

PEKING REVIEW

21

May 19, 1967

CIRCULAR OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY

(May 16, 1966)

A Great Historic Document

by the Editorial Departments of "Hongqi" and "Renmin Ribao"

*Most Urgent and Strongest Protest Against
Bloody Suppression of Chinese Compatriots
In Hongkong by British Authorities*

北
京
周
報

QUOTATIONS FROM CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG

They must especially watch out for careerists and conspirators like Khrushchov and prevent such bad elements from usurping the leadership of the Party and the state at any level.

Quoted in On Khrushchov's Phoney Communism and Its Historical Lessons for the World (July 1964)

* * *

Revolutionary culture is a powerful revolutionary weapon for the broad masses of the people. It prepares the ground ideologically before the revolution comes and is an important, indeed essential, fighting front in the general revolutionary front during the revolution.

On New Democracy (January 1940)

* * *

"Lifting a rock only to drop it on one's own feet" is a Chinese folk saying to describe the behaviour of certain fools. The reactionaries in all countries are fools of this kind. In the final analysis, their persecution of the revolutionary people only serves to accelerate the people's revolutions on a broader and more intense scale.

Speech at the Meeting of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. in Celebration of the 40th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution (November 1957)



Chairman Mao Tse-tung

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



Chairman Mao Receives Congolese (B) Guests



Chairman Mao with Michel Bindi (third from the left) and other Congolese (B) guests

Chairman Mao, our most respected and beloved great leader, on May 15 received Michel Bindi, responsible member of the Security Department of the Republic of Congo (Brazzaville), and members of the Congolese (B) Government Security Delegation

led by him. Chairman Mao had a cordial and friendly talk with them.

Among those present on the occasion were Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier and Minister of Public Security Hsieh Fu-chih.

Congolese (B) Ambassador to China Apollinaire Bazinga was also present.

New Editions of Chairman Mao's Works On Art and Literature

New editions of the three revolutionary treasured books by Chairman Mao—*Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*, *Mao Tse-tung on Art and Literature*, and *Chairman Mao's Poems*—have been published by the People's Literature Publishing House and will be available throughout China in the immediate future.

The republication of Chairman Mao's brilliant works on literature and art has provided the proletarian revolutionaries and hundreds of millions of revolutionary people with a most powerful weapon of revolutionary criticism.

A note in the new edition of *Mao Tse-tung on Art and Literature* says:

"These brilliant theses sum up the struggle between two lines on the cultural front in a most complete, comprehensive and systematic way. They develop creatively and with genius the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and theory on art and literature. They represent the pinnacle of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and theory on art and literature in the present era. They are important, epoch-making documents. They constitute the most comprehensive, thoroughgoing and correct Marxist-Leninist line on art and literature, programmatic documents for the great proletarian cultural revolution and the supreme guide for the work in art and culture of the proletariat."

Since the beginning of the great proletarian cultural revolution, proletarian revolutionaries of the

(Continued on p. 30.)

CIRCULAR OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY

(May 16, 1966)

To all regional bureaus of the Central Committee, all provincial, municipal and autonomous region Party committees, all departments and commissions under the Central Committee, all leading Party members' groups and Party committees in government departments and people's organizations, and the General Political Department of the People's Liberation Army:

The Central Committee has decided to revoke the "Outline Report on the Current Academic Discussion Made by the Group of Five in Charge of the Cultural Revolution" which was approved for distribution on February 12, 1966, **to dissolve the "Group of Five in Charge of the Cultural Revolution" and its offices, and to set up a new Cultural Revolution Group directly under the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau.** The outline report by the so-called "Group of Five" is fundamentally wrong. It runs counter to the line of the socialist cultural revolution set forth by the Central Committee and Comrade Mao Tse-tung and to the guiding principles formulated at the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party in 1962 on the question of classes and class struggle in socialist society. While feigning compliance, the outline actually opposes and stubbornly resists the great cultural revolution initiated and led personally by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, as well as the instructions, regarding the criticism of Wu Han, which he gave at the working conference of the Central Committee held in September and October 1965 (that is, at the session of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee attended also by the leading comrades of all the regional bureaus of the Central Committee).

The outline report by the so-called "Group of Five" is actually an outline report by Peng Chen alone. He concocted it according to his own ideas behind the backs of Comrade Kang Sheng, a member of the "Group of Five," and other comrades. In handling such a document regarding important questions which affect the over-all situation in the

socialist revolution, Peng Chen had no discussions or exchange of views at all within the "Group of Five." He did not ask any local Party committee for its opinion, nor, when submitting the outline report, did he make it clear that it was being sent to the Central Committee for examination as its official document, and still less did he get the approval of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee. Employing the most improper methods, he acted arbitrarily, abused his powers and, usurping the name of the Central Committee, hurriedly issued the outline report to the whole Party.

The main errors of the outline report are as follows:

- 1) Proceeding from a bourgeois stand and the bourgeois world outlook in its appraisal of the situation in and the nature of the current academic criticism, the outline completely reverses the relation between the enemy and ourselves, putting the one into the position of the other. Our country is now in an upsurge of the great proletarian cultural revolution which is pounding at all the decadent ideological and cultural positions still held by the bourgeoisie and the remnants of feudalism. Instead of encouraging the entire Party boldly to arouse the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and the fighters for proletarian culture so that they can continue to charge ahead, the outline does its best to turn the movement to the Right. Using muddled, self-contradictory and hypocritical language, it obscures the sharp class struggle that is taking place on the cultural and ideological front. In particular, it obscures the aim of this great struggle, which is **to criticize and repudiate Wu Han and the considerable number of other anti-Party and anti-socialist representatives of the bourgeoisie (there are a number of these in the Central Committee and in the Party, government and other departments at the central as well as at the provincial, municipal and autonomous region level).** By avoiding any mention of the fact repeatedly pointed out by Chairman Mao, namely, that the key point in Wu Han's drama

Hai Jui Dismissed From Office is the question of dismissal from office, the outline covers up the serious political nature of the struggle.

2) The outline violates the basic Marxist thesis that all class struggles are political struggles. When the press began to touch on the political issues involved in Wu Han's *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office*, the authors of the outline went so far as to say: "The discussion in the press should not be confined to political questions, but should go fully into the various academic and theoretical questions involved." Regarding the criticism of Wu Han, they declared on various occasions that 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. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has often told us that the ideological struggle against the bourgeoisie is a protracted class struggle which cannot be resolved by drawing hasty political conclusions. However, Peng Chen deliberately spread rumours, telling many people that Chairman Mao believed political conclusions on the criticism of Wu Han could be drawn after two months. Peng Chen also said that the political issues could be discussed two months later. His purpose was to channel the political struggle in the cultural sphere into the so-called pure academic discussion so frequently advocated by the bourgeoisie. Clearly, this means giving prominence to bourgeois politics and opposing giving prominence to proletarian politics.

3) The outline lays special emphasis on what it calls "opening wide." But, playing a sly trick it grossly distorts the policy of "opening wide" expounded by Comrade Mao Tse-tung at the Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work in March 1957 and negates the class content of "opening wide." It was in dealing with this question that Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out: "We still have to wage a protracted struggle against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology. It is wrong not to understand this and to give up ideological struggle. All erroneous ideas, all poisonous weeds, all ghosts and monsters, must be subjected to criticism; in no circumstance should they be allowed to spread unchecked." Comrade Mao Tse-tung also said, "To 'open wide' means to let all people express their opinions freely, so that they dare to speak, dare to criticize and dare to debate." This outline, however, poses "opening wide" against exposure by the proletariat of the bourgeoisie's reactionary stand. What it means by

"opening wide" is bourgeois liberalization, which would allow only the bourgeoisie to "open wide," but would not allow the proletariat to "open wide" and hit back; in other words, it is a shield for such reactionary bourgeois representatives as Wu Han. The "opening wide" in this outline is against Mao Tse-tung's thought and caters to the needs of the bourgeoisie.

4) Just when we began the counter-offensive against the wild attacks of the bourgeoisie, the authors of the outline raised the slogan: "Everyone is equal before the truth." This is a bourgeois slogan. Completely negating the class nature of truth, they use this slogan to protect the bourgeoisie and oppose the proletariat, oppose Marxism-Leninism and oppose Mao Tse-tung's thought. In the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the truth of Marxism and the fallacies of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, either the East wind prevails over the West wind or the West wind prevails over the East wind, and there is absolutely no such thing as equality. **Can any equality be permitted on such basic questions as the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, the dictatorship of the proletariat in the superstructure, including all the various spheres of culture, and the continued efforts of the proletariat to weed out those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Communist Party and who wave "red flags" to oppose the red flag? For decades the old-line Social Democrats, and for over ten years the modern revisionists, have never allowed the proletariat equality with the bourgeoisie. They completely deny that the several thousand years of human history is a history of class struggle. They completely deny the class struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, proletarian revolution against the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie. On the contrary, they are faithful lackeys of the bourgeoisie and imperialism. Together with the bourgeoisie and imperialism, they cling to the bourgeois ideology of oppression and exploitation of the proletariat and to the capitalist system, and they oppose Marxist-Leninist ideology and the socialist system. They are a bunch of counter-revolutionaries opposing the Communist Party and the people. Their struggle against us is one of life and death, and there is no question of equality. Therefore, our struggle against them, too, can be nothing but a life-and-death struggle, and our relation with them can in no way be one of equality. On the contrary,**

it is a relation of one class oppressing another, that is, the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie. There can be no other type of relation, such as a so-called relation of equality, or of peaceful coexistence between exploiting and exploited classes, or of kindness or magnanimity.

5) The outline states: "It is necessary not only to beat the other side politically, but also, by academic and professional standards, truly surpass and beat it by a wide margin." This concept which makes no class distinction on academic matters is also very wrong. The truth on academic questions, the truth of Marxism-Leninism, of Mao Tse-tung's thought — which the proletariat has grasped — has already far surpassed and beaten the bourgeoisie. The formulation in the outline shows that its authors laud the so-called academic authorities of the bourgeoisie and try to boost their prestige, and that they hate and repress the militant new-born forces representative of the proletariat in academic circles.

6) Chairman Mao often says that there is no construction without destruction. 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. Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, was founded and has constantly developed in the course of the struggle to destroy bourgeois ideology. This outline, however, emphasizes that "without construction, there can be no real and thorough destruction." This amounts to prohibiting the destruction of bourgeois ideology and prohibiting the construction of proletarian ideology. It is diametrically opposed to Chairman Mao's thought. It runs counter to the revolutionary struggle we have been waging on the cultural front for the vigorous destruction of bourgeois ideology. And it amounts to prohibiting the proletariat from making any revolution.

7) The outline states that "we must not behave like scholar-tyrants who are always acting arbitrarily and trying to overwhelm people with their power" and that "we should guard against any tendency for academic workers of the Left to take the road of bourgeois experts and scholar-tyrants." What is really meant by "scholar-tyrants"? Who are the "scholar-tyrants"? Should the proletariat not exercise dictatorship and overwhelm the bourgeoisie? Should the academic work of the proletariat not overwhelm and eradicate that of the bourgeoisie? And if proletarian academic work over-

whelms and eradicates bourgeois academic work, can this be regarded as an act of "scholar-tyrants"? The outline directs its spearhead against the proletarian Left. Obviously, its aim is to label the Marxist-Leninists "scholar-tyrants" and thus to support the real, bourgeois scholar-tyrants and prop up their tottering monopoly position in academic circles. As a matter of fact, those Party people in authority taking the capitalist road who support the bourgeois scholar-tyrants, and those bourgeois representatives who have sneaked into the Party and protect the bourgeois scholar-tyrants, are indeed big Party tyrants who have usurped the name of the Party, do not read books, do not read the daily press, have no contact with the masses, have no learning at all, and rely solely on "acting arbitrarily and trying to overwhelm people with their power."

8) For their own ulterior purposes, the authors of the outline demand a "rectification campaign" against the staunch Left in a deliberate effort to create confusion, blur class alignments and divert people from the target of struggle. Their main purpose in dishing up the outline in such a hurry was to attack the proletarian Left. They have gone out of their way to build up dossiers about the Left, tried to find all sorts of pretexts for attacking them, and intended to launch further attacks on them by means of a "rectification campaign," in the vain hope of disintegrating their ranks. They openly resist the policy explicitly put forward by Chairman Mao of protecting and supporting the Left and giving serious attention to building up and expanding their ranks. On the other hand, they have conferred on those bourgeois representatives, revisionists and renegades who have sneaked into the Party the title of "staunch Left," and are shielding them. In these ways, they are trying to inflate the arrogance of the bourgeois Rightists and to dampen the spirits of the proletarian Left. They are filled with hatred for the proletariat and love for the bourgeoisie. Such is the bourgeois concept of brotherhood held by the authors of the outline.

9) At a time when the new and fierce struggle of the proletariat against the representatives of the bourgeoisie on the ideological front has only just begun, and in many spheres and places has not even started — or, if it has started, most Party committees concerned have a very poor understanding of the task of leadership in this great struggle and their leadership is far from conscientious and effective — the outline stresses again and again that the struggle must be conducted "under direction," "with

prudence," "with caution," and "with the approval of the leading bodies concerned." All this serves to place restrictions on the proletarian Left, to impose taboos and commandments in order to tie their hands, and to place all sorts of obstacles in the way of the proletarian cultural revolution. In a word, the authors of the outline are rushing to apply the brakes and launch a counter-attack in revenge. As for the articles written by the proletarian Left refuting the reactionary bourgeois "authorities," they nurse bitter hatred against those already published and are suppressing those not yet published. **But on the other hand, they give free rein to all the various ghosts and monsters who for many years have abounded in our press, radio, magazines, books, text-books, platforms, works of literature, cinema, drama, ballads and stories, the fine arts, music, the dance, etc. and in doing so they never advocate proletarian leadership or stress any need for approval. The contrast here shows where the authors of the outline really stand.**

10) The present struggle centres around the issue of implementation of or resistance to Comrade Mao Tse-tung's line on the cultural revolution. Yet the outline states: "Through this struggle, and under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought, we shall open up the way for the solution of this problem (that is, 'the thorough liquidation of bourgeois ideas in the realm of academic work')." Comrade Mao Tse-tung opened up the way for the proletariat on the cultural and ideological front long ago, in his *On New Democracy, Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art, Letter to the Yen-an Peking Opera Theatre After Seeing the Performance of "Driven to Join the Liangshan Rebels," On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People,* and *Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work*. Yet the outline maintains that Mao Tse-tung's thought has not yet opened up the way for us and that the way has to be opened up anew. Using the banner of "under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought" as cover, the outline actually attempts to open up a way opposed to Mao Tse-tung's thought, that is the way of modern revisionism, the way for the restoration of capitalism.

In short, the outline opposes carrying the socialist revolution through to the end, opposes the line on the cultural revolution pursued by the Central Committee of the Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, attacks the proletarian Left and shields the bourgeois Right, thereby preparing public opinion for the restoration of capitalism. It

is a reflection of bourgeois ideology in the Party; it is out-and-out revisionism. Far from being a minor issue, the struggle against this revisionist line is an issue of prime importance having a vital bearing on the destiny and future of our Party and state, on the future complexion of our Party and state, and on the world revolution.

Party committees at all levels must immediately stop carrying out the "Outline Report on the Current Academic Discussion Made by the Group of Five in Charge of the Cultural Revolution." The whole Party must follow Comrade Mao Tse-tung's instructions, **hold high the great banner of the proletarian cultural revolution, thoroughly expose the reactionary bourgeois stand of those so-called "academic authorities" who oppose the Party and socialism, thoroughly criticize and repudiate the reactionary bourgeois ideas in the sphere of academic work, education, journalism, literature and art and publishing, and seize the leadership in these cultural spheres. To achieve this, it is necessary at the same time to criticize and repudiate those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, the government, the army and all spheres of culture, to clear them out or transfer some of them to other positions. Above all, we must not entrust these people with the work of leading the cultural revolution. In fact many of them have done and are still doing such work, and this is extremely dangerous.**

Those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, the government, the army and various cultural circles are a bunch of counter-revolutionary revisionists. Once conditions are ripe, they will seize political power and turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Some of them we have already seen through, others we have not. Some are still trusted by us and are being trained as our successors, persons like Khrushchov, for example, who are still nestling beside us. **Party committees at all levels must pay full attention to this matter.**

This circular is to be sent, together with the erroneous document issued by the Central Committee on February 12, 1966, down to the level of county Party committees, Party committees in the cultural organizations and Party committees at regimental level in the army. These committees are asked to discuss which of the two documents is wrong and which is correct, their understanding of these documents, and their achievements and mistakes.

A GREAT HISTORIC DOCUMENT

by the Editorial Departments of "Hongqi" and "Renmin Ribao"

THE historic document drawn up a year ago under the personal guidance of our great leader Comrade Mao Tse-tung — the May 16, 1966 Circular of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party — is a great Marxist-Leninist document. It is now made known to the general public. It put forward the theory, line, principles and policies of the great proletarian cultural revolution, thus crushing the scheme of the Peng Chen counter-revolutionary revisionist clique for the undermining of the great proletarian cultural revolution in a futile attempt to restore capitalism. This document sounded the clarion call for the advance in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

The "outline report," which Peng Chen dished up in February last year, is an out-and-out revisionist programme, a programme for restoring capitalism. The appearance of this programme was a devastating exposure of the long-meditated anti-Party, anti-socialist conspiracy of the Peng Chen revisionist clique. The Circular unmasked the Peng Chen counter-revolutionary revisionist clique, and made it bankrupt. This forced a break in the counter-revolutionary revisionist front headed by the Khrushchov of China, and threw it into confusion.

This great historic document, drawn up under the personal guidance of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, has creatively developed Marxism-Leninism and solved the question of revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Marx and Engels founded the theory of scientific socialism. Lenin and Stalin developed Marxism, solved a series of questions of the proletarian revolution in the era of imperialism and solved the theoretical and practical questions of establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat in one country. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has developed Marxism-Leninism, solved a series of questions of the proletarian revolution in the present era and solved the theoretical and practical questions of carrying on the revolution and preventing a restoration of capitalism under the dictatorship of the pro-

letariat. These are three monumental milestones in the history of the development of Marxism.

The class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat, when reduced to a single point, is still the question of political power. This means that the proletariat wants to consolidate its dictatorship while the bourgeoisie wants to overthrow this dictatorship. And, among the representatives of the bourgeoisie who vainly attempt to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat, those who do the greatest harm are the ones in authority taking the capitalist road who have sneaked into leading organs of the Party and of political power and who wave "red flags" to oppose the red flag.

Chairman Mao points out in this great, historic document:

"There are a number of these (representatives of the bourgeoisie) in the Central Committee and in the Party, government and other departments at the central as well as at the provincial, municipal and autonomous region level."

The whole Party must "hold high the great banner of the proletarian cultural revolution, thoroughly expose the reactionary bourgeois stand of those so-called 'academic authorities' who oppose the Party and socialism, thoroughly criticize and repudiate the reactionary bourgeois ideas in the sphere of academic work, education, journalism, literature and art and publishing, and seize the leadership in these cultural spheres. To achieve this, it is necessary at the same time to criticize and repudiate those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, the government, the army and all spheres of culture, to clear them out or transfer some of them to other positions."

"Those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, the government, the army and various cultural circles are a bunch of counter-revolutionary revisionists. Once conditions are ripe, they will seize political power and turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bour-

geoisie. Some of them we have already seen through, others we have not. Some are still trusted by us and are being trained as our successors, persons like Khrushchov, for example, who are still nestling beside us. Party committees at all levels must pay full attention to this matter."

The great proletarian cultural revolution, in its most significant practice over the past year, has shown how brilliant these scientific theses of Chairman Mao are!

These scientific theses are the beacon light guiding the great proletarian cultural revolution and the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat; they are the beacon light guaranteeing the transition from socialism to communism.

Are there still classes and class struggle in a socialist society, particularly after the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production has in the main been accomplished? Do all the class struggles in society still centre around the question of the fight over political power? Under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, do we still have to make revolution? Against whom should we make revolution? And how should we carry out the revolution? Marx and Engels could not possibly solve this series of major theoretical problems at their time. Lenin saw that after the proletariat seized power, the defeated bourgeoisie still remained stronger than the proletariat and was always trying to stage a comeback. At the same time, the small producers were incessantly generating capitalism and the capitalist class anew, thus posing a threat to the dictatorship of the proletariat. In order to cope with this counter-revolutionary threat and overcome it, it was therefore necessary to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat over a long period of time. There was no other way. However, Lenin died before he could solve these problems in practice. Stalin was a great Marxist-Leninist who actually cleared out a large number of counter-revolutionary representatives of the bourgeoisie who had sneaked into the Party, including Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Radek, Bukharin, Rykov and their like. But where he failed was in not recognizing, on the level of theory, that classes and class struggle exist in society throughout the historical period of the dictatorship of the proletariat and that the question of who will win in the revolution has yet to be finally settled; in other words, if all this is not handled properly there is the possibility of a come-back by the bourgeoisie. The year before he died, Stalin became aware of this point and stated that contradictions do exist in socialist society and if not properly handled might turn into antagonistic ones. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has given full attention to the whole historical experience of the Soviet Union. He

has correctly solved this series of problems in a whole number of great writings and instructions, in this great historic document and in the most significant practice of the great proletarian cultural revolution personally initiated and led by him. This is a most important sign indicating that Marxism has developed to an entirely new stage. In the early years of the 20th century, Marxism developed into the stage of Leninism. In the present era, it has developed further into the stage of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Chairman Mao tells us that the main targets of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat are the representatives of the bourgeoisie who have wormed their way into the apparatus of the proletarian dictatorship, the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. The contradiction between the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road on the one hand, and the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and revolutionary cadres and intellectuals on the other, is the principal contradiction and is an antagonistic one. The struggle to resolve this contradiction is a concentrated manifestation of the struggle between two classes—the proletariat and the bourgeoisie—and two roads, socialism and capitalism. To expose the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, put before the public and thoroughly criticize and repudiate their revisionist wares, completely refute, discredit and overthrow them and carry out the struggle to seize power from them—this is the main task that the great proletarian cultural revolution has to accomplish. This is the general orientation of the struggle and we must hold firmly to it.

The "person like Khrushchov," mentioned by Chairman Mao in the document as still nestling beside us, has now been exposed by the masses. This Khrushchov of China is the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and is also the chief representative of the bourgeoisie inside the apparatus of the proletarian dictatorship. Factual disclosures have now established that this top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road is a veteran opportunist. Before nationwide victory was achieved, he opposed the seizure of political power by the proletariat. After nationwide victory was won, he opposed the dictatorship of the proletariat, opposed the socialist revolution and wanted to practise capitalism in China. After the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production was in the main accomplished, he wanted to restore capitalism in China. It has now been conclusively proved that the counter-revolutionary revisionist "February outline" by Peng Chen was supported by him and was actually his programme as well.

What role did he play in regard to the mass movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution? Tak-

ing a reactionary bourgeois stand, he exercised a bourgeois dictatorship and suppressed the vigorous movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution. He called black white and stood facts on their heads, encircled and attacked the revolutionaries, suppressed opinions differing from his own, and imposed a white terror, and he did all this with great smugness. He inflated the arrogance of the bourgeoisie and damped down the morale of the proletariat. How utterly pernicious!

It is now crystal clear to all that, among the counter-revolutionary revisionists, among those who would seize political power and turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie once conditions are ripe, as described by Chairman Mao in this great, historic document, the main figure is no other than that top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road.

The exposure in broad daylight of the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road is a most important event affecting the destiny of our socialist state and the future of the world revolution. It is the most important outcome of the great proletarian cultural revolution. The revolutionary people of China and of the whole world unanimously acclaim this great victory. The intrigues of imperialism and modern revisionism, by which they vainly attempt to create subversion in China through their agents, have suffered the greatest failure.

The fact that the revisionist clique has usurped Party and state leadership and is restoring capitalism in the Soviet Union, the first socialist country, provides the biggest lesson in the history of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the world. It has happened, too, in a number of other socialist countries. And precisely by summing up the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the world, our great leader Chairman Mao has aroused hundreds of millions of people to undertake the great and historically unparalleled proletarian cultural revolution, providing the surest guarantee that our Party and country will never change political colour. This is Comrade Mao Tse-tung's greatest contribution in theory and practice to the proletariat of the whole world.

The document announces the dissolution of the former "group of five in charge of the cultural revolution" which was fully controlled by the Peng Chen counter-revolutionary revisionist clique. It announces the establishment of a new Central Cultural Revolution Group directly under the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Party's Central Committee. This is an important measure for carrying out the great proletarian cultural revolution.

The publication of this great historic document is an important event in the political life of our country and in the international communist movement.

We have already won tremendous victories in our great proletarian cultural revolution. Yet serious fighting tasks are still ahead of us. We shall thoroughly criticize and completely repudiate, politically, ideologically and theoretically, the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. We shall further bring about the great alliance of the proletarian revolutionaries, unite the greatest possible numbers among the masses and unite the great majority of the cadres. We shall bring about the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination and seize power in those places and departments where this is necessary so that power will be truly taken into the hands of the proletariat. We shall combine the great movement of criticism with the tasks of "struggle-criticism-transformation"* in each unit and successfully carry out these tasks. We shall work still better to **"take a firm hold of the revolution and promote production"** so as to ensure the growing prosperity of all kinds of undertakings in the field of socialist construction.

The Central Committee of the Party calls on all revolutionary comrades to study this document conscientiously. Through this study, taking into consideration the new situation in the struggle at the present time and the experience gained in the struggle during the past year, they should further arm themselves with Mao Tse-tung's thought, achieve a better comprehension and grasp of the theory, line, principles and policies set forth by Chairman Mao for the great proletarian cultural revolution, and carry this revolution through to the end.

The present great cultural revolution is only the first; there will inevitably be many more in the future. In the last few years Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said repeatedly that 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.

(*"Renmin Ribao," May 18, 1967.*)

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

The Military Commission Decides to Issue Chairman Mao Badge to Every Armyman

Badges Inscribed With "Serve the People," a Quotation From Chairman Mao's Works, Are Issued Simultaneously

THE Military Commission of the Party's Central Committee has decided that beginning mid-May a badge with a profile of Chairman Mao Tse-tung and one with the inscription "Serve the People" in a facsimile of Chairman Mao's handwriting will be issued to every member of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. The badge, which has Chairman Mao's profile in the centre, looks like a golden star with rays radiating from the profile.

The General Political Department of the P.L.A. points out that the issue of the badges is an important event in the political life of the entire army. Wearing the badges will remind the P.L.A. men that their great leader, the reddest red sun in their hearts, is always with them and that they are advancing along the road illuminated by the shining rays of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

The General Political Department urges all commanders and fighters, after receiving badges, to be still more loyal to Chairman Mao, to Mao Tse-tung's thought and the proletarian revolutionary line represented by him and make new contributions in the cultural revolution.

The General Political Department calls on the commanders and fighters to carry out still better Comrade Lin Piao's directive to study Chairman Mao's works, follow his teachings, act according to his instructions and be his good fighters. They should turn the P.L.A. into a great school of Mao Tse-tung's thought, and always follow Chairman Mao in making revolution. They should do their best to safeguard the socialist revolution and construction and the impregnable proletarian state.

In an editorial entitled "Chairman Mao Is Always With Us," *Jiefangjun Bao* (Liberation Army Daily) acclaimed this decision as an expression of the Military Commission's warm attention and great encouragement for all comrades of the People's Liberation Army. The editorial said in part: Our army is a people's army founded by our great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung himself and it has grown and matured under the nurturing of the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung. Wearing shining badges with a profile of Chairman Mao and badges with a quotation from his works, we will be

able at any moment to see the glorious image of our most respected and beloved leader Chairman Mao and constantly take to heart his good teachings. Having Chairman Mao with us, we will have immense wisdom and strength. We do not fear hidden shoals and we dare to climb a mountain of swords and brave a sea of flames and advance from victory to victory in the revolutionary direction indicated by our great helmsman, Chairman Mao.

Since we have boundless love for Chairman Mao and are loyal to him, we will make still better efforts to study and apply his works in a creative way. We will combine the study of Chairman Mao's works with the practice of the great proletarian cultural revolution, so that we can cope with the new situation in class struggle and new changes and really master Mao Tse-tung's thought. We will hold still higher the banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought on revolutionary criticism and repudiation and establish the absolute authority of Mao Tse-tung's thought. We will use Mao Tse-tung's thought as the weapon to expose in depth the monstrous crimes of the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, smash their criminal plot to restore capitalism, and thoroughly criticize the bourgeois reactionary line formulated and pursued by them and that poisonous weed, the book on "self-cultivation" of Communists.

We will make still greater efforts to take firm hold of revolution, promote preparedness against war, and promote our work and production. We will heighten our vigilance a hundredfold and be ready at all times to smash the war provocations of the U.S. imperialists, Soviet revisionists and all reactionaries, to safeguard our national defence and the great proletarian cultural revolution and do new meritorious deeds for the people.

Our deputy supreme commander Lin Piao best expressed the feelings of the people of the whole country and all comrades in the P.L.A. when he wrote the May Day inscription: "Long live the great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman Chairman Mao! A long life to him! A long, long life to him!" Chairman Mao is always with us, inspiring us in our triumphant advance to fulfil our mission to create a red New China, a red new world!

Chinese Government Lodges Most Urgent And Strongest Protest With British Government

May 15, 1967

Early in the morning on May 15, Lo Kuei-po, Chinese Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, summoned D.C. Hopson, British Charge d'Affaires to China, and handed him a statement of the Chinese Foreign Ministry, which lodges the most urgent and strongest protest with the British Government against the fascist atrocities committed by the British authorities in Hongkong against Chinese workers and residents there. Following is the text of the statement. — Ed.

On the afternoon of May 6, 1967, Chinese workers of the Hongkong Sanpokong Artificial Plastic Flower Works launched a struggle against intensified capitalist exploitation. To shield capital and suppress labour, the British authorities in Hongkong brazenly turned out on the same day more than 200 armed policemen and "riot police," sanguinarily suppressing the workers of the factory and other Chinese residents, beating and wounding many of them and arresting 21 persons. Afterwards, they also arrested the President of the Federation of the Rubber and Plastic Trade Unions and workers' representatives, who went to a Hongkong police station to protest. On the afternoon of the 11th, the British authorities in Hongkong carried out another sanguinary suppression on an even bigger scale by turning loose on the bare-handed workers, representatives of various circles and young students large numbers of armed troops, policemen and "riot police" totalling more than 1,000, who repeatedly attacked them with clubs, riot guns and tear bombs and even turning out military vehicles and helicopters. Many persons (including newsreel cameramen and journalists) were arrested. After the 12th, the British authorities in Hongkong still continued large-scale arrests of the demonstrating masses. By the morning of the 14th, more than 400 had been arrested. At present, the situation is still being aggravated.

It must be pointed out that these large-scale sanguinary atrocities perpetrated by the British authorities in

Hongkong are the result of long premeditation and are a component part of the British Government's scheme of collusion with U.S. imperialism against China. On the one hand, in co-ordination with the U.S. imperialist war escalation in Vietnam, the British Government is continuing to provide the United States with Hongkong as a base for aggression against Vietnam in disregard of the repeated solemn warnings of the Chinese Government, and on the other, it is steadily stepping up various hostile measures against China in Hongkong. Particularly since the unfolding of the great proletarian cultural revolution in China, the British authorities in Hongkong have carried out repeated military and police manoeuvres hostile to China and aimed at the sanguinary suppression of Chinese residents in Hongkong, vainly attempting to exclude the great influence of China's great proletarian cultural revolution by high-handed tactics. The persecution of Chinese residents and workers by the British authorities in Hongkong by making use of the labour-capital dispute of the Artificial Plastic Flower Works is a big exposure of this criminal plan of sanguinary suppression. Their fascist atrocities have aroused boundless indignation among the Chinese residents in Hongkong and the entire Chinese people. The Chinese Government hereby lodges the most urgent and the strongest protest with the British Government against these atrocities.

The sanguinary atrocities wholly perpetrated by the British authorities in Hongkong show that they mortally fear and bitterly hate China's great proletarian cultural revolution. This great revolutionary movement which is without parallel in history has dealt a telling blow to imperialism, modern revisionism and world reaction, completely shattered their dream of counter-revolutionary capitalist restoration in China and greatly encouraged and impelled the liberation struggles of the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations of the whole world. In particular, this great revolutionary movement has caused our Chinese compatriots in Hongkong

to love still more ardently the thought of Mao Tse-tung, and they are vigorously unfolding the movement of creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works. Armed with the ever-victorious thought of Mao Tse-tung, the masses of our patriotic compatriots are more militant than ever in fighting imperialism. Frightened out of their wits by this, the British authorities in Hongkong vainly attempted by violent suppression to restrict the influence of Mao Tse-tung's thought and to maintain their control, and thus committed the barbarous fascist atrocities.

The Chinese Government must sternly warn the British Government that in so doing you have completely miscalculated and misjudged your opponent. Succeeding to the glorious tradition of anti-imperialist struggle of over a century, the Chinese workers and residents in Hongkong armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought are neither to be cowed nor crushed. Holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, **they are resolute, fear no sacrifice and are surmounting every difficulty to win victory** in this struggle against the atrocities committed by the British authorities in Hongkong. Heroic, staunch and unyielding, they have greatly developed the glorious anti-imperialist and patriotic tradition and are indeed fine sons and daughters of the Chinese nation. The British authorities in Hongkong are blustering and baring their fangs, but as Chairman Mao, the great leader of the Chinese people, has pointed out, **"In the final analysis, their persecution of the revolutionary people only serves to accelerate the people's revolutions on a broader and more intense scale."** In sanguinarily suppressing Chinese residents,

the British authorities in Hongkong can only end up like one "lifting a rock only to drop it on one's own feet."

The Chinese Government hereby solemnly declares: The Chinese Government and the 700 million Chinese people firmly **support** their compatriots in Hongkong in their heroic and **just** struggle and resolutely stand behind them as their **powerful** backing. The Chinese Government demands in all **seriousness** that the British Government instruct the British **authorities** in Hongkong as follows:

Immediately accept all the just demands **put forward** by Chinese workers and residents in Hongkong;

Immediately stop all fascist measures;

Immediately set free all the arrested persons (including workers, journalists and cameramen);

Punish the culprits responsible for these sanguinary atrocities, offer apologies to the victims and compensate for all their losses; and

Guarantee against the occurrence of similar incidents.

The British Government and the British authorities in Hongkong must immediately and unconditionally accept the above-mentioned solemn and just demands of the Chinese Government. The Chinese Government and people are determined to carry the struggle through to the end. Should the British Government and the British authorities in Hongkong cling to their perverse course, they must be held responsible for all the **grave** consequences arising therefrom.

Holding High the Great Red Banner of Mao Tse-tung's Thought

Patriotic Compatriots in Hongkong-Kowloon Valiantly Fight Against Persecution

RECENTLY, the British authorities in Hongkong, daring to set themselves against all Chinese compatriots there and the 700 million Chinese people, have time and again sent massive armed police for the sanguinary suppression of our compatriots.

This large-scale brutal suppression took place after the British authorities in Hongkong directly interfered in a labour-capital dispute at the Sanpokong Branch of the Hongkong Artificial Flower Works in Kowloon City.

On April 13, the management of this works put out harsh regulations aimed at heavier exploitation and oppression. On April 28, several hundred workers from its main plant and the Kowloon branch were sacked for no reason at all. For several days, the factory workers, wearing Chairman Mao badges and carrying *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, staged an orderly protest in front of the Sanpokong branch in the hope of a reasonable settlement.

The British authorities in Hongkong were greatly frightened by our patriotic compatriots in Hongkong and Kowloon studying Chairman Mao's works, and, they took a strong dislike to it. Getting together with the owners of the works, they instigated the foreman of the plant to beat up the workers at 4:30 on the afternoon of May 6. Ten minutes later, Senior Police Superintendent P.F. Cooper arrived with five carloads of police to blockade the area. On their heels were eight truckloads of the "riot police" of the British authorities. The moment they got off the trucks, these "riot police" immediately plunged into the crowd, striking people with clubs and rifle-butts. The workers fought back valiantly. About 100 workers and other compatriots were badly beaten up and injured; one was seriously injured and had to be hospitalized, while 21 persons were arrested without a warrant. Some injured workers who were pushed into the police van, raised their *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, shouting: "Protest against the fascist outrages of the British authorities in Hongkong!" and "Long live Chairman Mao!"

While the bloody suppression of the workers of the plant by the British police was going on, many workers and residents who were nearby came to their aid. They too were badly beaten up by the frantic police. There was a limit to their patience, and workers from other factories fought back by throwing scrap iron, stones and glass bottles down from buildings. Frightened, these paper tigers tried to find shelter. About eight o'clock in the evening, the police and "riot police" hastily withdrew from the scene.

In the evening, three delegates from the Hongkong-Kowloon Federation of Rubber and Plastic Trade Unions went to talk things over and delivered a protest at the Wongtaisin Police Station in Kowloon. They were unreasonably detained by the British authorities.

On May 9, workers of the Artificial Flower Works, with the support of patriotic compatriots in Hongkong and Kowloon, carried on their struggle. They recited and sang quotations from

Chairman Mao in front of the factory entrance. They posted on the factory walls new quotations from Chairman Mao and protest slogans after the British authorities had sent men to stealthily wipe away the old ones.

At noon on May 11, some 100 workers from the works assembled in rows outside, strongly protesting against the British authorities for meddling in the labour-capital dispute and for their premeditated sanguinary atrocities. With *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* in their hands and wearing Chairman Mao badges on their chests, they shouted slogans and sang *Sailing the Seas Depends on the Helmsman*, *Unity Is Strength* and other songs, and read out quotations from Chairman Mao again and again. Group after group of patriotic Chinese compatriots from all walks of life in Hongkong and Kowloon streamed in to show their sympathy and solidarity with the workers who were greatly inspired by this.

At half past three, the British authorities started another bloody suppression on a still larger scale. According to them, 127 persons were arrested that day.

Armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, the Hongkong workers, patriotic students and teachers and other compatriots from all circles displayed the dauntless, heroic mettle of the great Chinese people, unbending and fearless before the enemy's brutal attack. When the killers were firing wooden projectiles at the patriotic students and teachers from about ten feet away, dozens of young people linked arms and recited the following quotation



Handcuffed Hongkong workers in a police van, arrested without a warrant, hold up *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* in angry protest against the fascist atrocities by the British authorities in Hongkong

from Chairman Mao: **"Be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory."** Shouting "Long live Chairman Mao!", they indignantly condemned the fascist brutalities of the British authorities. One youth, defying the shots of the enemy, dashed to a police officer, pointed an accusing finger at him and cried out: **"Imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers!"** The accused was startled and disappeared into the background. One worker who had been hit and was bleeding, still managed to stick his head out when he was thrown into a police van, so that reporters could take pictures as evidence of the atrocities committed. Some compatriots who had been pushed into the van angrily condemned these fascist brutes for their brutality.

When the thugs were beating up and chasing one crowd, others came to their rescue by throwing bricks, stones and bottles at them. And when they turned back to beat and chase this crowd, the first crowd re-assembled to attack them in the same manner. Workers inside the factory and compatriots in their houses also showered these fascist thugs with stones and bottles so that they were submerged in the heavy encirclement of the masses.

For fear that their criminal deeds would be made known to the world, the police interfered with news-men's activities. Besides repeatedly threatening them, the police brutally beat up reporters of the Hongkong Branch of the Hsinhua News Agency and of the local patriotic press engaged in normal reporting activities on the scene. Five were injured. These reporters lodged a strong protest on the spot with M.C. Illingworth, the British police officer who conducted the bloody attack. On the following day, the Hongkong Branch of the Hsinhua News Agency sent five representatives to the "Governor's House" to make a most serious protest to David Trench, "Governor of Hongkong." Three demands were put forward: (1) severely punish the culprits; (2) apologize to our reporter; (3) guarantee freedom of news coverage for reporters.

The same day, May 12, the British authorities again arrested 100-odd Kowloon residents. An 18-year-old youth suffered severe head injuries and died the next day.

On May 13, the "riot police" mounted surprise attacks on local inhabitants, rounding them up, beating them black and blue and arresting over a hundred. Meanwhile, the British authorities have illegally questioned a large number of Chinese compatriots and sentenced them on framed-up charges.

These fascist atrocities have caused great indignation among compatriots of all circles in Hongkong and Kowloon. The Hongkong-Kowloon Federation of Rubber

and Plastic Trade Unions issued a statement on May 7 which raised four demands that, among other things, the British authorities in Hongkong immediately release all those under arrest, severely punish the culprits, respect the basic rights of the workers and not intervene in labour-capital disputes.

The Hongkong-Kowloon Federation of Trade Unions held a full council committee emergency meeting on May 12 at which a resolution was adopted to form a committee of Hongkong-Kowloon workers of all trades to fight against persecution by the British authorities. The Federation called upon the workers to raise the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought still higher and unite further so as to carry the struggle against persecution to the end. Industrial workers, youth, students, shop clerks, cultural and art workers as well as patriots from all social strata in Hongkong and Kowloon all angrily denounced the British authorities for their fascist crimes. They warned that the blood debt owed by the British authorities to the Chinese people in Hongkong must be paid back and that the Chinese compatriots in Hongkong and Kowloon, armed with the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, are not to be bullied. They pledged that they would act according to the instruction of Chairman Mao: **"We will not attack unless we are attacked; if we are attacked, we will certainly counter-attack."**

On May 15, when the Hongkong *Wen Hui Pao* and *Ta Kung Pao* issued noonday extras which carried the news that the Chinese Vice-Foreign Minister early that morning had summoned the British Charge d'Affaires in Peking to hand him a statement by the Chinese Foreign Ministry (see p. 14), the fighting workers of all trades were greatly excited, knowing that the great and powerful motherland was backing them.

* * *

In Peking, on May 15 and 16, over 400,000 revolutionary masses surged into the streets and held mammoth demonstrations in front of the Office of the British Charge d'Affaires. In Kwangchow, more than 40,000 people demonstrated. *Renmin Ribao* (May 15) published an article by its commentator praising the patriotic compatriots in Hongkong as fine sons and daughters of the motherland who had been fostered by Mao Tse-tung's thought. The article made it known that it is absolutely impermissible for the British authorities in Hongkong to persecute our patriotic compatriots in nearby Hongkong and expressed resolute support for their just struggle. *Renmin Ribao* warned the British Government and the British authorities in Hongkong that should they refuse to rein in at the precipice and continue to pursue their perverse course, they would come to no good end.

China and Albania Will Fight Side by Side For Ever

ONE year ago, after the envoys from heroic Albania, the Albanian Party and Government Delegation headed by Comrade Mehmet Shehu, paid a visit of friendship to China, a joint statement was issued by the two countries. That event is a glorious, unforgettable page in the history of the militant friendship between the Chinese and Albanian peoples.

The Sino-Albanian joint statement is a Marxist-Leninist document filled with the proletarian spirit of thoroughgoing revolution and proletarian internationalism. Holding high the banner of anti-imperialism and anti-revisionism, this document voices resolute support for the revolutionary struggles of all peoples of the world and points out the militant tasks for the Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary peoples the world over. It points out that it is imperative to persist in the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary line and in the dictatorship of the proletariat, and carry the socialist revolution through to the end. Its publication was of tremendous significance for strengthening and developing still further the unity, friendship and co-operation between China and Albania and for safeguarding Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary cause of the international proletariat.

What has happened in the past year has proved the correctness of the views expressed in the joint statement on a series of major issues concerning the international situation and the international communist movement.

We are living in a new and great era of the world revolution. An excellent situation is unfolding before our eyes. The people's revolutionary movements in Asia, Africa, Latin America and other parts of the world are developing in depth. Imperialism headed by the United States, modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist ruling clique at its centre, and the reactionaries of all countries are in a daily worsening plight and their ranks are disintegrating.

In the past year, the great proletarian cultural revolution personally launched and led by our great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung has shaken the whole world because of its incomparably powerful impact. In the course of this great revolution, the hundreds of millions of Chinese people have pulled out the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and have launched a revolutionary mass campaign of criticism and repudiation against the bourgeois reactionary line carried out by them. The proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao has won splendid victories. This great revolution has solved the

question of mobilizing hundreds of millions of people to make revolution on a mass scale under conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the question of conducting struggles to seize power from a handful of persons in authority taking the capitalist road in the organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the question of preventing a restoration of capitalism and guaranteeing for ever our socialist land against any change of colour. It has not only shattered the dreams of the imperialists and modern revisionists to restore capitalism in China and consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country, but has also ushered in a new era for the international communist movement.

The Albanian Party of Labour and the Albanian people have highly appraised China's great proletarian cultural revolution. This is a powerful support and encouragement for our proletarian revolutionaries and our people.

In the past year, the heroic Albanian people, under the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labour headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, have achieved magnificent successes in the socialist revolution and socialist construction, and in the struggle against imperialism and revisionism.

In his message of greetings to the Fifth Congress of the Albanian Party of Labour, Chairman Mao Tse-tung said: "Heroic People's Albania has become a great beacon of socialism in Europe." Today this beacon is shining more brightly than ever before.

The Albanian Party of Labour has creatively applied Marxism-Leninism to the socialist revolution and socialist construction in Albania and adopted a whole series of measures of revolutionization in the political, economic, military and cultural fields. The Party's Fifth Congress last year put forward the tasks of a further development in depth of the ideological and cultural revolution to foster proletarian ideology in an extensive way and thoroughly eliminate bourgeois ideology. This has not only provided a firm guarantee against a restoration of capitalism and for consolidating and developing the socialist system, but has also contributed valuable experience to the history of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Holding aloft the militant banner of anti-imperialism and anti-revisionism, the Albanian people have unflinchingly opposed imperialism headed by the United States and the Soviet revisionist ruling clique and its followers and have staunchly supported the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for na-

tional salvation and the world peoples' revolutionary struggles. Heroic Albania is worthy of the name of an indomitable shock brigade of the world revolution.

The fearless spirit of the Albanian Party of Labour and the Albanian people in daring to fight against imperialism and its lackeys and against all ferocious enemies has won the admiration of Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary peoples the world over. Facts have proved that, in the international communist movement, all genuine proletarian parties loyal to Marxism-Leninism and holding fast to revolutionary principles can make significant contributions to the defence and development of Marxism-Leninism and to the advancement of the revolutionary cause of the world proletariat.

Indeed, as Chairman Mao pointed out, the Albanian Party of Labour and the Albanian people are a lofty mountain towering to the skies while the Soviet revisionist ruling clique and all the other cliques of renegades and scabs of various shades are mere dust heaps in comparison.

In the past year, the Soviet revisionist ruling clique have exposed more fully their own renegade features. They have restored capitalism in an all-round manner in the Soviet Union and energetically defended imperialist-colonialist rule in the capitalist world. They have been stepping up their betrayal of the interests of the revolutionary peoples of the world and worked indefatigably in the service of U.S. imperialism. The Soviet revisionist leaders have degenerated into outright flunkies and accomplices of imperialism. In the sharp struggle between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism, all big and small followers of the Soviet revisionist ruling clique have further revealed their true colours as a pack of renegades from Marxism-Leninism and scabs to the working class. To push forward the revolutionary cause of the international proletariat and the people of the world, Marxist-Leninists the globe over must carry through to the end

the struggle against modern revisionism whose centre is the Soviet revisionist ruling clique.

The friendship and unity between the two Parties and peoples of China and Albania have been further consolidated and developed in the past year. The Chinese and Albanian peoples are true friends and comrades and are not like those false friends and double-dealers who have "honey on their lips and murder in their hearts." Ours is a revolutionary friendship, a militant friendship, founded on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and tested and tempered through storm and stress. We have been fighting shoulder to shoulder in the struggle against imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries and we have been supporting, helping, learning from and encouraging each other in the socialist revolution and socialist construction. The continuous strengthening of the revolutionary friendship and militant unity between the two Parties and peoples of China and Albania is of immense significance for promoting the development of the Marxist-Leninist forces and other revolutionary forces of various countries and for striving for still greater victories in the revolutionary cause of the international proletariat and the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle of the people of the whole world.

Come what may, the Chinese people will unite and fight side by side with and win victories together with the fraternal Albanian people.

Let us hold still higher the great red banner of Marxism-Leninism, unite with all other Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people of the world, fight on persistently, and courageously push ahead the cause of defeating imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries and of establishing a new world without imperialism, without capitalism and without any system of exploitation.

(*"Renmin Ribao"* editorial, May 14.)

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

What Does the Karlovy Vary Meeting of Renegades Show?

— Article in the Albanian paper *Zeri i Popullit*

THE Albanian paper *Zeri i Popullit* on May 5 published an article by its Editorial Department under the title "What Does the Karlovy Vary Meeting of Renegades Show?"

The document "For Peace and Security in Europe" adopted by the revisionists at their traitorous meeting

in Karlovy Vary, Czechoslovakia, is a message begging for alms and pity from the imperialists and the reactionary bourgeoisie of Europe, the article states.

The conference exposed before the world public the depths to which the Khrushchov revisionists have degenerated, their complete capitulation to the bour-

geoisie and other reactionary forces, and their eventual turning into a handful of social reformists serving capitalism and counter-revolution heart and soul. Completely servile, they with tears begged the big bourgeoisie and monopolies, Vatican dignitaries, social democratic chieftains and scab unions in Europe, and the rulers and reactionaries in Western Europe, to respond to their appeal for integration and give shelter to the flock of revisionist "stray sheep."

"Peace at all costs" between socialism and capitalism, between the oppressed and the oppressor, between revolution and counter-revolution, between colonies and suzerain states and between the imperialist aggressors and their victims—this is the keynote of the document adopted at the Karlovy Vary conference and of the speeches made by the revisionist chieftains there. The revisionists tried hard to cover up their fervent desire to join in the capitalist chorus of Europe with the hackneyed slogan of "European security." But this trick can fool nobody, the article notes.

Uniting With the Bourgeoisie and Making Bargains With U.S. Imperialism

At Karlovy Vary, it continues, the revisionist chieftains did their utmost to form an alliance with the whole bourgeoisie in Europe and the rest of the world, allegedly for the purpose of opposing the militarist and revanchist policy of the German Federal Republic. Doesn't this mean that the threat to peace comes only from the German Federal Republic, and not from the reactionary bourgeoisie of the world? This is exactly the "logic" of the revisionists and also their shocking betrayal.

In their statement, the revisionists talked a great deal about their uneasiness over "increased penetration of American capital into Europe." This is the height of absurdity! The Khrushchov revisionists themselves are throwing their doors wide open to American capital. The European monopolist groups which are making investments in the Soviet Union are directly financed by American banks with the approval of the U.S. Administration. It is common knowledge, for example, that the several hundred million U.S. dollars to be spent by the Fiat Automobile Plant of Italy for the building of an automobile plant in the Soviet Union are a loan from the U.S. Export-Import Bank. Other European monopolies investing in the revisionist countries are, in general, most closely linked with, if not subsidiary to, the monopolist groups in the United States.

Alliance with U.S. imperialism and the line of U.S.-Soviet co-operation are the cornerstone of the foreign policy of the Khrushchov revisionists. Of late, the Soviet Union has concluded a series of agreements with the United States, and the two are working together in Geneva to finalize their draft treaty on the prevention of nuclear proliferation. Meanwhile, representatives of the two countries are busily engaged in Moscow over the question of the prohibition of defensive anti-missile missiles. While Lyndon Johnson is persistently urging the U.S. Senate to lift all restrictions on trade

with the Soviet Union, the Khrushchov revisionists are loudly singing the praises of the cordial relations between the two countries.

The revisionists declare that NATO has undergone a "change" and is no longer a danger. Basing themselves on this assumption, they are trying in every possible way to do away with the Warsaw Pact and ask their partners in the Atlantic bloc to follow suit.

The revisionists' talk about "a Europeans' Europe" is in itself an anti-socialist, anti-internationalist slogan. In actual fact, they hope and are even working vigorously for the preservation of U.S. influence in Europe. Similarly they mouth words to the effect that the United States is a "danger." But in reality, they are as much allies of the United States as is the German Federal Republic. They pretend to attack Bonn, but they have established ties with it, and, as time goes on, will further strengthen these ties, regardless of the Karlovy Vary statement.

Defend Capitalist System and Promote Capitalist Restoration

As a matter of fact, the so-called European security which the Khrushchov revisionists are dreaming of and are working hard to realize is a new capitulation on their part. It is a new scheme of the revisionists and the imperialists, a scheme calculated to remove socialism and communism from the earth and preserve and safeguard the capitalist system. It is by no means accidental that the revisionists spare no efforts to advocate "European security" and are busy with their diplomatic manoeuvring for it at the very moment when the Soviet Union and some East European countries are carrying out "economic reforms." "European security" and "European co-operation" are slogans carefully chosen by the revisionists as a means to justify the restoration of capitalism in their own countries and its inevitable consequence—integration with the old economic system of the bourgeoisie in Europe.

Extraordinarily typical is the fact that the Karlovy Vary statement made no call—not even a demagogic one—on the working people to wage revolutionary struggles to shake off the yokes of capitalist enslavement and exploitation and gain their rights and democratic freedoms. Even when it referred to the working people, it simply called on them to strive for general economic rights as demanded by the social-democratic reformists. It said nothing about resistance, but merely talked about capitulation to bourgeois enslavement and monopoly, class collaboration and submission, observation of capitalist order and "living together in peace with everybody." It is full of entreaties.

To Divert the World's Attention and Serve U.S. Imperialist Aggression in Vietnam

Whenever the Khrushchov revisionists raise the "European question" at the conference table and in international dealings, they are trying to attain a very definite and clear objective. They do everything

to assure the U.S. imperialists of tranquillity in Europe and vainly hoping that in this way they will be able to lay a new basis for the practical application of Soviet-U.S. collaboration for the division of spheres of influence between the two powers and thus create new possibilities for directing the onslaught of U.S. military and political power in Asia against Vietnam and the People's Republic of China in the first place. For some time the Western press has been reporting that many U.S. divisions stationed in Europe are, one after another, being transferred to Asia. No matter how loudly the revisionists may cry for support for Vietnam, it is very clear that their manoeuvres on the question of so-called "European security" are solely for the purpose of diverting the attention of the world from the war in Vietnam and the revolutionary anti-imperialist struggles of other peoples.

The hypocritical appeal adopted by the Karlovy Vary conference on the Vietnam question is not worth the paper on which it is written. The trick that the revisionists are trying hard to play on Vietnam will not work any longer.

Now it has been proved by indisputable facts that the Soviet leaders are attempting in every possible way to place the settlement of the Vietnam question within the framework of Soviet-U.S. collaboration and to use this question as an instrument in their joint anti-Chinese propaganda campaign. Moscow has now become the main lair where the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries of all countries hatch plots against Vietnam and where they draw up plans for deceiving Vietnam and diverting it from the correct road of the people's struggle against the aggressor.

Bitter Rivalry Behind the Facade of "Harmony"

Never has one seen an international conference so vile, so out-dated, so dull, so false, so general and so fruitless as the one held by the revisionists at Karlovy Vary. The chieftains of modern revisionism, with Brezhnev at the head, mounted the rostrum one by one and repeated the same thing without any conviction. It was obvious that nobody believed what he himself said at the meeting. The speeches were but a stage-show to conceal what they dare not say and cannot say openly. True, the revisionist chieftains did speak at the rostrum of the former royal palace at Karlovy Vary, but their minds were elsewhere. Although they published a philistine joint statement there, everyone had his own real plans in his pocket. From their speeches and the document, it seemed that they had arrived at a so-called unity in order to save face but in actual fact, a concealed struggle in which one opposed the other was going on. One saw the repetition of the story of making a mountain out of a mole-hill. There is nothing new in their statement, which is only a collection of words to please all the revisionist groups, save their faces and avoid damaging the interests or plans of any of the participants.

The Karlovy Vary conference has failed to mend the breaches in the revisionist front, nor has it succeeded in strengthening the dominating position of the Soviet Union in this front or in consolidating the disunited ranks of the allies of the Khrushchovites. Purely bourgeois relations have been established and will continue to be established among them, relations which keep on changing in accordance with the developments of the situation and with the particular national interests that no meetings or manoeuvres can help solve.

Of course, they are united in the struggle against Marxism-Leninism. But in this struggle, each of them has his own axe to grind and each tries to attain the objectives in which only he is interested, to acquire ascendancy and influence, and to make bargains. In this group beset with innumerable contradictions, it is difficult for the Soviet leading clique to restore order or to create a unity of views and attitudes, far less to make these views and attitudes meet its own interests and aims.

Draw a Clear Line of Demarcation With the Renegades and Carry the Struggle Against Revisionism Through to the End

For the purpose of propaganda and in order to avoid returning home empty-handed, the Soviet leaders asked the other participants to send them regards or congratulations on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution. But speculating with the glory of the great socialist revolution and of the first socialist country will no longer deceive anybody. The Khrushchov revisionists have betrayed Lenin and those who, 50 years ago, overthrew tsarism and founded the Soviets. They have betrayed the 20 million Soviet people who shed their blood in defending their country and liberating Europe from the fascist plague. There is no doubt that the dark clouds gathering at present over the homeland of the Great October Socialist Revolution will be dispersed one day. The great and immortal ideas of Lenin and Stalin, which live in the hearts of the Soviet people and which are inscribed on the banners of the revolutionary battles of the genuine Soviet Communists, will certainly triumph over revisionism which has usurped the leadership of the Party and the state.

The Khrushchov revisionists want to use their meeting at Karlovy Vary to engage in demagoguery and new deceptions. Now, the Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary peoples are all clearly aware of the revisionist tactics. They have learnt to analyse the situations correctly and draw the absolutely necessary conclusions. In the face of the new plots hatched by the revisionists, they will certainly close their ranks more tightly and fight still more energetically to unmask revisionism.

The task before Marxist-Leninists and all genuine revolutionaries is to draw a distinct line of demarcation between themselves and the revisionist renegades who, by their betrayal and conspiratorial acts, have placed themselves outside the anti-imperialist front and outside the international communist movement.

In Europe which is deluged with revisionism, the revolutionary forces that are now capable of leading the class struggle against imperialism, the bourgeoisie and opportunism, are the Marxist-Leninists. The future belongs to them. In the name of the future, in the name of the revolution and of socialism, they should rally all forces and fight with determination against imperialism and its valets, the Khrushchov revisionists.

At the beginning of the Great October Socialist Revolution, Lenin courageously severed relations with the Russian opportunist social democrats and the treach-

erous Second International and fought against them most valiantly and resolutely. This important revolutionary measure was one of the fundamental conditions and the guarantee for the victory of that revolution. We should always attach importance to this great lesson of history.

In order to win victory in the revolution, we should, with determination and without any vacillation, wage an all-out struggle to the very end against modern revisionism which constitutes the principal danger to the international communist movement, the article concludes.

The Blood Debts Owed by the Reactionary Indonesian Government to the Chinese People Must Be Settled

—Excerpts of Yao Teng-shan's speech at press conference
he gave with Hsu Jen

Chairman Mao's red diplomat fighters Yao Teng-shan, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Chinese Embassy in Indonesia, and Hsu Jen, Chinese Consul-General in Djakarta, who recently were unwarrantedly ordered to leave Indonesia by the reactionary Indonesian Government, gave a press conference in Peking on May 13. They sternly condemned the reactionary Indonesian Government for colluding with U.S. imperialism and Soviet modern revisionism to wildly sabotage relations between China and Indonesia and for pursuing a racist policy against overseas Chinese.

Following are excerpts of Yao Teng-shan's speech.
—Ed.

Reactionary Indonesian Government Wrecks Relations Between the Two Countries

Comrade Hsu Jen and I have triumphantly returned to Peking, capital of our great motherland and centre of the great proletarian cultural revolution and world revolution, and have come back close to our most respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao. We were particularly overwhelmed when we were received by our great leader Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Comrade Lin Piao. This is the highest honour, the greatest solicitude and encouragement extended to us; it is the greatest happiness in our life. It represents the greatest solicitude for and the greatest encouragement to all of us fighters on the diplomatic front and the broad masses of patriotic overseas Chinese. It is likewise the greatest encouragement and

support to the Indonesian people and the revolutionary people of the whole world.

The outrageous move of declaring us "personae non gratae" on the part of the reactionary Indonesian Government was a grave step in its recent intensified efforts to wreck the relations between the two countries. On April 20, to express their indignation at and protest against the reactionary Indonesian Government's fascist outrages, tens of thousands of overseas Chinese in Djakarta joined the funeral procession of Ning Hsiang-yu, an aged leader of overseas Chinese organizations in Djakarta, who was cruelly murdered by Indonesian troops and policemen. The reactionary Indonesian Government brazenly let loose troops and policemen and organized hooligans to fire on the defenceless overseas Chinese in the procession and thus created an incident of large-scale bloodshed. When this incident took place, I immediately informed Indonesian Foreign Minister Adam Malik by telephone and intended to lodge the most serious and emphatic protest with him against the above sanguinary incident. But, like a thief with a guilty conscience, Malik dared not meet me in person, and on my way to and back from his office, I was more than once rudely held up by armed Indonesian troops, policemen and hooligans. On April 21, large numbers of Indonesian troops, policemen and special agents appeared in the immediate vicinity of the Chinese Embassy. On April 22, the reactionary Indonesian Government dispatched hundreds of troops, policemen and hooligans to encircle, besiege and assault the Chinese Embassy. Meanwhile, Indo-

nesian troops, policemen and hooligans started massive searches, arrests and plunder of overseas Chinese in Djakarta and large-scale destruction of their property, and they even slaughtered innocent overseas Chinese. On April 23, Consul-General Hsu Jen was going at the appointed time to meet a responsible official of the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs to make representations. No sooner had he gone out of the Embassy gate than Indonesian troops and policemen pointed their guns at him and forcibly escorted him to the Djakarta Military District Command where he was detained for as long as eight hours. In doing so, the Indonesian troops and policemen openly declared that they were acting on orders. Having committed the above outrages of sanguinarily suppressing overseas Chinese and grossly violating the freedom of person of Chinese diplomatic personnel, the reactionary Indonesian Government, far from owning up to their crimes, brazenly declared Consul-General Hsu Jen and myself "personae non gratae" on April 24. The facts fully prove that it is the reactionary Indonesian Government that is unscrupulously sabotaging the relations between the two countries.

The Indonesian reactionaries have now pushed the relations between China and Indonesia to the brink of a rupture. This is entirely the work of the Indonesian Right-wing military clique headed by Suharto and Nasution. Since its coming to power through the counter-revolutionary military coup d'etat with support from U.S. imperialism and Soviet modern revisionism, this clique has frenziedly whipped up tides against China and overseas Chinese and created a series of shocking incidents of opposing China and persecuting overseas Chinese.

During the past year and more, the reactionary Indonesian Government has trampled on the most elementary principles guiding international relations and crudely infringed on the diplomatic privileges of Chinese diplomatic missions and the personal security and freedom of Chinese diplomatic and consular personnel. It let loose troops and policemen armed to the teeth and large numbers of ruffians who launched as many as 38 raids on Chinese missions and forcibly occupied more than 10 buildings belonging to these missions. More than 40 Chinese diplomatic or consular personnel and journalists were wounded by gunfire or beatings. During the raid against the Chinese Embassy on April 15 last year, they went to the length of using armoured cars to break open the Embassy gate and firing at our diplomatic personnel, wounding one of our staff members Comrade Chao Hsiao-shou.

In the past year and more, the reactionary Indonesian Government has wildly pursued a racist policy against overseas Chinese, cruelly persecuting millions of overseas Chinese who have been residing in Indonesia for generations. It has used the most barbarous means in brutally killing hundreds of overseas Chinese, including the dismembering of their bodies and the gouging out of their hearts. It has arrested overseas

Chinese at will and illegally tried and severely tortured them. It has seized the buildings of their organizations, schools and shops. It has carried out extensive looting of their property, and in some cities it has robbed them of their last belongings. It has hurled tens of thousands of them into concentration camps, subjecting them to all kinds of maltreatment. It has issued a variety of orders and regulations against overseas Chinese, even forbidding them from speaking and using their own language. It has flagrantly collaborated with the Chiang Kai-shek bandit clique, vainly attempting to disrupt the unity among overseas Chinese, drive a wedge between them and their motherland and undermine their friendship with the Indonesian people. Indeed, what difference is there between such barbarous racist atrocities committed by the reactionary Indonesian Government and the atrocities of the Hitlerite fascists and the U.S. imperialists?!

The Chinese Government has repeatedly made stern representations to and lodged strong protests with the reactionary Indonesian Government against these wanton activities of opposing China and persecuting overseas Chinese. However, far from relaxing such activities, the reactionary Indonesian Government has become even more unbridled and insensate and is deliberately pushing the relations between the two countries to a total rupture.

U.S. Imperialism and Soviet Revisionism Encourage Indonesian Reactionaries to Oppose China

Opposition to China and persecution of overseas Chinese by the reactionary Indonesian Government is a component of the international alliance of imperialism, revisionism and reaction against China. The great proletarian cultural revolution personally initiated by our greatest leader Chairman Mao has dealt a telling blow to U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism and world reaction. It has thoroughly shattered their dream of restoring capitalism in China. This has filled them with mortal fear and inveterate hatred. They have become more frenzied than ever and have stirred up a new adverse current against China. In order to curry favour with their masters, the Indonesian reactionaries have redoubled their efforts in serving as anti-Chinese hatchmen. And to support the reactionary Indonesian Government in its campaigns against China, communism and the people, U.S. imperialism has for more than a year now given the Indonesian reactionaries large quantities of arms and several hundred million dollars of "loans." Cloaked as a socialist country, Soviet revisionism has also provided various kinds of aids to the Indonesian reactionaries whose hands are dripping with the blood of the Indonesian people. It even continues to supply weapons to the Indonesian reactionaries and has promised to give them new loans. Furthermore, U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism have directly encouraged the Indonesian reactionaries in their activities against China and the overseas Chinese. On the very evening when Consul-General Hsu Jen

and I were declared "personae non gratae," both Indonesian Foreign Minister Malik and the U.S. Ambassador attended a film show given by the Soviet Ambassador. Was it a mere coincidence that the high officials of imperialism, revisionism and reaction met at that very time and place?

The reactionary Indonesian Government's opposition to China and persecution of overseas Chinese is, moreover, inseparable from the policy against the Communist Party and the people it pursues at home. The Indonesian reactionaries have carried out sanguinary suppression of the people at home, slaughtering hundreds of thousands of the fine sons and daughters of the Indonesian people and throwing hundreds of thousands of revolutionary people into jail. However, as Chairman Mao has pointed out, **"All reactionaries attempt to stamp out revolution by mass murder and they think that the more people they massacre, the weaker the revolution will become. But, contrary to this wishful thinking of reaction, the fact is that the more people the reactionaries massacre, the greater the strength of the revolution becomes and the nearer the reactionaries are to their doom. This is an irresistible law."** Through repeated and acute class struggles, the Indonesian people are coming to an ever deeper understanding of the fact that only by taking the road of Mao Tse-tung can they save Indonesia from national disaster and win their own liberation. Guided by the incomparably brilliant thought of Mao Tse-tung, the revolutionary struggle of the Indonesian people is rising in burning flames.

China's Sons and Daughters Armed With Mao Tse-tung's Thought Are Dauntless

Holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, the Chinese diplomatic personnel in Indonesia and the broad masses of overseas Chinese have in the past year and more waged heroic and staunch struggles against the activities of the reactionary Indonesian Government against China and overseas Chinese.

Bearing firmly in mind the teaching of Chairman Mao that **"all reactionaries are paper tigers"** and following his instruction that **"we will not attack unless we are attacked; if we are attacked, we will certainly counter-attack,"** the broad masses of overseas Chinese have been waging a courageous and just struggle against persecution and plunder in the face of the racist anti-Chinese tide stirred up by the reactionary Indonesian Government. With boundless love for Chairman Mao and boundless loyalty to the motherland, they waged resolute struggles against the Indonesian reactionaries and displayed the heroic mettle of fearing neither brute force nor sacrifice, and dare to fight and to win victory. In their struggles against persecution and plunder, the overseas Chinese have the sympathy and support of the masses of the Indonesian people. They have their powerful motherland behind

them and their 700 million compatriots are their strong backing. Their just struggle can never be suppressed, whatever sinister and evil tactics the Indonesian reactionaries may resort to.

The heroic struggles waged by our diplomatic personnel and the masses of overseas Chinese greatly deflated the arrogance of imperialism, modern revisionism and Indonesian reaction, greatly heightened the morale of the revolutionary people the world over and encouraged the Indonesian people in their revolutionary struggle.

Our diplomatic personnel and the masses of the overseas Chinese have won one victory after another in their heroic struggles. What is it that engenders such tremendous strength in them? It is Chairman Mao and the ever victorious thought of Mao Tse-tung. Their struggles have again proved that once the great thought of Mao Tse-tung is grasped by the masses, it becomes a powerful spiritual atomic bomb. In their struggles, they studied and applied Chairman Mao's works in a creative way and take his teachings as the guide to all their actions. Possessing this infinitely mighty weapon of Mao Tse-tung's thought, they demonstrate a dauntless revolutionary spirit, daring to defy the enemy; they have a firm and correct political orientation; they display a strong fighting will; they dare to struggle and are good at struggle; and however acute and complicated the conditions, they are **resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory.**

The reactionary Indonesian Government's frantic opposition to China and persecution of overseas Chinese cannot sully in the least the brilliant image of the great socialist China, but will only further expose its reactionary features and speed up its defeat. As to the monstrous crimes committed by the Indonesian reactionaries in their opposition to China and persecution of overseas Chinese, they owe us a series of blood debts, and the Chinese people will surely settle accounts with them.

No Force Whatsoever Can Break the Militant Friendship Between the Two Peoples

Although the Indonesian reactionaries have now undermined the relations between China and Indonesia, no force whatsoever can break the militant friendship between the two peoples. The Chinese people will, as always, unswervingly support the Indonesian people in their revolutionary struggles. And we are determined to render this support. We are convinced that guided by Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, the Indonesian people who have a glorious revolutionary tradition will fight on heroically wave upon wave, carry the Indonesian revolution to a new high tide and win final victory. As Chairman Mao Tse-tung teaches us: **"The world is progressing, the future is bright and no one can change this general trend of history."**

China's Great Cultural Revolution Has Opened a New Era in World History

by JUNICHIRO IDE

INITIATED and led by Comrade Mao Tse-tung himself, the great proletarian cultural revolution has a bearing on the destiny and future not only of China but also of the world revolution.

China's great proletarian cultural revolution is a revolution carried out under conditions where the dictatorship of the proletariat exists. It is an unprecedented great event which is shaking the whole world.

This great proletarian cultural revolution is a great contribution to, and a great feat of pioneering in, Marxism-Leninism and the international communist movement. This stands to the credit of Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

Just as Lenin showed the road to socialism in the October Revolution, the great cultural revolution going on in China, the centre of the world revolution, has opened the road to communism for the proletariat of the whole world. I am convinced, therefore, that the road charted by Comrade Mao Tse-tung is one which must be taken by all revolutionary people who want to move towards communism.

With the development of the great proletarian cultural revolution, my understanding of its tremendous international significance has grown step by step.

Since the beginning of this year, the great proletarian cultural revolution has entered an important new stage with the struggle for the seizure of power.

But in my mind I failed for a long time to establish a correct link between the great cultural revolution and the struggle to seize power.

I was once in doubt: Why is it still necessary to seize power in China, a powerful state of the dictatorship of the proletariat led by the great leader Comrade Mao Tse-tung? What is the seizure of power in the great proletarian cultural revolution?

The proletariat and people of China, led by Comrade Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese Communist Party, seized political power on a nationwide scale in 1949. With the exception of Taiwan Province, all of China was liberated and a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat was established. This was a victory of the people's democratic revolution, a great victory which led China on to the road of socialism. The victory of the Chinese revolution has become the decisive factor in fundamentally changing the balance of the class forces in the whole world. The great thought of Mao Tse-tung has become the powerful ideological weapon for the world's people in waging revolutionary struggle and defeating imperialism, revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries.

Socialist China has become the bulwark of the proletarian world revolution.

As taught by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, this victory won by the Chinese people is only "the first step in a long march of ten thousand li." The road ahead is even longer; the tasks are more difficult and also greater.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has also taught that classes, class contradictions and class struggle still exist in socialist society and that, at the same time, the overthrown exploiting classes never resign themselves to their defeat. I have gradually deepened my understanding of this through the great cultural revolution.

The struggle in society between classes and between the two roads, socialist and capitalist, is inevitably reflected within the Party. The overthrown exploiting classes first launch a frenzied attack in the ideological sphere against the proletariat. Meanwhile, they try to seek their own agents inside the Party in an attempt to sabotage it from within, to make the proletarian Party degenerate into a bourgeois party and the proletarian dictatorship into a bourgeois dictatorship and bring about a return from socialism to capitalism.

The handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road exercise the bourgeois dictatorship in certain departments, government organizations and enterprises which have been long under their control. If this were allowed to grow unchecked in the absence of a great cultural revolution, then, as pointed out by Chairman Mao, the whole of China would change colour within only a few years, or a decade or several decades at most.

The October Revolution led by Lenin was a great revolution which opened the road of liberation, the road of socialism, for the proletariat of the world. It is by following the road of the October Revolution that China and other socialist countries have won their liberation. But the October Revolution in the Soviet Union was not followed by a revolution in the ideological sphere. Hence the emergence of Khrushchov revisionism there and the changing of the socialist Soviet Union into a revisionist state.

This serious lesson in the international communist movement poses a question for Marxist-Leninists all over the world and that question is how to prevent the degeneration of socialism and achieve communism?

Who has solved this question? It is the great Comrade Mao Tse-tung. He has summed up the experience and lessons in China and other countries and, with great revolutionary fervour and the utmost deter-

mination, has launched the great proletarian cultural revolution. By personally launching and leading this great revolution, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has solved both in theory and practice a question which urgently needed solution both at home and abroad. Only a Marxist-Leninist as great as Comrade Mao Tse-tung and only a great leader as richly experienced in struggles as he can achieve this.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has taught: "All revolutionary struggles in the world are aimed at seizing political power and consolidating it." The central question in the great proletarian cultural revolution is the seizure of power, that is, the proletarian revolutionaries form an alliance and seize power from a handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. This is not a dismissal from office and reorganization from above. It is effected by boldly arousing the masses and by a mass movement from below; it is a struggle in which the revolutionary masses, the revolutionary leading cadres and responsible representatives of the Liberation Army form a "three-in-one" combination and seize power from a handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. In fact, it means that the proletariat seizes power from the bourgeoisie. We maintain that only thus can the proletariat take a firm hold of power in all fields and the dictatorship of the proletariat be consolidated. Only thus can the degeneration of socialism be prevented.

The question of seizing power under the dictatorship of the proletariat is a new and great development of the Marxist-Leninist theory on proletarian revolution and dictatorship.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung in the great cultural revolution has creatively developed the experience of the Paris Commune. Marx, in summing up this experience, pointed out that the proletariat can never take over the state machine of the bourgeoisie ready-made. In dealing with the organs usurped by the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, the method of reformism can never be used; in accordance with this Marxist principle they must be thoroughly smashed. Only thus is it possible to transform those old parts of the superstructure which do not correspond to the socialist economic base. Only thus can the conditions be created for the complete elimination of bourgeois individualistic ideology based on private ownership and for the establishment of communist ideology—the thought of Mao Tse-tung—based on public ownership.

In the great proletarian cultural revolution, it is necessary not only to seize power from the Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road but also to unfold in one's mind a struggle in which proletarian ideology seizes power from bourgeois ideology. This is a profound revolution to smash bourgeois ideology and establish Mao Tse-tung's thought. In other words, it tells us that we must regard ourselves as a target of the revolution while looking upon ourselves as part of the revolutionary force. Only thus can the ideological base of revisionism be dug out and the fruits of the

great cultural revolution consolidated; and only thus can there be a guarantee that socialist China will never change colour and the socialist revolution will be carried through to the end.

The great cultural revolution, led by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, has really opened a new era in the history of the proletarian world revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. This great proletarian cultural revolution has tremendously enriched and developed the experiences of the Paris Commune and the Soviets and Marxism-Leninism.

From China's great cultural revolution, Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people all over the world see the path they should take. This is the very reason why they go all out to support and praise China's great cultural revolution.

The great proletarian cultural revolution has exercised a tremendous influence in Japan. First, the revolutionary people of Japan recognize that the thought of Mao Tse-tung is the only ideological weapon with which to defeat the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries and liberate themselves; so they are all the more eager to study Mao Tse-tung's works. For example, *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, which in the cultural revolution the Red Guards carry with them wherever they go, has become a treasured book for guiding revolutionary struggle among the Japanese people. In the short space of several months, 300,000 copies of *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* were sold. Secondly, encouraged by the revolutionary rebellious spirit of the young Red Guard fighters, the revolutionary people of Japan not only struggle against U.S. imperialism and the Japanese reactionaries but also wage a resolute struggle against the revisionists of the Japanese Communist Party. Thirdly, the great proletarian cultural revolution makes the Japanese people understand that the road pointed out by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the road of the Chinese revolution, is the only road to communism. This has enabled the revolutionary people of Japan to see their bright future and has increased their confidence in struggle.

Like revolutionary masses the world over, the broad masses of the Japanese people have a sincere desire for friendship with the Chinese people and, regarding the great cultural revolution as their own, show the utmost concern and support for it.

On the other hand, imperialism headed by the United States and modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionists as its centre and the reactionaries of all countries see in China's great cultural revolution the approach of their last days. It is precisely this which explains why they are desperately attacking and distorting the great cultural revolution.

The Soviet revisionist leading clique and the revisionists of the Japanese Communist Party are two of a kind. The Soviet revisionists leave no stone unturned to distort and sabotage the great cultural revolution. In unsigned articles in *Akahata* of January 24, February

(Continued on p. 29.)

Peking Review, No. 21



Mao Tse-tung's Thought

Lights the Whole World

25th Anniversary of "Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art" Acclaimed

Like other brilliant works of Chairman Mao, his *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* is circulating widely in all parts of the world. Chairman Mao's thought on literature and art, grasped by more and more of the world's revolutionary people, has become the most powerful weapon for defeating imperialist, modern revisionist and bourgeois thought of all colours and shades on literature and art. Following are the personal impressions of revolutionary literary and art workers in a number of countries after studying this article.

Revolutionary literature and art must serve the workers, peasants and soldiers. Albanian painter Foto Stamo said in his interview with a Hsinhua correspondent that in his *Talks* made at the Yen-an forum 25 years ago, Chairman Mao dealt with many exceedingly important questions of principle about literature and art. Chairman Mao made a scientific, Marxist-Leninist analysis of the direction of development of literature and art and clearly pointed out that they should serve the workers, peasants and soldiers. Time has testified that his theses are very correct and of great practical significance, now as always. This is because these theses are based on the immortal principles of Marxism-Leninism and are opposed to the bourgeois, feudalistic, decadent and revisionist ideologies. These theses reflect the requirements for the establishment of a literature and art in the service of the workers, peasants and soldiers, in the service of the proletariat and its revolutionary interests.

Ballet dancer Xhemil Simixhiu who took part in the performance in Albania of the Chinese revolutionary ballet on contemporary theme *The Red Detachment of Women*, said that Chairman Mao's famous theses in his *Talks* have very real meaning to the present-day revolutionization movement in Albania. As a result of his role in this much appreciated ballet, he said, he had a deeper understanding of the truth that only by being a pupil of the masses can one be their teacher. Only in this way can one create the spiritual food needed by the revolutionary people.

Paving the way to communism. Ali, a Tanzanian friend working in the cultural field, said that Chairman Mao's teachings on literature and art are a sharp ideological weapon. "This powerful ideological weapon has com-

pletely smashed the daydream of U.S. imperialism and its collaborator revisionism who were hoping to see a peaceful evolution to capitalism in China. This weapon has not only raised the determination of the 700 million Chinese people to safeguard the fruit of their hard-won liberation under the leadership of the great teacher Chairman Mao, but it has also further consolidated socialism and paved the way to communism."

He concluded: With more and more Africans mastering Chairman Mao's teachings on literature and art more firmly, they will persistently fight against the influence of imperialist and revisionist literature and art and develop their own national culture.

Beacon for new proletarian culture all over the world. Burmese writer Thakin Mya Than told a Hsinhua correspondent in Rangoon that Chairman Mao's teachings on literature and art are a guide to and clearly show the road for all revolutionary literary and art workers of China as well as of the whole world. "We should profoundly study his teachings and apply them."

He said that Chairman Mao's *Talks* have laid the foundation for the cultural revolution by the proletariat of China as well as of the entire world. It is a beacon for a new, proletarian culture all over the world. He added that "I am determined to study Chairman Mao's teachings on literature and art for the rest of my life and resolutely follow and apply them in order to carry out the task of proletarian revolution."

Noted Pakistan writer Mohd Safdar Mir dwelt upon the great benefit he had derived from Chairman Mao's *Talks*. He said that "my first acquaintance with this work came in 1947" and "I have never forgotten the lessons I learnt from it."

Through the study of Chairman Mao's work, "I came to realize that if art and literature had to have any meaning in the real struggle of the people, then they must be revolutionized and to do that the writers and artists must transform their thinking and correct their attitudes to their work. And their first and foremost task was to wage a bitter fight against the manifestations of bourgeois ideology in art and literature and replace it by an ideology which makes service to the people engaged in revolutionary struggle the cornerstone of their work."

Peking Opera Artists Hail Chairman Mao's Yen-an Talks

Celebrating the 25th anniversary of Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* and responding to the recent publication of Comrade Chiang Ching's speech of July 1964, "On the Revolution in Peking Opera," Peking opera artists, supporting Chairman Mao's line on literature and art, have published a number of articles hailing the *Yen-an Talks* as "treasures belonging to all proletarian revolutionary art and literary workers."

The articles carried in the *Renmin Ribao* and the *Jiefangjun Bao* (Liberation Army Daily) review the course of the revolutionary Peking opera artists' struggles and their hard-won victory over the revisionist line in literature and art, which was directed from behind the scenes by the top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. At the crucial moment in the struggle, Comrade Chiang Ching holding high the red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought in literature and art, personally led the fight, and took a direct part in the creative work.

Tan Yuan-shou, of the No. 1 Peking Opera Company of Peking, the first actor to successfully portray a people's army political instructor on the Peking opera stage in *Shachiapang*, a play showing the heroism of the New Fourth Army in the Anti-Japanese War, writes in his article "Wholeheartedly Serve the Workers, Peasants and Soldiers, and Be Vanguards in the Revolution of Peking Opera!"

"Throughout the past 17 years, the revisionist line in literature and art has been opposing Chairman Mao's proletarian line in literature and art. It prevented Peking opera from serving the workers, peasants and soldiers.

"At the critical moment in the struggle between the two lines, Comrade Chiang Ching came to our opera company. After careful investiga-

tion she found that fewer and fewer people were going to see Peking opera on traditional themes. Why? She sharply made the point that when the socialist stage glorifies emperors and kings, generals and ministers, scholars and beauties, this does not serve the socialist economic base and is not suited to the dictatorship of the proletariat. All that we were portraying on the stage were landlords and their wives. Were we not ashamed of this?

"We were shocked and upset. It was true that for many years we had acted the parts of kings and emperors, generals and ministers, and thought we were 'serving' the people. It did not even occur to us that we were destroying the socialist economic base. Comrade Chiang Ching's words are engraved in my heart: 'We should create literature and art which protect our socialist economic base.'

"As we set out to produce Peking operas on contemporary, revolutionary themes, the principal leading members of the old Peking Municipal Party Committee, supported by the top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, threw up obstacles in everything from casting and finances to working conditions. Standing firm, Comrade Chiang Ching led us on, rallied all revolutionary comrades together, and succeeded in producing the revolutionary Peking opera *Shachiapang*. This was a bombshell to the revisionist line."

Chao Wen-kuei, of the Shanghai Peking Opera Theatre, who plays the leading role of a Communist in *On the Docks*, the first Peking opera portraying the life of Chinese dockers, writes in his article "To Present More Worker, Peasant, and Soldier Heroes on the Stage."

"Up to 1964, Shanghai's Peking opera stage was dominated by feudal and capitalist monsters. The art of

Peking opera was used to attack the dictatorship of the proletariat, to attack the Communist Party and socialism. Comrade Chiang Ching's speech in July of that year on the revolution in Peking opera opened fire on this evil line and ushered in a new era in socialist literature and art.

"I was a minor actor before liberation, and suffered from oppression. After liberation, I wanted very much to do a good job on the stage to serve the workers, peasants and soldiers. But what did I act? Emperors and kings, generals and ministers, in all their 'majesty.' And the audiences? Old and young 'remnants' of the old society who hanker after feudalism or capitalism, and capitalists living on their interest. Workers, peasants and soldiers did not come to see us.

"We went to perform for the armymen and for the peasants in the countryside. But what did we accomplish? Once we went to Kiangsi to perform for some peasants who had just harvested a bumper cotton crop. The poor and lower-middle peasants came to our performance with great expectations. But what did we give them? *Yu Tang Chun*, a love story about a landlord scholar and a prostitute! I felt so ashamed. We were giving our audiences poison. On another occasion, we went to the Fukien front to perform for the soldiers. But we gave them operas glorifying kings and lords. Could that sort of thing stimulate the fighting spirit of our revolutionary army?

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

"The revolution in Peking opera led by Comrade Chiang Ching gets to the very root of the problem and solves it. Peking opera has now become a brand-new art belonging to the proletariat, and I myself have started on the revolutionary path of

servicing the workers, peasants and soldiers."

Chien Hao-liang, of the China Peking Opera Theatre, who plays the leading role in *The Red Lantern*, the story of three generations of staunch revolutionary fighters in a railway worker's family, writes: "Let the Heroes of the Proletariat Occupy the Peking Opera Stage!"

"To see characters from the standpoint of class analysis and class struggle and grasp their class nature — this is the prerequisite for the success of our new opera.

"With boundless enthusiasm, Comrade Chiang Ching led us in creating the heroic image of the railwayman Li Yu-ho, in producing an epic of proletarian revolutionary heroes. But the counter-revolutionary revisionists did their best to discredit this character. On the pretense of 'adaptation to the special characteristics of the art of Peking opera' they even insisted on cutting scenes which show Li's close relationship with the working people and his great strength of character in facing the reactionaries.

"Comrade Chiang Ching wanted fine, powerful singing on the part of the hero in the execution scene, at the opera's climax, in order to show fully his noble ideals and emotions, as well as the powerful revolutionary feelings that characterize the relationship of the three generations. But the revisionists wanted to stress 'human nature' and 'family sentiment' and create an atmosphere of sorrow and gloom, which would

distort the theme of revolution and the portrayals of revolutionary heroes.

"The attitude towards the workers, peasants and soldiers is a touchstone distinguishing proletarian writers and artists from those of the bourgeoisie. The struggle between two classes and two lines also expresses itself in the treatment of worker, peasant and soldier heroes on the stage in accordance with one or the other class stand, viewpoint, and emotion. Our success greatly encouraged the proletariat and greatly deflated the arrogance of the bourgeoisie."

Tu Chin-fang, of the China Peking Opera Theatre, who, in *The Red Lantern*, played the daughter who took over her adopted father's revolutionary tasks after he had sacrificed his life, writes in her article "I Will Propagate Mao Tse-tung's Thought All My Life!"

"In order to counter Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the revisionist line long opposed a real revolutionary change by weeding through the old to let the new emerge. Instead, it advocated 'hunting up traditions' and 'inheriting old trends,' thus digging up corpses of the exploiting classes which would influence and dominate people's minds and force our young literary and art workers to bow down before reactionary art 'authorities' and carry on what is decadent and reactionary in culture.

"When we tried to create new operas on contemporary themes, the handful of top Party persons in

authority taking the capitalist road and their followers immediately berated us for 'going down the wrong road,' and wanted us to put on old operas that extolled landlords for 'opening barns to distribute grain,' presented obscene stories of the emperor's flirtations, and glorified the philosophy of treachery and survival.

"Where was Peking opera going?"

"It was at this critical moment that Chairman Mao made his great call for us not to forget the class struggle, and raised the question of class struggle in the ideological fields. Comrade Chiang Ching firmly put into practice Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line on literature and art and led revolutionary literary and art workers to break through, and sweep away the sinister atmosphere that hung over the theatre. The revolution in literature and art was launched with the drama as its core.

"When in November 1963, Comrade Chiang Ching handed us the script of *The Red Lantern* and asked us to make a serious study of Chairman Mao's writings during its production, we felt we were not being given just a script, but a real red lantern that lit the way forward through the fog.

"Whether at home or abroad, everywhere we go we hear people shout: 'Long live Chairman Mao!' Audiences expect to hear the voice of Chairman Mao Tse-tung and see the brilliance of his thought through our performances. I will be a propagator of Mao Tse-tung's thought all my life."

(Continued from p. 26.)

9 and other dates, the revisionists of the Japanese Communist Party unleashed an attack by name against Chairman Mao and openly distorted and assaulted the great cultural revolution.

What does the attack by the reactionaries of the world against the great proletarian cultural revolution signify? It means that the great cultural revolution spells disastrous failure for their scheme to defeat the world revolution through China's "peaceful evolution" and the degeneration of China, the centre of the world revolution.

Their frenzied attack only shows that they are nearing the end of their days.

Our revolutionary Left in Japan will raise high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and, shoulder to shoulder with the Chinese people, fight with full confidence for the final victory of the great cultural revolution.

Long live the great proletarian cultural revolution!

Long live the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung!

Long live Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of the world's people! A long, long life to him!

(Continued from p. 5.)

People's Literature Publishing House and the broad revolutionary workers and staff in literary and art circles have risen to rebel against the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists in culture and publication. They set themselves the honourable task of publishing Chairman Mao's works. From 1958 to June 1966, this publishing house put out a total of 5,260,000 copies of *Mao Tse-tung on Art and Literature* and *Chairman Mao's Poems*, while since July 1966 the same publishing house has published 22,650,000 copies of these two books, four times the total in the eight years before the cultural revolution.

Premier Chou En-lai Greets Formation of New Cambodian Government

Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, accepted the full power vested in him by the Cambodian National Assembly and formed a special cabinet headed by himself on May 1. On May 6, Premier Chou En-lai sent a message to Samdech Sihanouk, greeting the formation of the new government of the Kingdom of Cambodia.

Premier Chou's message said: "Learning that you are personally leading the Royal Government of Cambodia, I extend my warm congratulations to you, to the Royal Government of Cambodia and to the Cambodian people."

The message added: "I wish to take this opportunity to reiterate that the Chinese Government and people will continue to steadfastly support the Cambodian people in their just struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys and in safeguarding their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. May the friendship between the Chinese and Cambodian peoples and the friendly co-operation between the two countries become still more consolidated and develop further."

Samdech Sihanouk sent a message of reply to Premier Chou on May 10,

thanking him for his message of greetings.

The Palestinian People Will Win

In collusion with British imperialism, U.S. imperialism brought forth a "country" called "Israel" in 1948 and drove a million Arab people from their homes in Palestine, causing them to live as refugees in the surrounding Arab countries. Every year on May 15, the Palestinian people mark Palestine Day to demonstrate their determination to struggle against U.S. imperialism and its tool for aggression, Israel, and to return to their homeland.

An article by *Renmin Ribao's* Commentator expressed the Chinese people's firm support for the Palestinian people's just struggle. Commentator pointed out that this struggle was a component part of the revolutionary struggle of the people of the world. He added that we are living in a new, great era of world revolution. As long as the Palestinian people and the other Arab people strengthen their unity and persist in their struggle, they will finally defeat the aggressive activities carried out by U.S. imperialism and its tool for aggression, Israel, against the Arab people, and the aspiration of the Palestinian people to return to their homeland will surely be realized.

The Afro-Asian Journalists' Association and the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau held a meeting in Peking on May 15 in support of the Palestinian people's struggle. All the speakers expressed the common conviction: Only through armed struggle — the only correct and reliable road — can the Palestinian people completely liberate their homeland. The speakers strongly denounced the Soviet modern revisionist leading clique for betraying the cause of liberation of the Asian and African peoples and acting as an accomplice of U.S. imperialism, and for energetically advocating the "Tashkent spirit" and demanding that the Palestinian people and the other Arab people should "live in peace" with Israel.

A. Kheir, a revolutionary writer from the Sudan and a member of the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau, said

that the Palestinian people enjoyed the support of the people of the world since their struggle against U.S. imperialism and its running dog, Israel, was a just one. He stressed that the meeting was held in the great China at a time when the nation's great proletarian cultural revolution, led by the world's greatest Marxist-Leninist, Chairman Mao, was winning victories. He expressed the conviction that the voices raised at the meeting would spread throughout the world.

S. Gerbou, head of the Office of the Palestine Liberation Organization in Peking, pointed out that the active support given to the Palestinian people's struggle by the Afro-Asian Journalists' Association and the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau was an inspiration to them in carrying the struggle to smash Israel and its masters — U.S.-led world imperialism and reaction — to the end.

Gerbou went on to say that what made one feel hopeful that the forces of the people would defeat the forces of tyranny was the fact that Peking had become the bastion for the world revolutionary struggle. The Palestinian people, he added, had received resolute support from Peking, both material and moral, in their struggle for the liberation of their motherland. He paid tribute and expressed his thanks to the Government of the People's Republic of China, the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people, led by the great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung, for their positive support to the struggle of the Palestinian people.

After telling the gathering about the Palestine question and describing the Palestinian people's struggle, Gerbou said that his people were now more convinced than ever before that the road of armed struggle through people's liberation war was the only road to the liberation of their motherland. He declared that the Palestinian people would carry the struggle to liberate their motherland to the end.

R. D. Senanayake, Secretary-General of the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau, said that the Bureau consistently supported the Palestinian people's heroic struggle and con-

demned the Soviet modern revisionists for ganging up with Israel. Only through people's war could Palestine be liberated. He said: "The great revolutionary leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung has pointed out that 'the revolutionary war is a war of the masses; it can be waged only by mobilizing the masses and relying on them.' We are confident that the Palestine Liberation Organization will carry out this task of mobilizing the masses for this sacred duty."

Djawoto, Secretary-General of the Afro-Asian Journalists' Association, cited many facts in castigating imperialism for plotting and using Israel to carry out aggressive activities in the Arab and other Asian and African regions. He pointed out that Israel was a tool for aggression in the hands of imperialism, U.S. imperialism in particular.

Djawoto added: "We are convinced of the truth of what Chairman Mao says, and that is that 'the socialist system will eventually replace the capitalist system' and that 'sooner or

later revolution will take place and will inevitably triumph.' And also that 'imperialism and all reactionaries, looked at in essence, from a long-term point of view, from a strategic point of view, must be seen for what they are—paper tigers,' and that it is not imperialism and the reactionaries 'but the people who are really powerful.' Chairman Mao also says that 'the enemy will not perish of himself.' All genuine revolutionaries the world over must unite to defeat imperialism."

A. R. Aboukoss, Syrian member of the Secretariat of the Afro-Asian Journalists' Association, in his speech condemned the U.S. imperialists for carrying out subversive activities in Syria in collusion with the British imperialists. He expressed support for the Palestinian people's just struggle. He said that the oppressed people placed their hopes on the Chinese people. Peking today, he added, is the capital of armed revolution, and China's great proletarian cultural revolution is a support to the world revolution.

The joint appeal by the A.A.J.A. and the A.A.W.B. to all revolutionary and progressive journalists and writers in Asia and Africa, entitled "Firmly Support the People of Palestine to Liberate Their Homeland," was read out at the meeting.

On the eve of Palestine Day, S. Gerbou described the Palestinian people's struggle to a correspondent of Hsinhua News Agency in an interview. He stressed: "Mao Tse-tung's thought has become a strong ideological weapon for the world's people in their revolutionary struggle. The Palestinian people and army are conscientiously studying Mao Tse-tung's thought because they know that it is the beacon guiding their revolutionary struggle."

Gerbou added with full confidence: "We believe in the mighty strength of Mao Tse-tung's thought. We believe that the people's forces are invincible. The revolutionary cause of the Palestinian people will surely triumph because ours is a just struggle."

PEKING REVIEW

Vol. 10. No. 21
May 19, 1967

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

IN THIS ISSUE

THE WEEK	5	Most Urgent and Strongest Protest with British Government —Chinese Foreign Ministry Statement	14
Chairman Mao Receives Congolese (B) Guests		Patriotic Compatriots in Hongkong-Kowloon Valiantly Fight Against Persecution	15
New Editions of Chairman Mao's Works on Art and Literature		China and Albania Will Fight Side by Side For Ever — <i>Renmin Ribao</i> editorial	18
ARTICLES AND DOCUMENTS		What Does the Karlov Vary Meeting of Renegades Show?— <i>Zeri i Popullit</i>	19
Circular of Central Committee of Chinese Communist Party (May 16, 1966)	6	The Blood Debts Owed by the Reactionary Indonesian Government to the Chinese People Must Be Settled	22
A Great Historic Document—by the Editorial Departments of <i>Hongqi</i> and <i>Renmin Ribao</i>	10	China's Great Cultural Revolution Has Opened a New Era in World History—Junichiro Ide	25
The Military Commission Decides to Issue Chairman Mao Badge to Every Armyman	13	Mao Tse-tung's Thought Lights the Whole World	27
		CULTURE Peking Opera Artists Hail Chairman Mao's Yen'an Talks	28

Books in English

WORKS OF MAO TSE-TUNG

Talks With the American Correspondent Anna Louise Strong

18 pages 18.5 X 13 cm. cloth or paper cover

Comrade Mao Tse-tung on "Imperialism and All
Reactionaries Are Paper Tigers"

36 pages 18.5 X 13 cm. cloth or paper cover



LONG LIVE THE VICTORY OF PEOPLE'S WAR

— In Commemoration of the 20th Anniversary of Victory in the
Chinese People's War of Resistance Against Japan

by **LIN PIAO**

76 pages 18.5 X 13 cm. paper cover

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

Distributed by: **GUOZI SHUDIAN** (China Publications Centre), Peking, China

Order from your local dealer or write direct to the

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