

PEKING REVIEW

23

June 2, 1967

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CHAIRMAN MAO'S 5 MILITANT DOCUMENTS ON LITERATURE AND ART

*Summary of the Forum on the Work
In Literature and Art in the Armed
Forces With Which Comrade Lin Piao
Entrusted Comrade Chiang Ching*

QUOTATIONS FROM CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG

In the world today all culture, all literature and art belong to definite classes and are geared to definite political lines. There is in fact no such thing as art for art's sake, art that stands above classes, art that is detached from or independent of politics.

Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art (May 1942)

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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.

Ibid.

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All the dark forces harming the masses of the people must be exposed and all the revolutionary struggles of the masses of the people must be extolled; this is the fundamental task of revolutionary writers and artists.

Ibid.



Chairman Mao Tse-tung

Our great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman



Letter to the Yen-an Peking Opera Theatre After Seeing "Driven to Join the Liangshan Mountain Rebels"

(January 9, 1944)

MAO TSE-TUNG

Having seen your performance, I wish to express my thanks to you for the excellent work you have done. Please convey my thanks to the comrades of the cast! History is made by the people, yet the old opera (and all the old literature and art, which are divorced from the people) presents the people as though they were dirt, and the stage is dominated by lords and ladies and their pampered sons and daughters. Now you have reversed this

reversal of history and restored historical truth, and thus a new life is opening up for the old opera. That is why this merits congratulations. The initiative you have taken marks an epoch-making beginning in the revolutionization of the old opera. I am very happy at the thought of this. I hope you will write more plays and give more performances, and so help make this practice a common one which will prevail throughout the country.

Give Serious Attention to the Discussion Of the Film "The Life of Wu Hsun"*

(May 20, 1951)

MAO TSE-TUNG

The questions raised by *The Life of Wu Hsun* are fundamental in character. Living in the era of the Chinese people's great struggle

against foreign aggressors and the domestic reactionary feudal rulers towards the end of the Ching Dynasty, people like Wu Hsun did

not lift a finger to disturb the tiniest fragment of the feudal economic base or its superstructure. On the contrary, they worked fanatically to spread feudal culture and, moreover, sedulously fawned upon the reactionary feudal rulers in order to acquire the status they themselves lacked for spreading feudal culture. Ought we to praise such vile conduct? Can we ever tolerate such vile conduct being publicly praised, especially when such praise flaunts the revolutionary flag of "serving the people" and the failure of the revolutionary peasant struggle is used to heighten the contrast? To approve or tolerate such praise means to approve or tolerate reactionary propaganda vilifying the revolutionary struggle of the peasants, the history of China and the Chinese nation, and to regard such propaganda as justified.

The appearance of the film *The Life of Wu Hsun*, and particularly the praise lavished on Wu Hsun and the film, show the degree of ideological confusion reached in our country's cultural circles!

In the view of many writers, history develops not by the replacement of the old by the new, but by the exertion of every effort to preserve the old from extinction, not by class struggle to overthrow the reactionary feudal rulers who had to be overthrown, but by the negation of the class struggle of the oppressed and their submission to these rulers, in the manner of Wu Hsun. Our writers have

* This article is taken from an editorial written by Comrade Mao Tse-tung for *Renmin Ribao*.

not studied history to ascertain who were the enemies oppressing the Chinese people, and whether there is anything praiseworthy in those who submitted to these enemies and served them. Moreover, they have not tried to find out what new forms of social economy, new class forces, new personalities and ideas have appeared in China and struggled against the old forms of social economy and their superstructure (politics, culture, etc.) in the century and more since the Opium War of 1840, and they have accordingly failed to determine what is to be commended and praised, what is not to be commended and praised, and what is to be condemned.

Certain Communists who have reputedly grasped Marxism warrant particular attention. They have learned the history of social development — historical materialism — but when they come across specific historical events, specific historical figures (like Wu Hsun) and specific ideas contrary to history (as in the film *The Life of Wu Hsun* and the writings about Wu Hsun), they lose their critical faculties, and some have even capitulated to these reactionary ideas. Is it not a fact that reactionary bourgeois ideas have found their way into the militant Communist Party? Where on earth is the Marxism which certain Communists claim to have grasped?

For the above reasons, there should be discussion on the film *The Life of Wu Hsun* and on books and essays relating to Wu Hsun so as thoroughly to straighten out the confused thinking on this question.

Letter Concerning Studies of "The Dream Of the Red Chamber"

(October 16, 1954)

MAO TSE-TUNG

Enclosed are two articles refuting Yu Ping-po. Please look them over. They are the first serious attack in over 30 years on the erroneous views of a so-called authoritative writer in the field of study of *The Dream of the Red Chamber*. The authors are two Youth League members. First they wrote to the *Wenyi Bao* (Literary Gazette) to ask whether it was all right to criticize Yu Ping-po, but were ignored. Having no other alternative, they wrote to their teachers at their alma mater — Shantung University — and got support. Their article refuting "A Brief Comment on *The Dream of the Red Chamber*" was published in the university journal *Wen Shi Zhe* (Literature, History and Philosophy). Then the problem came up again in Peking. Some people asked to have this article reprinted in *Renmin Ribao* in order to arouse discussion and criticism. This was not done because certain persons opposed it for various reasons (the main one being that it was "an article written by nobodies" and that "the Party paper is not a platform for free debate").

As a result a compromise was reached, and the article was allowed to be reprinted in the *Wenyi Bao*. Later, the "Literary Legacy" page of *Guangming Ribao* carried another article by the two young men refuting Yu Ping-po's book, *Studies of "The Dream of the Red Chamber"*. It seems likely that the struggle is about to start against the Hu Shih school of bourgeois idealism which has been poisoning young people in the field of classical literature for more than 30 years. The whole thing has been set going by two "nobodies," while the "big shots" usually ignore or even obstruct it, and they form a united front with bourgeois writers on the basis of idealism and are willing captives of the bourgeoisie. It was almost the same when the films *Inside Story of the Ching Court* and *The Life of Wu Hsun* were shown. The film *Inside Story of the Ching Court*, which has been described as patriotic but is in fact a film of national betrayal, has not been criticized and repudiated at any time since it was shown all over the country. Although *The Life of Wu Hsun* has been criticized, up to now no lessons have been drawn; what is more, we have the strange situation in which Yu Ping-po's idealism is tolerated and lively critical essays by "nobodies" are obstructed. This deserves our attention.

* This is a letter written by Comrade Mao Tse-tung to the comrades of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and other comrades concerned.

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Towards such bourgeois intellectuals as Yu Ping-po, our attitude should naturally be one of uniting with them. But we should

criticize and repudiate their erroneous ideas which poison the minds of young people and should not surrender to them.

Two Instructions Concerning Literature And Art

MAO TSE-TUNG

One. Instruction Dated December 12, 1963

Problems abound in all forms of art such as the drama, ballads, music, the fine arts, the dance, the cinema, poetry and literature; the people engaged in them are numerous; and in many departments very little has been achieved so far in socialist transformation. The "dead" still dominate in many departments. What has been achieved in the cinema, new poetry, folk songs, the fine arts and the novel should not be underestimated, but there, too, there are quite a few problems. As for

such departments as the drama the problems are even more serious. The social and economic base has changed, but the arts as part of the superstructure, which serve this base, still remain a serious problem. Hence we should proceed with investigation and study and attend to this matter in earnest.

Isn't it absurd that many Communists are enthusiastic about promoting feudal and capitalist art, but not socialist art?

Two. Instruction Dated June 27, 1964

In the last 15 years these associations, most of their publications (it is said that a few are good) and *by and large* the people in them (that is not everybody) have not carried out the policies of the Party. They have acted as high and mighty bureaucrats, have not gone to the workers, peasants and soldiers and have

not reflected the socialist revolution and socialist construction. *In recent years*, they have slid right down to the brink of revisionism. Unless they remould themselves in real earnest, at some future date they are bound to become groups like the Hungarian Petofi Club.

Comrade Lin Piao's Letter to Members of the Standing Committee of the Military Commission Of the Party Central Committee

March 22, 1966

Comrades of the Standing Committee,

I am herewith sending you for your attention the Summary of the Forum on the Work in Literature and Art in the Armed Forces which Comrade Chiang Ching convened. The Summary, which has been repeatedly gone over by the comrades attending the forum and has been personally examined and revised by the Chairman three times, is an excellent document. It applies Mao Tse-tung's thought to answer many important questions concerning the cultural revolution in the period of socialism. It is of both extremely great practical and far-reaching historic significance.

The last 16 years have witnessed sharp class struggle on the front of literature and art and the question of who will win out has not yet been settled. If the proletariat does not occupy the positions in literature and art, the bourgeoisie certainly will. This

struggle is inevitable. And it represents an extremely broad and deep socialist revolution in the realm of ideology. If things are not done properly, revisionism will prevail. We must hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and unswervingly carry this revolution through to the end.

The problems and the ideas raised in the Summary correspond fully with the realities in the work of literature and art in the armed forces, and the ideas must be resolutely carried out so as to enable this work in the armed forces to play an important role in keeping politics in the forefront and in promoting the revolutionization of people's thinking.

Please let me know your opinions on the Summary before it is submitted to the Central Committee for examination and approval.

With greetings,

LIN PIAO

Summary of the Forum on the Work in Literature And Art in the Armed Forces With Which Comrade Lin Piao Entrusted Comrade Chiang Ching

I

Entrusted by Comrade Lin Piao with the task, Comrade Chiang Ching invited some comrades in the armed forces to a forum held in Shanghai from February 2 to 20, 1966, to discuss certain questions concerning the work in literature and art in the armed forces.

Before these comrades left for Shanghai, Comrade Lin Piao gave them the following instructions: "Comrade Chiang Ching talked with me yesterday. She is very sharp politically on questions of literature and art, and she really knows art. She has many opinions, and they are very valuable. You should pay good attention to them and take measures to insure that they are applied ideologically and organizationally. From now on, the army's documents concerning literature and art should be sent to her. Get in touch with her when you have any information for her to keep her well posted on the situation in literary and art work in the armed forces. Ask her for her opinions, which will help improve this work. We should not rest content with either the present ideological level or the present artistic level of such work, both of which need further improvement." Comrade Hsiao Hua and Comrade Yang Cheng-wu expressed enthusiastic approval of and support for the forum and instructed us to act in accordance with Comrade Chiang Ching's opinions. They also expressed their thanks to Comrade Chiang Ching for her concern for the work in literature and art in the armed forces.

At the beginning of the forum and in the course of the exchange of views, Comrade Chiang Ching said time and again that she had not studied Chair-

man Mao's works well enough and that her comprehension of Chairman Mao's thought was not profound, but that whatever points she had grasped she would act upon resolutely. She said that during the last four years she had largely concentrated on reading a number of literary works and had formed certain ideas, not all of which were necessarily correct. She said that we were all Party members and that for the cause of the Party we should discuss things together on an equal footing. This discussion should have been held last year but had been postponed because she had not been in good health. As her health had recently improved, she had invited the comrades to join in discussions according to Comrade Lin Piao's instructions.

Comrade Chiang Ching suggested that we read and see a number of items first and then study relevant documents and material before discussing them. She advised us to read Chairman Mao's relevant writings, had eight private discussions with a comrade from the army and attended four group discussions, 13 film shows and three theatrical performances together with us. She also exchanged opinions with us while watching the films and the theatrical performances. And she advised us to see 21 other films. During this period, Comrade Chiang Ching saw a sample copy of the film *The Great Wall Along the South China Sea*, received the directors, cameramen and part of the cast and talked with them three times, which was a great education and inspiration to them. From our contacts with Comrade Chiang Ching we realize that her understanding of Chairman Mao's thought is quite profound and that she has made a prolonged and fairly full investigation and study of current problems in the

field of literature and art and has gained rich practical experience through her personal exertions in cultivating "experimental plots of land." Taking up her work while she was still in poor health, she held discussions and saw films and theatrical performances together with us and was always modest, warm and sincere. All this has enlightened and helped us a great deal.

II

In the course of about 20 days, we read two of Chairman Mao's writings and other relevant material, listened to Comrade Chiang Ching's many highly important opinions and saw more than 30 films, including good and bad ones and others with shortcomings and mistakes of varying degrees. We also saw two comparatively successful Peking operas on contemporary revolutionary themes, namely, *Raid on the White Tiger Regiment* and *Taking the Bandits' Stronghold*. All this helped to deepen our comprehension of Chairman Mao's thought on literature and art and raise the level of our understanding of the socialist cultural revolution. Here are a number of ideas which we discussed and agreed upon at the forum.

1. The last 16 years have witnessed sharp class struggles on the cultural front.

Actually in both stages of our revolution, the new-democratic stage and the socialist stage, there has been a struggle between the two classes and the two lines on the cultural front, that is, the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie for leadership on this front. In the history of our Party, the struggle against both "Left" and Right opportunism has also included struggles between the two lines on the cultural front. Wang Ming's line represented bourgeois thinking which was once rampant within our Party. In the rectification movement which started in 1942, Chairman Mao made a thorough theoretical refutation first of Wang Ming's political, military and organizational lines and then, immediately afterwards, of the cultural line he represented. Chairman Mao's "On New Democracy," "Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art," and "Letter to the Yen-an Peking Opera Theatre After Seeing 'Driven to Join the Liangshan Mountain Rebels'," are the most complete, the most comprehensive and the most systematic historical summaries of this struggle between the two lines on the cultural front. They carry on and develop the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and theory on literature and art. After our revolution entered the socialist stage, Chairman Mao's two writings, "On the Correct

Handling of Contradictions Among the People" and "Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work," were published. They are the most recent summaries of the historical experience of the movements for a revolutionary ideology and a revolutionary literature and art in China and other countries. They represent a new development of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and of the Marxist-Leninist theory on literature and art. These five writings by Chairman Mao meet the needs of the proletariat adequately and for a long time to come.

More than 20 years have elapsed since the publication of the first three of these five works by Chairman Mao and nearly ten years since the publication of the last two. However, since the founding of our People's Republic, the ideas in these works have basically not been carried out by literary and art circles. Instead, we have been under the dictatorship of a black anti-Party and anti-socialist line which is diametrically opposed to Chairman Mao's thought. This black line is a combination of bourgeois ideas on literature and art, modern revisionist ideas on literature and art and what is known as the literature and art of the 1930s (in the Kuomintang areas of China). Typical expressions of this line are such theories as those of "truthful writing," "the broad path of realism," "the deepening of realism," opposition to "subject-matter as the decisive factor," "middle characters," opposition to "the smell of gunpowder" and "the spirit of the age as the merging of various trends." Most of these views were refuted long ago by Chairman Mao in his "Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art." In film circles there are people who advocate "discarding the classics and rebelling against orthodoxy," in other words, discarding the classics of Marxism-Leninism, of Mao Tse-tung's thought, and rebelling against the orthodoxy of people's revolutionary war. As a result of the influence or domination of this bourgeois and modern revisionist counter-current in literature and art, there have been few good or basically good works in the last decade or so (although there have been some) which truly praise worker, peasant and soldier heroes and which serve the workers, peasants and soldiers; many are mediocre, while some are anti-Party and anti-socialist poisonous weeds. In accordance with the instructions of the Central Committee of the Party, we must resolutely carry on a great socialist revolution on the cultural front and completely eliminate this black line. After we are rid of this black line, still others will appear and the struggle must go on. Therefore, this is an arduous, complex and long-term struggle which will take decades, or even centuries. It is a cardinal issue

which has a vital bearing on the future of the Chinese revolution and the future of the world revolution.

A lesson to be drawn from the last decade or so is that we began to tackle the problem a little late. We have taken up only a few specific questions and have not dealt with the whole problem systematically and comprehensively. So long as we do not seize hold of the field of culture, we will inevitably forfeit many positions in this field to the black line and this is a serious lesson. After the Tenth Plenary Session of the Central Committee in 1962 adopted a resolution on the unfolding of class struggle throughout the country, the struggle to foster proletarian ideology and liquidate bourgeois ideology in the cultural field has gradually developed.

2. The last three years have seen a new situation in the great socialist cultural revolution. The most outstanding example is the rise of Peking operas on contemporary revolutionary themes. Led by the Central Committee of the Party, headed by Chairman Mao, and armed with Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, literary and art workers engaged in revolutionizing Peking opera have launched a heroic and tenacious offensive against the literature and art of the feudal class, the bourgeoisie and the modern revisionists. Under the irresistible impact of this offensive, Peking opera, formerly the most stubborn of strongholds, has been radically revolutionized, both in ideology and in form, which has started a revolutionary change in literary and art circles. Peking operas with contemporary revolutionary themes like *The Red Lantern*, *Shachiapang*, *Taking the Bandits' Stronghold* and *Raid on the White Tiger Regiment*, the ballet *Red Detachment of Women*, the symphony *Shachiapang* and the group of clay sculptures *Rent Collection Courtyard* have been approved by the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and acclaimed by Chinese and foreign audiences. They are pioneer efforts which will exert a profound and far-reaching influence on the socialist cultural revolution. They effectively prove that even that most stubborn of strongholds, Peking opera, can be taken by storm and revolutionized and that foreign classical art forms such as the ballet and symphonic music can also be remoulded to serve our purpose. This should give us still greater confidence in revolutionizing other art forms. Some people say that Peking operas with contemporary revolutionary themes have discarded the traditions and basic skills of Peking opera. On the contrary, the fact is that Peking operas with contemporary revolutionary themes have inherited the Peking opera traditions in a

critical way and have really weeded out the old to let the new emerge. The fact is not that the basic skills of Peking opera have been discarded but that they are no longer adequate. Those which cannot be used to reflect present-day life should and must be discarded. In order to reflect present-day life, we urgently need to refine, create, and gradually develop and enrich the basic skills of Peking opera through our experience of real life. At the same time, these successes deal a powerful blow at conservatives of various descriptions and such views as the "box-office earnings" theory, the "foreign exchange earnings" theory and the theory that "revolutionary works can't travel abroad."

Another outstanding feature of the socialist cultural revolution in the last three years is the widespread mass activity of workers, peasants and soldiers on the fronts of ideology, literature and art. Workers, peasants and soldiers are now producing many fine philosophical articles which splendidly express Mao Tse-tung's thought in terms of their own practice. They are also producing many fine works of literature and art in praise of the triumph of our socialist revolution, the big leap forward on all the fronts of socialist construction, our new heroes, and the brilliant leadership of our great Party and our great leader. In particular, both in content and in form the numerous poems by workers, peasants and soldiers appearing on wall-newspapers and blackboards represent an entirely new age.

Of course, these are merely the first fruits of our socialist cultural revolution, the first step in our long march of ten thousand *li*. In order to safeguard and extend these achievements and to carry the socialist cultural revolution through to the end, we must work hard for a long time.

3. The struggle between the two roads on the front of literature and art is bound to be reflected in the armed forces, which do not exist in a vacuum and cannot possibly be an exception to the rule. The Chinese People's Liberation Army is the chief instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat in China. It represents the mainstay and hope of the Chinese people and the revolutionary people of the world. Without a people's army, neither the victory of our revolution nor the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism would have been possible and the people would have nothing. Therefore, the enemy will inevitably try to undermine it from all sides and will inevitably use literature and art as weapons in his attempt to corrupt it ideologically. However, after Chairman Mao pointed out that basically, literary and art circles had not carried out the policies of the Party over the past 15 years, certain persons

still claimed that the problem of the orientation of literature and art in our armed forces had already been solved, and that the problem to be solved was mainly one of raising the artistic level. This point of view is wrong and is not based on concrete analysis. In point of fact, some works of literature and art by our armed forces have a correct orientation and have reached a comparatively high artistic level; some have a correct orientation but their artistic level is low; others have serious defects or mistakes in both political orientation and artistic form, and still others are anti-Party and anti-socialist poisonous weeds. The August First Studio has produced as bad a film as the *Pressgang*. This shows that the work in literature and art in the armed forces has also come under the influence of the black line to a greater or lesser degree. Besides, we have as yet trained relatively few creative workers who are really up to the mark; the ideological problems in creative work are still numerous, and the ranks are still not so pure. We must analyse and solve these problems properly.

4. The Liberation Army must play an important role in the socialist cultural revolution. Comrade Lin Piao has kept a firm hold on the work in literature and art since he has been in charge of the work of the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Party. The many instructions he has given are correct. "The Resolution on Strengthening Political and Ideological Work in the Armed Forces" adopted at the enlarged session of the Military Commission clearly specified that the aim of the work in literature and art in the armed forces was "to serve the cause of fostering proletarian ideology and liquidating bourgeois ideology and consolidating and improving fighting capacity in close conjunction with the tasks of the armed forces and in the context of their ideological situation." There is already a nucleus of literary and art workers in the armed forces whom we have trained and who have been tempered in revolutionary war. A number of good works have been produced in the armed forces. Therefore, the Liberation Army must play its due role in the socialist cultural revolution and must fight bravely and unswervingly to carry out the policy that literature and art should serve the workers, peasants and soldiers and serve socialism.

5. In the cultural revolution, there must be both destruction and construction. Leaders must take personal charge and see to it that good models are created. The bourgeoisie has its reactionary "monologue on creating the new." We, too, should create what is new and original, new in the sense that it is socialist and original in the sense that it is proletarian. The basic task of socialist literature and art

is to work hard and create heroic models of workers, peasants and soldiers. Only when we have such models and successful experience in creating them will we be able to convince people, to consolidate the positions we hold, and to knock the reactionaries' stick out of their hands.

On this question, we should have a sense of pride and not of inferiority.

We must destroy the blind faith in what is known as the literature and art of the 1930s (in the Kuomintang areas of China). At that time, the Left-wing movement in literature and art followed Wang Ming's "Left" opportunist line politically; organizationally it practised closed-doorism and sectarianism; and its ideas on literature and art were virtually those of Russian bourgeois literary critics such as Belinsky, Chernyshevsky and Dobrolyubov and of Stanislavsky in the theatrical field, all of whom were bourgeois democrats in tsarist Russia with bourgeois ideas and not Marxist ones. The bourgeois-democratic revolution is a revolution in which one exploiting class replaces another. It is only the proletarian socialist revolution that finally destroys all exploiting classes. Therefore, we must not take the ideas of any bourgeois revolutionary as guiding principles for our proletarian movement in ideology or in literature and art. There were of course good things in the 1930s too, namely, the militant Left-wing movement in literature and art led by Lu Hsun. Around the middle of the 1930s, some Left-wing leaders under the influence of Wang Ming's Right capitulationist line abandoned the Marxist-Leninist class standpoint and put forward the slogan of "a literature of national defence." This was a bourgeois slogan. It was Lu Hsun who put forward the proletarian slogan of "a mass literature for the national revolutionary war." Some Left-wing writers and artists, notably Lu Hsun, also raised the slogans that literature and art should serve the workers and peasants and that the workers and peasants should create their own literature and art. However, no systematic solution was found for the fundamental problem of the integration of literature and art with the workers, peasants and soldiers. The great majority of those Left-wing writers and artists were bourgeois nationalist-democrats, and a number failed to pass the test of the democratic revolution, while others have not given a good account of themselves under the test of socialism.

We must destroy blind faith in Chinese and foreign classical literature. Stalin was a great Marxist-Leninist. His criticism of the modernist literature and art of the bourgeoisie was very sharp. But he uncritically took over what are known as

the classics of Russia and Europe and the consequences were bad. The classical literature and art of China and of Europe (including Russia) and even American films have exercised a considerable influence on our literary and art circles, and some people have regarded them as holy writ and accepted them in their entirety. We should draw a lesson from Stalin's experience. Old and foreign works should be studied too, and refusal to study them would be wrong; but we must study them critically, making the past serve the present and foreign works serve China.

As for the relatively good Soviet revolutionary works of literature and art which appeared after the October Revolution, they too must be analysed and not blindly worshipped or, still less, blindly imitated. Blind imitation can never become art. Literature and art can only spring from the life of the people which is their sole source. This is borne out by the whole history of literature and art, past and present, Chinese and foreign.

The rising forces in the world invariably defeat the forces of decay. Our People's Liberation Army was weak and small at the beginning, but it eventually became strong and defeated the U.S.-Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries. Confronted with the excellent revolutionary situation at home and abroad and our glorious tasks, we should be proud to be thoroughgoing revolutionaries. We must have the confidence and courage to do things never previously attempted, because ours is a revolution to eliminate all exploiting classes and systems of exploitation once and for all and to root out all exploiting-class ideologies, which poison the minds of the people. Under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman Mao and under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, we must create a new socialist revolutionary literature and art worthy of our great country, our great Party, our great people and our great army. This will be a most brilliant new literature and art opening up a new era in human history.

But it is no easy matter to create good models. Strategically we must take the difficulties in creative work lightly, but tactically we must take them seriously. To create a fine work is an arduous process, and the comrades in charge of creative work must never adopt a bureaucratic or casual attitude but must work really hard and share the writers' and artists' joys and hardships. It is essential to get first-hand material as far as possible, or when this is impossible at least to get the material at second hand. There should be no fear of failures or mistakes. Allowance should be made for them, and people must be permitted to correct their mistakes.

It is necessary to rely on the masses, follow the line of "from the masses, to the masses," and repeatedly undergo the test of practice over a long period, so that a work may become better and better and achieve the unity of revolutionary political content and the best possible artistic form. In the course of practice it is necessary to sum up experience in good time and gradually grasp the laws of various forms of art. Otherwise, no good models can be created.

We should give the fullest attention to the themes of socialist revolution and socialist construction, and it would be entirely wrong to ignore them.

A serious effort should now be made to create works of literature and art about the three great military campaigns of Liaohsi-Shenyang, Huai-Hai and Peiping-Tientsin and other important campaigns while the comrades who led and directed them are still alive. There are many important revolutionary themes, historical and contemporary, on which work urgently needs to be done in a planned and systematic way. A success must be made of the film, *The Great Wall Along the South China Sea*. The film *The Long March* must be revised successfully. A nucleus of truly proletarian writers and artists should be trained in the process.

6. People engaged in the work of literature and art, whether they are leaders or writers and artists, must all practise the Party's democratic centralism. We favour "rule by the voice of the many" and oppose "rule by the voice of one man alone." We must follow the mass line. In the past, some people pressed the leadership to nod and applaud when they produced something. This is a very bad style of work. As for the cadres in charge of creative work in literature and art, they should always bear two points in mind: First, be good at listening to the opinions of the broad masses; second, be good at analysing these opinions, accept the right ones and reject the wrong ones. Completely flawless works of literature and art are non-existent, and as long as the keynote of a work is good, we should help improve it by pointing out its shortcomings and errors. Bad works should not be hidden away, but should be shown to the masses for their comment. We must not be afraid of the masses but should have firm trust in them, and they can give us much valuable advice. Besides, this will improve their powers of discrimination. It costs several hundred thousand or as much as a million yuan to produce a film. To hide a bad film away is wasteful. Why not show it to the public so as to educate writers and artists and the masses and at the same time make up for its cost to the state and thus turn it to good account ideologically

and economically? The film *Beleaguered City* has been shown for a long time but it received no criticism. Shouldn't the *Jiefangjun Bao* write an article criticizing it?

7. We must encourage revolutionary and militant literary and art criticism by the masses, and break the monopoly over literary and art criticism by a few so-called critics (those wrong in orientation and deficient in militancy.) We must place the weapon of literary and art criticism in the hands of the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and integrate professional critics with critics from among the masses. We must make this criticism more militant and oppose unprincipled vulgar praise. We must reform our style of writing, encourage the writing of short, popular articles, turn our literary and art criticism into daggers and hand-grenades and learn to handle them effectively in close combat. Of course, we must at the same time write longer, systematic articles of theoretical depth. We oppose the use of terminology and jargon to frighten people. Only in this way can we disarm the self-styled literary and art critics. The *Jiefangjun Bao* and the *Jiefangjun Wenyi* should set up special columns, regular or occasional, for comment on literature and art. Warm support should be given to good or basically good works and their shortcomings pointed out in a helpful way. And principled criticism must be made of bad works. In the theoretical field, we must thoroughly and systematically criticize typical fallacies on literature and art and the many other fallacies spread by certain people who attempt to falsify history and to boost themselves in such books as the *History of the Development of the Chinese Film*, *A Collection of Historical Data on the Chinese Drama Movement in the Last Fifty Years* and *A Preliminary Study of the Repertory of Peking Opera*. We must not mind being accused of "brandishing the stick." When some people charge us with over-simplification and crudeness, we must analyse these charges. Some of our criticisms are basically correct but are not sufficiently convincing because our analysis and evidence are inadequate and should be improved. With some people it is a matter of understanding; they start by accusing us of over-simplification and crudeness but eventually drop the charge. But when the enemy condemns our correct criticisms as over-simplified and crude, we must stand firm. Literary and art criticism should become one of our day-to-day tasks, an important method both in the struggle in the field of literature and art and in Party leadership in this field of work. Without correct literary and art criticism it is impossible for creative work to flourish.

8. In the struggle against foreign revisionism in the field of literature and art, we must not only catch small figures like Chukhrai. We should catch the big ones, catch Sholokhov and dare to tackle him. He is the father of revisionist literature and art. His *And Quiet Flows the Don*, *Virgin Soil Uplifted* and *The Fate of a Man* have exercised a big influence on a number of Chinese writers and readers. Shouldn't the army organize people to study his works and write convincing critical articles containing well-documented analysis? This will have a profound influence in China and the rest of the world. The same thing should be done with similar works by Chinese writers.

9. As for method, we must combine revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism in our creative work, and must not adopt bourgeois critical realism or bourgeois romanticism.

The fine qualities of the worker, peasant and soldier heroes who have emerged under the guidance of the correct line of the Party are the concentrated expression of the class character of the proletariat. We must work with enthusiasm and do everything possible to create heroic models of workers, peasants and soldiers. We should create typical characters. Chairman Mao has said that "life as reflected in works of literature and art can and ought to be on a higher plane, more intense, more concentrated, more typical, nearer the ideal, and therefore more universal than actual everyday life." We should not confine ourselves to actual persons and events. Nor should we portray a hero only after he is dead. In fact, there are many more living heroes than dead ones. This means that our writers must concentrate and generalize experience from real life accumulated over a long period of time to create a variety of typical characters.

When we write about revolutionary wars, we must first be clear about their nature — ours is the side of justice and the enemy's is the side of injustice. Our works must show our arduous struggles and heroic sacrifices, but must also express revolutionary heroism and revolutionary optimism. While depicting the cruelty of war, we must not exaggerate or glorify its horrors. While depicting the arduousness of the revolutionary struggle, we must not exaggerate or glorify the sufferings involved. The cruelty of a revolutionary war and revolutionary heroism, the arduousness of the revolutionary struggle and revolutionary optimism constitute a unity of opposites, but we must be clear about which is the principal aspect of the contradiction; otherwise, if we make the wrong emphasis, a bourgeois

pacifist trend will emerge. Moreover, while depicting our people's revolutionary war, whether in the stage in which guerrilla warfare was primary and mobile warfare supplementary, or in the stage in which mobile warfare was primary, we must correctly show the relationship between the regular forces, the guerrillas and the people's militia and between the armed masses and the unarmed masses under the leadership of the Party.

Regarding the selection of subject-matter, only when we plunge into the thick of life and do a good job of investigation and study can we make the selection properly and correctly. Playwrights should unreservedly plunge into the heat of the struggle for a long period. Directors, actors and actresses, cameramen, painters and composers should also go into the thick of life and make serious investigations and studies. In the past, some works distorted the historical facts, concentrating on the portrayal of erroneous lines instead of the correct line; some described heroic characters who nevertheless invariably violate discipline, or created heroes only to have them die in a contrived tragic ending; other works do not present heroic characters but only "middle" characters who are actually backward people, or caricatures of workers, peasants or soldiers; in depicting the enemy, they fail to expose his class nature as an exploiter and oppressor of the people, and even glamorize him; still others are concerned only with love and romance, pandering to philistine tastes and claiming that love and death are the eternal themes. All such bourgeois and revisionist trash must be resolutely opposed.

10. Re-educate the cadres in charge of the work of literature and art and reorganize the ranks of writers and artists. For historical reasons, before the whole country was liberated it was rather difficult for us proletarians to train our own workers in literature and art in the areas under enemy rule. Our cultural level was relatively low and our experience limited. Many of our workers in literature and art had received a bourgeois education. In the course of their revolutionary activities in literature and art, some failed to pass the test of enemy persecution and turned traitor, while others failed to resist the corrosive influence of bourgeois ideas and became rotten. In the base areas, we trained a considerable number of revolutionary workers in literature and art. Especially after the publication of the **"Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art,"** they had the correct orientation, embarked on the path of integration with the workers, peasants and soldiers, and played a positive role in the revolution. The weakness was that, after the country was

liberated and we entered the big cities, many comrades failed to resist the corrosion of bourgeois ideology in the ranks of our writers and artists, with the result that some of them have fallen out in the course of advance. Ours is the literature and art of the proletariat, the literature and art of the Party. The principle of proletarian Party spirit is the outstanding feature distinguishing us from other classes. It must be understood that representatives of other classes also have their principle of party spirit, and that they are very stubborn too. We must firmly adhere to the principle of proletarian Party spirit and combat the corrosion of bourgeois ideology in creative thinking, in organizational line and in style of work. As for bourgeois ideology, we must draw a clear line of demarcation and must on no account enter into peaceful coexistence with it. A variety of problems now exist in literary and art circles which, for most people, are problems of ideological understanding and of raising such understanding through education. We must earnestly study Chairman Mao's works, creatively study and apply them, tie up what we learn from them with our own thinking and practice and study them with specific problems in mind. Only in this way can we really understand, grasp and master Chairman Mao's thought. We must plunge into the thick of life for a long period of time, integrate ourselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers to raise our class consciousness, remould our ideology and wholeheartedly serve the people without any regard for personal fame or gain. It is necessary to teach our comrades to study Marxism-Leninism and Chairman Mao's works and to remain revolutionary all their lives, and pay special attention to the maintenance of proletarian integrity in later life, which is not at all easy.

III

By taking part in the forum, we have acquired a relatively clear understanding of all the questions mentioned above, and our opinions on them now correspond with the realities in the work in literature and art among the armed forces. As a result, the level of our political consciousness has been raised, and our determination to carry out the socialist cultural revolution and our sense of responsibility in this respect have likewise been strengthened. We will continue to study Chairman Mao's works conscientiously, make serious investigations and studies and do well in our cultivation of "experimental plots" and the production of good models, so as to take the lead in the current struggle of the cultural revolution to foster proletarian ideology and liquidate bourgeois ideology.

Great Truth, Sharp Weapon

CHAIRMAN Mao's five documents on literature and art published for the first time have creatively developed Marxist-Leninist theory on literature and art, class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat. They are the guide for overcoming the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, developing socialist literature and art, preventing the revisionists from usurping the leadership of the Party and government and for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. They are programmatic documents for the great proletarian cultural revolution.

When Chairman Mao expounded his theories on the contradictions in socialist society and on classes and class struggle at the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, he pointed out: "The use of the novel for anti-Party activities is quite an invention. To overthrow a political power, it is always necessary, first of all, to create public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the revolutionary class as well as for the counter-revolutionary class."

This profound thesis tells us that class struggle in socialist society is concentrated on one point, that is, the struggle between the proletariat which wants to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie which wants to overthrow it. To carry out its criminal activities to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat, the bourgeoisie, first of all, must always create public opinion and do work in the ideological sphere, and it must always emphasize the use of the weapon of literature and art.

In the 17 years since the founding of New China, the soul-stirring class struggles that have taken place one on the heels of another on the literary and art front are centred on political power. Backed to the hilt by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, the group of counter-revolutionary revisionists on the ideological and cultural front — such as Lu Ting-yi, Chou Yang, Chi Yen-ming, Hsia Yen, Lin Mo-han and Peng Chen, ringleader of the counter-revolutionary revisionists of the former Peking Municipal Committee of the Chinese Communist Party — carried out activities in drama, cinema, fiction and theory on literature and art which were all aimed at creating

public opinion for the overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat. On the other hand, the struggle waged by the proletarian revolutionary fighters on the literary and art front under the leadership of the great leader Chairman Mao has been aimed at eliminating public opinion for counter-revolutionary revisionism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

As far back as 1944, in his "Letter to the Yenan Peking Opera Theatre After Seeing Driven to Join the Liangshan Mountain Rebels," Chairman Mao wrote: "History is made by the people, yet the old opera (and all the old literature and art, which are divorced from the people) presents the people as though they were dirt, and the stage is dominated by lords and ladies and their pampered sons and daughters. Now you have reversed this reversal of history and restored historical truth, and thus a new life is opening up for the old opera. That is why this merits congratulations. The initiative you have taken marks an epoch-making beginning in the revolutionization of the old opera. I am very happy at the thought of this. I hope you will write more plays and give more performances, and so help make this practice a common one which will prevail throughout the country." Here Chairman Mao warmly supported the beginning of revolution in the old opera and indicated the road to revolutionizing the old opera and literature and art. Revolutionary workers in the theatre and all other revolutionary literary and art workers have advanced along this bright road. But the counter-revolutionary revisionists, supported by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, did exactly the opposite. Especially after the founding of New China, they went even further and adopted two-faced counter-revolutionary tactics to oppose the directives of Chairman Mao; and they used the power in their hands and the literary and art front they controlled to create public opinion for a bourgeois counter-revolutionary come-back. They allowed emperors and kings, generals and ministers, scholars and beauties, ghosts and monsters to control the stage and the "dead" to dominate many literary and art departments, turning a number of literary and art organizations into units like the Petöfi Club in Hungary. Those counter-revolutionary revisionists vainly hoped that once the chance came, they could overthrow the dicta-

torship of the proletariat on a nationwide scale and bring about the restoration of capitalism.

In 1950, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road described the film *Inside Story of the Ching Court*, a film of national betrayal, as patriotic. He had the film shown throughout the country and poisoned the masses through the counter-revolutionary revisionists controlling the cultural position. They openly resisted Chairman Mao's directive on criticizing and repudiating this film.

In 1954, in a letter to the comrades of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and other comrades concerned, Chairman Mao once again pointed out: "The film *Inside Story of the Ching Court*, which has been described as patriotic but is in fact a film of national betrayal, has not been criticized and repudiated at any time since it was shown all over the country." Having been criticized by Chairman Mao, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road continued to obstruct criticism and repudiation of the *Inside Story of the Ching Court*. Why? This was because he stubbornly wanted to restore capitalism in New China and the *Inside Story of the Ching Court* conformed to the need of his reactionary politics.

In 1951, Chairman Mao personally launched and led the great mass criticism and repudiation of the film *The Life of Wu Hsun*. This was a great struggle against reactionary ideology, a great struggle against the counter-revolutionary revisionists on the literary and art front and their backer, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. Chairman Mao in his article "Give Serious Attention to the Discussion of the film *The Life of Wu Hsun*" said: "Certain Communists who have reputedly grasped Marxism warrant particular attention. They have learnt the history of social development — historical materialism — but when they come across specific historical events, specific historical figures (like Wu Hsun) and specific ideas contrary to history (as in the film *The Life of Wu Hsun* and the writings about Wu Hsun), they lose their critical faculties, and some have even capitulated to these reactionary ideas. Is it not a fact that reactionary bourgeois ideas have found their way into the militant Communist Party? Where on earth is the Marxism which certain Communists claim to have grasped?" This was a warning bell to the whole Party. It was a serious reprimand to those (including the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road) who had capitulated to bourgeois reactionary ideas. But he and the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists on the literary and art front he supported continued their two-faced attitude. They accepted it superficially, but in fact they resisted.

In 1954, it was again this group of "big shots" who repressed the "nobodies" and tried in vain to strangle the criticism and repudiation of Yu Ping-po's *Studies*

of the "Dream of the Red Chamber." Chairman Mao supported the "nobodies" and led this great mass criticism and repudiation. In his *Letter Concerning Studies of "The Dream of the Red Chamber,"* he again directly criticized the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. Chairman Mao said: "The whole thing has been set going by two 'nobodies,' while the 'big shots' usually ignore or even obstruct it, and they form a united front with bourgeois writers on the basis of idealism and are willing captives of the bourgeoisie. It was almost the same when the films *Inside Story of the Ching Court* and *The Life of Wu Hsun* were shown. . . . Although *The Life of Wu Hsun* has been criticized, up to now no lessons have been drawn; what is more, we have the strange situation in which Yu Ping-po's idealism is tolerated and lively critical essays by 'nobodies' are obstructed. This deserves our attention."

Up to the present, these panjandrums have not yet drawn the lessons. Why? The many facts exposed in the mass movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution prove that they are counter-revolutionary revisionists and their big backer is the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. So it is in conformity with the objective laws that they remain diehards.

After China in the main completed the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and the counter-revolutionary revisionists of the old Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the old Ministry of Culture and the old Peking Municipal Committee of the Chinese Communist Party he supported, attacked socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat still more frantically. They did their utmost to create counter-revolutionary public opinion in preparation for the overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat. From the appearance of the anti-Party and anti-socialist article *Battle Drum of the Film* in 1956 to the staging of the Peking opera *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office*, up to opposing the revolutionization of the Peking opera, opposing the criticism and repudiation of *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office*, and opposing the mass movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution, they put out a large quantity of poisonous weeds and undertook many actions with ulterior motives. Some were directly supported by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road or secretly instigated by him. Some were personally carried out by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. The film *Plains Ablaze* which vilified the working class is one example.

This secret history was eventually brought to light in the mass movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution initiated and led by Chairman Mao himself. As a result, a number of counter-revolutionary revisionists on the cultural front and their big boss be-

hind the scenes, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, have been exposed to the light. This is history's verdict. This is the historical summing up of the struggle between the two roads within the Party over the past 17 years. This is a tremendous victory won by Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Comrade Lin Biao in leading hundreds of millions of revolutionary people and defeating the agents of the bourgeoisie in the Party! This is a tremendous victory won by the proletariat in opposing the bourgeoisie's attempts at a restoration! This is a tremendous victory for the thought of Mao Tse-tung!

By studying these five brilliant documents of Chairman Mao's in relation to the history of the class struggle on the literary and art front and the practice of this great proletarian cultural revolution, we should acquire more understanding of the following points:

(1) So long as classes and class struggle still exist in China and abroad, the struggle between the bourgeoisie's attempts at a restoration and the proletariat's efforts to oppose it will inevitably continue. **Chairman Mao teaches us: "The present great cultural revolution is only the first; there will inevitably be many more in the future. The issue of who will win in the revolution can only be settled over a long historical period. If things are not properly handled, it is possible for a capitalist restoration to take place at any time. It should not be thought by any Party member or any one of the people in our country that everything will be all right after one or two great cultural revolutions, or even three or four. We must be very much on the alert and never lose vigilance."** We must follow Chairman Mao's teachings, discard illusions and get ready for long-term struggle.

(2) We must defend the dictatorship of the proletariat not only with guns but also with pens. We must, in line with Chairman Mao's many instructions, pay serious attention to the class struggle on the literary and art front, take firm hold of the struggle between the two roads in the ideological sphere and view it from the level of the question concerning political power, and not treat it lightly. To ignore this would be tantamount to forgetting about the dictatorship of the proletariat.

(3) Who make up the command post of the class enemies vainly attempting to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat? They are a handful of people who take shelter within the apparatus of this dictatorship, a handful of people who take shelter within the leading organs of the Party. It is easiest to destroy a fortress from within, and the agents of the bourgeoisie in the Party are the most dangerous enemies. We must not lower our guard. We should draw lessons from "the rut that overturns the cart" in the Soviet Union. We must act seriously in line with Chairman Mao's instructions. **And, in order really to do this in practice, we must constantly strive to arm ourselves with Mao Tse-tung's thought and overcome the rem-**

nants of all types of non-proletarian ideas still in our minds. Only by so doing can we become staunch proletarian revolutionary fighters, speaking on behalf of the proletariat at all times and not on behalf of the bourgeoisie.

(4) The handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and the counter-revolutionary revisionists peddle their pretentious revisionist stuff as if they were eternal truths. But facts prove that these people and their goods are just paper tigers. They and their products will collapse rapidly, once Mao Tse-tung's thought grips hundreds of millions of people. This has been proved by the victory in the revolution of Peking opera, and has been proved all the more clearly by the victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution. Has not the most stubborn citadel, Peking opera, been breached? Have not the "bigwigs" taking the capitalist road who swagger around like conquerors been overthrown? The same will happen in the future; whoever in authority wants to take the capitalist road can end up in no other way than being overthrown by the revolutionary people.

We have the greatest faith in Mao Tse-tung's thought and in the masses, and this provides us with the fullest ground for despising strategically all exploiting classes and their representatives and the ideology of all exploiting classes handed down over the past thousands of years.

Only the literature and art and other parts of the superstructure that serve the workers, peasants and soldiers and the socialist economic base have great vitality and a future of tremendous growth. Decadent things that run counter to the trend of the times will be buried, once and for all, by the revolutionary people and, in fact, are now in the process of being buried by them.

History has proved and practice in the future will confirm that the five documents of Chairman Mao's concerning literature and art all embody great truths. Their significance is by no means confined to the realm of literature and art. They are our sharpest weapons in the struggle against counter-revolutionary revisionism, against the agents of the bourgeoisie within the Party and against the ideology of all exploiting classes. Let us study them conscientiously and apply them in the current class struggle in order to win new victories for the great proletarian cultural revolution and in the tasks of "struggle-criticism-transformation"!*

(*"Hongqi" editorial, No. 9, 1967.*)

*"Struggle-criticism-transformation" means: to struggle against and overthrow those persons in authority taking the capitalist road, to criticize and repudiate the reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities" and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, and to transform education, literature and art and all other parts of the superstructure which do not correspond with the socialist economic base.

Long Live the Revolutionary Spirit Of Criticism

—Hail the Publication of Chairman Mao's Five Militant
Documents on Questions of Literature and Art

FIVE militant documents on questions of literature and art by our great leader Chairman Mao have now been made known to the general public. They are: "Letter to the Yen-an Peking Opera Theatre After Seeing *Driven to Join the Liangshan Mountain Rebels*," "Give Serious Attention to the Discussion of the Film *The Life of Wu Hsun*," "Letter Concerning Studies of *The Dream of the Red Chamber*" and "Two Instructions on Literature and Art." From beginning to end, the thoroughly revolutionary spirit of criticism, and the dialectical materialistic idea of devoting great efforts to destruction and construction run through all these important documents like a bright red thread.

The essence of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, is to criticize, to fight and to make revolution. It has been formed and developed during the criticism of and struggle against the old world, old systems, old ideas and old culture on the broadest scale and to the most profound depth, and in the course of great efforts of destruction and construction. It has to fight for every step forward.

Speaking of Marx' thoroughgoing, scientific attitude of criticism, Lenin said: "He critically reshaped everything that had been created by human society, without ignoring a single detail. He reconsidered, subjected to criticism, and verified on the working-class movement everything that human thinking had created, and therefrom formulated conclusions which people hemmed in by bourgeois limitations or bound by bourgeois prejudices could not draw." ("The Tasks of the Youth Leagues," *Collected Works*, Volume 31, p. 287.)

Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, has been formed and constantly developed in the struggle to destroy the bourgeois ideological system. Chairman Mao says: "There is no construction without destruction, no flowing without damming and no motion without rest." He says: "Destruction means criticism and repudiation, it means revolution. It involves reasoning things out, which is construction. Put destruction first, and in the process you have construction." The quintessence of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, is the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, and this is the greatest destruction and the greatest construction.

In his "Letter to the Yen-an Peking Opera Theatre After Seeing *Driven to Join the Liangshan Mountain Rebels* written in 1944, Chairman Mao held high the great banner of revolutionary criticism, vigorously destroyed the reactionary phenomenon of negating the workers, peasants and soldiers and reversing history, a phenomenon that appeared on the stage of the old opera and in all the old literature and art divorced from the people. He sharply pointed out that **this reversal of history must now be again reversed**. Before political power was seized throughout the country, our great teacher Chairman Mao, while taking firm hold of armed struggle, paid great attention to the class struggle in the ideological field, to the struggle between proletarian ideology and bourgeois ideology. He was preparing public opinion for the proletariat of our country to overthrow the political power of the landlords and the bourgeoisie and wrest nation-wide victory.

In "Give Serious Attention to the Discussion of the Film *The Life of Wu Hsun*," "Letter Concerning Studies of *The Dream of the Red Chamber*" and "Two Instructions on Literature and Art," all written after the liberation of China, Chairman Mao, taking as the key link the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines under the dictatorship of the proletariat, vigorously repudiated the traitorous *Inside Story of the Ching Court*, vigorously repudiated the slavish *The Life of Wu Hsun*, vigorously repudiated the idealistic "Studies of *The Dream of the Red Chamber*," vigorously repudiated the emperors, kings, generals, ministers, scholars and beauties appearing on the opera stage, and vigorously repudiated the sinister counter-revolutionary revisionist line in the ideological and cultural fields. All this was, in the last analysis, aimed at consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing a capitalist restoration.

Since the liberation of the whole country, why could Chairman Mao's series of important instructions concerning questions of ideology and literature and art not be carried out? This is now very clear. It was because the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, in league with a handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists like Peng Chen, Lu Ting-yi, Chou Yang, Lin Mo-han, Chi Yen-ming and Hsia Yen who had usurped leadership in cultural circles, flagrant-

ly boycotted and opposed Chairman Mao's instructions, and exercised dictatorship over us. If we had not launched the great proletarian cultural revolution with the participation of hundreds of millions of people, then it would be impossible to sweep clean the filthy mire left from the old world, smash counter-revolutionary revisionist domination in the ideological and cultural fields, or consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In devoting great efforts to both destruction and construction under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the crucial question is to vigorously overthrow the handful of persons in authority taking the capitalist road, who have waved "red flags" to oppose the red flag and have wormed their way into leading departments of the Party and the Government. In this great proletarian cultural revolution, the revolutionary masses have exposed and vigorously criticized, repudiated and struggled against "persons like Khrushchov" who were "nestling beside us," that is, the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. This is the most fundamental and the most important destruction. The proletarian revolutionaries of the whole country must grasp this fundamental and the most important point, devote great efforts to destruction and construction and seize back all the positions occupied by the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road.

In a series of great works and instructions and in the May 16, 1966, Circular of the Chinese Communist Party's Central Committee, which was drawn up under his personal guidance, Chairman Mao has correctly solved the question of on whom to rely and what method to adopt in carrying out great destruction and construction. To trust and rely upon the masses and boldly arouse the broadest masses to carry out the great proletarian cultural revolution is the best form of carrying out great destruction and construction in

all political, economic and cultural fields in the whole society under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Using the method of launching mass movement to carry out the struggle of vigorous destruction and construction, we must fully arouse from below the broad masses of workers, peasants, soldiers, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals; we must be confident that the masses can liberate and educate themselves, completely overthrow the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, utterly smash the bourgeois reactionary line represented by him, and vigorously destroy bourgeois ideology and revisionist ideology. If we do not trust the masses, rely on the masses, boldly arouse the masses and promote mass democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat, it will be impossible to carry out thorough destruction and genuine construction; it will be impossible to carry out vigorous destruction and construction.

The unprecedented, great proletarian cultural revolution has already been in progress for a year. The proletarian revolutionaries are now being united to seize power from the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and to carry on a thorough criticism, repudiation and big struggle against the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. This means a more comprehensive, penetrating destruction and construction. All revolutionary comrades must seriously study the theory, line, principle and policy of the great proletarian cultural revolution which have been set forth by Chairman Mao, firmly hold to the general orientation of the struggle, and aim the spearhead of mass criticism and struggle at the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, properly link this with the struggle-criticism-transformation of their own localities, departments and units, and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

("Renmin Ribao" editorial, May 28.)

Two Diametrically Opposed Documents

FEBRUARY 1966 was an unusual month, a month of intense struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in China. And it was at this time that two diametrically opposed documents appeared in our Party. One was Peng Chen's "Outline Report" and the other "Summary of the Forum on the Work in Literature and Art in the Armed Forces With Which Comrade Lin Piao Entrusted Comrade Chiang Ching."

The "Outline Report" was carefully worked out in Peking between February 3 and 7 by the Peng Chen counter-revolutionary revisionist clique, with the support of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. This outline is a counter-revolutionary programme opposing Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought; it is a programme opposing the

dictatorship of the proletariat and aiming at a restoration of capitalism; and it is an out-and-out revisionist programme.

The "Forum Summary" was written after repeated consideration by comrades who attended the Forum on the Work in Literature and Art in the Armed Forces and finalized after being personally examined and revised by Chairman Mao three times. The forum, which was held in Shanghai between February 2 and 20, was convened and presided over by Comrade Chiang Ching who was entrusted with the task by Comrade Lin Piao. The "Summary" contrasts sharply with the "Outline Report"; it is an important document aimed to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and to frustrate the restoration of capitalism; it is a Marxist-Leninist

document that holds high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

The two documents are two banners, each representing a distinct class. The "Outline Report" is a black banner representing a wild attack by the bourgeoisie on the proletariat, whereas the "Forum Summary" is a red banner representing the general counter-attack launched by the proletariat on the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road.

The two documents are orders in different categories issued by two headquarters representing different classes. The "Outline Report" is a counter-revolutionary order from the bourgeois headquarters represented by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. It calls on the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and every ghost and monster to undermine the great proletarian cultural revolution, defend the leadership and positions they have usurped in the political, ideological and cultural fields and wage a life-and-death struggle to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat. The "Forum Summary" is a revolutionary order from the proletarian headquarters represented by Chairman Mao. It calls on the proletarian revolutionaries and the revolutionary masses to undertake the great proletarian cultural revolution, thoroughly expose and overthrow the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and charge forward to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The two documents put forward two diametrically opposed orientations for struggle. The "Outline Report" sticks to the bourgeois world outlook. It directs the spearhead of struggle against the revolutionary Left and the revolutionary masses in a vain attempt to attack the Left, disintegrate the revolutionary rank of the Left and protect the representatives of the bourgeoisie within the Party, the revisionists and the reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities." It shows bitter hatred for the proletarian revolutionaries, but profound love for the bourgeois Rightists. The "Forum Summary" upholds the proletarian world outlook. It firmly trusts the masses, relies on them and enthusiastically supports and praises their revolutionary actions, and indignantly directs the spearhead of struggle against the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and the counter-revolutionary, revisionist line. It greatly heightens the morale of the proletariat and crushes the arrogance of the bourgeoisie.

The appearance of the two documents was by no means fortuitous. They are inevitable products of class struggle, products of the struggle between the proletarian revolutionaries and the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the contradiction between two classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and the contradiction between two roads, the socialist and capitalist, find concentrated expression in the contradiction between the proletariat and the agents of the bourgeoisie within the Party. This is the principal contradiction during the whole period of the dictator-

ship of the proletariat, and is an antagonistic contradiction. The "Forum Summary" and the "Outline Report" are products of this antagonistic contradiction which has reached a critical point.

Between September and October 1965, Chairman Mao suggested that Wu Han who opposes the Party and socialism should be criticized and repudiated. But the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road refused to carry this out and used every means to counter it. The proletarian revolutionaries in Shanghai resolutely implemented Chairman Mao's instruction. Under the direct guidance of Comrade Chiang Ching, Comrade Yao Wen-yuan wrote "On the New Historical Drama *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office*," and the publication of this article began in the ideological sphere the criticism and repudiation of Wu Han and other anti-Party, anti-socialist representatives of the bourgeoisie, thus ushering in the stage of preparing public opinion for the mass movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution in China.

The Peng Chen counter-revolutionary revisionist clique, under the connivance of and shielded by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, abused its powers, forbade the Peking press to reprint the article by Comrade Yao Wen-yuan, and withheld articles of criticism and repudiation by the proletarian revolutionary Left. They energetically disseminated such nonsense as "the question of Wu Han should be discussed as an academic question" and "everyone is equal before the truth," and did their utmost to cover up the serious political nature of the struggle. They tried in vain to strangle this revolutionary criticism and repudiation that had just started.

On December 21, 1965, Chairman Mao once again pointed out explicitly that "the crux of 'Hai Jui Dismissed From Office' was the question of dismissal from office. The Emperor Chia Ching (of the Ming Dynasty, 1522-1566) dismissed Hai Jui from office. In 1959 we dismissed Peng Teh-huai from office. And Peng Teh-huai is 'Hai Jui' too." This made it clear that "Hai Jui Dismissed From Office," a story about the feudal official Hai Jui, was used by the reactionary bourgeois scholar-tyrant to attack by innuendo the Communist Party and socialism, to reverse the decision on the case of Peng Teh-huai and other Right opportunists. It also showed the political nature of the criticism and repudiation, namely, that it was a struggle against a handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road.

But the Peng Chen counter-revolutionary revisionist clique did all in their power to prevent Chairman Mao's directive on the crux of *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office* from being known. They flagrantly resisted this directive, declaring on various occasions that, regarding the criticism of Wu Han, it was impermissible to deal with the heart of the matter, namely, the dismissal of the Right opportunists at the Lushan Meeting in 1959 and the opposition of Wu Han and others to the Party and socialism. They attacked the Left and shielded the Right, in a vain attempt to turn the rev-

olutionary criticism and repudiation to the Right, and divert it into the orbit of what the bourgeoisie called a "purely academic" discussion. The Peng Chen counter-revolutionary revisionist clique, backed by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, issued the "Outline Report" to the whole Party by usurping the name of the Party Central Committee. At that moment they were beside themselves with joy and went wild.

Precisely at that time, Comrade Chiang Ching convened and presided over the Forum on the Work in Literature and Art in the Armed Forces, held in Shanghai, a task entrusted to her by Comrade Lin Piao. With the attention and personal guidance of Chairman Mao, the important historic document, the "Forum Summary," was drafted and approved for distribution. This historic document hit hard at the Peng Chen counter-revolutionary revisionist clique and more fully armed the proletarian revolutionaries with Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Comrade Lin Piao attaches great importance to this "Forum Summary." In his letter to the members of the Standing Committee of the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee on March 22, 1966, Comrade Lin Piao states: This "is an excellent document. It applies Mao Tse-tung's thought to answer many important questions concerning the cultural revolution in the period of socialism. It is of both extremely great practical and far-reaching historic significance."

In the letter, Comrade Lin Piao states with emphasis: "The last 16 years have witnessed sharp class struggle on the front of literature and art and the question of who will win out has not yet been settled. If the proletariat does not occupy the positions in literature and art, the bourgeoisie certainly will. This struggle is inevitable. And it represents an extremely broad and deep socialist revolution in the realm of ideology. If things are not done properly, revisionism will prevail. We must hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and unswervingly carry this revolution through to the end." Thus, using Mao Tse-tung's thought, Comrade Lin Piao scientifically sums up the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines in the ideological sphere since the founding of the People's Republic of China. The same red thread runs through the "Forum Summary."

The "Summary" goes right to the heart of the matter when it states that in the socialist stage "there has been a struggle between the two classes and the two lines on the cultural front, that is, the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie for leadership on this front." Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, literary and art circles have been "under the dictatorship of a black anti-Party and anti-socialist line which is diametrically opposed to Chairman Mao's thought." "So long as we do not seize hold of the field of culture, we will inevitably forfeit many positions in this field to the black line, and this is a serious lesson." We must "resolutely carry on a great

socialist revolution on the cultural front and completely eliminate this black line."

That is to say, during the whole historical stage of the dictatorship of the proletariat, there exists the struggle between the bourgeoisie's attempts at a comeback and the proletariat's efforts to oppose it. It is either the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie or vice versa. We absolutely cannot tolerate the state of affairs of certain places and departments being under the dictatorship of the black anti-Party and anti-socialist line. Therefore, the mass movement for the great proletarian cultural revolution had to be launched to completely overthrow the handful of persons in authority, big and small, taking the capitalist road who have wormed their way into the Party and into the organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the handful of big and small counter-revolutionary revisionists.

The "Forum Summary" points out that long-term, arduous efforts are needed to carry the socialist cultural revolution through to the end. "After we are rid of this black line, still others will appear and the struggle must go on. Therefore, this is an arduous, complex and long-term struggle which will take decades, or even centuries. It is a cardinal issue which has a vital bearing on the future of the Chinese revolution and of the world revolution."

This is thoroughgoing materialism, thoroughgoing dialectics, and thoroughgoing Marxist theory of class struggle. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, it is necessary to carry out the great proletarian cultural revolution many times, in order to prevent the restoration of capitalism. So long as classes and class contradictions exist, class struggle is inevitable, as is the struggle for the seizure of political power. Who will win in the revolution is a question which can be solved only over a very long historical period. Therefore, we must develop the thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit of the proletariat, and be prepared to wage arduous, long-term struggles, to struggle for decades, for a full hundred years, or even several hundred years, until the socialist revolution is carried through to the end and the transition from socialist to communist society is completed. If we do not understand the problem in this way, if we believe that after one or several great cultural revolutions there will be peace and tranquillity in the country and thus slacken our militancy and lose our vigilance, we might get on to the path of capitalist restoration, just as the Soviet Union has done. We must not in the least lose our vigilance on this question.

The appearance of the "Forum Summary" and the "Outline Report" and the struggle between them marked the dramatic struggle between the Marxist-Leninist line represented by Chairman Mao and the revisionist line represented by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, in the stage of preparing public opinion for the great proletarian cultural revolution in our country. This struggle heralded the coming

of the storm of the great proletarian cultural revolution as well as the bankruptcy of the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road.

In May 1966, the great Marxist-Leninist document — the May 16, 1966 “Circular” of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China — was drawn up under the personal guidance of our great leader Chairman Mao. This document made a penetrating exposure and criticism of the “Outline Report,” shattering the plots of the Peng Chen counter-revolutionary revisionist clique to strangle the great proletarian cultural revolution and bring about a capitalist restoration, and throwing into confusion the battle array of the counter-revolutionary revisionists headed by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. This document set forth the theory, line, principles and policies of the great proletarian cultural revolution and sounded the clarion call for its advance. The document advanced the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat to a completely new stage.

On June 1, 1966, Chairman Mao personally wrote the instruction to broadcast to the whole country the first Marxist-Leninist big-character poster, which appeared in Peking University, thus issuing the order to launch an all-round offensive against the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. Since then, the mass movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution has developed throughout the country on a grand and spectacular scale.

Great victories have been scored in the great proletarian cultural revolution over the past year. Earth-shaking changes have taken place in our country. One after another the handful of Party persons in authority

taking the capitalist road have been exposed and completely discredited and overthrown by the masses. The “Outline Report,” along with its authors, the Peng Chen counter-revolutionary revisionist clique, and their behind-the-scenes boss, China’s Khrushchov, have been reduced to total bankruptcy and have been completely defeated. Those sections of Party, government, financial and cultural power usurped by Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road are being regained by the proletariat. Under the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung’s thought, proletarian revolutionaries have been maturing and their ranks are swelling to forming a mighty proletarian revolutionary army. Chairman Mao’s brilliant theory on making revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat has been confirmed and developed in the magnificent practice of the great proletarian cultural revolution. This marks a new stage in the development of Marxism. This is an inestimable contribution made by Chairman Mao to the Chinese people and to the international proletariat.

The “Forum Summary” has now been made public. With the current tasks of the revolutionary struggle in mind, and along with our study of the great, historic document, the “Circular,” Chairman Mao’s *Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art* and other documents and directives concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution, let us make a serious study of the “Forum Summary,” hold still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung’s thought, thoroughly criticize and repudiate the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

(“Hongqi” editorial, No. 9, 1967.)

An Important Document for the Proletarian Cultural Revolution

IN March last year, our great leader Chairman Mao personally revised and approved the “Summary of the Forum on the Work in Literature and Art in the Armed Forces With Which Comrade Lin Piao Entrusted Comrade Chiang Ching.” (See p. 10.) In the history of the cultural struggle in China, this forum is extremely important. Its “Summary” is a most important document for China’s proletarian cultural revolution.

At that time, the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines in China had reached a crucial point. It was particularly concentrated, sharp and fierce in the realm of ideology and culture. With Comrade Lin Piao’s support and help and overcoming many obstacles, Comrade Chiang Ching and the Liberation Army revolutionary cultural workers under her

guidance issued the “Summary” of the forum on the work in literature and art in the armed forces in direct opposition to the counter-revolutionary “February Outline Report,” and launched a vigorous attack on the counter-revolutionary revisionist line.

Using the all-illuminating thought of Mao Tse-tung, the “Summary” has answered many major questions concerning the cultural revolution in the period of socialism. It upholds and defends the orientation set forth by Chairman Mao that literature and art should serve the workers, peasants and soldiers and proletarian politics. It expounds in concrete terms the important role played by literature and art in the struggle both for and against capitalist restoration throughout the

historical period of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It deals a powerful blow against the sinister counter-revolutionary revisionist line on literature and art which has been supported by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. The "Summary" gives a brilliant example of the creative study and application of Mao Tse-tung's thought and is a scientific summary of the experience gained in the struggle to create a new proletarian literature and art. It is a summons to war against the sinister counter-revolutionary revisionist line on literature and art and a manifesto in defence of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art. It is a document not only of great practical significance but also of far-reaching historical significance.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "In the world today all culture, all literature and art belong to definite classes and are geared to definite political lines." Literature and art in the service of the workers, peasants and soldiers and of proletarian politics in the period of socialist revolution means literature and art serving to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, carry forward the socialist revolution and transform the Party and the world in the image of the proletariat. In seizing political power, both the revolutionary class and the counter-revolutionary class must always and first of all seize the advance positions of literature and art. The political struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads, likewise, always and first of all finds expression in literature and art. Throughout the historical period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the main content of class struggle is the struggle for and against restoration, the seizure and counter-seizure of power. The overthrown class enemy always uses the important tool of literature and art to create public opinion for his restoration of capitalism; dreaming to turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, he seeks to transform the Party and the world in the image of the bourgeoisie. We must firmly bear in mind Chairman Mao's teaching **never to forget the class struggle**, particularly in the realm of ideology and culture, including literature and art.

Following Chairman Mao's great teachings concerning classes and class struggles in the period of socialism, the "Summary" has made a comprehensive, penetrating and correct analysis of the situation in the post-liberation struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines on the literary and art front and uncovered the sinister anti-Party, anti-socialist line in literature and art, a line that is diametrically opposed to Mao Tse-tung's thought. This sinister line is a combination of bourgeois ideas and modern revisionist ideas on literature and art and what is known as the literature and art of the 1930s (in the Kuomintang areas of China). It serves the counter-revolutionary revisionist political line stubbornly adhered to by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. During the past decade and more, with the support of their chief backer, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists

represented by Peng Chen, Lu Ting-yi, Chou Yang and Hsia Yen, waved "red flags" to oppose the red flag, drew deserters and traitors into their service, formed cliques in pursuit of their own selfish interests, feigned compliance while acting in opposition, rode roughshod over others, exercised a dictatorship over us in literary and art circles and prepared public opinion for the scheme to usurp the leadership of the Party, the army and the government by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. The "Summary," holding high the banner of revolutionary criticism, launched a fierce counter-offensive and won the first battle against the sinister line on literature and art that serves the restoration of capitalism and against its chief backer.

The "Summary" emphatically points out: **"Ours is the literature and art of the proletariat, the literature and art of the Party. The principle of proletarian Party spirit is the outstanding feature distinguishing us from other classes. It must be understood that representatives of other classes also have their principle of party spirit, and that they are very stubborn too. We must firmly adhere to the principle of proletarian Party spirit and combat the corrosion of bourgeois ideology in creative thinking, in organizational line and in style of work. As for bourgeois ideology, we must draw a clear line of demarcation and must on no account enter into peaceful coexistence with it."** The proletariat seeks to transform the world according to its own world outlook, and so does the bourgeoisie. As in a battle between two armies, the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the struggle between them in the realm of ideology, always results in victory for one side and defeat for the other. Either one eliminates the other, or vice versa. Either we wipe them out, or they wipe us out. In the war in the realm of ideology and culture, there can be no cease-fire and we must never seek peaceful co-existence. Whoever tries to enter into peaceful co-existence with bourgeois ideology and culture inevitably surrenders to them.

Comrade Lin Piao has said: **"If the proletariat does not occupy the positions in literature and art, the bourgeoisie certainly will. This struggle is inevitable. And it represents an extremely broad and deep socialist revolution in the realm of ideology. If things are not done properly, revisionism will prevail."** It was precisely because class struggle in the realm of ideology was abandoned that, in the Soviet Union, the world's first socialist state, the revisionist clique usurped the leadership of the Party and the state and brought about the restoration of capitalism. The same thing has happened in a number of other socialist countries. We must engrave on our minds this serious lesson in the international history of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

We must make revolutionary literature and art powerful instruments for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and **"ensure that literature and art fit well into the whole revolutionary machine as a component part, that they operate as powerful weapons for uniting and educating the people and for attacking and destroying the enemy, and that they help**

the people fight the enemy with one heart and one mind."

While vigorously destroying the sinister line on literature and art which serves the counter-revolutionary revisionist political line, the "Summary" sums up the valuable experience gained in vigorously creating the new literature and art of the proletariat. It stresses that we must firmly follow the orientation of literature and art serving the workers, peasants and soldiers and serving proletarian politics that Chairman Mao indicated; that we must carry out the mass line and make serious efforts to ensure that good works of literature and art are created; that we must adopt the creative method of combining revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism, work with enthusiasm and do everything possible to create heroic images of workers, peasants and soldiers; that we must make efforts to reflect the militant life of the workers, peasants and soldiers in socialist revolution and socialist construction; and that we must vigorously promote revolutionary and militant literary and art criticism by the masses and place the weapon of literary and art criticism in the hands of the worker, peasant and soldier masses. To create a flourishing new, socialist literature and art and vigorously develop the proletarian revolutionary literary and art movement, we must attach the greatest importance to the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works and place this above everything else; we must go into the midst of the struggle for a long period, integrate ourselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers, thoroughly remould our world outlook and accelerate the ideological revolutionization of literary and art workers. Only in this way, can revolutionary literature and art become a powerful weapon opposing capitalist restoration and preventing the unchecked spread of revisionism, and shoulder the important task of defending the great dictatorship of the proletariat and the great socialist cause.

In order to capture the positions in the fields of ideology and culture, the proletariat must arouse hun-

dreds of millions of people, carry on all-out revolutionary criticism and wage an all-out revolutionary struggle. At the present time, the spearhead must be directed against the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and a handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists. The "Summary" points out: "In accordance with the instructions of the Central Committee of the Party, we must resolutely carry on a great socialist revolution on the cultural front" and tackle "the whole problem systematically and comprehensively" in the fields of ideology and culture. We must have the daring to criticize and repudiate all old ideas and culture, and have the daring to criticize and repudiate the rotten "big shots" and reactionary bourgeois "authorities." If they are not criticized or repudiated, the new ideas and culture of the proletariat cannot survive and grow. The fighting task now confronting us is to carry on all-out criticism and struggle in a more penetrating way and on a still higher plane, bring about a new upsurge and combine these with "struggle-criticism-transformation" in each and every unit.

We must recognize that the question of who will win in the fields of ideology and culture cannot be settled after just one or two great cultural revolutions, or even three or four. In the thoroughgoing dialectical materialistic revolutionary spirit, the "Summary" points out for us: "After we are rid of this black line, still others will appear and the struggle must go on. Therefore, this is an arduous, complex and long-term struggle which will take decades, or even centuries. It is a cardinal issue which has a vital bearing on the future of the Chinese revolution and the future of the world revolution."

This is a great call. We must firmly respond to this call and unswervingly carry the proletarian revolution in the fields of ideology and culture through to the end!

(*"Renmin Ribao" editorial, May 29.*)

解放軍報
JIEFANGJUN BAO

Pick Up Your Pens and Hold On to Your Guns, Fight to Defend Proletarian State Power!

IN February 1966, at a critical stage in the sharp struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines in China, under the direct concern and guidance of the great leader Chairman Mao, Comrade Lin Biao entrusted Comrade Chiang Ching with the

task of holding a forum on the work in literature and art in the armed forces. This forum was a powerful counter-blow at the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique he supported. It was an extremely important

meeting in the history of China's cultural revolution. The "Forum Summary," which has been examined and revised three times by Chairman Mao himself, is a powerful weapon for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and for crushing capitalist restoration. It is a Marxist-Leninist document that glitters with the brilliant thought of Mao Tse-tung.

Holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, the "Forum Summary" deals a staggering blow to the counter-revolutionary revisionist line on literature and art, and persists in and defends Chairman Mao's line that literature and art should serve the workers, peasants and soldiers and proletarian politics. Applying the brilliant thought of Mao Tse-tung, it also provides the answers to many important questions concerning the cultural revolution in the socialist period. The "Forum Summary" is a call to battle issued by the proletarian revolutionary headquarters of Chairman Mao and a mobilization order calling on army commanders and fighters to pick up their pens and hold on to their guns to defend the political power of the proletariat. It heralds the arrival of the red storm of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

This forum was called and presided over by Comrade Chiang Ching, the most courageous fighter on the cultural front, on behalf of Chairman Mao's close comrade-in-arms and our deputy supreme commander Comrade Lin Piao. It calls upon the People's Liberation Army to play an important role in the great proletarian cultural revolution. This shows our supreme commander Chairman Mao's greatest concern for, confidence in and encouragement to the People's Liberation Army. It opens a brilliant page in the history of building our army, and adds undisputed glory to all the commanders and fighters in our army.

The "Forum Summary" directs its spearhead against the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique they support. In an attempt to bring about a capitalist restoration, this counter-revolutionary revisionist clique and its chief backer have for a long time frantically opposed our great leader Chairman Mao, vehemently resisted Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and obstinately promoted the sinister anti-Party, anti-socialist line on literature and art. They usurped and controlled the old Propaganda Department of the Party's Central Committee, the old Ministry of Culture and the old Peking Municipal Party Committee; they recruited deserters and renegades, formed cliques for their own selfish interests, hypocritically said one thing and did another and acted dictatorially, exercising, in fact, a dictatorship over us in the literary and art world. Over the past 17 years, this handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists misrepresented the workers, peasants and soldiers while prettifying imperialism, feudalism and revisionism. From praising the *Inside Story of the Ching Court* to cooking up *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office* they have done nothing but evil and their rank crimes reach to the skies.

Between September and October, 1965, Chairman Mao said that the anti-Party, anti-socialist Wu Han and his poisonous weed *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office* should be criticized and repudiated. However, the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and their henchmen unscrupulously opposed Chairman Mao's directive. Under the direct guidance of Comrade Chiang Ching, the proletarian revolutionaries of Shanghai launched a criticism and repudiation of *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office*. Comrade Yao Wen-yuan wrote the article "On the New Historical Drama *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office*." The scoundrels Peng Chen and Lu Ting-yi would not allow Peking's press to reprint this important article, and pamphlets carrying the article, which were published in Shanghai, were not allowed to circulate in Peking. In February 1966, backed by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, the Peng Chen counter-revolutionary revisionist clique stole the name of the Party's Central Committee to serve up the notorious "Outline Report." Openly waving a sinister counter-revolutionary revisionist banner, protecting the bourgeois Rightists and madly attacking the proletarian Left, they made a vain attempt to undermine the great proletarian cultural revolution and turn back the wheels of history. Their counter-revolutionary fury reached a peak.

At this moment, Comrade Lin Piao entrusted Comrade Chiang Ching to call a forum on literature and art in the armed forces. The cadres and fighters in the army responded to the call of Chairman Mao and acted according to the requirements set out in the "Forum Summary." Using Mao Tse-tung's thought as a sharp weapon, they plunged actively into the battle of the great proletarian cultural revolution alongside the broad revolutionary masses. A powerful mass denunciation followed, and the Peng Chen counter-revolutionary revisionist clique and its chief backer were routed. Their heady dream of restoring capitalism went bankrupt. The proletarian revolutionaries won the first battle in the great cultural revolution.

This soul-stirring class struggle made us realize more deeply than ever that in the class struggle between the bourgeois attempt to stage a comeback and the proletariat's struggle against it under conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the People's Liberation Army, which is loyal to Chairman Mao's thought, must most resolutely defend Mao Tse-tung's thought, defend the proletarian revolutionary line of Chairman Mao and defend the dictatorship of the proletariat, so that it becomes a most courageous shock force in the attack on counter-revolutionary revisionism.

Our army is a proletarian revolutionary army which was built personally by our great supreme commander Chairman Mao and is directly led by our deputy supreme commander Lin Piao. Chairman Mao calls on us to play an important role in the great proletarian cultural revolution and in defending the great

(Continued on p. 33.)



Mao Tse-tung's Thought

Lights the Whole World

Chairman Mao Points Out the Orientation for Latin American People's Struggle

On the occasion of the 2nd anniversary of the publication of Chairman Mao's "Statement Supporting the Dominican People's Resistance to U.S. Armed Aggression," which falls on May 12. Latin American revolutionaries in Havana and Juan Antonio Sanchez, a Dominican friend in Peking, enthusiastically hailed Chairman Mao's statement as pointing out the correct orientation for the Latin American people's revolutionary struggle.

In a statement to Hsinhua, the Mission of the Dominican Republic's "June 14 Revolutionary Movement" in Havana expressed deep gratitude to Chairman Mao for his support to the Dominican people. It stressed that the statement which Chairman Mao issued on behalf of the fraternal revolutionary Chinese people has given tremendous inspiration to the Dominican people, particularly the Dominican revolutionaries. The statement put forward certain principles for the Dominican revolutionaries, and it is only by following these that final victory can be won in the anti-imperialist armed struggle.

Through the Dominican people's patriotic struggle against U.S. imperialism two years ago, the Mission said, important experiences have been accumulated for the future struggle for state sovereignty and national independence. These experiences proved that the U.S. imperialists will never allow the people of any country to determine their own destiny and that it is necessary to establish a new-style Marxist-Leninist revolutionary Party and build a people's army under its leadership in order to wage a struggle for national liberation, socialism and communism and carry it through to the end.

Juan Antonio Sanchez, a Dominican friend now in China, said that the statement of Chairman Mao, who is the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our time, enabled the Dominican people "to distinguish clearly between true and false friends." "The masses of people said at the time: While the modern revisionists undermine our struggle and hold peace talks in the United Nations, thus supporting Yankee imperialism and betraying our struggle, Chairman Mao supports us and advocates that our struggle should be carried on in depth."

He stressed that Chairman Mao's statement "enhanced the revolutionary consciousness of the masses of our people who saw more clearly that the imperialists and the modern revisionists were really jackals from the same lair. It made those who had been deceived cast away their illusions and begin to see that they could not attain the aim of their struggle if they fought only the imperialists and not the revisionists at the same time."

Following are talks by several Latin American revolutionaries in Havana:

A Bolivian revolutionary: The great thought of Mao Tse-tung goes deep into the hearts of the Latin American people and revolutionaries at a time when the revisionists and their agents try to sow confusion in the political situation by energetically spreading the absurdity of "peaceful coexistence." While opposing U.S. imperialism, one must simultaneously oppose the sabotage of the national-liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America by the modern revisionists.

A Honduran revolutionary: "Today when we recall the great struggle of the Dominican people against the U.S. fascist gangsters, the words of Comrade Mao Tse-tung once again ring out: **'If the U.S. monopoly capitalist groups persist in pushing their policies of aggression and war, the day is bound to come when they will be hanged by the people of the whole world. The same fate awaits the accomplices of the United States.'** This prediction by Comrade Mao Tse-tung is an accurate analysis of the class nature of imperialism."

A Cuban worker: "Mao Tse-tung's thought is now guiding the world's people in their struggle against imperialism and colonialism and for national liberation. In the statement, Chairman Mao thoroughly exposed the aggressive nature of U.S. imperialism. The revolutionary people of the Dominican Republic and other Latin American countries have found the orientation for their struggle in Chairman Mao's statement."

A friend from Puerto Rico: Final victory belongs to the Latin American peoples although their struggle against U.S. imperialism and for national liberation is going to be long and arduous.

Chinese Government Statement

The Chinese people armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought firmly support the just struggles of the Arab people.

(May 27, 1967)

U.S. imperialism is at present hatching a big plot of aggression against Syria, the United Arab Republic and other Arab states by making use of Israel. The Israeli Prime Minister and his Foreign Minister have repeatedly clamoured about opening hostilities with Syria and overthrowing the Syrian Government. Israel is amassing large forces on its borders with Syria and the U.A.R., ready for a large-scale military adventure at any time. The United States has sent its Sixth Fleet to the Eastern Mediterranean to make a big show of force and carry out military threats. The independence and security of the Arab states are being seriously menaced. The facts have once again shown that U.S. imperialism is the arch-criminal supporting Israeli aggression against the Arab states and that it is the most ferocious enemy of the Arab people.

Confronted with the aggression of and the war threat posed by U.S. imperialism and Israel, the people of the Arab states have risen in unity to wage a resolute struggle against their common enemy. Syria, the U.A.R. and other Arab states have declared a state of alert and are ready at all times to deal head-on blows at the aggressors. The U.A.R. has demanded the withdrawal of the U.N. Emergency Force from the Gaza Strip and U.A.R. territory, and announced the closing of the Gulf of Aqaba and forbade the passage of Israeli ships. The Council of the Arab League has passed a resolution declaring that an attack against any Arab territory will be regarded as aggression against all the Arab states. Iraq, the Yemen, Algeria and other Arab states have adopted emergency measures in support of the struggle of the people of Syria and the U.A.R. These moves of the Arab states are just actions of self-defence against aggression and oppression and fully conform to the interests of the Arab people.

The Arab people's struggle against U.S. imperialism and Zionism is an important component of the worldwide struggle against imperialism. It has dealt hard blows at imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and given strong support to the people of the world in their struggle against imperialism. The 700 million Chinese people armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought resolutely stand on the side of the Arab people and firmly support all their just struggles. The Chinese people will for ever remain the staunch and

reliable comrades-in-arms of the Arab people in the fight against imperialism.

Fully revealing its bestial features, U.S. imperialism is at present openly threatening to use force to compel the U.A.R. to reopen the Gulf of Aqaba; at the same time, its chieftain Lyndon Johnson is conspiring with such a person like U.N. Secretary-General U Thant in a vain attempt to strangle the anti-imperialist struggle of the Arab states by employing its handy tool the United Nations. The intensified contacts between the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain and France, including George Brown's visit to Moscow, are all designed to decide the fate of the Arab people and force them to submit by means of the so-called "big power status." But no tricks or threats whatsoever can cow or dupe the daily awakening Arab people. Such acts by U.S. imperialism in so baring its fangs and committing aggression and playing the despot everywhere are by no means an indication of its strength, but a manifestation of its desperation and inner weakness. Chairman Mao has long pointed out: **"U.S. imperialism has overreached itself. Wherever it commits aggression it puts a new noose around its neck. It is heavily besieged by the people of the whole world."** U.S. imperialism has suffered an ignominious defeat in its aggression against Vietnam and it will certainly come to no better end in its aggression against the Arab states. The day is not far off when the people of the whole world will completely bury U.S. imperialism.

The Soviet revisionist leading clique is the No. 1 accomplice of U.S. imperialism. Everywhere it renders service to the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war. Now, just when the Arab people's struggle against U.S. imperialism and Israeli aggression is mounting to a new high, the Soviet revisionist leading clique once again is colluding with U.S. and British imperialism, busily working to strike a political deal with them and actively peddling its sinister ware of "Tashkent spirit" in a vain attempt to sabotage the just cause of the Arab people against imperialism. It says not a single word about the most essential issue—U.S. imperialist aggression against the Arab states. Nor does it support the just actions of the U.A.R. in demanding the withdrawal of U.N. forces and in closing the Gulf

of Aqaba. This is an out-and-out betrayal. We are convinced that through their own experience, the Arab people, who have a tradition of fighting against imperialism, will surely recognize the Soviet revisionist leading clique in all its ugliness of being a betrayer of the interests of the Arab people, and will never be taken in by it.

The great leader of the Chinese people Chairman Mao says, "People of 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." The Arab nation is a great nation. The Arab people are a heroic people. So long as they unite as one and persevere in the struggle, the Arab people will definitely defeat U.S. imperialism and its running dog Israel and win victory in the struggle.

The Arab people are bound to win! U.S. imperialism is bound to be defeated!

United in Struggle the Arab People Will Win Victory

— Vice-Premier Chen Yi on Behalf of Premier Chou En-lai Receives
Diplomatic Envoys and Representative of Arab Countries

Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi on behalf of Premier Chou En-lai received diplomatic envoys of the Arab countries to China and the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization on the evening of May 27 to express firm support to the Arab countries and people in their struggle against U.S. imperialism and its tool for aggression, Israel.

The diplomatic envoys were: Zakaria el-Adly Imam, the U.A.R. Ambassador; Mohamed-Cherif Sahli, Algerian Ambassador; Bachir Sadek, Syrian Ambassador; Munir Rashid, Iraqi Ambassador; Mohamed Abdul Wasse Hameed, Yemeni Ambassador; and Abdelatif Aloui, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Moroccan Embassy. The representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization was Rashid Said Gerbou, head of the Mission of the organization in Peking.

In a cordial and friendly conversation, the diplomatic envoys of the six Arab countries and Mr. Rashid Said Gerbou gave an account of the present situation in the struggle.

Ambassador Zakaria el-Adly Imam, on their behalf, thanked the Chinese Government, the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese leaders and people for their most resolute, powerful and friendly support to the Arab countries in their anti-imperialist struggle.

Ambassador Zakaria el-Adly Imam stated that Israel's aggression against the Arab countries had aroused their resistance. The people of the Arab countries were resolutely opposed to U.S. imperialism and its tool for aggression, Israel. The people of the Arab countries were mobilized and determined to defeat the aggressors, he declared. "The Arab countries firmly believe that their just struggle will definitely have the

most resolute support of the Chinese people. At the same time, they will also have the support of the people throughout the world."

Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi stated that he would convey to the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Government the determination expressed by the diplomatic envoys of the Arab countries and Mr. Rashid Said Gerbou to resist U.S. imperialism and Israel. He also thanked the Arab countries and people for their confidence in China.

He said: "The struggle waged by the Arab countries and people against U.S. and British imperialism and Israel is a life-and-death struggle. There is no compromise."

"The present world situation is excellent. It is entirely favourable to the Arab people in their anti-imperialist struggle. Recently, the Vietnamese people have won great victories, and U.S. imperialism has suffered big defeats. This is a powerful support to the struggle of the Arab countries. The anti-imperialist struggle waged by the Arab countries and people is just. The Arab countries have a total of 100 million people. As long as you unite together, persevere in the struggle, are not deceived by certain hypocrites, and carry on the struggle for a long period of time, you will definitely win victory. The imperialist camp headed by U.S. imperialism is disintegrating. It is very much afraid of your unity and perseverance in the anti-imperialist struggle."

"The Chinese Government and people will support your struggle against U.S. imperialism and its tool for aggression, Israel, until your final victory just as

we supported Egypt in 1956 during the period of the war over the Suez Canal."

"Thanks are unnecessary. Your victory over imperialism is also our victory. It is the Chinese people's internationalist duty to support you."

U.A.R. Ambassador Calls on Vice-Premier Chen Yi

On the afternoon of May 27, Zakaria el-Adly Imam, U.A.R. Ambassador to China, called on Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi and asked him to convey to Chairman Mao Tse-tung, Vice-Chairman Lin Piao, the Chinese Government and the Chinese people the respects of President Nasser, the U.A.R. Government and the U.A.R. and other Arab people. He also thanked China for her support to the U.A.R. and the other Arab countries in their struggle against U.S. imperialism and Zionism.

Ambassador Imam also told Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi of the situation in the Arab countries' struggle against U.S. imperialism and its tool for aggression, Israel.

Peking Rally

Firm Support for Arab People's Struggle Against U.S. Imperialism

THE Arab people have been roused to vigorous resistance by U.S. imperialism and its tool of aggression Israel and their foul subversion and aggression plots against Syria. All Syria, army and people alike, is mobilized and combat-ready. The United Arab Republic has rushed troops to the front, ready to take on the aggressor. It has demanded the withdrawal of the "U.N. Emergency Force" from its territory and the Gaza Strip and announced the closure of the Gulf of Aqaba. The Palestine National Liberation Army has taken up positions at the front to deal the aggressor a crushing blow. In rapid order, the governments and people of other Arab countries have voiced their support in standing by Syria in its struggle against aggression. Unity of the Arab people is being cemented and a firm common stand is being made to confront aggression by U.S. imperialism and its contrivance Israel.

People from all walks of life in Peking held a rally on May 25 in the Great Hall of the People to voice resolute support for the just struggle of the Palestinian and other Arab people against U.S. imperialism and its tool for aggression, Israel.

Premier Chou En-lai, Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien, Kuo Mo-jo, Vice-Chairman of the National People's

Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi thanked Ambassador Imam for his statement and said immediately in reply: "The Chinese people will always remain faithful and reliable comrades-in-arms of the Arab people in their anti-imperialist struggle. The 700 million Chinese people, armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, resolutely stand at the side of the Arab people and firmly support all their just struggles."

"The Arab people's struggle against U.S. imperialism and Zionism constitutes an important part of the world struggle against imperialism. This struggle has dealt a powerful blow at imperialism and colonialism, old and new, and supported the people in all countries of the world in their struggle against imperialism."

"As long as they unite as one and persevere in the struggle, the Arab people will certainly win victory. The present world situation is very favourable to the Arab countries; and it is imperative to persevere in the struggle. At present, it is especially imperative to guard against the Soviet revisionist ruling clique's scheme of sham support and real betrayal."

Congress Standing Committee and Chairman of the China Peace Committee, and Liu Ning-I, Vice-Chairman of the N.P.C. Standing Committee and Vice-Chairman of the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity, attended the meeting. Diplomatic envoys of various Arab countries in China and anti-imperialist fighters from Asian, African and other countries in the capital were also present.

Liu Ning-I presided over the rally, which began with reading aloud the following quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung: "It is the task of the people of the whole world to put an end to the aggression and oppression perpetrated by imperialism, and chiefly by U.S. imperialism." "The oppressed peoples and nations must not pin their hopes for liberation on the 'sensibleness' of imperialism and its lackeys. They will only triumph by strengthening their unity and persevering in their struggle." Liu Ning-I then addressed the meeting. U.S. imperialism, he said, has been severely battered in its aggressive war against Vietnam. By engaging in new war provocations in the Middle East, it would come to no good end either. He condemned the ruling Soviet revisionist clique for actively serving U.S. imperialism on the Palestinian question and selling out the interests of the Palestinian and other Arab people.

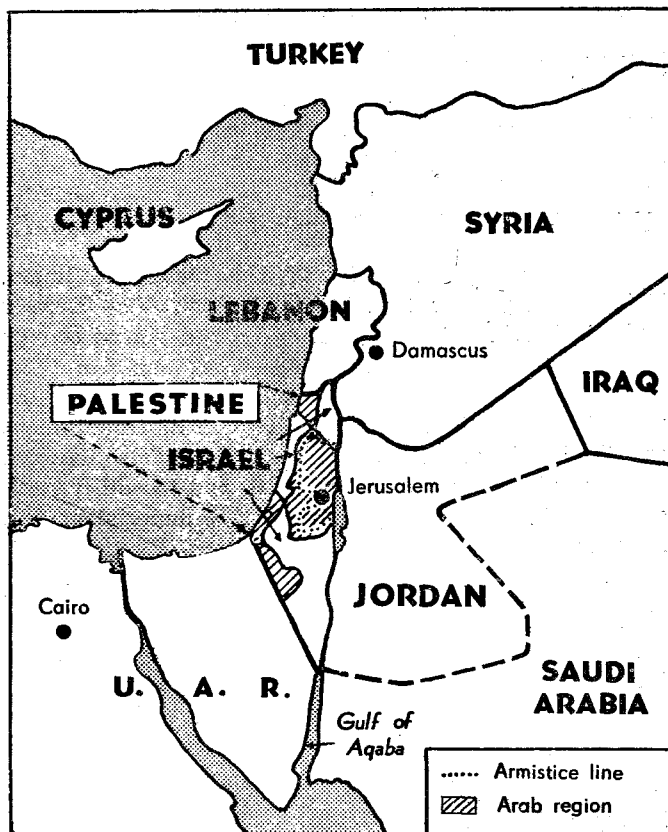
In his speech, Kuo Mo-jo pointed out that U.S. imperialism is the most vicious enemy of the Palestinian and all other Arab people. The Palestinian Arabs have waged an unrelenting struggle against U.S. imperialism and its tool of aggression Israel to liberate their homeland. Through long years of struggle they have come to grasp the truth **"Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun,"** and have correctly put forward their slogan **"A people's war of liberation is the sole means for the liberation of Palestine."** The 700 million Chinese people, he said, stand firmly alongside the Arab people, resolutely support their fight against U.S. imperialist and Israeli aggression and actively support the Palestinian people in their just struggle to return to their homeland.

On May 14 nineteen years ago, U.S. imperialism created "Israel" and used it as a dagger to stab the Arab people in the back. The following day, May 15, Israel launched a massive war of aggression against the Arab countries on its periphery. It occupied over 6,000 square kilometres of land and drove more than one million Palestinian Arabs out of their homeland. Since then the U.S. aggressor has gone further in openly antagonizing the entire Arab people. For 19 years the Palestinian Arabs have persisted in their struggle against U.S. imperialism and its tool of aggression, Israel. The Palestine Liberation Organization and the Palestine Liberation Army were founded after 1964. But the ruling Soviet revisionist clique, No. 1 accomplice of U.S. imperialism, has all along refused to support the Palestinian people's struggle and instead has shielded Israel. As the Palestinian people's struggle moves vigorously forward, Soviet revisionism has made greater efforts to apply its tactics of sham support for and real betrayal of the Arab people.

Today, as the Arab people rise to repulse the rabid provocations by U.S. imperialism and its tool for aggression, Israel, Kuo Mo-jo added, the Soviet revisionist leading clique is again conspiring with the U.S. and British imperialists to put out the raging revolutionary flames of the Arab people's struggle against imperialism. If the Soviet revisionists are bent on playing the lackey to U.S. imperialism, they are only courting severe punishment by the Arab people.

Rashid Said Gerbou, Head of the Mission of the Palestine Liberation Organization in Peking, followed Kuo Mo-jo to the dais. He said: "Today, the Palestinian and all other Arab people are more convinced than ever that self-reliance forms the basis of their struggle and that a people's war of liberation is the sole means for the liberation of their motherland."

The ferocious nature of colonialism, Zionism and reaction will never change, he said. The only way to destroy them is through the violence of revolutionary armed struggle, by relying on the political awareness of the Palestinian and other Arab people and by organizing them to carry to the end the people's libera-



tion war against the imperialist forces and their tool, Israel.

Gerbou also said that the Palestinian people regarded the Government of People's China, the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people as loyal friends in their struggle to liberate their motherland. China's great proletarian cultural revolution initiated and led by the great supreme commander Chairman Mao Tse-tung, he said, would certainly bring magnificent achievements in China's socialist construction, and would thus give even more powerful support to the oppressed peoples of the world in their struggle for freedom and independence.

Yemeni Ambassador Mohamed Abdul Wasse Hameed, who spoke on behalf of the diplomatic envoys of Arab countries in China, said in his speech that "this rally in Peking is splendid evidence of the existing relationship and mutual co-operation among all anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggles. It also bears witness to the isolation of Zionism from the revolutionary people of the world." He also stated that the Palestine Liberation Organization had chosen the principle of armed struggle as a decisive step for the liberation of Palestine and the recovery of the lost homeland, which had ushered in a new phase for the struggle of the people of Palestine.

Ambassador Hameed thanked the Chinese Government, the Chinese Communist Party and people for their support to the Palestinian and other Arab people in their anti-imperialist struggle.

The rally greeted with cheers and applause the adoption of a message of solidarity to the Palestinian and other Arab people.

The Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity and eight other mass Chinese organizations in a joint statement on May 28 condemned U.S. imperialism and its tool of aggression Israel for their provocations against the Arab countries and expressed their firm

belief that the heroic Arab people will crown their struggle with victory.

As *Renmin Ribao's* Commentator (May 25) put it, "The struggle of the Arab people has the support of all revolutionary people in the world. If U.S. imperialism dares to let Israel loose in an armed invasion of Syria or other Arab countries, both U.S. imperialism and Israel are certain to end in shameful defeat under the hammer blows of the Arab people.

(Continued from p. 27.)

dictatorship of the proletariat and the great cause of socialism. In order to accomplish this glorious and arduous task and to justify the trust of the Party and the people, we must seriously study Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art* and his recently published five brilliant, historic documents on literature and art; we must seriously study the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee's May 16, 1966 Circular drawn up under the personal guidance of Chairman Mao and the "Forum Summary" personally examined and revised by Chairman Mao, and arm our minds with Chairman Mao's teachings on classes and class struggle during the period of socialism and his theory of how to make revolution and prevent a capitalist restoration under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

We must continue to bear in mind Chairman Mao's instruction—never forget the class struggle. We must not forget that in socialist society there still exists sharp and complex class struggle, as well as a danger of capitalist restoration. The bourgeoisie invariably tries to conquer the minds of the people by means of "peaceful evolution," and by the use of such sugar-coated bullets as "literature and art." If the proletariat does not occupy the positions in literature and art, the bourgeoisie certainly will. Literature and art is the foremost position which must be taken in the battle between the bourgeoisie's attempt at a capitalist restoration and the proletariat's struggle against it.

We must continue to bear in mind Chairman Mao's instruction that the basic question of revolution is that of political power. The focal point of class struggle under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat remains the question of political power, that is, the proletariat wants to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, while the bourgeoisie wants to overthrow it. Those in authority taking the capitalist road who have sneaked into the institutions of the dictatorship of the proletariat are the most dangerous enemies. When seeking to usurp the leadership of the Party, the army and government, they, first of all, invariably have to prepare public opinion. In order to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and utterly smash the enemy's counter-revolutionary preparation of public opinion, we must attach great im-

portance to the class struggle on the literary and art front, thoroughly expose and repudiate their sinister counter-revolutionary revisionist line on literature and art, together with its chief backer, and seize back the leadership they have usurped.

We must continue to bear in mind Chairman Mao's instruction that the question of who will win in the revolution will be settled only after a very long historical period. One must not think that everything will be all right after one or two great cultural revolutions, or even after three or four. This is true too for the class struggle on the literary and art front. Just as the "Forum Summary" points out, "after we are rid of this black line, still others will appear and the struggle must go on. Therefore, this is an arduous, complex and long-term struggle which will take decades, or even centuries."

We must continue to bear in mind Chairman Mao's instruction that "the Chinese Red Army is an armed body for carrying out the political tasks of the revolution." The People's Liberation Army is the pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat. We must not only use the gun to defend the proletarian dictatorship and to oppose a capitalist restoration; we must also pick up the pen to carry out class struggle in the ideological field so as to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent the spread of revisionism. We should be brave fighters daring to attack enemies boldly on the battlefield amid roaring gunfire and flying bullets, and be a staunch and courageous shock force in the class struggle in the ideological sphere. We will charge wherever our great supreme commander Chairman Mao points the way. When the revolutionary fighters, armed with the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung and equipped with both guns and pens, closely unite with the proletarian revolutionaries and broad revolutionary masses, then they will be able to thoroughly smash any plot of the class enemy for a counter-revolutionary restoration.

We must always hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, and fight to the end to safeguard Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and consolidate proletarian power.

("Jiefangjun Bao" [*Liberation Army Daily*] editorial, May 29, 1967.)

Arab People, Unite and Persist in Struggle to Win Victory

THE aggressive schemes and war threats carried out by U.S. imperialism against the Arab countries by means of Israel are being bravely resisted by the Arab people. The Arab countries have taken resolute action in self-defence and to rebuff the aggressors. The entire Arab region is seething with a new angry tide against the U.S. imperialists. A stirring and excellent situation prevails in the region.

The struggle between U.S.-led imperialism and the Arab people is a battle between aggression and anti-aggression, oppression and anti-oppression. U.S. imperialism has long been unscrupulously pursuing a neo-colonialist policy in the region, violating the independence and sovereignty of the Arab countries and plundering the Arab people and their natural resources. It has been the root cause of all the troubles in the Arab region.

By creating an Israel, U.S. imperialism has thrust a knife in the heart of the Arab region. The so-called "U.N. Emergency Force" U.S. imperialism caused to be sent to Gaza is in fact a police force for suppressing the Arab national-liberation movement. The United States has carried out incessant armed intervention, subversion and sabotage against the Arab countries. Its Sixth Fleet arrogantly prowls the Mediterranean, posing the constant threat of war to the Arab countries. U.S. imperialism is therefore the mortal enemy of the 100 million Arab people.

The contradiction between the Arab people and U.S. imperialism is one between life and death; it is irreconcilable. The so-called "Tashkent spirit" is pure deceit. How can there be conciliation and peaceful coexistence between the aggressor and the victim, the oppressor and the oppressed? It is inevitable that the contradiction between the Arab people and U.S. imperialism should come to a head. The Arab people must and certainly can thoroughly defeat colonialism and neo-colonialism headed by the United States.

At present, U.S. imperialism and its accomplices and pawns have been thrown into confusion. They are doing their utmost to suppress the Arab people's just struggle against imperialism and stabilize the position of colonialism and neo-colonialism. But their performance doesn't amount to much. It is the same old trick the imperialists have always played: one is the gunboat policy of armed intimidation; the other is the policy of political pressure through deals between the "big powers."

In his statement of May 23, Lyndon Johnson openly called for the redispach of the "U.N. Emergency Force" to Gaza and attacked the United Arab Republic, stating that the U.A.R.'s action of self-defence in closing the Gulf of Aqaba was an "illegal" act. The U.S. Ambassador to the U.A.R. even flagrantly declared that the United States "will use force if necessary to keep the Gulf of Aqaba open." This is an undisguised threat of war. The Johnson government has brazenly put forward five unreasonable "demands" to the U.A.R., and a "diplomatic offensive" has been launched following numerous exchanges among the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain and France. U.N. Secretary-General U Thant has travelled on errands everywhere with the aim of interfering in the Middle East situation. All this is the "power politics" of the imperialists, the aim of which is to force the Arab countries into submission by bringing several "big powers" together into an alliance.

The Soviet revisionist ruling clique has once again played the role of chief accomplice in U.S. imperialism's activities to intimidate the Arab countries by force and exert political pressure on them. In a statement released on May 23 on the Middle East situation, the Soviet revisionist clique did not utter a single word about the U.S. imperialist aggression in the Arab region. On the other hand, for its own ulterior purposes, it raised a hue and cry about the "violation" of the peace and security of the region, the "concern" this has brought to people, and so on. This was followed by the sudden appearance in Moscow of British Foreign Secretary George Brown for talks with Kosygin and Gromyko. According to what Brown admitted in Moscow, they have discussed the question of "a continuing United Nations presence in the Middle East" and "freedom of navigation in the Gulf of Aqaba." Brown stated with glee that the main theme of their discussion was "how we can stop a conflagration blowing up." It is clear that the talks between Brown and the Soviet revisionist chieftains were carried on within the framework set by Johnson. The so-called U.S.-Soviet "united action" is designed to force the Arab people to surrender to U.S. imperialism and its lackey. This is another instance of the Soviet revisionist ruling clique's big betrayal and sell-out of the Arab people's cause of opposing imperialism.

British imperialism is working hand in glove with U.S. imperialism in the Middle East. Britain is engaged in both colonialist and neo-colonialist undertakings

in the region. Clinging fast to the U.S. imperialists as a support and serving as their cat's-paw, the British imperialists are trying to preserve their colonialist interests with U.S. backing and clamouring with the United States for "using force" against the Arab countries. Obviously, British imperialism which is in its dotage has clean forgotten the lessons of Suez in 1956.

U.S. imperialism, British imperialism and Soviet revisionism — all seem big in appearance. Hands linked in opposition to the Arab people, they seem to be "awesome." But be they imperialists or revisionists, they are all decadent forces with one foot in the grave; they are all paper tigers.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of the Chinese people, teaches us: "Bigness is nothing to be afraid of. Is not U.S. imperialism very big? We gave it a rebuff and that was that. So there are some big things in the world that are really not to be feared."

Does U.S. imperialism want to use force? Then it's necessary to take up positions and prepare to meet it. Does U.S. imperialism want to exert pressure? Then it's necessary to resist it with resolution. Does U.S. imperialism want to peddle deception through Soviet revisionism and interfere through the U.N.? Then it's necessary to maintain a cool head, refuse to be taken in and to expose its schemes. So long as people dare to carry out and persist in a tit-for-tat struggle in this way, U.S. imperialism, British imperialism, Soviet re-

visionism and the U.S. imperialist tool, the United Nations, will be defeated, will become bankrupt and will collapse in face of the people's might.

In the world today, the East wind prevails over the West wind. The time is long past when imperialism could ride roughshod everywhere with its boats and guns. Long past too is the time when the principal figures of a few "big powers," sitting over cups of coffee, could impose on the oppressed nations the result of their deals. The situation throughout the world at present is very favourable for the Arab people. The 14 million south Vietnamese people have dealt stunning blows at U.S. imperialism. The great victories of the Vietnamese people's war to resist U.S. aggression and save their country serves as a powerful support for the Arab people's struggle against U.S. imperialism and, in its turn, the anti-U.S. imperialist struggle of the Arab people constitutes a powerful support for the revolutionary cause of the peoples of the world against imperialism. The farther U.S. imperialism stretches its tentacles, the more scattered will be its forces and the better placed will be the people of the world to rise in attack.

So long as the 100 million Arab people unite and persist in struggle, they will certainly win final victory in the struggle against U.S. imperialism and its tool, Israel!

("Renmin Ribao" editorial, May 29.)

Chinese Foreign Ministry Statement

Strongest Protest Against Mongolian Revisionist Clique's Anti-Chinese Atrocity

(May 27, 1967)

Chinese Vice-Foreign Minister Han Nien-lung on the afternoon of May 27 summoned G. Bagaa, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Mongolian Embassy in Peking, and handed him a statement of the Chinese Foreign Ministry. The statement lodged the strongest protest with the revisionist leading clique of Mongolia against the fascist atrocity of beating up and detaining Chinese diplomatic personnel and Hsinhua News Agency personnel and the brutal persecution of Chinese

nationals, which it committed in violation of the principles guiding international relations and which deteriorates relations between China and Mongolia. Following is the full text of the statement. — Ed.

On May 21, 1967, at 3:30 in the afternoon, the Mongolian Government engineered a barbarous anti-Chinese incident involving bloodshed at the Ulan Bator Railway Station. Personally directed on the spot by Erenchenhorlo, Vice-Director of the Mongolian State

Police, large numbers of armed policemen and plain-clothesmen closed in on and barbarously assaulted the Chinese personnel who had gone to the station to see off three Chinese teachers unwarrantedly deported by the Mongolian side. Many of the Chinese present were injured, and more than twenty Chinese nationals were arrested after being brutally beaten.

What is even more serious is that the Mongolian Government connived at the beating and forcible detention by its police and secret agents of the personnel from the Chinese Embassy and the Hsinhua News Agency who were on the scene, that is, two Third Secretaries, two Attaches and two staff members — one from the Embassy and one from the Hsinhua News Agency. The camera of the staff member of the Hsinhua News Agency was also seized by the Mongolian side.

When the incident took place, L. Toiv, Mongolian First Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, was at the station giving directions from behind the scenes. But he avoided meeting the Charge d'Affaires a.i. of the Chinese Embassy in Mongolia who, on hearing the news, hurried to the scene to make representations to him.

The sanguinary anti-Chinese incident at the Ulan Bator Railway Station was planned and organized by the Mongolian Government. It constitutes a grave violation of the personal security of Chinese diplomatic personnel, an act of brutal persecution against Chinese nationals and a most serious incident of political provocation on the part of the Mongolian revisionist leading clique in tailing after Soviet revisionism to frantically oppose China. The Chinese people and Government express their utmost indignation at this fascist atrocity by the Mongolian Government and hereby lodge the strongest protest with it.

The revisionist leading clique of Mongolia has all along been following Soviet revisionism in frenziedly opposing China. Particularly in the past year, as the great proletarian cultural revolution in China has dealt heavy blows at imperialism, revisionism and all reaction and given tremendous inspiration to all revolutionary people, the Mongolian revisionist leading clique has come to mortally dread and bitterly hate the great thought of Mao Tse-tung more than ever. It has set all its propaganda machines in motion and fabricated a multitude of wilful distortions and frantic slanders against China's great cultural revolution. Time and again it has instigated hooligans to smash the display cases of the Chinese Embassy, created all sorts of trouble for and in every way obstructed the Chinese Embassy in the performance of its normal function of distributing news bulletins and information material according to established practice, unilaterally torn up the

agreement on the reciprocal exemption of visas between the two countries and unreasonably restricted the re-entry into Mongolia of Chinese personnel working on aid projects. It is worsening the relations between the two countries in a planned and systematic way, vainly attempting to weaken the tremendous impact of the great thought of Mao Tse-tung and China's great proletarian cultural revolution among the Mongolian people and to undermine the traditional friendship between the Chinese and Mongolian peoples.

The Mongolian revisionist leading clique unwarrantedly deported the three Chinese teachers precisely because they had enthusiastically propagated the infinitely brilliant thought of Mao Tse-tung among Chinese children and the broad masses of the patriotic Chinese nationals in Mongolia. By employing large numbers of policemen and secret agents to savagely beat and illegally detain or arrest Chinese diplomatic personnel and Chinese nationals, the Mongolian revisionist leading clique has fully revealed its own ugly features as a willing stooge of Soviet revisionism in opposing China, deliberately aggravating the relations between China and Mongolia still further.

We sternly warn the Mongolian revisionist leading clique: The Chinese people armed with the thought of Mao Tse-tung are not to be trifled with. Like one "lifting a rock only to drop it on one's own feet," all those who oppose China will definitely come to no good end.

The Chinese Government solemnly demands that the Mongolian Government:

1. Publicly admit its mistakes for its crimes of beating and detaining Chinese diplomatic personnel and savagely persecuting Chinese nationals in violation of the principles guiding international relations;
2. Immediately set free all Chinese who have been unwarrantedly arrested, guarantee against any violation of the diplomatic privileges due Chinese diplomatic personnel, guarantee against any encroachment upon the proper rights and interests of Chinese nationals residing in Mongolia and ensure their personal safety, and guarantee against the occurrence of similar incidents in the future;
3. Severely punish the culprits and those who directed them, and compensate the Chinese side for all its losses.

Should the Mongolian revisionist leading clique continue in its perverse course by tailing after Soviet revisionism, the Mongolian Government must be held responsible for all the grave consequences arising therefrom.

Resolutely Beat Back Provocations by the Mongolian Revisionist Authorities

ON May 23, amidst the shouting of the slogans "Down with Mongolian revisionists, lackeys of Soviet revisionists!" and "Long live the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung!" from more than 1,000 revolutionary people, three Chinese anti-revisionist fighters who were unwarrantedly expelled by the Mongolian revisionist authorities, stepped down from the train and returned to Peking, capital city of their motherland, to the side of our most beloved and respected great leader Chairman Mao. They were Wang Chih-yun, Chen Lu and Tso Kuei-yi who taught at a primary school for Chinese nationals in Ulan Bator.

Last March, when the International Union of Students held its 9th conference in Ulan Bator, foreign delegations came every day to take snapshots in front of the portraits of Chairman Mao on display at the news window of the Chinese Nationals' Association. They also asked the Chinese teachers and students there for Chairman Mao badges and badges bearing quotations from Chairman Mao, talked with them and together sang the *Internationale*. Seeing these just and revolutionary actions, the Mongolian revisionists were on tenterhooks. Without any prior notice, they unilaterally closed the public entrance to the compound where both the Chinese Nationals' Association and its primary school and also the Mongolian newspaper *Medee Soni* were housed. The students thus could not enter the compound to attend school. In these circumstances, they knocked at the door. Distorting the facts, the Mongolian revisionist authorities asserted that the three teachers had "led students to kick and bang on the door of the office of the paper *Medee Soni*" and "violated Mongolian law." They were unreasonably ordered to leave the country at a specified date. The Mongolian authorities at the same time also unreasonably demanded of the Chinese Embassy that there must be no gathering to see the three teachers off. This was rejected point-blank by the Chinese Charge d'Affaires *a.i.*

On May 21, diplomatic personnel and staff members of the Chinese Embassy and Chinese nationals, more than 200 people all told, went to the railway station for a send-off, reading aloud together quotations from Chairman Mao. Then a hundred or so police and plainclothes secret agents charged into the crowd, striking violent blows at them, and unwarrantedly arrested more than 20 Chinese nationals, including seven pupils. Quite a few Mongolian people who happened to be there showed their sympathy with the Chinese

and came forward to protect them from the assault; one of them was arrested by the police on this account.

The Chinese teachers, pupils and diplomatic personnel displayed extraordinary courage in the face of this fascist violence. All along they persevered in reasoning with the Mongolian revisionists, holding high the revolutionary treasure book *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* and shouting "Long live Chairman Mao!" Those teachers and students detained at the landing in front of the office on the second floor of the railway station building showed equal fearlessness. Some had blood dripping from their mouths and others were robbed of their copies of *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*. Yet, with indomitable courage they recited aloud again and again: "Be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory."

Renmin Ribao (May 27) published an article by Commentator which pointed out that the Mongolian revisionists have all along been opposed to China and in this year alone their press has published several hundred articles attacking China. *Renmin Ribao* said:

"The ruling Mongolian revisionist group has carried out these anti-China atrocities under the baton of the Soviet revisionists. It has not only faithfully followed the revisionist line of the Soviet revisionist ruling clique but also taken pains to parrot what it says and behave as it behaves. The Soviet revisionists smashed the news window of the Chinese Embassy, so did the Mongolian revisionists. The Soviet revisionists persecuted Chinese students, the Mongolian revisionists likewise persecuted Chinese teachers and students. The Soviet revisionists beat up Chinese diplomatic personnel, the Mongolian revisionists followed suit by beating up and detaining Chinese diplomatic personnel. The fact that the Mongolian revisionist clique has been following so closely in the footsteps of the Soviet revisionists shows that the former is a mere clown in the big and ugly anti-China farce directed by the Soviet revisionists.

"In a country like the Soviet Union, the modern revisionist clique, having usurped state power, is at home bound to restore capitalism and exercise the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and, externally, follow a colonialist policy of plundering and enslaving other nations, reducing them to its satellites or colonies. On the other hand, in a country like Mongolia where the Tsedenbal clique who are in power and have betrayed the proletariat, they are bound to become national traitors and the policies they pursue are bound to push Mongolia on to the road of becoming a colony."

Renmin Ribao warned the Mongolian revisionist clique that they will inevitably be severely punished by the Mongolian people for their misdeeds.

Mongolian Revisionists Denounced at Peking Rally

On May 26, 15,000 revolutionary people in Peking held a rally to angrily denounce the fascist anti-China outrages of the Mongolian revisionist authorities while at the same time according a rousing welcome home to Wang Chih-yun and his two colleagues. The rally expressed the Chinese people's firm support for the just struggle against Mongolian revisionist persecution waged by Chinese personnel stationed in Mongolia and the masses of patriotic Chinese nationals there and pledged to serve as their powerful backing. Those who attended the rally recited together the following teaching of Chairman Mao: "The socialist system will eventually replace the capitalist system; this is an objective law independent of man's will. However much the reactionaries try to hold back the wheel of history, sooner or later revolution will take place and will inevitably triumph."

Wu Teh, Vice-Chairman of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee, addressing the rally, noted that the Mongolian revisionist ruling clique has gone very far along its anti-China blind alley. He observed that the handful of revisionist chiefs in Mongolia who are engaged in rabid anti-China activities are just one band of buffoons in the imperialist, revisionist and reac-

tionaries' anti-China chorus in the present-day world. Today, the whole world is entering an entirely new, historical epoch in which the great banner is Mao Tse-tung's thought. The imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries, no matter how they may struggle on their death-bed, will inevitably be completely buried by the revolutionary people of the world. A new brightly red world basking under the sunshine of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, is sure to come and stay, Wu Teh declared.

Wang Chih-yun, having angrily condemned the unwarranted persecution of the Chinese nationals by the Mongolian revisionists, told the rally that, although the handful of revisionist chiefs in Mongolia were trying hard to restore capitalism and impose fascist rule on the people, the broad masses of Mongolian people want revolution and love the Chinese people dearly. Like the revolutionary people elsewhere in the world, they look to Peking and to Chairman Mao, the great leader of the revolutionary people of the whole world. Wang Chih-yun said that they often met large numbers of Mongolian working people, intellectuals and pupils who sang to them *The East Is Red, Sailing the Seas Depends on the Helmsman* in Mongolian, or raised their hands and shouted in Chinese "Long live Chairman Mao, long, long life to him!" Wang Chih-yun and his colleagues were told: "Come back to us, when we've toppled them."

The rally over, revolutionary masses flocked to the front of the Mongolian Embassy in China and held demonstrations there.

British Imperialists Are Playing With Fire

by "RENMIN RIBAO" COMMENTATOR

FOR several days running, the British authorities in Hongkong have been calling out a large number of policemen and special agents and recklessly carrying out bloody suppression and persecution of patriotic Chinese compatriots in Hongkong. Moreover, many patriotic Chinese in Hongkong and Kowloon have been illegally arrested, secretly tried, severely beaten and unwarrantedly sentenced to imprisonment. Hongkong has become a land of terror.

The bloody "May 22nd" incident, like those of "May 6th" and "May 11th," was carefully planned and deliberately created by the British imperialists. On May 17, disregarding the stern protest lodged by the Chinese Foreign Ministry, the Commonwealth Relations Office in Britain issued a statement openly supporting the British authorities in Hongkong in their bloody suppression of Chinese compatriots and encouraging them in their reckless course. On the 19th, at a meeting with the

Chinese Charge d'Affaires ad interim in Britain, the British Foreign Secretary, George Brown, blatantly let out a torrent of abuse and viciously slandered the just action of the Chinese people in voicing support for their patriotic countrymen in Hongkong and Kowloon. Moreover, on May 21, the British Government sent high-ranking officials to Hongkong to hatch further criminal plots to suppress Chinese workers and residents. The bloody and grave "May 22nd" incident was created against such a background. The British Government and the British authorities in Hongkong will never succeed in denying this.

The sanguinary persecution of Chinese residents by the Hongkong British authorities is an out-and-out fascist outrage. However, the British imperialists have stubbornly refused to admit their crimes. As soon as he heard the words "fascist outrage," British Foreign Secretary Brown, touched to the quick, gave vent to

a hysterical outburst. We ask Brown: What are you making such a fuss about? You turned out thousands of police and "riot police" and used helicopters and tear-gas bombs to suppress completely unarmed Chinese residents. What is this if not a fascist outrage? On the main thoroughfares and in the sidestreets, you severely beat up and arrested Chinese workers, students, journalists and even ten-year-olds. What is this if not a fascist outrage? You sent a large number of plain-clothesmen and special agents, illegally kidnapped patriotic Chinese compatriots, tried them secretly and savagely beat them up. What is all this if not an out-and-out fascist outrage?

Furthermore, Brown had the cheek to lodge a "protest" with the Chinese people against their just action of condemning the fascist atrocities of the British authorities in Hongkong. Shut up! Instead of hanging your head and admitting your guilt after killing, arresting, illegally trying and cruelly persecuting Chinese compatriots in Hongkong, you British imperialists made counter-charges. You have really over-reached yourselves! Today, in the 1960s, are you still dreaming of your good old days of the Opium War?

It must be pointed out in all seriousness that the British Government is now playing with fire in Hongkong. After our Foreign Ministry issued a statement of protest on May 15 against the persecution of our patriotic compatriots by the British authorities in Hongkong, the British Government, far from accepting our Government's serious and just demands, has deliberately aggravated the situation and gone still further in directing the British authorities there to intensify their suppression and persecution of our patriotic countrymen. This shows that the British Government is a diehard and is stubbornly hostile to our 4 million compatriots in Hongkong and the 700 million Chinese people.

Blood debts must be repaid. Is the debt, accumulated over more than a century, British imperialism owes the Chinese people a small one? The Chinese people have engraved in their minds all the old and new hatred. The day will come when British imperialism is called on to repay its debt in full.

The Chinese people have struggled against British imperialism for over a century, and long ago became well acquainted with this decadent imperialist power's

paper-tiger nature of bullying the weak and fearing the strong, having a fierce countenance but a faint heart.

Our compatriots in Hongkong and Kowloon possess a glorious rich tradition of revolutionary struggle. The great general strike of 1925 in Hongkong shook British imperialism which was quite arrogant at the time. Today, under the leadership of our great leader Chairman Mao and the Chinese Communist Party, we Chinese people have stood up like a giant. Under the guidance of the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, our compatriots in Hongkong and Kowloon are carrying on a tremendous struggle against persecution, in the face of the British authorities' barbarous fascist atrocities. They are writing a brilliant new chapter in the epic of the Chinese nation's struggle against imperialism.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "It is impossible to persuade the imperialists and the Chinese reactionaries to show kindness of heart and turn from their evil ways. The only course is to organize forces and struggle against them." The absurd diehard attitude of British imperialism once again is proof of this truth. Now, our compatriots in Hongkong have raised their political consciousness as never before. They have further organized themselves and have formed "The Committee of Hongkong-Kowloon Compatriots of All Circles to Fight Against Persecution by the British Authorities in Hongkong." Our heroic patriotic countrymen there have solemnly declared their determination to struggle against British imperialism to the end, and they will never cease until they win. Under the guidance of the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, their just struggle will certainly be victorious.

The patriotic Chinese in Hongkong are our close kinsmen. The Chinese people absolutely cannot tolerate the British imperialists' wanton suppression and persecution of them. We Chinese people — all 700 million of us — who are victoriously carrying on the great proletarian cultural revolution stand powerfully behind our patriotic Hongkong brothers. We sternly warn the British imperialists: You must unconditionally accept the five-point demand put forward by our Foreign Ministry and the four-point demand raised by our compatriots of all circles in Hongkong and Kowloon. If you persist in your hostility towards the Chinese people you will come to no good end!

("Renmin Ribao," May 25, slightly abridged.)

"Gunboat Policy" Was Thrown Into the Rubbish Heap Long Ago

by "RENMIN RIBAO" COMMENTATOR

JUST as our patriotic compatriots in Hongkong and Kowloon were valiantly unfolding their struggle against persecution, the British imperialist aircraft carrier *Bulwark* suddenly appeared in the seas off Hongkong on May 26. In these last few days, six British war-

ships have sailed to Hongkong. These are shameless threats and intimidations made by British imperialism against our patriotic compatriots in Hongkong and Kowloon in a vain attempt to repeat the old 19th-century imperialist trick of "gunboat policy."

On the same day, British governor of Hongkong, David Trench, who is the chief culprit in the sanguinary suppression of our patriotic compatriots, clamoured that the British authorities in Hongkong had "the fullest support of the British Government in maintaining peace and order." That is to say, backed by the British Government's "gunboat policy," the British authorities in Hongkong are in a position to do even greater evil and suppress our compatriots there in a still more unrestrained way. Look, this decayed British imperialism is trying a bluff before the great Chinese people — how extremely silly and ridiculous it is!

To speak to British imperialism frankly, these few wretched warships of yours are simply nothing in the eyes of our valiant compatriots in Hongkong, nothing in the eyes of the great Chinese people. U.S. imperialism is a paper tiger, British imperialism is another without exception. Is it not clear to people how much you are capable of? U.S. imperialism has been badly mauled and is in trouble in Vietnam; now you who are the aged imperialism which is rotten to the core and owes its survival exclusively to U.S. imperialism, even want to provoke our 700 million people. Isn't this like hurling an egg at a rock, trying to do something quite beyond your power?

"Gunboat policy" was a product born of the old days when imperialism and colonialism were rampant. In the 20th century, especially in the years following World War II, history has entered the great new era of world revolution, in which the wind and thunder of people's revolution are roaring, in which imperialism is sinking fast, like the sun setting beyond the western hills. And "gunboat policy" was long ago thrown into the dustbin of history. Now British imperialism again picks up this trash. Trying thus to boost its courage, it is simply courting disaster for itself and it will come to a miserable end.

Imperialism invariably makes a wrong estimate of the situation. Proceeding from their reactionary stand, they can never understand the great strength of the revolutionary people. Just as our great leader Chairman Mao has pointed out: "We have ourselves seen many counter-revolutionaries: the government of the Ching court, the Northern warlords, Japanese militarism, Mussolini, Hitler, Chiang Kai-shek, falling down one by one; they made mistakes both in their thinking and action, mistakes which it was impossible for them not to make. Every imperialism of today too will certainly make such mistakes."

Such is the case with British imperialism.

Eighteen years ago, when the Chinese people's revolution was about to win nationwide victory, didn't British imperialism wrongly estimate the situation,

send its warships into the Yangtse and make provocations against the Chinese people? The upshot was that the Chinese people dealt it resolute blows and it ran away like a pilferer.

Eleven years ago, British imperialism again wrongly estimated the situation and tried the "gunboat policy" in the Middle East by launching the Suez Canal war of aggression, with the result that it suffered hard blows from the Egyptian people and got itself badly battered. The then British Prime Minister Anthony Eden had to quit office on this account.

Today, British imperialism, having learnt nothing from these historical lessons, is again wrongly estimating the situation. It is wishful thinking for British imperialism to hope that it can perhaps make some gains on the Hongkong question, taking advantage of the fact that the Chinese people are giving their full attention to the great cultural revolution. It expects it can stay the tremendous impact of China's great proletarian cultural revolution and the wide dissemination of the great thought of Mao Tse-tung by brandishing police truncheons and butchers' knives in Hongkong and by anchoring several warships in the waters off Hongkong.

This is daydreaming pure and simple. In 1949, the Chinese people rose like a giant. Now, after 17 years of socialist revolution and socialist construction, especially after this great proletarian cultural revolution which has no precedent in history, the Chinese people have grown stronger, a hundredfold stronger. And, in these circumstances, there still are fellows on earth who itch to taste the might of the Chinese people. Naturally, the Chinese people will certainly not be sparing of their strength.

We want to warn British imperialism once again: Our patriotic compatriots in Hongkong and Kowloon, guided by Mao Tse-tung's thought, must completely settle accounts for the heinous crimes you have committed in Hongkong; the Chinese people, who are armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought and who have gained tremendous victories in the great proletarian cultural revolution, must give you the punishment you deserve! Let the imperialist "gunboat policy" go to hell! If British imperialism insists on going its own way, it will reap what it sows!

(*"Renmin Ribao," May 29.*)

CORRECTION: The name of the school which stopped classes in protest against the British atrocities, (see p. 53 in our last issue) should be Pui Kiu, instead of Peihua.

Peking Workers, Peasants, Soldiers Give Street Shows

Peking's workers, peasants and soldiers celebrated the 25th anniversary of the publication of Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* with ten days of street performances. They were joined by students and professional artists. Over a hundred Mao Tse-tung's thought propaganda teams formed by revolutionary literary and art workers took to the streets to present the Peking masses with revolutionary songs and dances, recitations and ballads, skits and plays which they had composed during the past twelve months.

In these performances, they saluted their great leader Chairman Mao and paid tribute to the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung. They described the splendid victories of China's socialist revolution and the big-leap progress on all fronts of socialist construction. They extolled the heroes among the workers, peasants and soldiers. At the same time, they hit hard at the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and at the sinister revisionist line on literature and art.

The masses everywhere were delighted with these shows. The crowds applauded, cheered and joined with performers in tumultuous shouts of "Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!"

Twenty-five years ago, Chairman Mao foresaw the new era when workers, peasants and soldiers would be masters of literature and art. As he said in the *Talks*: "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." Today this brilliant prediction is being realized in China.

Chairman Mao also teaches us that Party work in literature and art "are part of the entire revolutionary cause," that it "is subordinated to the revolutionary tasks set by the Party in a given revolutionary period." Today, these thousands of revolutionary performances in the streets show that guided by Chairman Mao's thinking on literature and art, revolutionary literary and art workers are singing of the new development and victories in the various stages of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

On Tien An Men Square, fighters of P.L.A. units in Peking sang with actions *Serve the People, In Memory of Norman Bethune and The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains*. Through the noble images of Chang Szu-teh, Norman Bethune and the Foolish Old Man, a mobile literary and art team composed of "five-good" soldiers,* gave the large crowd a deeply inspiring review of Chairman Mao's three brilliant, constantly read articles.

One of the many numbers put on by the scores of teams organized by revolutionary workers in the fields of industry and transport, finance and trade was "A Great Historic Document" which acclaimed the May 16, 1966, Circular of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, drawn up under the personal guidance of Chairman Mao, and saluted Chairman Mao himself, who has developed Marxism-Leninism to a new stage — Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Revolutionary peasants and members of the people's militia from Peking's rural communes took part in the commemorative performances. Expressing the poor and lower-middle peasants' boundless love for their great leader, their programmes hailed

Chairman Mao and his revolutionary line on literature and art.

The shows by the Red Guards of Peking's universities and colleges presented the heroic struggles of the Red Guards — shock troops of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Proletarian revolutionaries among the professional artists brought to the streets an art with completely new features. For many years, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists in the literary and art circles supported by him, had tried to shut the writers and artists away in an ivory tower cut off from the workers, peasants and soldiers, from the struggles in society. But during the great cultural revolution, they have raised their voices together with the young revolutionary fighters on the political stage and performed with them on the theatrical stage to usher in all that is new. Through their performances, they have exposed to the daylight the ugly features of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. Revolutionaries of the Dongfang Song and Dance Ensemble put on the dance-drama *The World's People Love Chairman Mao* which depicts that boundless esteem and veneration which the people in Asia, Africa and Latin America and in the socialist countries cherish for Chairman Mao and which is expressed in their anti-imperialist and anti-revisionist struggles.

Following their Peking street performances, these teams will go out to the factories, villages and P.L.A. establishments.

Similar series of street performances have been organized for their cities by art propaganda teams of the worker, peasant and soldier masses and revolutionary professional artists of Shanghai, Harbin, Tsinan and other urban centres.

* "Five-good" fighters are fighters who excel in political and ideological work, in the "three-eight" working style, in military technique, in fulfilling combat missions, and in keeping fit.

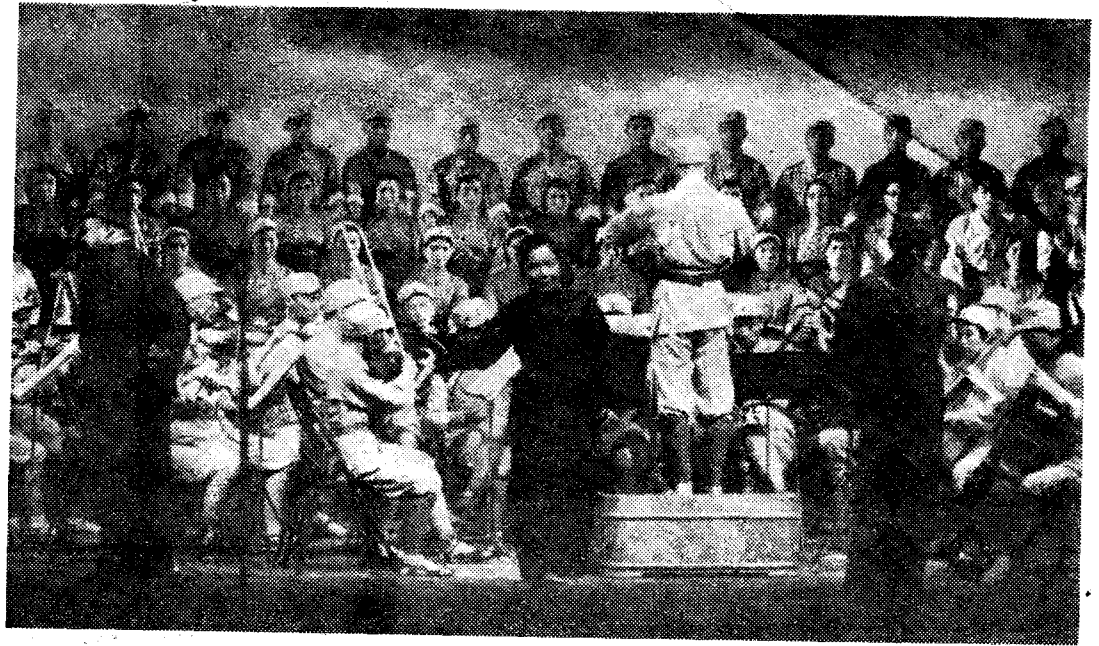
REVOLUTIONARY THEATRE FESTIVAL IN PEKING

During the celebrations for the 25th anniversary of Chairman Mao's Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art, Mao Tse-tung's thought shone brightly on the Peking stage with the presentation of the Peking operas on revolutionary contemporary themes *Taking the Bandits' Stronghold*, *On the Docks*, *The Red Lantern*, *Shachiapang*, *Raid on the White Tiger Regiment*, the ballets *the Red Detachment of Women* and *The White-Haired Girl*, and the symphonic work *Shachiapang*. Created when the class struggle between the two roads in literature and art was at its height, these productions represent a signal victory for Chairman Mao's line in literature and art. Now part of the treasury of proletarian literature and art, they are brilliant models for the development of the new proletarian literature and art.

P.L.A. hero Yang Tzu-jung in the Peking opera *Taking the Bandits' Stronghold*. The opera describes how a small P.L.A. detachment, carrying out Chairman Mao's teachings on mobilizing and relying on the masses, succeeds in wiping out a gang of Kuomintang bandits hidden deep in the mountain forests of northeast China during the 1946-49 War of Liberation.



From the Peking opera *On the Docks*. Set in Shanghai in 1963 the opera reflects the class struggle in socialist society as well as the revolutionary spirit of the dockers working conscientiously for China's socialist construction and the liberation of the world's people.

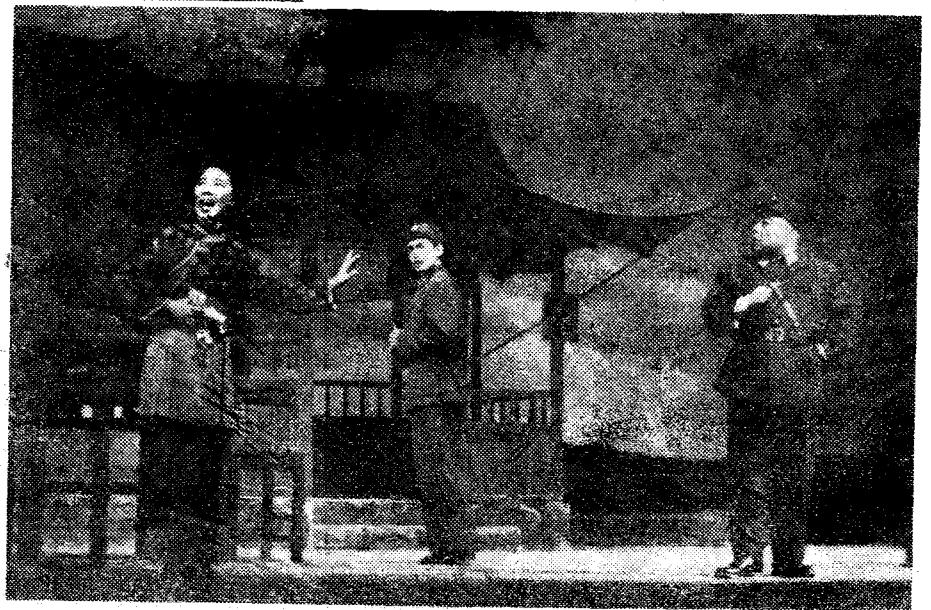


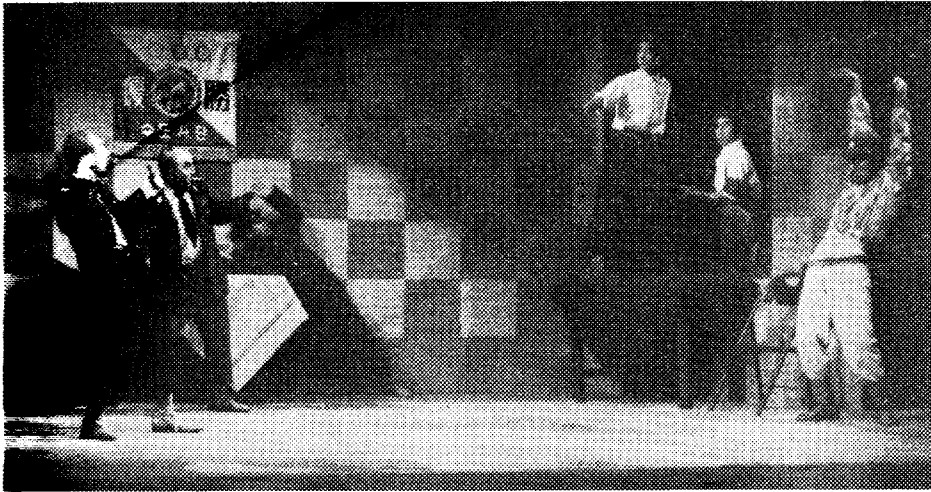
The symphonic work *Shachiapang*.



The execution scene in the Peking opera *The Red Lantern*. A story in which three generations of the family of the railwayman Li Yu-ho, an underground Party member, struggle heroically for the victory of the proletarian revolutionary cause during the Japanese occupation.

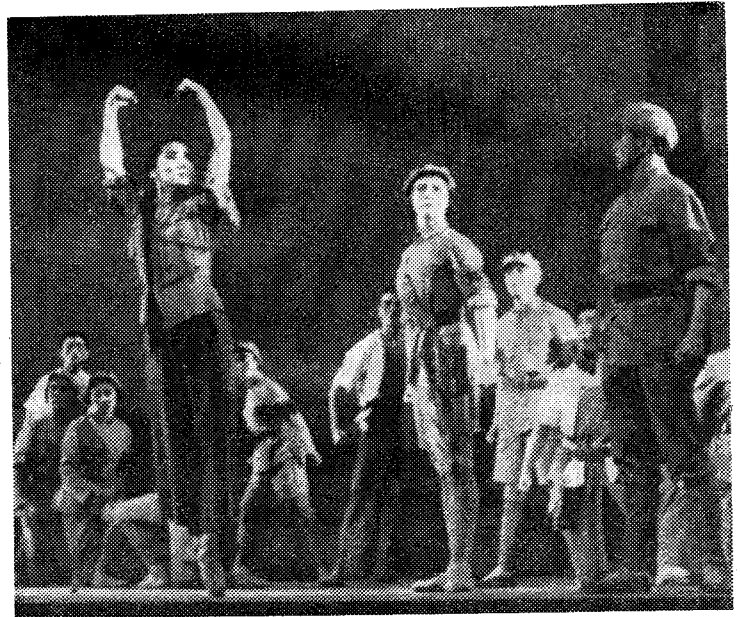
A battle of wits in the tea house between underground Party worker Ah Ching sao and the chief-of-staff of the puppet troops in the Peking opera *Shachiapang*. The opera tells how, during the Anti-Japanese War, 18 wounded soldiers of the New Fourth Army with the support of underground Party workers and the local people, triumph over their enemies.





The Chinese People's Volunteers capture the headquarters of the U.S.-puppet "White Tiger Regiment" in the Peking opera *Raid on the White Tiger Regiment*—which lauds the revolutionary heroism of the Chinese and Korean peoples who fought shoulder to shoulder during the Korean War.

The slave-girl Wu Ching-hua denounces her landlord oppressors in the ballet *Red Detachment of Women* which is based on the struggles of the worker-peasant forces against the reactionaries during the Second Revolutionary Civil War (1927-37). Educated by the Party Wu Ching-hua matures into a proletarian revolutionary fighter.



Hsi-erh in the ballet *The White-Haired Girl* dances for joy after her liberation. The ballet describes the heroic liberation struggle of the peasants of northern Shensi under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Party.

Nation Commemorates 25th Anniversary Of Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art

Following Peking's May 23 rally commemorating the 25th anniversary of Chairman Mao's brilliant work *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*, meetings and parades took place in many other cities to mark this great occasion. Workers, peasants, soldiers, young Red Guard fighters, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary cultural and art workers, holding aloft the red book of *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* and huge portraits of Chairman Mao, sang and danced in the streets. They warmly hailed the great victory of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art and of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

At the Shanghai commemorative meeting which was attended by over 10,000 proletarian revolutionaries and revolutionary people, Yao Wen-yuan, a leading member of the Municipal Revolutionary Committee, made a lengthy speech. He said that the *Talks* is a brilliant crystallization of Mao Tse-tung's thought, an immortal Marxist-Leninist document, an epoch-making development of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and the Marxist-Leninist theory on literature and art. It is a programmatic document for the great proletarian cultural revolution, a clarion call that inspires the oppressed people of the whole world to launch a courageous attack on imperialism and all reaction. He also said that Chairman Mao's theory on the unfolding from below of a great proletarian cultural revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat—starting from the criticism and repudiation of representatives of the bourgeoisie in the ideological and cultural spheres and

exposing, criticizing and repudiating the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, so as to prevent a capitalist restoration and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat—is a creative development of the essence of the *Talks* in the period of socialist revolution, an epochal development of Marxism-Leninism and a great creation in the international communist movement.

In their speeches, the representatives of workers, peasants and soldiers said that the orientation pointed out by Chairman Mao that the literature and art of the proletariat should serve the workers, peasants and soldiers is the fundamental guarantee for winning their complete emancipation in literature and art. The handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists will never succeed in opposing the great thought of Mao Tse-tung on literature and art and the proletarian orientation of literature and art supported by hundreds of millions of workers, peasants and soldiers.

Meetings were also held in Taiyuan, Shansi Province, Kweiyang, Kweichow Province, Harbin, Heilungkiang Province and Tsinan, Shantung Province, and in other cities. At these meetings representatives from all walks of life unanimously pledged to hold still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, hold aloft the revolutionary banner of criticism and repudiation, thoroughly smash the counter-revolutionary revisionist black line on literature and art, make the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao firmly occupy all literary and art positions and carry the great proletarian

cultural revolution through to the end.

Pakistan Defence Minister Visits China

Vice-Admiral Afzal Rahman Khan, Minister of Defence of Pakistan, arrived in Peking by special plane on May 26 on a friendship visit at the invitation of the Chinese Government. Among those accompanying him was S.M. Yusuf, Pakistan Secretary for Foreign Affairs. The guests received a tremendous welcome at the airport from responsible personnel of Chinese quarters concerned, commanders and fighters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army and Red Guards in the capital.

When Minister Afzal Rahman Khan and the other guests alighted from the plane, Vice-Chairman of the National Defence Council Yeh Chien-ying went up and warmly shook hands with them, while P.L.A. fighters presented them with bouquets.

That afternoon, Premier Chou En-lai received the Pakistan guests and had a warm and friendly talk with them. In the evening, a banquet was given in their honour by the Chinese Ministry of National Defence. Speaking on behalf of our deputy supreme commander Comrade Lin Piao, the Ministry of National Defence and the P.L.A., Yeh Chien-ying extended his hearty welcome to the Minister of Defence and the other distinguished guests from Pakistan. Noting that China and Pakistan were good neighbours, he said that the people of the two countries had a traditional friendship of long standing. Though U.S. imperialism and its followers were hostile to Sino-Pakistan friendship and tried to undermine it, no force on earth could obstruct its consolidation and development.

Yeh Chien-ying paid tribute to the Pakistan people for their struggle in resisting aggression by the Indian reactionaries, the stooges of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism, and

in safeguarding state sovereignty and national dignity. But, he added, as our great leader Chairman Mao had said, "make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again . . . till their doom; that is the logic of the imperialists and all reactionaries the world over in dealing with the people's cause, and they will never go against this logic." Yeh Chien-ying expressed the unswerving determination of China's 700 million people and the Chinese People's Liberation Army to support the Pakistan people in safeguarding their national independence and territorial integrity and to support the Kashmiri people's just struggle for the right to self-determination.

Speaking of China's great proletarian cultural revolution, Yeh Chien-ying said that after this great cultural revolution China would become a strong socialist country which would never change colour, more effectively carry out the struggle against U.S.-led imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries, give more powerful aid to the revolutionary people of the world, and shoulder its internationalist obligations in a still better way.

Referring to the friendship between the Chinese and Pakistan peoples, Afzal Rahman Khan said: "We in Pakistan realize and appreciate the importance of the friendly and close relations with your great country. Our friendship is based on long standing ties of culture, tradition and history. The close co-operation between our two countries in various fields can only be mutually beneficial. I feel confident that this co-operation will be further strengthened as time goes by."

He went on to say that the Pakistan people were aware of the brilliant achievements of the great Chinese people under the inspiring leadership of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, and that they cherished great admiration for the rapid progress achieved by China in such a short time on the basis of self-reliance. He wished the Chinese people ever greater success, progress and prosperity in future.

Afzal Rahman Khan expressed his gratitude to the Chinese Government for its firm support to Pakistan during the latter's struggle against Indian aggression. He proposed a toast to the good health of Chairman Mao and wished him a long life.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi Condemns British Authorities in Hongkong

Speaking at the reception given in Peking on May 27 by Mohammad Asef Sohail, Afghan Ambassador to China, to celebrate the 49th anniversary of Afghanistan's independence, Vice-Premier Chen Yi strongly condemned the British Government and the British authorities in Hongkong for their wild suppression of patriotic Chinese compatriots there. He pointed out that the Chinese Government, in a Foreign Ministry statement on May 15, had lodged a strong protest with the British Government and put forward five demands. But, he said, "the British Government has not only disregarded the Chinese Government's protest and just demands, but has continued its wild suppression with redoubled efforts. In face of this, the Chinese Government and people absolutely cannot stand idly by."

Vice-Premier Chen Yi expressed the firm determination of the Chinese Government and people to support the just struggle of the patriotic Chinese in Hongkong. He said that the British Government must immediately accept the Chinese Government's five-point demand and stop its suppression of Chinese residents in Hongkong. Otherwise, it must bear responsibility for all the grave consequences arising therefrom.

The Vice-Premier went on to say that the Chinese Government and people were closely watching the development of the situation in Vietnam. Making a last-ditch struggle, U.S. imperialism had not only repeatedly bombed Hanoi, but also flagrantly intruded into the demilitarized zone. In the light of the development of events, the Chinese Government and people would take all necessary actions to give all-out

support to the Vietnamese people in their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. He added that the Chinese people were determined, whatever the risks or costs, to stand together with the heroic Vietnamese people and make their contribution to the thorough defeat of the U.S. aggressors.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi also strongly condemned U.S. and British imperialism which, making use of Israel in collusion with modern revisionism, had brought deep misery to Palestine and carried out armed aggression and subversive activities against Syria and other Arab countries. He expressed the Chinese people's firm support for the just struggle of the Palestinian people and of the people of all Arab countries against aggression by U.S. and British imperialism and its tool Israel.

In his speech, Vice-Premier Chen Yi praised the friendship between China and Afghanistan and between the two peoples. He expressed the firm conviction that, on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence and through common efforts by both sides, friendly Sino-Afghan relations would certainly be further developed.

China-Nepal Friendship Highway Completed

The Kathmandu-Kodari Highway, built with Chinese aid, has been completed and will soon be open to traffic. King Mahendra of Nepal cut the ribbon for the highway at an impressive ceremony on May 26 marking its completion. Present were Queen Ratna Rajya Lakshmi Devi Shah, Prime Minister Surya Bahadur Thapa, Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Kirti Nidhi Bista and 3,000 people of all circles in Nepal.

The ceremony was held at Bhaktapur, starting point of the highway. In his speech, Nepalese Minister of Communications Kedar Man Byathit praised the friendly relations between Nepal and China. He thanked the Chinese experts for their hard work and paid tribute to the engineering and technical personnel of the

two countries for their friendly cooperation in building the highway.

Lin Hai-yun, leader of the Chinese Government Delegation, hailed the friendship between the Chinese and Nepalese peoples. He told the gathering about the excellent situation in China's great proletarian cultural revolution initiated and led personally by the most respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao. His speech was warmly applauded.

The completion of the highway was celebrated by the Nepalese people as they would a festival. Many decorative arches were erected along the highway from Kathmandu to Friendship Bridge on the China-Nepal border, and the national flags of both countries fluttered in the wind. Many peasants had travelled a long distance to join the celebrations in the towns and villages along the highway. Many Nepalese people said that it was Chairman Mao who had sent the experts to help Nepal build the highway. They shouted: "The great leader Chairman Mao is the red sun which shines most brightly in the hearts of the people of the whole world!" and "We wish Chairman Mao a long, long life!"

Tenth Anniversary of Anti-U.S. Demonstration on Taiwan

The tenth anniversary of the mammoth May 24 anti-U.S. patriotic demonstration by compatriots on Taiwan was marked at a meeting held in Peking by the Taiwan Democratic Self-Government League and its Peking branch. On that day ten years ago, 30,000 people in Taipei came out in a demonstration, shouting "U.S. troops, get out of Taiwan!" They besieged the U.S. "embassy" and military headquarters and destroyed the U.S. Information Service there.

Participants at the Peking meeting strongly denounced U.S. imperialism's crime of occupying Taiwan, which is China's territory, and voiced firm support for the just and patriotic struggle against U.S. imperialism by their compatriots there. They solemnly pledged: "The Chinese people are determined to liberate their

territory of Taiwan and absolutely will not allow the U.S. bandits to turn it into a base for aggression against the Chinese mainland and Asia."

Hsu Meng-shan, Secretary-General of the headquarters of the Taiwan Democratic Self-Government League, spoke at the meeting. "In observing the anniversary at a time when the great proletarian cultural revolution is at high tide," he said, "we want to pledge our resolute support to the people of Taiwan in rebelling against U.S. imperialism, the Chiang Kai-shek gang, revisionism and all reactionaries. U.S. imperialism is the sworn enemy of the Chinese people. Its aggression in Taiwan and the dark rule of the Chiang gang are the root cause of all the suffering of the people on the island."

Hsu Meng-shan quoted Chairman Mao's teaching that "the oppressed peoples and nations must not pin their hopes for liberation on the 'sensibleness' of imperialism and its lackeys. They will only triumph by strengthening their unity and persevering in their struggle." He told the meeting that, illuminated by the brilliant, invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, a new anti-U.S. patriotic movement was taking shape on Taiwan. He expressed the determination to do everything possible for the liberation of Taiwan.

Fabrication by American and British Press Refuted

According to reports by foreign news agencies, the American *Chicago Daily News* and the British *Daily Sketch* published, on May 14 and May 15 respectively, an interview allegedly given by Premier Chou En-lai to Simon Malley, correspondent at the United Nations of the Tunisian weekly *Jeune Afrique*.

In connection with this, a spokesman of the Information Department of the Chinese Foreign Ministry has made the following statement: On his journey from Cambodia via China, Simon Malley arrived in Peking on March 27 this year. He left Peking on March 29 for France by way of the Soviet Union. During his two-day stay in Peking, neither Pre-

mier Chou En-lai nor any other Chinese leader, such as Comrades Chen Po-ta, Chen Yi or Yang Cheng-wu, received him. The alleged interview reported in the American and British papers is a complete fabrication put out with ulterior motives.

Export Commodities Fair Closes

China's 1967 Spring Export Commodities Fair successfully ended in Kwangchow on May 15, at a time when the great proletarian cultural revolution was triumphantly forging ahead. The volume of transactions during the month-long fair exceeded the original plan and showed a sizable increase over that of last year's spring fair. The number of visitors was the largest ever — more than 7,800 people from trade circles of over 60 countries and regions on all continents, as well as overseas Chinese and compatriots from Hongkong and Macao. Among the visitors were trade delegations, government trade officials, representatives of state trading companies and trade fact-finding delegations from Guinea, Mali, Congo (Brazzaville), Zambia, Cambodia, Nepal, Pakistan, Syria and other Afro-Asian countries. Representatives of friendly Japanese firms numbered more than 800.

The strong revolutionary atmosphere which prevailed was an outstanding feature of the fair which was a big international trade centre and, what was more important, a stronghold for the dissemination of Mao Tse-tung's thought. Portraits of Chairman Mao, the red sun in the hearts of the Chinese people and revolutionary people the world over, and quotations from his works were displayed everywhere. Hosts and guests studying *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* together was a common sight. Discussion meetings were also held to acquaint the foreign guests with China's great proletarian cultural revolution.

Foreign friends, overseas Chinese and compatriots from Hongkong and Macao attended performances of two revolutionary Peking operas on contemporary themes — *Taking the Bandits' Stronghold* and *Raid on the*

White Tiger Regiment—and the revolutionary ballet *Red Detachment of Women* and the revolutionary symphonic music *Shachiapang*. These activities helped foreign guests to get a better understanding of China.

Giving their impressions, two trade officials from the Congo (B) said: The numerous facts at the fair abundantly show the new successes achieved by the Chinese people under the leadership of the great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung. China's great proletarian cultural revolution is a strong impetus to its

economic development. Mao Tse-tung's thought is the powerful weapon for the people of the world in their struggle for independence and freedom. Chairman Mao is the most outstanding leader of the world revolution. The two Congolese officials also said that they would do their best to study Chairman Mao's works and master the great thought of Mao Tse-tung.

The resounding success of the fair, in terms of transactions, has completely shattered the slanders about

China's great proletarian cultural revolution by the imperialists, modern revisionists and reactionaries of all countries. Enthusiastically responding to the great leader Chairman Mao's great call to "take firm hold of the revolution and promote production," the people throughout China have brought about an excellent situation in the nation's industrial and agricultural production. Hence the conspicuous increase in the variety and amount of export commodities and the notable improvement in quality.

PEKING REVIEW

June 2, 1967
Vol. 10, No. 23

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

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