large quantities, into Asian, African and Latin American countries their decadent literature, music, films, etc., overtly advertising sex and murder, advocating hypocritical humanitarianism, promoting the so-called American way of life, and spreading the horrors of war to step up its nuclear blackmail and threat. Their so-called works deliberately smear the image of the masses of the people and slander the people's revolution and the national liberation movement. All these decadent literary works, like opium, poison and paralyse the minds of the Asian and African peoples, undermine their struggle and strangle the Asian and African national culture and traditions. We must not forget the fact that to attack and oppress other nations, U.S. imperialism uses not only its military

bases but also its cultural bases. Therefore, either to win our independence or safeguard the independence we have already won, we have to destroy not only its military bases but also its cultural bases. The fact that many countries in the two continents of Asia and Africa have banned U.S. literature, music and films, closed down offices of the USIS and expelled the so-called U.S. Peace Corps, amply proves that the awakened Asian and African peoples have understood the dangerous influence the American cultural aggression exercises on the minds of the people and to what extent it can destroy a national culture.

In addition to opposing imperialist cultural aggression, we must also expose the "Trojan Horse" of U.S. imperialism, that is to say, the literature of Soviet modern revisionism. Their works can only corrupt the minds and undermine the revolutionary fighting will of the Afro-Asian peoples. They preach capitulationism and the philosophy of survival at all costs. They tell people that, when the imperialists launch a war of aggression, one should get down on one's knees and surrender and not wage a war of resistance against aggression, in order to survive and preserve the cities. They oppose all wars, whether it is a war of aggression or a war against aggression, whether it is a just war or an unjust war. They openly advocate "East-West cooperation" in literature, declaring that "I am for peace — I am not only for peace with the United States of Julius Rosenberg and Howard Fast, but also for peace with the United States of Mr. Truman and Mr. Acheson." Such hypocrite writers in revolutionary cloaks are traitors through and through.

Dear colleagues, today the world is undergoing a process of great upheaval, great division and great reorganization. We, as militant and progressive writers of Africa and Asia, have to be more vigilant and more conscious of our inviolable principles and sacred duties. It is bounden on us to actively participate in the struggle that is being waged against U.S. imperialism, its flunkies and its apologists. We must fight against their aggressions, bare their vicious crimes and expose the malicious propaganda they disseminate through their art and literature. We have to show and tell the world the capitulationist nature of the false revolutionaries and alert the people to the danger from these betrayers. As much as we must oppose the infiltration into our countries of art and literature of the imperialists, we must also firmly counter the spreading of anti-revolutionary ideas and capitulationist propaganda by those who pretend to be revolutionaries. The literature of the fake revolutionaries can exert a more poisonous effect than the reactionary literature of imperialism. Revolutionary art and literature are the product of revolutionary writers. If so, by what stretch of the imagination do these hypocrite revolutionaries call their art and literature revolutionary? Their art and literature are capitulationist art and literature. It is imperialism's special literary detachment which penetrates into Asian and African literature to carry out sabotage from within the ranks of Asian and African writers. As militant and progressive writers,

we must distinguish between our ideas and those of the imperialists and their collaborators. We cannot, should not, tolerate any peaceful coexistence with them.

Dear colleagues, I would like to mention here, with much pride in my heart, that this meeting is being held during the upsurge of a tempestuous, great cultural revolution that is being carried out by our host, the Chinese people. It is only natural that we Asian and African writers take great interest in this revolution of the Chinese people. The resounding victory in China's great cultural revolution at present is not only giving immense impetus to China's socialist cause but also creating a far-reaching impact on the revolutionary cause of the Afro-Asian peoples.

We are glad to note that a new situation has appeared in China's great cultural revolution. The broad masses of workers, peasants, soldiers and revolutionary intellectuals are not only masters of their country but also real masters in the realm of culture and ideology. They have broken away from old ideology and culture, old customs and habits and have created many works portraying new people, new thoughts, new customs and habits in literature, drama, music and art which fully express the Chinese people's heroism and militancy in making history. We firmly believe that these new works of art and literature of the Chinese people will play a positive role in forwarding the literary movement in Asia and Africa.

Dear colleagues, since its founding, the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau has done much concrete and positive work and achieved definite results. I shall only give you a brief account of the work that we have been doing. The Bureau has issued many statements and documents steadfastly supporting the Afro-Asian peoples in their struggle against imperialism and colonialism and for national liberation. It has supported and participated in the activities of progressive international organizations. After the Bali Session of the Executive Committee, the Bureau sent out two friendship delegations which visited 17 African and Asian countries, where they were warmly received by their colleagues and the people. These visits have strengthened the Afro-Asian people's revolutionary solidarity against imperialism, enhanced the militant friendship among Afro-Asian writers and promoted the cultural interflow in Asia and Africa. At the end of 1964, a Forum on Afro-Asian Literature was convened in Peking sponsored jointly by the Bureau and the Chinese Liaison Committee of Afro-Asian Writers. Writers from Cambodia, Cameroon, Ceylon, China, Indonesia, Japan, Sudan, Thailand, and Zimbabwe took part and enthusiastically discussed the common fighting tasks of the people and writers of Asia and Africa. They also exchanged experiences on a broad scale about the people's struggle in these two continents and their literary work. It was unanimously agreed that the Afro-Asian writers must hold high the banner of opposing imperialism, headed by the United States, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and that the literary

movement must be integrated with the tasks of this struggle so that the pen of the writers can become a sharp weapon in the struggle. In order to further strengthen the cultural interflow among the Afro-Asian countries, encourage and learn from one another and promote a widespread dissemination of Afro-Asian revolutionary literature, the Bureau is editing and publishing an Afro-Asian Literature Series in English and French. Six volumes of this are already in print, and they include *The Way He Lived* by Phan Thi Quyen, *The Village That Wouldn't Die* by Nguyen Ngoc, two books by Vietnamese authors, *The Silence of Ashes* by the Algerian writer Kaddour M'Hamsaji, *The Tornado of Africa* by the Malian poet Mamadou Gologo, *Poems from Nepal* and *Stories about Vietnam* written by several Chinese writers. The common feature of these works is the combination of vivid revolutionary content and outstanding artistic form. We are sure that these works will be warmly received by the Afro-Asian readers. Other works, which will be added to this series, we are convinced, will contribute new wealth to the Afro-Asian literary treasure-house. Moreover, the Bureau has also published *What Man Should Be to Man* by the Ceylonese writer T.G.W. De Silva, who has recorded in verse the Bali Session of the Executive Committee and expressed the noble aims of the Afro-Asian writers' movement.

Meanwhile, Part II of Volume I of the *Anthology of Afro-Asian Poems* has been published and the *Selected Afro-Asian Stories* is now in preparation. In order to accumulate materials and promote the research and exchange in Afro-Asian literature, after due preparation and with the support of many Afro-Asian countries, the Bureau established an Afro-Asian Library in September 1964. This library is located in Colombo and has a fairly large number of books, newspapers and periodicals in English, French, Chinese, Russian, Vietnamese, Mongolian, Sinhalese and other languages. The Bureau is now planning, on an offer from the Chinese friends, to establish an Afro-Asian Sanatorium which can be used by the writers of both continents. As for other work done by the Bureau, I do not propose to cite examples here one by one.

Whatever achievements we attain will certainly arouse the hatred of the enemy and the saboteurs. Similarly, owing to the development of the Afro-Asian writers' movement and the success achieved by the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau in its work, the special detachment of U.S. imperialism is resorting to all sorts of tricks in a vain attempt to undermine the Afro-Asian writers' movement and the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau. They attack the Afro-Asian writers' conference, alleging that the conference "only discusses politics, and not literature". This is a bare-faced attempt to divorce literature from politics, revise the correct revolutionary, anti-imperialist line of unity of the Asian and African writers, and transform the Afro-Asian writers' conference into an organization of "peace, literature and welfare". They boycott and attack the work of the Bureau, seeking by various means to destroy the Bureau, or to get the

Afro-Asian writers' movement into their hands so as to carry out their line of capitulation and splitting the revolutionary movements.

Acting as henchmen of the U.S. imperialists and reactionaries of various countries, the Soviet splittists have, to carry out their vicious schemes, precisely chosen this particular time when the Afro-Asian writers are strengthening their solidarity to support Vietnam and the national liberation struggles of other peoples in Asia and Africa.

Instigated and directed by the Soviet splittists, a fake meeting under the cloak of an "Emergency Meeting of the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau" was held in Cairo from June 19 to 20, 1966. This is a grave crime committed by the Soviet splittists to cause an open split in the Afro-Asian peoples' movement, the consequences of which are entirely their responsibility. They have taken the illegal and despicable step of creating a fake Afro-Asian writers' bureau and what they call to "removing" our respected Secretary-General from his post.

It is really regrettable that Cairo has been made the venue of such a splittist meeting for the Soviet splittists to disrupt and sabotage the Afro-Asian writers' movement and the struggles of the Afro-Asian peoples.

The Soviet splittists have completely unmasked themselves when, at the illegal Cairo meeting, they proposed and decided to hold a so-called Afro-Asian writers' meeting in Baku, Soviet Azerbaijan. Thus, after establishing a fake bureau, ridiculously appointing a so-called Secretary-General, etc., they go further to organize a fake Afro-Asian writers' meeting in the Soviet Union. I think it is now clear to every one of us that the Soviet splittists are the real culprit, the main culprit of all the disruptive activities which have been going on for some time against our movement and which have reached its climax at the Cairo splittist meeting.

After repeatedly warning them, the meeting of the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau, held on June 23, 1966 in Peking, unanimously announced that "by such deliberate and intentional sabotaging of the Afro-Asian writers' movement, the splittist Soviet writers have totally divorced themselves from the ranks of the Afro-Asian writers and forfeited all their rights and place, for ever, in the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau".

The stand of the Bureau, in this respect, is in complete conformity with the wishes and demands of the Afro-Asian writers, who are greatly indignant at the sabotage activities carried out by the Soviet splittists.

The progressive Afro-Asian writers are dedicating themselves to a noble common task of the Afro-Asian peoples. We shall fulfil this. We will go on. No force of imperialists headed by the U.S. can stop us; no force of their lackeys can stop us; no force of their collaborators can stop us; no force on earth can stop us. We will fight and fight on; we will advance and march forward until we are completely victorious.

## Unity Against Imperialism — Historic Mission of Asian and African Writers

Kuo Mo-jo, Head of the Chinese Delegation



Kuo Mo-jo, head of the Chinese delegation, speaks on "Unity against Imperialism—Historic Mission of Asian and African Writers".

Mr. Chairman,  
Dear Friends,

The main item on the agenda of our Meeting calls for the strengthening of the solidarity of the Afro-Asian writers and people to give further support and assistance to the Vietnamese people in their just struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation.

The Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation should have the enthusiastic support of the people of the whole world. Demonstrating the mighty force of people's war, the heroic Vietnamese people have annihilated the enemy forces group by group, thus landing the nearly 300,000

This is an abridged version of the report made by Kuo Mo-jo, head of the Chinese Delegation, at the Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting on July 4, 1966.

aggressor troops of U.S. imperialism in a helpless plight. U.S. imperialism, in its last-ditch struggle, vainly attempts to use the "peace talks" fraud to reverse their defeat on the battlefield and vainly tries to bring about "peace talks" by stepping up its criminal bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. In the course of our Meeting, the U.S. imperialists have since June 29 unscrupulously bombed Hanoi, the capital of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and Haiphong, its second largest city. With such frenzied and adventurist actions, U.S. imperialism has escalated its war of aggression in Vietnam to a new and still graver stage.

U.S. imperialism is at the end of its tether in its war of aggression against Vietnam. Its bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong only betrays its weakness and impetuosity and shows up its "peace talks" manoeuvres as a mere fraud. The ordering for the bombing of Hanoi shows that U.S. imperialism is beset with internal and external difficulties, and is as desperate as a cornered beast. On June 30, our Meeting unanimously adopted the timely "Urgent Appeal Expressing Firm Support to the Vietnamese People" and called on the people of Asia, Africa and the whole world to give firm support to the Vietnamese brothers in their fight to drive U.S. imperialism out of the whole of Vietnam as well as the whole of Indo-China. That is the voice of all the people of Asia and Africa, and it is also the voice of the people of the whole world.

On July 3, the Chinese Government issued a solemn statement, most strongly condemning U.S. imperialism for its barbarous crime of bombing Hanoi and Haiphong. It expresses the will of the entire Chinese people.

We 700 million Chinese people, with one will, fully support our Government's statement and will act in accordance with it. We will do our utmost, free from any bounds or restrictions, to support unwaveringly the fraternal Vietnamese people until they wipe out the U.S. aggressors resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely.

DEAR FRIENDS! The Afro-Asian people are making every effort to increase their support for the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. imperialism

and for national salvation. But when the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau, basing itself on the popular demand and taking legitimate measures, decided to hold an Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting in Peking in support of the Vietnamese people, the Soviet revisionist leading group instigated its writers to rake up a few followers and duped persons to hold an illegal divisive meeting in Cairo. At that meeting they made the illegal and preposterous decisions on the setting up of a bogus "Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau" in Cairo, on the "dismissal" of our respected Secretary-General from his post and on the convening of a so-called Afro-Asian writers' conference at Baku in the Soviet Union. These arbitrary illegal acts fully show that the Soviet leading group is unscrupulously conducting splittist activities in international organizations and is the biggest splitter of our times.

The Soviet leading group is carrying out Khrushchevism without Khrushchev. In order to realize its fond dream of "U.S.-Soviet collaboration for world domination," it does not oppose imperialism, and, moreover, opposes the Asian, African and Latin American people's unity against imperialism; it capitulates to and fraternizes with the United States, and also entices or coerces the people of the three continents to follow suit. We are sure that the people and writers of all Asia and Africa will absolutely not tolerate these vicious acts of the renegades.

The Chinese delegation resolutely supports the decision adopted by the Bureau on June 23, which states: "By such deliberate and intentional sabotaging of the Afro-Asian Writers' Movement, the splittist Soviet writers have totally divorced themselves from the ranks of the Afro-Asian writers and forfeited all rights and place, for ever, in the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau." This completely conforms to the inexorable law of the development of things and is a just and honest conclusion.

The Soviet Union is the first socialist country which the great Lenin founded, and which Stalin did much to consolidate. Unfortunately, the proletarian state power of the Soviet Union was usurped by the revisionist leading group and the Soviet policy of uniting with the oppressed nations of the world in a common struggle against imperialism was switched to that of seeking "U.S.-Soviet collaboration for world domination." This is indeed a volte-face. The Soviet leading group has degenerated at the core. However, waving the banner of Lenin and donning the cloak of socialism, it tries to deceive the Soviet people and the people of the world. We can well understand that friends in some countries have been hoodwinked. We believe that certain friends who attended the splittist meeting in Cairo were hoodwinked. We hope that these friends will look at the essence of the problem, free themselves from the serpent's snare and return to the ranks of the progressive Afro-Asian writers for unity against imperialism.

We want unity, and not a split. But we want to unite with true friends to oppose our common enemy. We cannot seek unity with the U.S. imperialists, nor with the accomplices of U.S. imperialism. Since the

Soviet revisionist leading group is so keen on splitting activities, it will finally reap what it sows.

**FRIENDS,** U.S. imperialism is the most ferocious common enemy of all the people of Asia, Africa and the whole world. Millions upon millions of the oppressed people are waging heroic struggles against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism headed by the United States. A magnificent picture is unfolding itself throughout the world, as is depicted in the following verses:

*The Four Seas are rising,  
clouds and waters raging,  
The Five Continents are rocking,  
wind and thunder roaring.*

U.S. imperialism is desperately pursuing its policies of war and aggression and its global strategy for the enslavement of mankind. Its military budget has soared to 66,000 million dollars, or five times that of 1947, the second year after the end of World War II. It has set up more than 2,200 military bases all over the world. It has been ceaselessly carrying out activities of aggression, intervention and subversion everywhere. It is the most barbarous aggressor and the most ruthless vampire ever known in history. Its towering crimes surpass those of Hitler, Mussolini and Tojo put together. However, is this most ferocious devil really so powerful? No, a thousand times No! Ten thousand times No! Its nature as a paper tiger has already been fully exposed on the Vietnam battlefield! The people of the world will sooner or later bring Johnson, Rusk, McNamara and their ilk before a court for the trial of war criminals for final judgment and none of them will escape!

As we all know, the movements of the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism headed by the United States and for national liberation are now developing in depth. The awakened people in many countries and regions have taken or are taking the path of armed struggle. Every battle and victory of theirs is a strong support to the people of Asia, Africa and the world, and to the Chinese people as well.

Friends, we are Afro-Asian writers, and we are fighters who use the pen in our hands to work for unity against imperialism. We have to resist both the enemy's armed aggression and his cultural aggression. We must use our pen to mobilize and unite the people and then to attack and wipe out the enemy. Ours should be militant and anti-imperialist literature and art. It should be the literature and art of the masses in their struggle for national liberation. Therefore, not only are the decadent literature and art of U.S. imperialism our antithesis but so are the reactionary literature and art of the Soviet revisionists.

In recent years, the U.S. imperialist cultural aggression has been rampant in Asia and Africa, creating spiritual conditions for the colonial rule and armed subversion by U.S. imperialism.

When they carry out aggression, control, intervention and subversion against the Afro-Asian countries, the imperialists always try to enslave us ideo-

logically first. As a result of the ever rising consciousness of the Afro-Asian people, the various kinds of propaganda media and tricks of U.S. imperialism have been treated as rats running across the street with everyone yelling: Kill them! Kill them!

It is in these circumstances, however, that the Soviet modern revisionists have entered into a reactionary alliance with U.S. imperialism in the field of culture to cater for its needs. The Soviet revisionist writers and Soviet revisionist literature and art serve the revisionist general line of "U.S.-Soviet collaboration for world domination." Though their literature and art still bear the label of socialism, they are actually peddling poison to corrode the anti-imperialist revolutionary will and are playing a role which the decadent imperialist culture cannot play.

The Soviet revisionist literature and art lay special emphasis on the reactionary "theory of human nature." They are doing their utmost to prettify imperialism. They keep on prattling that "men are friends, comrades and brothers to each other," and that Johnson and company, the initiators of aggressive wars, are "sensible," and "peace-loving," and that the murderers whose hands are wet with blood are "benevolent" and "humane."

How can we imagine that a common human nature exists between Johnson who is using napalm bombs and toxic chemicals to slaughter people in Vietnam and the Vietnamese people who are heroically resisting aggression? How can we imagine that a common human nature exists between the Western slave-traders of the old days who brandished blood-stained whips and the Negro brothers who were kidnapped to buccaneering ships? They are not "friends, comrades and brothers" in any sense; they are irreconcilable enemies locked in a life-and-death struggle.

The Soviet revisionist literature and art have done their utmost to smear the image of the revolutionary people, attack the socialist system, misrepresent the October Revolution and vilify the great Lenin and Stalin and the great Soviet people, serving as opium which lulls the revolutionary will of the Soviet people and other peoples of the world. This has aroused the indignation and condemnation among the people in Asia and Africa and throughout the world, and has met with deep dissatisfaction and protests from the Soviet people.

We solemnly declare that we are irreconcilably against the imperialist and revisionist reactionary literature and art!

**D**EAR FRIENDS, to create an anti-imperialist, revolutionary and national new culture and new literature and art of the masses of the people, the progressive Afro-Asian writers have already made outstanding contributions and created many militant works. This is something we Chinese writers should earnestly learn from. Here, on behalf of the Chinese people and the Chinese writers, I extend warm congratulations to the progressive Afro-Asian writers.

To exchange experience, please allow me to say something frankly about our situation.

Friends, when you set foot on our land, we are in the midst of an upsurge of a vigorous and unprecedented great socialist cultural revolution.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung always teaches us: We must have a firm grip on ideology and the superstructure, consolidate our ideological positions and strengthen our state power; we must create and shape socialist new ideology, new culture and new literature and art in the tit-for-tat struggle against the reactionary ideology and culture.

The overthrown reactionary ruling classes also want to have a firm grip on ideology and the superstructure. Although their reactionary rule has been buried, their ideology still emanates the smell of its decaying corpse. In a thousand and one ways, they engage in anti-Party and anti-socialist propaganda through radio broadcasting, books and periodicals, films, dramas, dances, music, etc. They are a gang of enemies without guns, and the pens in their hands are weapons which kill without drawing blood. All their reactionary propaganda is designed to clear the way for the come-back of the bourgeoisie. It was with ideology and the superstructure that the Khrushchev revisionist group began its usurpation of the Soviet Party and state leadership and its restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. In the counter-revolutionary riot in Hungary in 1956 it was also a number of revisionist literary men who acted as the shock brigade.

Therefore the great socialist cultural revolution in our country is a struggle between the forces seeking restoration and the forces opposing restoration; it is a great revolutionary movement to dig out the evil root of revisionism, consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and ensure that China will not change colour for thousands of generations to come.

Since the unfolding of the movement, hundreds of millions of workers, peasants and soldiers, revolutionary cadres and intellectuals have launched fierce attacks on all the strongholds of reactionary ideology and culture, sweeping away all obstacles in the way, and proving themselves invincible everywhere. Ruthlessly and penetratingly they have criticized all the old ideology and culture, old customs and habits poisoning the people's mind and smashed to smithereens the reactionary strongholds in the ideological domain. They have written many excellent articles showing their creative study and application of Mao Tse-tung's thought. A new era has begun in which, as has never happened before, the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers have directly grasped and applied Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought.

In the struggle to destroy the rotten ideology and culture, the revolutionary literature and art of the proletariat are shining with extraordinary brilliance. The old Peking opera of China, this most stubborn stronghold, has been taken by storm with the emergence of Peking operas on contemporary revolutionary themes like *Shachiapang*, *Taking the Bandits'*

*Stronghold*, *Raid on the White Tiger Regiment* and *Red Lantern*. Foreign classical art forms like the ballet and symphonic music have undergone a revolutionary transformation with the emergence of the ballet *Red Detachment of Women*, *The White-Haired Girl* and the symphony *Shachiapang*. The sculpture *Rent Collection Courtyard* has ushered in a revolutionary upsurge in the sculptural art. *The East Is Red*, a large-scale revolutionary song and dance pageant, reflects the heroic struggle of the Chinese people to change heaven and earth and ardently sings the praises of the great victory of Mao Tse-tung's thought. The novel *The Song of Ouyang Hai* is an epoch-making work, which shows that socialist literature has an inconceivably vast domain. The plays, *On Guard Beneath the Neon Lights* and *War Drums on the Equator* and the large numbers of poems and songs contributed by the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers to wall- and blackboard-newspapers are all examples of new and original socialist and proletarian works which mark an entirely new age both in ideological content and artistic form.

Our great cultural revolution is still going on unabated, and we are firmly convinced that under the radiance of Mao Tse-tung's thought, a splendid, socialist new literature and art and new culture unprecedented in history will be created continuously.

Some gentlemen abroad are slandering us as "destroying culture." Yes, we are destroying the decadent culture of imperialism, modern revisionism and all exploiting classes. We shall not only destroy such decadent culture but also eliminate it thoroughly. Only by destroying and eliminating these rotten things, will it be possible to really absorb the excellent fruits created in the history of mankind. Our attitude towards the long standing ancient culture of our country is to reject its dregs and assimilate its fine elements and to critically take over what is required by socialism. As for the foreign progressive culture, we advocate critical assimilation of whatever is useful to us today so as to use this as an example. However, taking over legacies and using them as examples can on no account take the place of creative work. This is an encouraging guidance given us by Chairman Mao Tse-tung. The historic mission of our writers and people is to create a socialist new culture and socialist new literature and art. The present great cultural revolution should be regarded as a grand prelude to our creation of a new socialist culture.

Some gentlemen abroad also say that our struggle is "directed against all intellectuals." This is sheer nonsense. As you can see clearly, China's great socialist cultural revolution is directed only against a handful of anti-Party, anti-socialist elements. They are nothing but a few flies in late autumn dashing themselves against the wall everywhere and droning their own pathetic elegies. With regard to the large number of intellectuals from the old society, the Chinese Communist Party has always adopted the policy of uniting with them, educating them and remoulding them, so that all those intellectuals who are really willing to make progress may be prompted to take the road of revolutionization. Under the brilliant

light of Mao Tse-tung's thought, the ranks of the new-type intellectuals of the working people are steadily growing, expanding and courageously marching forward in the course of the struggle for production which changes heaven and earth.

DEAR FRIENDS, permit me to take up some more of your precious time here to denounce the lies and slanders concerning me which those foreign gentlemen hurled at my country.

It happened like this. Two and a half months ago, at a meeting of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress on April 14, we heard a report on cultural work by a responsible comrade of the Ministry of Culture. The report dealt with the achievements of the cultural revolution in our country and the great role played by the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and revolutionary cadres in cultural work, pointing out that the contingent of new-type intellectuals had expanded and that many fruitful results had been achieved. I was elated by this and delivered a speech extempore in which I made a frank self-criticism to express my sincere feelings.

I said that in his *Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art*, Chairman Mao Tse-tung called on us literary and art workers to serve the workers, peasants and soldiers. Today, after a lapse of 24 years, we have not only failed to serve well the workers, peasants and soldiers; on the contrary, it is the workers, peasants and soldiers who have taken a further step and served us even on the literary and art front. Their creative works in literature and art have much greater vitality and are more instructive than those of us, the professional writers. When they discuss philosophy they can do it much better and in a way that suits more the actual situation than some of our professors of philosophy. This is mainly because the workers, peasants and soldiers are adept at studying and applying Mao Tse-tung's thought creatively. Not stopping at learning from books, they learn from practice in life, and from the struggle for production and class struggle. What they have learnt they apply immediately and as soon as they have grasped the knowledge they translate it into action, thus gaining quick and profound results. But the intellectuals, priggish and self-assertive, are incapable of earnestly acting on Chairman Mao's instructions and so they make little headway and lag far behind the workers, peasants and soldiers. Some of them have even degenerated and fallen into the mire of opposing the Party, socialism and Mao Tse-tung's thought and become targets of the great cultural revolution.

Deeply impressed, I rejoiced at the victories scored in the cultural revolution and, at the same time, I was aroused to my responsibility as an intellectual. I made a critical examination of myself, stating that by the standards of today, what I wrote in the past was of little worth and, strictly speaking, should be burnt. This was my sublimated sense of responsibility and what I spoke was from the bottom of my heart. But it did not occur to me that when these words of mine got abroad, they caused a sensation in the world. Not a few sincere friends have

shown deep concern for which I am grateful. But in the newspapers and magazines in the capitalist and modern revisionist countries, an anti-China campaign of considerable magnitude was whipped up. They deliberately distorted my speech and used it to attack the great cultural revolution in my country.

It is interesting to note that a Japanese critic alleged that I had been forced to make a self-criticism and to burn my own books and, according to him, this was an act of brutality and arrogance worse than that of the Emperor Chin Shih Huang who had burnt books and buried scholars alive more than two thousand years ago. That critic accused me of being "morally decadent," and congratulated himself for having been born in Japan where there was "hundred per cent freedom of speech and of the press." This gentleman of high moral standards, I admit, really enjoys "hundred per cent freedom"; but what is regrettable is that his is the "hundred per cent freedom" of rumour- and slander-mongering, of revealing his own ignorance and opposing the people and socialism.

It is absolutely normal in our country for a revolutionary writer, who is responsible to the people, constantly to remould himself and to make serious self-criticism from time to time. It is not at all strange that this is beyond the comprehension of the journalists of the capitalist and revisionist countries. However, they laughed too soon. They said that I, the alleged "morally decadent" person, had surely been dismissed from office and even lost freedom. Just imagine, a Chinese writer who has lost his freedom now heads the Chinese writers' delegation, and was elected by you as Chairman of the current Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting and is free to speak from this august rostrum to the writers from 53 Afro-Asian countries and regions. Isn't this a most interesting tale, the one thousand and second night to the Arabian Nights?

There are more interesting mud-throwing and distortions of facts. In my speech of self-criticism which I have just mentioned, I said that I wanted to learn from the workers, peasants and soldiers, that I wished to go to the countryside to get myself covered all over with mud, that I wished to go to a factory to be greased with oil and dirt, and that if U.S. imperialism should dare to impose war on the Chinese people, I would throw a few hand-grenades at the U.S. imperialists and get myself stained with blood. This statement represents the lofty aspirations cherished by all the Chinese people today.

But these remarks were twisted beyond recognition by the journalists in certain countries. They alleged that I had been persecuted and was to undergo ideological remoulding through manual labour, and that I had begged the U.S. imperialists: "Shoot at me first!" How interesting! It is a vivid picture of those miserable souls who hold the United States in great awe, fearing and currying favour with it.

The Soviet journal *Literaturnaya Gazeta* did it in a novel way. It reprinted in its May 5 issue almost the full text of my speech. Since the revisionists usurped state power in the Soviet Union, the Soviet

press has, as a rule, never reprinted Chinese articles. Then why is it that I was accorded preferential treatment this time? There was some ulterior motive behind it. They thought that I had fallen into disgrace and so they played up in their press what they believed to be the evidence of my disgrace. They consider it a disgrace when a writer with a sense of responsibility makes a serious self-criticism, while they feel it an unmatched "honour" when Sholokhov received the gun-powder-smelling Nobel prize. Herein one can see the essence of the modern revisionists. And what difference is there between them and the journalists in the capitalist countries?

Such are the performances of distortion and rumour-mongering by some gentlemen in the capitalist and revisionist countries. They are hostile to China and to our great cultural revolution. Their specialty is to cook up anti-China opinion. They are a handful of "morally decadent" swindlers in the true sense of the term, and loudspeakers for imperialism and revisionism.

The so-called "public opinion" of the imperialists should always be understood in its opposite sense. What the imperialists call "peace" means "aggression," "freedom" means "enslavement" and "aid" means "extortion." What the revisionists say should also be viewed in this light; particularly their so-called "united action" in fact means the splittist action aimed at allying with U.S. imperialism.

But such anti-China hullabaloo has its value in the negative sense. When the imperialists and the revisionists set out to oppose us, it shows that we are constantly advancing. Should the imperialists and the revisionists start praising us, it would prove that we have degenerated. In that event, we would request the progressive Afro-Asian writers to denounce us relentlessly and severely.

DEAR FRIENDS, July 1, three days ago, was the 45th anniversary of the founding of our Party. It is during these 45 years that the Chinese revolution has developed through uninterrupted struggles, and that Comrade Mao Tse-tung has continually developed Marxism-Leninism by creatively integrating the truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. In these 45 years, we went through numerous difficulties and hardships and also experienced the worst set-backs. We can never forget the mass slaughter by Chiang Kai-shek in 1927; we can never forget the 25,000-li Long March and we can never forget the life for more than ten years in the cave residence in Yenan, which ended 17 years ago. However, our Party has grown in strength amidst hard struggles. Under the beacon light of Mao Tse-tung's thought which has been developing continuously, out of the cave residence in Yenan has grown the People's Republic of China of today. In our People's Republic of China today, red successors are emerging in an unending flow. We have still more friends everywhere in the world. Can't we then build a great edifice of new culture and new literature and art which will surpass those of all our ancestors and illuminate the hundreds of generations to come?

We answer in the affirmative: Surely we can! But we must always keep the Yenan spirit alive and always study and apply Mao Tse-tung's thought creatively and must not slacken in the least for a single moment.

Friends, Mao Tse-tung's thought is undoubtedly the acme of Marxism-Leninism in the present era. Chairman Mao's works are the supreme directives for all our work.

Through our own protracted revolutionary struggle, we Chinese people have understood deeply:

Whenever we act according to Mao Tse-tung's thought, the revolution will go on smoothly; the moment we deviate from Mao Tse-tung's thought to the slightest degree, the revolution will suffer setbacks and failure.

At whatever post, as long as we act according to Mao Tse-tung's thought, the work will go on smoothly; if, at any post, we deviate a bit from Mao Tse-tung's thought, the work will suffer setbacks and failure.

Mao Tse-tung's thought is not only applicable to the revolutionary, political and ideological struggles, but also applicable to the struggle for production, literary creation and scientific researches.

In our country, the creative study and application of Mao Tse-tung's thought by the Tachai peasants has made it possible to change the poor and barren ravine "The Wolf's Lair" into fertile farmland. The creative study and application of Mao Tse-tung's thought by the Taching workers has enabled China to meet its needs in petroleum. The creative study and application of Mao Tse-tung's thought by our scientists has enabled them to produce far better synthetic insulin than West Germany or the United States.

The Chinese People's Liberation Army founded by Chairman Mao is all the more a model in creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's works. By relying on it we have achieved the victory in the Chinese revolution; and also by relying on it we are able to defend the frontiers of our motherland more securely and safeguard world peace. It is not only a combat force, but at the same time an army of production, an army of culture. Together with the entire Chinese people, we Chinese writers are learning from it. Together with the P.L.A., we will "study Chairman Mao's works, follow Chairman Mao's teachings, act in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions and be Chairman Mao's good fighters."

The Chinese writers' practice in struggle and creative activities has fully demonstrated that if we have been able to do something useful to the people, the fundamental reason is no other than the fact that we have got the instructions from our great leader — Chairman Mao.

Dear friends, we are extremely delighted to note that the revolutionary people all over the world also cherish a boundless love for Chairman Mao. From this grand rostrum, many friends have sung the

praises of Chairman Mao from the depth of their hearts. We regard all this as an encouragement and impetus to us. On behalf of the Chinese writers and the Chinese people, I would like to express our heartfelt thanks to you all.

DEAR FRIENDS! At the Meeting, the Indonesian delegate proposed to shift the venue for the Third Conference of the Afro-Asian Writers from Djakarta to Peking and this was seconded by the delegates of many countries. We are deeply moved by the importance and trust they attach to China. If this is adopted in the form of a resolution at the Meeting, we will be glad to undertake this glorious task. We will be pleased to do the preparatory work well together with our friends and will surely make the Third Conference of the Afro-Asian Writers another grand and successful meeting.

This Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting in Peking will be an important milestone in the further development of the Afro-Asian Writers' Movement. Our banner has become even brighter and our ranks have further expanded. The 2,000 million people of Asia and Africa and the progressive people all over the world are fixing their eyes on us, all expecting us to make new contributions to the cause of unity against imperialism. We must live up to the people's high expectations. Let us rally under the banner of the international united front against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, constantly exchange experience, constantly inspire each other so as to strengthen our friendship with each passing day and enable our militant works to blossom one after another like the hundred flowers in spring.

Forward to the battle! The people and the progressive writers of Asia, Africa and the whole world, get further united, march forward in step, oppose splitism and capitulationism and carry the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism through to the end!

Forward to the battle! Sweep away all obstacles — the imperialist and revisionist decadent culture — in our way forward and advance triumphantly towards the rejuvenation of literature and art in our new era!

Forward to the battle! Let us raise our arms and hail a new world which will surely come into being, a world without imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism!

Vietnam is sure to win and U.S. imperialism is sure to be defeated!

The people of Asia and Africa are sure to win and imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism are sure to be defeated!

Long live the anti-imperialist solidarity of the Afro-Asian writers!

Long live the great unity of the Afro-Asian people!

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

# Commuque of the Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting

July 9, 1966

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

1) Support for the Vietnamese people in their struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression, for the liberation of the south, for the defence of the north, and for the reunification of their motherland.

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

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

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

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

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

Promptly reacting to the wanton bombing of Hanoi, capital of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and Haiphong, and voicing the boundless indignation of the Afro-Asian peoples, it issued an urgent appeal strongly condemning this piratical action of U.S. imperialism and expressing resolute support for the just struggle of the Vietnamese brothers. The Meeting considers that since U.S. imperialism has further expanded its war of aggression, the peo-

ple of various countries have every right to support and assist the Vietnamese people by all the means at their disposal.

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

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

The Meeting has also adopted a series of resolutions expressing firm support for the struggle of all the peoples of Asia and Africa against imperialism and colonialism, old and new: British, French, Portuguese, Spanish, Belgian, headed by the United States of America, and against racism and Zionism and for winning and safeguarding their national independence. The Meeting extends wholehearted support to the armed struggles and all other forms of patriotic struggles against imperialism headed by the United States in Laos, Thailand, Malaya (including Singapore), North Kalimantan, Indonesia, Kashmir and in other parts of Asia; in Palestine, occupied south Yemen, Oman and in other Arab countries which have been divided and sub-divided by the imperialists; in the Congo (L), Angola, Mozambique, Niger, "Portuguese" Guinea, Ghana, Malgache, Zimbabwe, Azania, Basutoland and other carved-up countries in southern Africa.

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

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

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

## Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau Statement

The meeting of the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau, held on June 23, 1966, in Peking, participated by Cameroon, Ceylon, China, Ghana, Indonesia, Japan and Sudan, warmly welcomes the Afro-Asian writers, who have already arrived in Peking from 35 countries to attend the Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting in support of the Vietnamese people's struggle and the national liberation struggles of all other Afro-Asian peoples.

The meeting is glad to note that delegations from more countries are on their way to attend the emergency meeting.

It notes that all the Afro-Asian writers, who have come to participate in the emergency meeting, have expressed their complete satisfaction of the preparations accomplished, so far, by the bureau, and their determination to make the forthcoming emergency meeting a complete success.

Voicing the just feelings and great indignation of the Afro-Asian writers, the bureau meeting strongly

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

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

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

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

Afro-Asian writers' movement, the splittist Soviet writers have totally divorced themselves from the ranks of the Afro-Asian writers and forfeited all rights and place, for ever, in the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau.

It is extremely regretful that Cairo has been made the venue of such splittist activities.

The Afro-Asian writers reaffirm their determination to hold aloft the banner of solidarity and revolution and to march forward, shoulder to shoulder, with the Afro-Asian peoples to fight against their common enemy, U.S. imperialism, and its accomplices and apologists.

June 23, 1966, Peking

## Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau Communiqué

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

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

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

July 12, 1966, Peking

## Resolution on the Vietnam Problem

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

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

For 12 years now, the American imperialists have conducted uninterrupted aggression against Vietnam. They have trampled underfoot the Vietnamese people's sacred national rights: independence,

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

crimes against the Vietnamese people, which have been vigorously condemned by men of conscience all over the world.

In South Vietnam, the American imperialists have introduced to date over 280,000 American troops, over 30,000 troops from American satellite countries, and used over half a million puppet troops, for intensifying their war of aggression in the hope of seizing South Vietnam by force. The American troops have put to current and general use thousands of tons of toxic chemicals and poison gases, hundreds of thousands of tons of phosphorus and napalm bombs; they have used B-52 bombers, etc., to massacre the civilian population, old folk, women, children, and to destroy crops and villages. Since the beginning of 1965, they have repeatedly launched big-scale operations and carried out wherever they went the policy of "burning all, destroying all, and killing all" in the hope of subduing the people of South Vietnam.

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

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

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

The scope of the crimes perpetrated by the American imperialists against the Vietnamese people proves that they are the most ferocious war criminals of our time. The facts in Vietnam prove that the American imperialists are even more barbarous, more cruel and more damnable than the Hitlerian fascists formerly. The American imperialists are the enemy number one of the people of Vietnam, of Asia and

Africa, and of the whole world. The crimes they have committed in Vietnam have provoked the wrath of conscientious writers in Asia and Africa and of peace- and justice-loving writers all over the world.

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

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

The people of heroic North Vietnam with their invincible popular armed forces have fought with extreme gallantry and meted out deserved punishment to the American aggressors. To date, over 1,100 U.S. aircraft have been shot down, and a large number of U.S. air pirates killed or captured. Under barbarous bombings by the U.S. aggressors, the North Vietnamese people nonetheless step up production work, go on with the building of the material and technical bases of socialism in the North, with the watchwords: "The hammer in one hand, a gun in the other" — "driving the plough with one hand while holding a gun in the other". The more bombings are carried out by the U.S. aggressors, the higher rises the emulation movement against U.S. aggression for national salvation. Agricultural and industrial production develops strongly. Cultural and artistic activities become more and more an efficient weapon in the fight against U.S. imperialist aggression.

American bombs and shells dropped on North Vietnam have made her 19 million people rise in anger and hatred, united in one solid bloc under the leading banner of the Vietnam Workers' Party and

the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam headed by President Ho Chi Minh, determined to fight to the end together with their 14 million southern compatriots against the American aggressors to defend the North, liberate the South and progress towards national reunification.

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

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

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

The South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, the sole genuine representative of the people of South Vietnam, has rallied all strata of the South Vietnamese people in the great struggle against the American imperialists for self-liberation. The pro-

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

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

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

- To severely condemn the American imperialists for carrying out a barbarous war of aggression against the Vietnamese people, brazenly violating the national independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Vietnam;
- To warmly hail the heroic Vietnamese people in both zones, North and South, of Vietnam, who are valiantly struggling against American imperialist aggression, and who, in the face of the intensification of American armed

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

Asian and African writers!

Writers in all countries!

Men of conscience all over the world!

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

American imperialism and for national salvation, by all effective means!

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

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

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

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

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

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

The people of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the people of the socialist countries, the people of the whole world, united and struggling resolutely, will certainly inflict total defeat on the American imperialists' aggressive designs!

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

The American imperialists will certainly be defeated!

The Vietnamese people will certainly win!

## STAMPS OF NEW CHINA

### Commemoratives for the Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting

THE Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting, attended by 161 delegates from 53 Asian and African countries and regions as well as observers from five international organizations, opened in Peking on June 27. In its honour the Chinese Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications issued a set of two commemorative stamps.

Stamp 1, 8 fen. The front part of the sculpture "Thunderstorm" done by four teachers and students at the Szechuan Academy of Fine Arts. The figures, a Vietnamese woman and an African man, symbolize the unity of the Afro-Asian peoples in their magnificent counter-attack against U.S. imperialist aggression and the idea that the storm of national liberation is irresistible. Black on red.

Stamp 2, 22 fen. The badge of the Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting, a torch and an open book, in red, gold and yellow.

The white characters in the upper left corner of stamp 1 and the golden ones in the book of stamp 2 read: "Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting, 1966, Peking." The stamps measure 40 × 30 mm. Perf. 11. Photogravured. Index No. Commemorative 119. Serial Nos. 388-389.



CHINA RECONSTRUCTS

## OUR POSTBAG

### Chairman Mao's Thought in Practice

It can be seen clearly that modern China is quite different from that of yesterday. There is an all-round development in all fields. The Chinese people resolutely abide with Chairman Mao Tse-tung's thinking, in this way forging ahead spiritually and economically. In the political arena, they are in the front of the battle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. They hate American intrusion into the affairs of other countries, especially in Vietnam, and they resolutely support the just struggle of the heroic Vietnamese people. They are rendering every necessary help to wipe out the American atrocities in Vietnam. Long live Chairman Mao! Long live the lively spirit of the Chinese people!

B. B.  
Dresden, G.D.R.

In the article "Land Wrenched from the Sea" one can appreciate the spirit and superiority of a people who face problems that seem great but are in fact small and easy to solve through the collective strength of commune members. One can also appreciate Chairman Mao's thinking put into practice.

R. CONSTANZO S.  
Concepción, Chile

I wish to express through this letter my best wishes and heartfelt greetings to the Chinese people and their great leader Comrade Mao Tse-tung. I also wish to express my deep appreciation to the Chinese people for their support to the peoples who are suffering under imperialism.

This is all because you have a great leader working with the principles of Marxism-Leninism. We young progressive forces of Kenya know that following the Chinese system leads to the high hill of Marxist-Leninist science. The Chinese people are now struggling very hard to defend the socialist camp. We all recognize that revisionism only leads to hell, the imperialist system of life. As we have tasted the imperialist system of life we are quite aware of it.

W. AGINA  
Kenya

It is through the attractive, well-printed and well-finished periodicals, *China Reconstructs* and *China Pictorial*, that we readers are becoming conversant with the ideal of the great revolutionary leader, Mao Tse-tung—a better China, a competent China, a China which will outshine all nations; in short, a China which will assuredly show a radiant way to progress and prosperity to those new emerging countries who need it so badly. Inspired by a keen sense of profound fraternity, the articles, views and reviews published in your magazines manifest sincere sympathy for humanity suffering in the hands of the boorish western nations. This motivation invites hearty congratulations.

The government of the People's Republic of China extended their spontaneous feeling for their Pakistani brothers during the recent war imposed upon

us by the pseudo-nonviolent Indian aggressors. My words fail to express our debt of gratitude to the Chinese people. Let the ties of Pakistan-China friendship remain everlasting!

A. U. M. FAKHRUDDIN  
Dacca, Pakistan

If you please, tell the heroic people of Vietnam for us that we stand with them in their just struggle against the imperialism of the United States of America. We will join the Vietnamese, and great China is behind us to help.

Long live the People's Republic of China!

Long live the people of China!  
Long live Mao Tse-tung!

H. MOHAMED  
Hargeisa, Somali Republic

### Yankees, Go Home!

Your article "A Television Cameraman in South Vietnam" gives a clear, correct, and true picture of Vietnam. Yankees should go home. What business have they in Vietnam? Millions of their people are starving in the U.S.A. and yet they are spending millions of dollars thousands of miles away. Isn't the ordinary American taxpayer worried?

Yankees, go home faster than you came!

A. K. RAHEMTULLA  
Kampala, Uganda

### Wave Your Red Banner High!

The time has gone when the people of Syria were unable to read Chinese magazines. Today we can read your publications and magazines which express the Chinese people's feeling of friendship for our Arab people who are marching on your heroic road. Our people are proud of your people's solidarity with the Arab people and of their support for liberating Palestine.

This is not strange for a people who always help the emerging peoples and fight in the face of imperialism and colonialism. The best proof is your help to the valiant Vietnamese people and the people of the Congo. Down with imperialism!

We believe that the forces of aggression and evil will be broken on your rock of unity. All of this is not strange in a people who have a tradition of struggle and are marching in the field of civilization.

Wave your red banner high!  
A. SULEIMAN  
Jabal Al-arab, Syria

### Weapon for Peace

I heartily congratulate you upon your successful test of new weapons for peace.

We the Somalis have come to know that China is really the friend of Vietnam and other Asian, African and Latin American peoples. She assists the small countries without conditions. In fact, we know that the People's Republic of China and its 650 millions are really fighting and trying their utmost to eradicate U.S. imperialism.

The article about the soldier Wang Chieh shows me the unselfishness of this young person in serving his country. This is shown by the quotation: "As a revolutionary fighter, I will place the interests of the people first in dealing with these personal questions."

This ideal should inspire all the peoples who wish to help in the construction of their country.

M. HARAHAGAZWE  
Usumbara, Burundi

I went through the inspiring lives of Wang Chieh and Chiao Yu-lu in your May issue. China is fortunate in having these immortal personalities. They are no more, but their services and sacrifices will ever be recalled as "Golden Advice" to all people who want to crush imperialism from the world. My best wishes for the great people of China, and I pray for the strong friendship of the Pakistani and Chinese peoples.

F. R. FAZAL  
Chittagong, Pakistan

亚非作家紧急会议  
AFRO-ASIAN WRITERS EMERGENCY MEETING

الاجتماع الطارئ للكتابيين والأسويين  
LA REUNION EXTRAORDINAIRE DES  
ÉCRIVAINS AFRO-ASIATIQUES