

Unity Against Imperialism — Historic Mission of Asian and African Writers

Speech by Kuo Mo-jo, Head of the Chinese Delegation, at the Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting On July 4

Mr. Chairman,

Dear Friends,

The Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting has opened in Peking attended by more than 160 delegates from 53 countries and regions and 12 observers from five international organizations. It is an unprecedentedly grand meeting of Afro-Asian writers. As the host country, we are very much honoured and elated. We would like to express our hearty welcome and militant greetings to our staunch comrades-in-arms in the struggle against U.S. imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

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. This subject has been exhaustively dealt with at the Meeting over the past few days, in the General Report of the Secretary-General of the Bureau, in various special reports and in the speeches of delegates and guests. These reports and speeches contain many good views which we, the Chinese delegation, wholeheartedly endorse. It is our belief that they will be incorporated as much as possible in the documents to be worked out at this Meeting. Therefore, ours is not only a grand meeting but also a successful one, to which we extend heartfelt congratulations.

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 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 has already received punishment for its criminal outrages. The valiant Vietnamese people shot down seven of the marauding aircraft bombing Hanoi and Haiphong on June 29 and knocked out two on June 30 and two more on July 3. The Headquarters of the Vietnamese People's Army has issued a communique strongly condemning these outrages and calling on the Vietnamese armed forces and people to redouble their efforts and strive for more and greater victories.

We wish to express to the heroic Vietnamese people our high respect and congratulations!

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.

The statement stresses: "U.S. imperialism long ago completely violated the Geneva agreements and broke

the line of demarcation between southern and northern Vietnam. It has now further broken this line by its bombing of the capital of the heroic Vietnamese people. The United States must be held responsible for all the serious consequences arising therefrom.

"With the breaking of the line of demarcation by the United States, the Vietnamese people have ceased to be subject to any restrictions. All the countries and people that genuinely support the Vietnamese people's war of resistance against U.S. aggression have also ceased to be subject to any restrictions. It is not up to the United States, to decide how the war should be fought next. Since the U.S. imperialists have come from the sky and the sea, why can't others fight back on the ground?"

In conclusion, the statement declares solemnly: "China and Vietnam are neighbours as closely related as lips and teeth and are most intimate fraternal socialist countries. China has consistently and unreservedly done its utmost to support and aid Vietnam politically, morally and materially and in other fields. The development by U.S. imperialism of its war of aggression to a new and still graver stage has now further freed us from any bounds or restrictions in rendering such support and aid. In accordance with the interests and demands of the Vietnamese people, we will at any time take such actions as we deem necessary. This is our unshirkable proletarian internationalist duty.

"The Chinese Government and Premier Chou En-lai have solemnly stated many times that the Chinese people mean what they say, that China is prepared and that once the war breaks out, it will have no boundaries. We must tell the U.S. imperialists in all seriousness: Wherever you extend the war and however heavy the price, we will unswervingly support the fraternal Vietnamese people in fighting through to the end, till they thoroughly and completely drive the U.S. aggressors out of Vietnam and win final victory.

"U.S. imperialism is sure to be defeated! The Vietnamese people are sure to win!"

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 unswervingly the fraternal Vietnamese people until they wipe out the U.S. aggressors resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely.

II

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 Khrushchovism without Khrushchov. 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.

III

Friends, U.S. imperialism is the most ferocious common enemy of all the people of Asia, Africa and the whole world. A great thundering storm against U.S. imperialism has broken out in a towering rage and is sweeping across Asia, Africa, Latin America 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. The tidal wave of the national-liberation movement is violently dashing against the reactionary rule of imperialism. 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 arch-criminals Johnson, Rusk, McNamara and their ilk, U.S. imperialists who concentrate in themselves all the evils of Hitler, Mussolini and Tojo, will certainly come to the same end as that of Hitler, Mussolini and Tojo. The people of the world will sooner or later bring them 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 such as Laos, Thailand, Malaya, Indonesia, North Kalimantan, South Yemen, the Congo (L), Angola, "Portuguese" Guinea, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Venezuela, Colombia, Guatemala and Peru 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. In the name of the Chinese people and the Chinese writers, I pay high tribute to the people of various countries in their heroic fight against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism headed by the United States and for winning and safeguarding national independence.

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. Some bigwigs in the United States have blatantly declared that culture is on the same plane with economic and military affairs and that language and thought are as important as bread and guns. This proves to the hilt that cultural aggression is to create 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 ideologically first. At present, U.S. imperialism is redoubling its efforts in a so-called "ideological offensive" against the Afro-Asian people, mobilizing on an unprecedented scale manpower and material resources to spread poisonous ideas through films, television, radio, newspapers, periodicals, books and "Peace Corps" in an attempt to expand or save its moribund neo-colonialist rule. 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 "sen-

sible," 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!

IV

Dear 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 Khrushchov 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.

V

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 Yen-an 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.

VI

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 setbacks. 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 Yen-an, 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 Yen-an 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 Yen-an 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 splittism 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!