COVER PICTURES:
Front: Another Production Victory to Report!
Back: The auditorium at the Changhai (Western Suburbs) Hotel in Peking, where the Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting was held.
Inside front: The Shanghai People's Acrobatic Troupe performs "Harvest Dance" for the members of the Tang-wai commune on the outskirts of Shanghai.

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CHAIRMAN MAO SWIMS IN THE YANGTZE

Chairman Mao Tse-Tung, our great leader, who is 73 years old, once again had a good swim in the Yangtze River, braving the wind and waves on July 16, 1966.

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

Chairman Mao had swum across the Yangtze at Wuhan three times in June 1956, and had written his magnificent and powerful poem "Swimming—to the melody Xin Ti Hao Kei Tse". Now, ten years later, Chairman Mao again swam in the great river, staying in the water for 65 minutes and covering a distance of nearly 15 kilometres, looking as fresh and buoyant as ever; it was as Chairman Mao had said in his poem:

I care not that the wind blows
to the Weaver beam.

It is better than oily strutting
to a courtyard.

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

Acting in accordance with Chairman Mao's instruction to go and swim in the big rivers and seas to steel themselves, 3,000 swimmers in Wuhan, following the course charted by Chairman Mao, enthusiastically took part in the 11th Cross-Yangtze Swimming Competition on the morning of July 16. Our great leader, Chairman Mao arrived in a launch and reviewed the competitors. It was a tremendous inspiration to all the people of Wuhan.

At 9.30 in the morning, the strain "The East Is Red", a song in praise of our beloved leader Chairman Mao, came through the loudspeakers on both banks, stirring the hearts of everyone on the spot. They thought to themselves: It was Chairman Mao who opened a broad, smooth path on the Yangtze for us. How wonderful it would be if he could come today and see us cross the river!

Chairman Mao is the red sun in our hearts. He is with us for ever. The competition had just started when a fast launch cut through the waves from the east where the sun was rising and sailed towards the swimmers. One of the swimmers caught sight of the great leader, leaped on the bank, and, barely able to contain his joy, shouted out: "Chairman Mao has arrived! Long live Chairman Mao!" Instantly, the swimmers, holding hundreds of red banners high above the water, swam towards Chairman Mao. The eyes of thousands upon thousands of people on the banks and in the river, which became red with the reflections of the banners, were turned on Chairman Mao! They all expressed the same wish: May our great Chairman Mao live ten thousand years! And they all shouted in one voice from their hearts: Long live Chairman Mao! Simultaneously with the cheers, all the ships at anchor sounded their whistles in honour of the great leader! Cheers intermingled with whistles to form a thunderous roar which shook the sky over Wuhan.

Radiant with vigour and in buoyant spirits, Chairman Mao stood on the deck and reviewed the swimmers battling the waves. Holding red banners high and big boards inscribed with quotations from Chairman Mao's works, the swimmers formed a Great Wall on the wide river, clef the waves and valiantly forged ahead. The inscriptions read: "Unity, alertness, earnestness and liveliness", "The imperialists are bullying us in such a manner that we have to deal with them seriously", "Be resolute and unafraid of sacrifice, surmount every difficulty to win victory".

The swimmers' revolutionary spirit, firm determination and strong fighting will filled Chairman Mao with great joy. Now walking to the starboard and row to the port side, he waved to the swimmers amid enthusiastic cheers and called out to them in a loud voice: "Greetings, comrades! Long live you comrades!"

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

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

Nieh Chang-hsin, a swimmer from the militia of the Hankow Thermal Power Plant, became so excited when he saw Chairman Mao that he forgot he was in the water. Baring both hands, he shouted, "Long live Chairman Mao! Long live Chairman Mao!" While trying to leap up, he sank into the river and gulped several
mouthfuls, but the water tasted especially sweet to him. All 5,000 swimming swimmers past Chairman Mao in groups and, cheering "Long live Chairman Mao", covered the whole course of 5,000 meters in one stretch to triumphantly reach the destination.

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

It was at this jubilant moment that Chairman Mao's launch arrived near the mouth of the Wu—

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

Comrade Wang Jen—chung told Chairman Mao that men of the Chinese People's Liberation Army and the militia swim across the Yangtze fully armed last year, and that students of the Wuhan Institute of Water Conservancy and Electric Power were able to swim across the Yangtze in Wuhu in the winter of 1965.

The news of Chairman Mao's swim in the Yangtze spread like wildfire, inspiring a great wave of enthusiasm throughout the body.

Chairman Mao's first swim across the Yangtze in 1956 was a great inspiration to the broad masses. In the past few years tens of thousands of youth all over the country have followed Chairman Mao's example and are swimming in great numbers. "Swimming is a sport of battling against nature. You should go to the rivers and seas to temper yourselves", and have taken part in swimming across the rivers on an increasingly extensive scale. In the same way Yangtze swim, only some nine

dozen girls and one young boy part. Now 1,990 girls swim the whole course every year, while the children have become the Vanguard in swimming. Many have the chance in 1956 when Chairman Mao swam across the river now figures prominently in the annual crossing.

Close to noon, a strong wind swept over the wide river, drumming up big waves. The launching in the middle of the river moved towards Chairman Mao to take him aboard. Comrade Wang Jen—chung asked several times to go on board to take a sail. Chairman Mao asked how long they had been swimming. When the comrades around him said that they had been swimming for 45 minutes, he replied in high spirits: "It's not even an hour yet!" That, he continued swimming onward. When they had swum 11 minutes, Comrade Wang Jen—

Chairman Mao asked: "Is that the Chairman Mao Jink?" "Yes, it is the Chairman of the Provincial Party Committee here. I had to obey your order!"

Starting from near the mouth of the Wujiang dykes, Chairman Mao swam downstream for about 15 kilometres to a place near the Wuhan Iron and Steel Works. When he boarded the launch, he was covered in foam and showed no sign of fatigue.

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Chairman Mao was at the straits of the Yangtze in 1956. "Long live Chairman Mao" was the title and "The Yangtze is wide and deep. It is a great river.

When Chairman Mao discovered that another young woman accompanying him could only swim in one style, he amiably taught her the back-stroke. He said: "The Yangtze is deep and its current is swift. This can help you train your body and strengthen your will-power."

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

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

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

Mao Tse-tung, you are our leader,
Mao Tse-tung, you are our victim;
Which illuminates, so brightly,
so brightly,
The darkest, the farthest horizon...

And they could not contain their excitement when they saw Chairman Mao that day. Some friends repeatedly called out, "Chairman Mao! Chairman Mao!" Others shouted in Chinese, "Long live Chairman Mao!" Still others on the Chao P'ei River, they broke into songs of welcome.

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

The news of Chairman Mao's swim in the Yangtze aroused unprecedented enthusiasm among the people all over China. It was the first time that Chairman Mao led the Chinese people to swim across the Yangtze. The Yangtze is the second longest river in China after the Yellow River. It is 6,380 kilometers long and flow through 11 provinces and municipalities. The Yangtze River is not only an important natural barrier but also an important natural boundary. It is a symbol of the Chinese nation's strength and civilization. The Yangtze River is also a symbol of the Chinese people's heroic spirit and determination.

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

Foreign friends very highly praised Chairman Mao's call to swim across the Yangtze and the fact that he personally took part in it. They considered it of great significance. They declared that it was a great, unprecedented event for Chairman Mao to have taken the lead in crossing the Yangtze and for the Chinese people to follow this with nationwide swimming activities. It showed the courage of the Chinese people and their defiance of all hardships and dangers. Jaqadul-Riikal, a delegate from Syria, commented: "All the swimmers taking part in crossing the Yangtze today looked strongly virtuous and courageous. Chairman Mao's splendid initiative enables the young people to develop their physique and foster a sound ideology so that they are able to make a breakthrough however enormous the difficulties and however wide the river may be." These friends remarked that if the natural beauty of the Yangtze could be crossed, all hardships could be surmounted, and from this they saw the splendour of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Chairman Mao has once again braved the waves of the Yangtze and set a good example for nearly 13 kilometres. This is a great event which has stirred the hearts of all people. In their excitement they sang the "live Chairman Mao" on both banks that day lasted for more than four hours. These moving scenes have shown the boundless love and respect of the Chinese people for their great leader Chairman Mao. Guided by the brilliant thought of Chairman Mao, every Chinese is striving for a better life.

Shanghai's one million workers cheered the news of Chairman Mao's good health with one voice. Workers and revolutionary cadres of the Shanghai Five-Day Strike who were greatly inspired, particularly because in 1957 Chairman Mao had imposed a nationwide five-day strike, welcomed the news and said, "In 1957 our respected and beloved Chairman Mao led the workers and cadres, "In 1957 our respected and beloved Chairman Mao led the great masses, we are looking at our big-character posters, an event that gave us boundless strength and encouragement."

Now we must hold still higher the ever-victorious great red banner of Chairman Mao. We must carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

"Chairman Mao, we will follow you forever!" "Learn from Chairman Mao the great works and great revolutionary spirit of Chairman Mao, and teach ourselves by swimming in rivers and lakes and sea, but to follow Chairman Mao and advance in the teeth of great storms and waves!"

The people, who are in the midst of the great proletarian cultural revolution, are determined to follow Chairman Mao's teachings not only to steel and temper themselves by swimming in rivers, lakes and sea, but to follow Chairman Mao and advance in the teeth of great storms and waves! The people are determined to fight bravely along the revolutionary path, and to meet the storms and waves and be ever victorious. On the Long March, we met monstrous waves and all hardships of all kinds. But with the correct leadership of Chairman Mao, we had no fear of monsters and spared the greatest hardships and finally reached the shining Shensi. In following Chairman Mao for decades, I have come to understand deeply that as long as we follow Chairman Mao we will be victorious!

In the Chinghak Mountain, where Chairman Mao personally founded the first revolutionary base, he expressed his determination thus: "The people of the Chinghak Mountains followed Chairman Mao in the great cultural revolution in the past. We are doing it now and will always do it in the future." A pilot of the old Red Army said, "Chairman Mao is the Red sun in our hearts, the beacon for the revolutionary people of the world. With Chairman Mao's leadership, we fear no storms or hazards. Chairman Mao led the struggles in the past and will lead the struggles in the future. There was a fire that sparked there started the fire that spread to all China. Now the revolutionary people of the world are studying Chairman Mao's writings with great enthusiasm. In the future, single sparks will surely start fires that will spread through the whole world.

"Chairman Mao is the never-setting sun in the hearts of the people of all nationalities. Chairman Mao's Tse-tung's thought is the guiding orientation in all our work. With Chairman Mao's guidance, we can stop our advance!" Such is the way in which the people of China's many nationalities received the great news of Chairman Mao's swim. In neareastern China, in the T'ie-ch'ing River in the Greater and Lesser Hsiang Mountains, the Ounchin people cherish boundless love and boundless love and reverence for Chairman Mao and wish him a long life of ten thousand years. In the fields of the Lhasa valley in Tibet, the liberated serfs sing. A rainbow of good luck appears in the sky. Chairman Mao's Tse-tung's thought is a supreme happiness for the people of all nationalities."

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

written by Chairsona in 1958.
Cheers of "Long live Chairman Mao! " "Mao Chairman Mao live and rule and reign!" reverberated in China's cities and countryside.

The people of the capital, who are in the midst of the great proletarian cultural revolution, are determined to follow Chairman Mao's teachings not only to steel and temper themselves by swimming in rivers, lakes and sea, but to follow Chairman Mao and advance in the teeth of great storms and waves! The people are determined to fight bravely along the revolutionary path, and to meet the storms and waves and be ever victorious. On the Long March, we met monstrous waves and all hardships of all kinds. But with the correct leadership of Chairman Mao, we had no fear of monsters and spared the greatest hardships and finally reached the shining Shensi. In following Chairman Mao for decades, I have come to understand deeply that as long as we follow Chairman Mao we will be victorious! In the Chinghak Mountain, where Chairman Mao personally founded the first revolutionary base, he expressed his determination thus: "The people of the Chinghak Mountains followed Chairman Mao in the great cultural revolution in the past. We are doing it now and will always do it in the future." A pilot of the old Red Army said, "Chairman Mao is the Red sun in our hearts, the beacon for the revolutionary people of the world. With Chairman Mao's leadership, we fear no storms or hazards. Chairman Mao led the struggles in the past and will lead the struggles in the future. There was a fire that sparked there started the fire that spread to all China. Now the revolutionary people of the world are studying Chairman Mao's writings with great enthusiasm. In the future, single sparks will surely start fires that will spread through the whole world.

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Chairman Mao's first great front brought boundless inspiration and strength to China's 700 million people, who are determined to follow Chairman Mao and advance in the teeth of great storms and waves.
The campaign among the Chinese people to study Chairman Mao's writings is revolutionary as the great proletarian cultural revolution is developing with tremendous vigour throughout China. Comrade Mao Tse-tung's Talks at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art, an important, epoch-making article written in May 1942, is one of the four programme documents guiding the proletarian cultural revolution. On the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the founding of the Party, Hongqi (Red Flag), published by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, reprinted the article in its issue No. 9 released on July 1 of this year alongside a editorial note entitled "The Compendium of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution". Earlier on May 23, 1966, the Jiefangjun Bao (Liberation Army Daily), which is for circulation in the Chinese People's Liberation Army, published the whole of the Talks at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art translations of the Hongqi editorial note and the Jiefangjun Bao article. —Editor.

The Compass for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

— Hongqi Editorial Note on Reprinting 'Talks at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In June 1964 Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out that in the past 16 years the literary and art circles for the most part (those who did not apply to every individual) had not carried out the policies of the Party but had acted as high and mighty bureaucrats, had not gone to the workers, peasants and soldiers and had not reflected the socialist revolution and construction. In recent years they had even slid to the verge of revisionism. If serious steps were not taken to help them renounced themselves, they were bound at some future date to become groups like the Hungarian Petofi Club.

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

In the course of the past few months the great proletarian cultural revolution, launched and led by the Party's Central Committee, has developed and has become a powerful struggle and counter-revolution, against them. This great proletarian cultural revolution is a struggle to defend Mao Tse-tung's thought, a struggle of cardinal issue of right and wrong; it is an extremely intense, extremely sharp and extremely profound class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeois. It is an issue of prime importance which affects the destiny and future of our Party and country.

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

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

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

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

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

In the new conditions of the domestic and international class struggle, and the new conditions of the revisionism and bourgeois nationalism and modern revisionism in the present era by the proletariat, the oppressed nations, and the oppressed peoples in various countries, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has elevated Marxism-Leninism to a completely new stage. Mao Tse-tung's thought is the new Marxism-Leninism in the new stage. Comrade Mao Tse-tung's thought is the heroic, great proletarian, national, New Democracy, New Revolution, New Cultural Revolution—Talks at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art, On New Democracy, On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People, and the present Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work—are programme documents for the great proletarian cultural revolution.

We are reprinting this great work, Talks at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art, so that it may be widely studied.
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Chairman Mao Tse-tung's Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art was published in May 1942. In the world context, anti-fascist war was in its most difficult period and the Chinese revolutionary situation was extremely complex. The Kuomintang government and the warlords had been going on for five years, Japanese imperialism had intensified its large-scale "mopping-up" campaigns against the Anti-Japan alliance and the anti-Japanese resistance movement was encountering its ruthless policy of "burn all, kill all, loot all". The Kuomintang reactionaries, hired by the Japanese imperialists to capitulate, were intensifying their policy of being passive in opposing Japan and active in supporting and collaborating with the Japanese. They had openly sent hundreds of thousands of troops to encircle and blockade the Liberated Areas in an attempt to strangle the army and people there, and had secretly sent great numbers of troops to surrender to the Japanese in return for the purpose of attacking the Liberated Areas under Japanese direction.

This situation placed our Party in an extremely difficult position. Within the Party, the "Left" opportunists represented by Wang Ming and the erroneous capitulationist line which had appeared in the early stages of the Anti-Japan resistance movement. Japan had had grave influence on and caused grave damage to the Party and the Chinese revolution and had not yet been thoroughly examined and repudiated. It was necessary to launch a rectification movement in order to set right the Party's erroneous policies, purge its ranks ideologically, politically and organizationally, eliminate the evil influence of the Wang Ming line and conclude the Kuomintang reactionaries' policy of capitulation. The Kuomintang reactionaries' reign of white terror in the Chiang Kai-shek-controlled areas made it difficult for the writers to go into the midst of masses of workers, peasants and soldiers to understand them, know them well and write about their life and struggles. It was necessary to correct the erroneous influence of the so-called "Confucian" theory of the Kuomintang. At that time, politics and literature were closely connected, and a movement was called for to mobilize the masses for the struggle and win victory. The movement was a struggle between proletarian ideolo-
gy and non-proletarian ideology, a movement for the whole Party in Marxism-Leninism.

Wang Ming's campaign in literature and art was an integral part of this great rectification movement. In the years preceding the publication of the Talks, the "Left" line and the so-called "art workers" had come to Yenan and other base areas from the Japanese-held areas and the areas under Chiang Kai-shek and other warlords. The "Left" line was well known for its adventurous spirit and their world outlook was very evident. The writers there, having taken the "Left" line, had formed a new mass of writers and artists and established a literary and artistic organization. In this organization, they had made a so-called "Left" opportunistic line. Organizationality, they practised closed-doors-seminar and secretariat work. During the period of their work in Yenan, they were opposed to the ideas of the literature and art of the "thirties", rejected literature and art as the instrument of the capitalist literature and art. They had made a completely one-sided "Left" line, and the "Left" line was very successful and obtained the support of the whole Party and the world. All this won great victory. Chairman Mao held his Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art in order to systematize the Party's experiences gained by the revolutionary literature and art movement since the May 4th Movement. The Ten Years' War, the influence of the erroneous "Confucian" theory of the Kuomintang, and the ideological confusion had made it necessary to launch a rectification movement. The Maoism line, which was a line against revisionism, and the correct ideology and correct line had come out. The "Left" line was opposed to Mao's line and had been shown to be erroneous. Therefore, it is the great significance and limitation of the Talks that they are a great rectification movement of literature and art. The Maoism line, which was against revisionism, was victorious and the "Left" line was condemned. This is the great significance of the Talks. The Maoism line, which was against revisionism, is the correct line and the line which was taken by the Party. It is the line of the Chinese revolution and the Chinese revolution is the line of the Chinese people. The Maoism line is the Chinese people's line.

Great Significance

The Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art were the elaboration of the Maoism line in this area. This line represented by Wang Ming, made a complete, most comprehensive and most systematic historical summary of the struggle between the two lines on the cultural front since the May 4th Movement, and creatively solved a series of fundamental questions in the Marxianist-Leninist art movement. This brilliant work carries on and develops the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and theory and is the Marxianist-Leninist theory on literature and art in the present era, and the most powerful weapon of the Party's battle against revisionism and all kinds of bourgeois ideas on literature and art and the supreme directive for our cultural revolution.

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

In the socialist revolution and the building of socialism, literature and art will play an important role. The public of China, experience has taught us over and over again that our writers and artists must always be correct in their views on creating and advancing only when they conscientiously apply Chairman Mao's instructions, that is, they will make great progress in literature and art. Once they depart from Chairman Mao's instructions, they get off on the wrong track, their work becomes stagnant and revisionism emerges.

In the great socialist cultural revolution now going on in China, whether one supports or opposes Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art distinguishes him as a revolutionary or counter-revolutionary, as a genuine revolutionary or a sham revolution- ary. The bourgeois, modern revisionists and all members are very afraid of and deliberately try to smother the heat and spirit of the Talks. Therefore they desperately resist it, virulently attack it, shamelessly tamper with it and even cunningly and slyly oppose it while waving the flag of the Talks. All revolutionary literary and art workers and all revolutionary art workers must all courageously pour out their creative spirit from the Talks, arm them-
The problem of work. Since the audience consists of workers, peasants and soldiers and of their cadres, literary and art workers should make it their primary task to understand and know them well. To achieve this, they should go in the midst of the worker, peasant and soldier masses, become one with them and, through long periods of living together, remodel their own thoughts and feelings.

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

CONCLUSION

In this section, Chairman Mao first of all points out the important principle that in discussing a problem we should start from reality and not from definition. Then, on the basis of this principle, he analyzes the two problems, (1) working for the masses and (2) how to work for the masses. Chairman Mao made a profoundly penetrating elucidation in the following five parts.

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

Members of the Homan opera troupe, Hepatu province, on their way to the hills and the villages to serve the broad masses of farmers and soldiers, go into the bed of the struggle, go to the only source, the broadest and richest source, in order to observe, experience, study and analyse all the diff

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

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

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

The article consists of two sections. INTRODUCTION

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

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

The problem of attitude. With regard to the enemy, the task is to expose his duplicity and cruelty and at the same time to point out the inevitability of his defeat. With regard to our allies, our attitude should be one of both alliance and criticism. As for the masses of the people and their vanguard, we should help them to understand and believe in the leadership of the Party, and to follow us to the bitter end.

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

The problem of classification of the audience as workers, peasants and soldiers and revolutionary cadres. Literary and art workers must serve them well.

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The problem of classification of the audience as workers, peasants and soldiers and revolutionary cadres. Literary and art workers must serve them well.
Literature and Art Serve Workers, Peasants and Soldiers

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

Part 4 deals with literary and art criticism and makes profound criticism of a series of wrong ideas. Literary and art criticism is one of the principal methods of struggle in the world of literature and art and should be developed. There are two criteria in literary and art criticism: the political and the artistic. Any class in any class society inevitably puts the political criterion first and the artistic criterion second. We proletarians must in the first place use our own political criterion to judge whether a work is good or bad. What we demand is the unity of politics and art, the unity of revolutionary political content and the highest possible perfection of artistic form. Chairman Mao makes a profound analysis and criticism of a series of wrong and malformed ideas such as the "Banality of human nature," the fundamental point of departure for literature and art is love, love, love, the "Necessity of art in the real world," the "irregularity of art in the real world," the "humanity of art" and the "naturalness of art." The spirit of the satirical essay, and Lu Hsun's style of writing is still needed,

Chairman Mao says, "...all our literature and art are for the masses of the people, and in the first place for the workers, peasants and soldiers; they are created for the workers, peasants and soldiers and are for their use." The direction of literature and art of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers is the fundamental direction of proletarian literature and art, the watershed distinguishing proletarian literature and art from feudal and capitalist literature and art, the dividing line between revolutionary literature and art, the watershed between the question of politics and the question of art, the line between literature that promotes the revolution and art that is opposed to the revolution. If we have no literature and art even in so broad a sense and at most ordinary sense, we could not carry on the revolutionary movement and win victory.

IMPORTANT PROBLEMS TO GRASP

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

2. Chairman Mao says, "...all our literature and art are for the masses of the people, and in the first place for the workers, peasants and soldiers; they are created for the workers, peasants and soldiers and are for their use." The direction of literature and art of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers is the fundamental direction of proletarian literature and art, the watershed distinguishing proletarian literature and art from feudal and capitalist literature and art, the dividing line between revolutionary literature and art, the watershed between the question of politics and the question of art, the line between literature that promotes the revolution and art that is opposed to the revolution. If we have no literature and art even in so broad a sense and at most ordinary sense, we could not carry on the revolutionary movement and win victory.

3. The workers, peasants and soldiers are the main mass of our country, and their views and they want the Party and the world to be preserved and upheld in their own image. To yield to them would actually be to yield to the big landlord class and the big bourgeoisie and to run the risk of undermining our Party and our country. To develop this revolutionary movement more effectively, things must be put in order ideologically in our Party and our ranks. This requires a struggle of proletarian ideology against non-proletarian ideology. Chairman Mao calls on all comrades in literature and art to realize the seriousness of this great debate and join actively in this struggle in ideology so that our entire ranks may become truly united and consolidated ideologically and organizationally.
time before", that "the whole people", including the bourgeoisie, are the audience whom our literature and art should serve. This is an overt attempt to tamper with the slogan of making literature and art serve the workers, peasants and soldiers. This is cut-out revisionist nonsense and its purpose is to oppose the principle that literature and art must serve socialism and the workers, peasants and soldiers and instead to make them serve the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists and serve the restoration of capitalism.

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

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

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

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

Writers and artists must first of all be revolutionary fighters and acquire a proletarian world outlook. This requires that they go among the masses, integrate themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers, and intensify their efforts in ideological remoulding. Only by constantly studying Chairman Mao's works and going into the midst of the masses...
of workers, peasants and soldiers and by going through the repeated tempering they can become one with the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers in thoughts and feelings and gradually acquire a revolutionary outlook. Without this pro-
longed and arduous process of remolding, the in-
tellectuals will not be able to transform themselves into labouring people, nor can they wholesaleily serve the masses of the workers, peasants and soldiers. The grandeur of the "three" maintainsthat the Left-wing literary and art movement of the thirties already had a com-
pletely revolutionary outlook and actually had resolutely followed it in practice. This is nothing
but the proletarian ideology that is now being developed a rev-
testamental line. The reason they proclaim this far and wide is to try to make people believe that such ques-
tions as that literature and art are the "tools of the masses", writers and artists should integrate themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers and strengthen their outlook and art move-
ment, and that the intellectuals are no longer needed in the struggle.

In socialist society, we must create and develop socialist literature and art. Only then can we con-
form to the requirements of socialist society. And serve the new economic base and political line of socialism. It is inconceivable that while our political line and economy are socialist, our outlook should remain capitalist, feudalist or still new democratic. Socialist literature and art are the tools of the proletariat in carrying on the class struggle. They are used in the struggle to foster what is proletarian and liquidate what is bourgeois; to develop socialism and to speed up and push forward the development of the socialist cause.

Chairman Mao says that classes and class struggle continue to exist in socialist society. The struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeois as to whether the world will be long, tortuous and at times very acute. This struggle will certainly be sharply reflected on the cultural front. The struggle to foster socialism and liquidate what is bourgeois on the cultural front has always been an important part of the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeois, between the social-
listic road and the capitalist road. The proletariat seeks to put its own culture and socialism at the head of the world outlook, and so does the bourgeoisie. The proletariat seeks to develop socialistic culture, to make it serve the workers, peasants and soldiers, to serve socialism and the cause of the proletariat. This is what the bourgeoisie certainly will not do. This is a sharp class struggle on the cultural front.

Chairman Mao says, "Literature and art are sub-
ordinate to politics to perform an extraordinary
function on politics." A given literature and art re-lects the political, ideological and cultural positions of a class society, all literature and art inevitably belong to definite classes, are the tools for class struggle, and any class, bourgeois or proletarian, which serves its own class interests. The proletariat must have its own literature and art to serve its cause, while the bourgeoisie, in literature and art occ-
cupy an important place and play an important part in their class and social interests.

16 years since the founding of the People's Republic, the anti-Party and anti-socialist gang in lite-

erary and art circles has put forward all sorts of absurd and false theories, and has tried to trans-
form writers and artists to remodel their ideology and integrat

equal or literary movement. They have always been the main force of the new democratic revolu-

tion, under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman Mao, we

have combated the rightist revisionist line and the revisionist

line in art, put down the anti-Party and anti-socialist gang in lit-

erary and art circles and rooted out all the filth and trash from the literary and art circles.

Since the founding of the People's Republic, the great social revolution in China, the bour-

gourious-capitalist revisionist gang in the literary and art circles have always been the
together.

We must closely follow with great at-
tention the development of the great cultural rev-

olution and actively participate in it and carry this great socialist cultural revolution through to

end.

—Ji Xianzhi Ban (Revolutionary Culture Daily) May 23, 1966
送戏上山

Sŏng Xi Shāng Shān

Sending Plays up to the Mountains

Rewarded Translation

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

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

Explanatory Notes

1. In Chinese, the object generally follows the verb, but when emphasis is required, the object is placed before the verb as pointed out by the word de e.g., bā xiàng dié hén le Peking. But it is also frequently used at a resultative complement meaning "attaining" or "reaching", e.g., kùsùn de shì miăo. (and turns to the mountains).

2. Dào is a verb meaning "to arrive", e.g., èr diào le mǎn zì (send plays to the mountain). It is a resultative complement meaning "to be able to see again".

3. In Chinese, a phrase modifying a noun generally precedes the noun to which it is linked by the word de e.g., zhūn kùsùn de shì miăo. (a village of only six Kutsung households).

4. Xiăoyiănshăi is translated literally mean "happy", "laughing", "with open face". It is a popular idiomatic expression meaning "extremely happy" or "grinning broadly".

5. Yī...yī...yī...yī...yī... is a construction often used in Chinese to connect two parallel elements and to stress that two states or characteristics exist at the same time. E.g., yī diào le xiăo sēn lì shì yī yī yī lāogé shěnghăi (both steep and slippery).

A Simple Key to Pronunciation

Consonants: b, d, e (ts), f, g, h, j, k, l (as in hill), m, n, ng, p (as in peak), q (as in other), r, t, w, x, (as in hill), y, z, 660 (as in hill), ch (as in chew), sh (as in shrub), zh (as in shrub). In the last three are pronounced with the tip of the tongue curved back.

Voices: a (as in father), o (as in zon), e, ê (as in zon). Other stress of combination such as an or é are as in English.

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

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

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

AFTER a long and successful run in Peking of their own six-act play, The Rising Sun, the family members of the workers of the Taching oilfield have gone back to their factories and farms in Ta-ching. They are the first among workers in carrying out Mao Tse-tung’s line to present on the stage a full-length modern drama on such a scale. The way they staged an ancient story of a world by storm has left an unforgettable impression on their audiences. They had given The Rising Sun 133 times before 220,000 theatregoers and won the acclaim: “In both content and form, this play is in every way a rising sun.”

A Newborn Thing

The play is the stirring story of how the family members of the workers of Taching oilfield, nurtured on the thinking of Mao Tse-tung, got organized to engage in collective productive labour and take the road of the revolution. A production and construction of the oilfield go on, the wives, children and parents of the workers have been arriving in groups, Chairman Mao has instructed that large enterprises, aside from carrying on industrial production, should also engage in some agricultural production and commerce, run schools and have some military training. The Party committees and Taching oilfield follow this instruction and also act in accordance with the instruction given by leading comrades of the Party’s Central Committee to “combine industry and agriculture, combine town and country, facilitate production, give convenience to everyday life.” It organizes the family members to study Chairman Mao’s writings so that they become armed with the thinking of Mao Tse-tung and organizes them to take part in collective productive labour and the building up of a new rural socialist oil centre.

Having studied Chairman Mao’s writings, the family members begin to understand what revolution is all about on life and the world changes, these horizons broaden. They begin to say, “In the past we had eyes only for our family, for our egg-laying, for our husband and children. But now we study Chairman Mao’s writings, we have some awareness of life and do as he instructs. Standing here on the oilfield, we must also have our eyes on the national industry and the whole world.” They join the oil workers and take an active part in socialist industrial revolution and socialist construction.

Having conquered seemingly endless problems, a new type of socialist industrial centre appears—it is both town and country, where both industry and agriculture thrive, and where everyone, oil workers and their families alike—lives in a close-knit and well-organized system, takes part in labour and political studies and many group activities (such as farm-study schools). This contributes to the gradual reduction of the differences between workers and peasants, town and country, physical and mental labour. This is a newborn thing with a great future and immense vitality. The story of its growth is in itself a great song of the triumph of Mao Tse-tung’s thinking, played by the real people of Taching who themselves have triumphed in the creative application of Mao Tse-tung’s thinking.

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

Attracting worker, peasant and soldier audiences like a magnet, the performance is bringing tears. Many times the audience would not leave after the last curtain, demanding that they come out to talk about the real-life experience and revolutionary spirit of Taching. They went backstage or to the hotel to visit the performers. Some held forums to discuss what was learned from the play. Some, taking the people on the stage as their own comrades, came out to discuss their own problems with them and seek advice. Such incidents revealed the audience’s eagerness and enthusiasm. The audience has been one heart and one mind. This fusing of thought and emotion is an expression of a completely new situation in China’s culture and art—that of workers, peasants and soldiers portraying themselves, and of workers and soldiers watching themselves.

The success of the play of these ordinary working people was a resounding slap in the face of the old feudal “authorities”. Like many fine literary and artistic works by the working people that have come out in revolutionary cultural, The Rising Sun is another victory for the thinking of Mao Tse-tung. It says again to the world: The time has arrived for Chinese workers, peasants and soldiers to become the complete masters of the stage, of revolutionary literature and art, and of all culture!

Striking a Blow for Workers, Peasants and Soldiers

The play was written collectively by members of Taching oil workers’ families, workers and several playwrights who are now busy living and working in the oilfield. The Party organisations of the Ministry of Petroleum Industry and the Taching oilfield supported and led their efforts. In mid-December 1963, different sections of the oilfield selected for the casting workers and family members who were outstanding in both political understanding and work. Within a few days the cast was formed.

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

Taching’s workers and their families believe that literature and art are important battle positions and that if the proletariat and the masses are to win, we must stage a great struggle to foster what is proletarian and eradicate what is bourgeois in culture. While opening up the oilfield and building the centre, they have also resolvedly carried out Chairman Mao’s line on literature and art, constantly developing their own mass literature and art. They have not only put on such great performances as The Rising Sun, but have also gradually raised the standard of their own reading and research. And now they have set an example to all the people of the oilfield.

Everyone in the Taching oilfield district feels that the production of The Rising Sun as a revolutionary first by the workers, peasants and soldiers of Taching is to “take Chairman Mao’s line on literature and art.” Many went to the rehearsals and watched the actors, and the whole district felt the impact of the performance. When a piece of scenery or stage property was needed, lan-
Chairman Mao says, we can't go wrong... We want to prove with living facts that as long as we work people are armed with the thinking of Mao Tse-tung, we will not only be able to do a good job of drilling oil wells and growing crops, but also can give good dramatic performances. We can do anything!

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

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

Can workers, peasants and soldiers act in drama? Chairman Mao said long ago that literature and art must serve the workers, peasants and soldiers and must gradually become their very own. The cast declared happily, "Chairman Mao supports our going on stage! We must do a good job!" Are the workers, peasants and soldiers capable of acting well? Chairman Mao has answered this very clearly, too: the stirring life and struggle of the workers, peasants and soldiers is the only source of the broadest and richest source of all literature and art. The cast was confident: "We are the ones who know and love the life portrayed in our play. As long as we do as Chairman Mao says, we can't go wrong... We want to prove with living facts that as long as we work people are armed with the thinking of Mao Tse-tung, we will not only be able to do a good job of drilling oil wells and growing crops, but also can give good dramatic performances. We can do anything!"

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A Flowering Spring in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

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

That was art for the great masses of the people was proven by the enthusiasm with which 110,000 workers, peasants, soldiers, revolutionary cadres and young students greeted the 30 performances during the 18 days of the festival. Over 200 militant revolutionary songs and dances were pre-
sented. Ten special programmes included such themes as “Long Live the Victory of People’s War”, “Ode to Heroes”, “Learning from Taching and Tsaihful”, Musical Recital of Chairman Mao’s Poems, and “The Misses’ Sing”. Millions more enjoyed the programmes on radio and television.

The festival was marked by three characteristics. First, it raised high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung’s thinking on literature and art. It was a large-scale demonstration of the results of the revolution in music and dance, eradicating bourgeois thinking and promoting and encouraging proletarian thinking. Second, the workers, peasants and soldiers appeared as the main fighting force of the great cultural revolution by creating, performing and com-
menting on the festival pieces. Third, the festival performances were also taken out into the factories, villages and armed units around Shanghai, bringing revolutionary songs and dances right into the doorsteps of the workers, peasants and soldiers for their ap-
proval.

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

The great thought of Mao Tse-tung is the core of Marxism-Leninism in the present era and living Marxism-Leninism at its highest. It is an ideological weapon of China and of the world in impe-
tation, modernization and nationalization. It is a slogan and slogan to express the thought of Mao Tse-tung in all forms of literature and art.

The five continents are rocking.

Wind and thunder roaring.

It is composed of six parts: the Prelude “Fighting Vietnam”, “Storm Over Mount Fuji”, “Afri-
can War Drums”, “The Banners of Guerrillas Were Spurred Through Latin America” and “Peoples of the World Unite and Fight”. It is a song of the triumph of the fact that “the East Wind prevails over the West Wind”, and a descrip-
tion of the excellent situation of the revolutionary anti-imperialist thunderstorm now sweeping the entire globe. It restates Chairman Mao’s thesis: The tide of the en-
gaged people of the world in opposition to the U.S. imperialism is irresistible. The struggle of the people the world over against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys will win still greater victories.

A seven-act dance suite, “The Red Army Defies the Trials of the Long March”, precludes the confident and heroic spirit of the Red Army, led by the thinking of Mao Tse-tung and carried out by revolutionary ranks armed with this thinking, will sweep aside all obstacles in its march forward. The suite was created collectively by the Shanghai Dance School and based on “The Suite of the Long March”, written by the Comrades in Arms Cultural Troupe. Performed against projected backdrops by 57 dancers, the epic Long March is portrayed with a creative blend of dance movements from Peking opera, dances of the minority peo-
ple and other folk dances, accompanied by singing and recitation. The first half is devoted to the his-
toric moment in 1934 when the Tsungli Meeting of the Chinese Communist Party firmly estab-
lished the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung. Choral singing voices the historic importance of this event to the cause of the people’s liberation: “The brilliant leader takes the helm; the revolu-
tion sweeps powerfully forward.”

The people’s determination to fol-
low Chairman Mao and carry the revolution through to the end is expressed in happy and exuberant dancing.

The second half of the suite takes the audience into the most arduous part of the Long March. The music becomes stronger, the singing majestic and the dancing steady and statusque, for here it portrays the revolutionary fortitude and optimism of the Red Army heroes as they struggle uphill, cross the rugged Hengduan Mountains, force their way over the turbulent Yangtze River between towering cliffs, make their way across the snow-capped Snow Mountains and through the formidable marshlands.

The performances in “Long Live the Victory of People’s War” effectively spread Chairman Mao’s teaching — political power grows out of the barrel of a gun — and steals the determination in fighting against imperialism and modern
revisions. Today, a small and sinister anti-socialist gang opposed to "the smell of gunpowder" tries to make us deviate from Marxism and Leninism and bring about the collapse of Mao Tse-tung and betray the cause of the people's revolutionary war. The masses of workers and soldiers angrily oppose this and in every form of literature and art the victory of Chairman Mao's thinking on people's war.

In all the special programmes, Shanghai workers, following Comrade Mao Tse-tung's teachings on self-reliance and the determination to be strong and independent, wanting to show how they study and apply the principles and theories of Mao Tse-tung, chemical workers of the Kaochung plant, with great proletarian feeling, wrote "Golden Light Comes from Chairman Mao's Writings".

Chairman Mao's writings point the direction

And illuminate the road forward.

If you ask me the road I want to take,

It is to follow the Party forever

And carry on the revolution.

"Blare, blare, blaze! Blare a trail of our own!" is the pledge set to music by the workers of the Shanghai Steam Turbine Plant to show how firmly they stick to the road of self-reliance, soon both the "Red Light Locomotive" and the revisionists' obstructions, and how they surmounted every difficulty and performed a 6,000 kw. gas turbine. The song praises the correctness of the thinking of Mao Tse-tung and reality of self-reliance and revisionism.

One of the most popular of the songs presented at the festival was "The Red Sky is in Charge of the Countryside", sung by the peasants of a commune near Shanghai. It describes how a 6,000 kw. gas turbine was made. The "Red Sky" is in charge of the countryside and it has been made to thrive through the determination of the people's goodwill and the commune's strength. Many such songs affirmed Chairman Mao's words.

The wealth of society is created by the workers, the peasants, the working intelligentsia. If they take their destiny into their own hands, use Marx- Leninism as their guiding and energetic tackle problems instead of evading them, there is no difficulty in the world which they cannot overcome.

The special programme "Ode to Heroes" praises proletarian heroes nurtured on the thinking of Mao Tse-tung. Presentated at a time when the Chinese people are studying Chairman Mao's writings as before and are learning from these heroes, the performance inspired its audience with a high resolve to follow their revolutionary examples even more earnestly.

In industry there is vendor worker Wang Chin-hai, praised in a dialogue-song, "Iron Man Wang", by two tenors. In the robust peonry folk style the song brings this man of the Taching oilfield to life, a revolutionary who "wears the sky as his hat and the grassland as his shoes" and is shining in overcoming hardships - a spirit that is inspiring men and women throughout the country to work selflessly for the fulfillment of the Third Five-Year Plan.

In agriculture there is Chen Ying-kuei, Party secretary of the Tachih production brigade, sung of in a solo solo, "We Dare to Make the Sun and the Moon Shine in New Skies". Echoing the thoughts of millions of peasants who are transforming their countryside by working in the Taching spirit, the lively song tells of Chen Ying-kuei leading the Taching people in changing their land, building a stone retaining wall in snow and ice, removing boulders by hand and carrying-pole and cutting out terraced fields with hoes.

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

The brief but shining life of a young P.L.A. fighter inspired the choral composition "Song about Wang Chieh, Leam Yung Chieh", in which 90 singers combined dramatic styles from Peking opera, Shanghai opera, Shaoxing opera, Kunche opera, comic drama and modern drama. In seven parts, the song extols the young soldier's revolutionary determination to re mould himself into a true proletarian fighter, not the bourgeois hero. It tells how this spirit is inspiring millions of Chinese young people to pick up their pens to write revolutionary diaries as Wang Chieh did and to take over Wang Chieh's rifle and fight for the Chinese revolution and the world revolution all their lives.

The festival song of other national heroes- Lei Feng, a P.L.A. soldier whose every act proved him to be a good fighter of Mao Tse-tung, Chiao Yiu-fu, the county Party secretary who wholeheartedly served the people in spite of a fatal illness, Chao Hsi Shu, an embassy staff member seriously wounded in Djakarta, Indonesia, while defending the five-starred flag of China, and many more unsung workers and peasants in the creative study and application of the thinking of Mao Tse-tung and the spirit of the Taching movement have also performed in the programme's main force, the cultural revolution, and not the bourgeois but the proletarian, the working people.

Main Force of the Great Cultural Revolution

Workers, peasants and soldiers are the reliable base and chief support of the revolution, the builders of socialism, and they are the creators of the new socialist culture and art. The songs and dances they created and performed in the Shanghai Spring Music Festival have a clear-cut revolutionary stand and a strong proletarian character. They are marked with revolutionary heroism and optimism and the straightforwardness and simplicity of the working people.

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

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

"The Red Storyteller" is another example. Written collectively by several girls from a commune outside Shanghai based on their own experience, it is done in the form of narration with drum and gong. In the cultural revolution in the countryside, a peasant girl, Hung Ying, fights with determination against the remnants of feudal culture, using literature and art as her weapons. One evening a group of old-type shadow-play showmen come to the village and set up their stage to present a vulgar love story for feudal scholars and beautiful women. Determined not to let feudal and bourgeois culture make a stand in the culture of the village, the girls said, "We must take over the stage and hold the red banner of proletarian thinking over it." They and other village young people "captured" the stage and began to sing revolutionary songs and tell stories of the revolution. The enthusiasm and applause of the villagers was so great that the travelling showmen sneaked away.

P.L.A. soldiers stationed in Shanghai gave songs and dances showing how the people's armed forces mature and develop through the hardships and bravery of their fighting spirit. Their performance of "Banyon Fight", a song with action, created by the soldiers themselves, reveals the heroic and brave spirit of P.L.A. soldiers who express their hatred of the enemy through the barrel of their guns and who dare to draw enemy blood with the bayonet. On "the battlefield", these soldiers said, "we want to be heroes here. But the stage is a battlefield too, one where we struggle in the great proletarian cultural revolution. And on this stage we want to be vanguard fighters.

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

Take Revolutionary Singing to the Masses

Liberation and art, Chairman Mao stated, are a first of all be for the workers, peasants and soldiers and for their use. The proletarian singers and dancers, who took part in the Shanghai festival set a new precedent in serving the masses. For the first nine days of the festival, they performed in the central hall and in every factory. But for the last nine days they went out to the factories, villages and schools, to stages of production and defence—presenting their best numbers on the thought of Mao Tse-tung, how they train hard to become superbly skilled in order to value living on motherland, "Banyon Fight", a song with action, created by the soldiers themselves, reveals the heroic and brave spirit of P.L.A. soldiers who express their hatred of the enemy through the barrel of their guns and who dare to draw enemy blood with the bayonet. On "the battlefield", these soldiers said, "we want to be heroes here. But the stage is a battlefield too, one where we
building made of simple mat sheds manufacturing their own special-purpose equipment and produced the best spring steel in the country, the festival performers sang, "Today the blacksmiths make machines and in mat sheds the peak of technology? This song about themselves struck a strong chord of response with the foundry workers. One of the workers, technician Ku Yao-tsu, exclaimed, "The anti-socialist Teng To gang attacked our Big Leap Forward as 'boasting' and 'great empty words'. But the facts sung about in this song are a real slap in the face for them.'"

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

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

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

The Masses Comment

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

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

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

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

(2) See "Yi Hua That Corn" in China Reconstructions, October 1966.
THE 7TH
SHANGHAI
SPRING FESTIVAL
— Militant Music of the
Great Proletarian
Cultural Revolution

"Forward, Glorious Shanghai Workers"
Golden light comes from Chairman Mao's work,
Like a bright lamp it lights up every corner.

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

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

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

P.L.A. fighters of the East China Sea Fleet hear "Sing about Wang Chieh, Learn from Wang Chieh".

Light that the red flag becomes a red flame,
Like the motherland, it never before

Wang Chieh, who
Forces" scene from "The Red Army Defies the Trials of the Long March".
Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting

Introduction

The Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting held in Peking, capital of the People's Republic of China, attracted world-wide attention. It opened on June 27, 1966 and ended successfully on July 9. It was attended by 181 delegates from 53 countries and regions of Asia and Africa, and observers from five international organizations.

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

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

The meeting strongly condemned the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war; it highly appraised and expressed most energetic support for the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. It also expressed warm sympathy and support for the liberation struggles of the peoples of other Afro-Asian countries and all oppressed peoples and nations the world over. The meeting manifested the firm determination of the Afro-Asian peoples to carry through to the end the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and their strong conviction that their cause will be victorious; it reflected the militant spirit of the Afro-Asian peoples which is irresistible and capable of moving mountains and draining seas. It was precisely the revolutionary banner of opposing imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism which was the militant banner of this meeting.

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

In their speeches at the Peking meeting, delegates from many Asian and African countries praised Chairman Mao, the great leader of the Chinese people, and the thought of Mao Tse-tung. Their words came from the bottom of their hearts and their feelings were expressed in the most glowing terms. They said Chairman Mao is "the great teacher and leader of the people of the world", "the great helmsman of China and the whole world" and "the greatest hope of the oppressed people".

They declared that Mao Tse-tung's great thought is "the acme of Marxism-Leninism in the present era", "the inexhaustible source and red sun of the revolutionaries of the whole world" and a "weapon more powerful than the atomic bomb".

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

Below we print Premier Chou En-lai's banquet speech, Vice-Premier Chen Yi's speech at the opening ceremony and some of the documents of the emergency meeting and the meeting of the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau. The texts of all the resolutions passed at the emergency meeting are carried in the No. 28, 1966 issue of Peking Review.
Left: All who attended the Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting are photographed with Chairman Mao Tse-tung (center).

Below: Chairman Mao Tse-tung receives delegations and observers from international organizations to the Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting.
Dear guests,

Dear friends and comrades,

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

Holding aloft the militant banner of opposing imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism headed by the United States, your meeting has rendered powerful support to the peoples of Asia, Africa and the world in their anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle and to the heroic Vietnamese people in their struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation.

Giving play to the spirit of democratic consultation, your meeting has held full discussions on the question of developing the new national culture, literature and art of Asia and Africa, and has achieved tremendous successes. It is a revolutionary meeting, a meeting of solidarity and a meeting of victory.

Together with Comrades Kang Sheng, Chen Po-ta and Tso Chu, I now extend warm congratulations to you on behalf of the Chinese people and Government. At the same time, we extend revolutionary and militant greetings to you Afro-Asian writers on behalf of the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and the revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals of the country, who are all engaged in the great cultural revolution under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought and under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Everyone can see what an ignominious role the Indian reactionaries and the Soviet revisionist leading clique are playing in the U.S. imperialist expansion of its war aggression against Vietnam. In order to isolate U.S. imperialism to the maximum and deal it the heaviest possible blows, it is necessary for the people of Asia, Africa and the whole world constantly to expand and strengthen their moral support to the Vietnamese people to defeat U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. This united front must be based on the great unity of the revolutionary people of the whole world and must include all countries and people subjected to U.S. imperialist aggression, intervention, control or bullying; but it absolutely must not include the Soviet revisionist leading clique and the Indian reactionaries. On the contrary, they can only be the targets of struggle by the international anti-U.S. united front.

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

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

Now may we propose a toast to the brilliant victory of the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, to the great anti-imperialist, revolutionary unity of the Afro-Asian writers and people, to the great victory of the Afro-Asian people and the people of the world in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism headed by the United States, and to the health of our friends and comrades present here!
Vice-Premier Chen Yi's Speech

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

Mr. Chairman, Messrs. Delegates,

Friends and Comrades:

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

Participating in the meeting today are 152 delegates of writers and observers from 47 countries and regions in Asia and Africa and from three international organizations. You have come from the forefront of the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggle in Asia and Africa and from different posts. You are a glorious and important component of the cultural army of the Afro-Asian people. You have long used your pens as weapons to fight for the Afro-Asian people’s cause of anti-imperialist revolutionary unity. You have always used anti-imperialist revolutionary literature and art as weapons for criticism; in places like Vietnam and the Congo (Leopoldville), the situation has already developed into one of criticism by weapons. Your names and works are held in respect not only by the people of your own countries but also by the people of China and other parts of Asia and Africa.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The heroic Vietnamese people have given full play to the power of self-reliance and won brilliant victory in their struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. The Vietnamese people have long been determined to defend the north and liberate the south, reunify their motherland and drive out the U.S. marauders completely. The Vietnam
question can only be solved in accordance with the will of the Vietnamese people. The United States must stop its aggression against the whole of Vietnam, withdraw all its armed forces from south Vietnam and validate Vietnamese people's own question by themselves. Otherwise, all empty talk about a peaceful settlement of the Vietnamese question is a mere mockery.

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

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

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

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

In our epoch, it is not the forces of imperialism but the forces of the revolutionary people which are strong; it is not the revolutionary people who are afraid of imperialism, but imperialism which is afraid of the revolutionary people. The people of Asia and Africa have no fear for imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and by relying on armed struggle and the all-out effort of the people, they can certainly defeat U.S. imperialism and win victory in the cause of national liberation. Just as Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out: "Deeply felt by all over the world is the courageous, brave to fight, deft difficulties and common advance wave upon wave. Then the whole world will be surrounded by the people. Monsters of all kinds shall be destroyed."
Therefore, we can definitely tell our friends that our unprecedented, great cultural revolution is indeed an extremely heavy blow at imperialism, modern revisionism and reactionaries of different countries. Apart from despair, they will get nothing else whatsoever. We would like to ask: Have the U.S. Imperialists and Soviet modern revisionists launched, like China, a great cultural revolution in their countries? I can say categorically that they did not.

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

Friends and comrades!

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

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

Friends and comrades! As you are well aware, the Chinese people, who experienced untold sufferings, have won today's victory after 109 years of struggle. This victory has been won by traversing a tortuous, complicated and arduous course in which they fought, failed, fought again, failed again, fought again, . . . till their victory. In order to remove the three big mountains—imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic-capitalism—lying like a dead weight on the Chinese people, not a few people sought for various ideologies and methods and took various paths. We have travelled far and wide in the world to find a way to set ourselves free from misery. But not one of those ideologies worked and none of those paths led anywhere. The facts have taught the Chinese people that, apart from believing in Mao Tse-tung's thought, they can no longer have faith in any other thought. To sum up the experience of the revolutionary struggle of our country over the past decades, especially that of prolonged bloodshed and defeats, and concentrate it into one point, it is Mao Tse-tung's thought alone that can save China, and without Mao Tse-tung's thought there would not have been New China. We had believed in various ideologies and experimented with various systems; they all ended in failure. But we win victory as soon as we believe in Mao Tse-tung's thought which is the integration of Marxism-Leninism with the practice of the Chinese revolution. From our own experience we believe the Chinese people have come to understand deeply that Mao Tse-tung's thought is our life line, and that Chairman Mao's teachings are the supreme guide for all our work.

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

The Chinese people will certainly abide by Chairman Mao's teachings and learn with greater modesty from the revolutionary people all over the world, particularly from the militant and heroic peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. We Chinese people are grateful to the peoples of Asia and Africa for the support and assistance they have rendered us. The revolutionary people of the world, who stand at the forefront of the struggle, are all our teachers, and we are willing to be their students. Guided by Mao Tse-tung's thought, the Chinese people, together with the other peoples of Asia, Africa and the whole world, will devote their utmost efforts to combating imperialism, modern revisionism and reactionaries in all countries and to supporting and aiding all the oppressed nations and people in their just struggles.

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

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

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

The Afro-Asian peoples will certainly win!

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

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

The brave struggle of the people of Vietnam against the U.S. aggressors has, today, become the focus of attention of all the world. The U.S. imperialists have aroused the hatred and indignation of not only the Vietnamese people, but of all the peoples of the world, who love emancipation, who love freedom, who love peace.

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

This new and futile escalation of its war to subdue the Vietnamese people has, on the one hand, further proven that U.S. imperialism is the enemy Number One of all the peace-loving peoples of the world, while, on the other, it has shown that the determination of the Vietnamese people to resist the U.S. aggressors is becoming deeper and stronger. It has, on the one hand, proved that U.S. imperialism would never change its bellicose nature until completely defeated, while, on the other, it has shown that it is men and not weapons, that constitute the decisive factor in a battle for freedom. That is, the new escalation is an essential act in the battle for freedom.

This is an abridged version of the report submitted by the Secretary-General of the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau, D. Manuweera, to the plenary session of the Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting on June 27, 1966.

CHINA RECONSTRUCTS

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

Read by D. Manuweera

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nemacise people. No matter what capitulationist policies the U.S. and its allies adopt or what methods they are using to whitewash U.S. imperialism, the people of Vietnam and all the peoples throughout the world, who have chosen the line of revolution, will not be cheated by these tactics. The Vietnamese people believe, all the revolutionary and progressive peoples the world over believe, that victors never consent to the people's defeat.

We, Asian and African writers, severely condemn the criminal plots of these renegades and call upon the writers and artists of all Asia to unite as one man to totally denounce and repudiate them.

Dear colleagues, we are meeting here today in the face of a greater change, greater than ever, in the current world situation. As a result of this change we see a surging trend that is fast developing, faster than ever, throughout the world, particularly in Asia and Africa, that is characterized by an upsurge of fierce struggle, fiercer than ever, against all forces of imperialism, headed by the U.S. and all their lackeys. It is a struggle between two distinct forces, the forces of revolution and forces of counter-revolution. It is a struggle in which millions upon millions of people who fight for their liberation are heading towards their victory, while the imperialists led by the U.S. and their lackeys are heading towards their doom.

In the history of the world the U.S. imperialism has been so isolated as today. At no time in the history of the world has U.S. imperialism suffered such disastrous defeats as today. At no time in the history of the world has U.S. imperialism been proved to be so weak and impotent as today. The political correctness and the revolutionary spirit of the peoples, particularly those in Africa and Asia, have risen to such great heights that today, they have taken up arms and are waging a resolute battle against the U.S.-led imperialists and their lackeys, who for decades had been oppressing them. Yes, the East Wind is prevailing over the West Wind. No force of U.S. imperialism, no force of its stooges, can ever extinguish the raging fire of revolution that is spreading like wildfire throughout the whole world, especially in Asia and Africa. U.S. imperialism, especially as it continues to oppress people and keep them under their heel. They show that the imperialists and colonialists, before their final collapse, will do everything possible to resist this decisive battle to the death.

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

The imperialists and colonialists have almost come to believe that they can rule over the masses of the African people and sap the wealth of their countries. The people in this vast continent, who had been enslaved by the imperialists for a long time, have risen up one after another, denouncing and drawing the imperialists' armies from their territories. The imperialists and colonialists are forced to admit that the revolutionary crisis in the global struggle for world peace and the liberation of the oppressed countries is prepared for the way towards their own doom.

Dear colleagues, faced with a surging, angry tide that is sweeping through Asia against U.S. imperialism, this imperialism has tried another trick to save it from being penetrated. It has begun to shift its global strategy eastwards with the aim of blocking China and its allies to carry out a full-scale aggression in Asia. The primary aim of this malicious move of U.S. imperialism is, of course, to pursue its "contain China" policy. It has already been disclosed by the Joint Administrative Committee of the New military aid programme of the U.S. will include more military assistance to south Vietnam, Thailand, the Pol Kong Hills clique, the Chiang Kai-shek gang and its other puffs. This is, basically, intended to isolate China and other countries of the cordons of military bases that has already been formed around it. It must be pointed out that for this cordon, doomed to failure, the leading group of a socialist country, which has completely broken with the fascist imperialists, is busy piling up loose pieces in an attempt to reinforce it and isolate China. The 700 million people of Asia, especially the oppressed peoples of India, China and Pakistan, should be ready to face U.S. imperialism, its flunkies and accomplices, anywhere, anytime. U.S. imperialism can never isolate us, because our cause is just and our people are strong. It is a country around which more and more revolutionaries and progressive people are rallying, with the current surge of the revolutionary tide.

In fact, the so-called cordon to isolate China is a noose round the neck of U.S. imperialism, its flunkies and accomplices and which will strangle them to death.

The recent explosion of China's third nuclear bomb has shattered the proud ambition of U.S. imperialism and the fake revolutionaries to own a nuclear monopoly and blackmail all revolutionary peoples. Nuclear weapons in the hands of China are weapons in the hands of all revolutionary peoples, who are fighting to liberate their countries. We believe, and all the peace-loving peoples in the world believe, that nuclear weapons in the possession of China are soothing a thousand worries in the world and are a powerful prop up for the peace and freedom of the whole world.

The possession of nuclear weapons in the hands of China is a great encouragement to the oppressed peoples of the world, and especially to those who have risen up against U.S. imperialism. The possession of nuclear weapons in the hands of the U.S. also creates formidable conditions for the complete banning and thorough destruction of all nuclear weapons.

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

In Asia, the world of the U.S. imperialism, and its agent, the CIA, after a long period of subversive activities and attempts of coup, have finally brought about a fascist military regime headed by the rightist generals, Nasution and Subarto. This fascist military regime is running amok, terrorizing, suppressing and persecuting the people of Indonesia, destroying the fruits and achievements of the revolution. This, however, has only awakened and strengthened the people of Indonesia; it has only kindled their hatred and desire for freedom and peace. Is this not the truth? The revolutionaries and the people of Indonesia have taken steps to liquidate this fascist regime. U.S.-British—hatched, this fascist regime is doomed to crumble and will be liquidated, whatever method, whatever means, and whatever sort of pitfall they try for their salvation.

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dark forces endangering the cause of revolution of the Asian and African peoples must be exposed and all revolutionary writers must expose imperialism to their advance must be culminated. This is the sacred duty cast upon us, the progressive Asian and African writers. For the sake of the two peoples and just cause, we should use our pens to hit hard and expose the common enemies of the Asian and African peoples. —Doriprop —courageously proves that the awakened Asian and African peoples have understood the dangerous influence the American cultural aggression has on the two peoples and to what extent it can destroy a national culture.

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

The revolutionary people of the world are today getting closer and closer and are being firmly united under the banner of anti-imperialism, anti-colonialism and socialism. Under the leadership of those who pretend to be friends of the struggling people, we strive for unity based on a firm and correct anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist and socialist line that is free from all anti-imperialist revolutionary forces, and not unity with those who collaborate with and help the U.S. imperialists to suppress and oppress the people. We want unity, genuine unity, not sham unity. We can tell those fake revolutionaries that in a genuine, broad, united, international anti-U.S. imperialist front, they will have no place, because they have betrayed the people and their cause. If this united front could survive, how could the U.S. imperialists and their agents who promote cultural infiltration, U.S. imperialism intends to prepare the conditions to subvert, attack and invade other countries. U.S. imperialism exports, in large quantity, to Asian, African and Latin American countries their decadent literature, music, films, etc., overly advertising sex and murder, advocating hypocritical humanitarianism, promoting the so-called American way of life, and spreading the horrors of war to step up its nuclear blackmail and to pressure other nations. The literature and art are inextricably linked. The reactionary literature and art are inextricably linked.

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

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

Whatever achievements we attain will certainly arouse the hatred of the enemy and the saboteurs. Similarly, owing to the development of the Afro-Asian writers' movement and the success achieved by the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau in its work, the special detachment of U.S. imperialism is resorting to all sorts of tricks in a vain attempt to undermine the Afro-Asian writers' movement and the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau. They attack the Afro-Asian writers' conference; alleging that the conference "only discards criteria", "advocates political unity". This is a barefaced attempt to divorce literature from politics, revise the correct revolutionary, anti-imperialist line of the Afro-Asian writers and transform the Afro-Asian writers' conference into an organization of "peace, literature and welfare". They boycott and attack the work of the Bureau, seeking by various means to destroy the Bureau, or to get the Afro-Asian writers' movement into their hands so as to carry out their line of capitulation and splitting the revolutionary movements.

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

Insigilated and directed by the Soviet splittists, a fake meeting under the cloak of an "Emergency Meeting of the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau" was held in Cairo from June 19 to 20, 1965. This is a grave crime committed by the Soviet splittists to cause an open split in the Afro-Asian peoples' movement, the consequences of which are entirely their responsibility. They have taken the illegal and despicable step of creating a fake Afro-Asian writers' bureau and what they call "removing" our respected Secretary-General from his post.

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

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

After repeatedly warning them, the meeting of the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau, held on June 23, 1965 in Peking, unanimously announced that "by such deliberate and intentional sabotaging of the Afro-Asian writers' movement, the splittist Soviet writers have totally divorced themselves from the ranks of the Afro-Asian writers and forfeited all their rights and place, for ever. In the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau".

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

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

Unity Against Imperialism—Historic Mission of Asian and African Writers

Kuo Mo-jo, Head of the Chinese Delegation

Mr. Chairman, Dear Friends,

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

The Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation should have the enthusiastic support of the people of the whole world. Demonstrating the mighty force of people's war, the heroic Vietnamese people have annihilated the enemy forces group by group, thus handing the nearby 200,000 aggressive troops of U.S. imperialism in a helpless plight. U.S. imperialism, in its last-ditch struggle, vainly attempts to use the "peace talks" fraud to reverse their defeat on the battlefield and vainly tries to bring about "peace talks" by stepping up its criminal bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. In the course of our Meeting, the U.S. imperialists have since June 29 unscrupulously bombed Hanoi, the capital of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and Haiphong, its second largest city. With such frenzied and adventurist actions, U.S. imperialism has escalated its war of aggression in Vietnam to a new and still graver stage.

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

On July 3, the Chinese Government issued a solemn statement, most strongly condemning U.S. imperialism for its barbarous crime of bombing Hanoi and Haiphong. It expresses the will of the entire Chinese people. We 700 million Chinese people, with one will, fully support our Government's statement and will act in accordance with it. We will do our utmost, from any branch or restriction, to support unswervingly the fraternal Vietnamese people until they wipe out the U.S. aggressors resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely.

Dear Friends! The Afro-Asian people are making every effort to increase their support for the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. imperialism.
and for national salvation. But when the Afro-Asian Writers' Meeting was held in Peking on the popular demand and taking legitimate measures, decided to hold an Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting in Peking in support of the Vietnamese people in the war of liberation against U.S. aggression. The meeting, attended by the Soviet revolu-
tionist group, instigated its writers to wake up a few followers and duped persons to hold an illegal divestiture meeting in Cairo. At that meeting they made a sort of statement, basing itself on the setting up of a bogus "Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau" in Cairo, on the "dismissal" of our respected Secretary-General, and on the convening of a so-called Afro-Asian writers' conferences at Baku in the Soviet Union. These illegal acts fully show that the Soviet leading group is unscrupulously conducting splittist activities in international organi-
zations and is the biggest splitter of our times.

The Soviet leading group is carrying Khrushchev's reactionary policies forward, and is going on to realize its long-time dream of "U.S.-Soviet collaboration for world domination," it does not oppose imperialism, and, moreover, opposes the Asian, African and Latin American people's unity against imperialism; it capitulates to and sits with the United States, and also entices or coerces the people of the three continents to follow suit. We are sure that the people and writers of all Asia and Africa will absolutely not tolerate these vicious acts of the renegades.

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

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

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

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

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

The Four Continents are rising, clouds and waters raging,

The Five Continents are rocking, wind and thunder roaring.

U.S. imperialism is desperately pursuing its policies of war and aggression and dual strategy for the enslavement of mankind. Its military budget has soared to 68,000 million dollars, or five times that of 1947, the second year after the end of World War II. It has set up more than 2,200 military bases all over the world. It has been ceaselessly carrying out activities of aggression, intervention and subversion everywhere. It is the most barbarous aggressor and the most ruthless vampire ever known in history. Its towering crimes surpass those of Hitler, Mussolini and Tojo put together. However, is this most ferocious devil really so powerful? No, a thousand times No! Ten thousand times No! Its nature as a paper tiger is hidden by the people who fight heroically in the Vietnamese battlefield! The people of the world will sooner or later bring Johnson, Rusk, McNamara and their ilk before a court of justice. The Chinese people will bring them to justice finally, and none of them will escape! As we all know, the movements of the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism are now headed by the United States and for national liberation are now developing in depth. The awakened people in many countries and regions have taken or are taking the path of armed struggle. Every battle and victory of theirs is a strong support to the people of Asia, Africa and the world, and to the Chinese people as well.

Friends, we are the fighting writers, and we are fighters who use the pen in our hands to work for unity against imperialism. We have to resist both the enemy's armed aggression and his cultural aggres-
sion. We must be keen to mobilize and unite the people and then to attack and wipe out the enemy. Our should be militant and anti-imperialist thought and art. It should be a sure guarantee of the masses in their struggle for national liberation. There-

fore, not only are the decadent literature and art of U.S. imperialism, but also the reactionary literary and art of the Soviet revisionists. In recent years, the U.S. imperialist cultural ag-
gression has been rampant in Asia and Africa, cre-
ating spiritually and militarily rule and armed subversion by U.S. imperialism.

When they carry out aggression, control, inter-
vension and subversion against the Afro-African coun-
tries, the imperialists always try to employ ide-
ologically first. As a result of the ever-contin-
uing aggression and subversion, and spreading of many kinds of propaganda media and tricks of U.S. imperialism have been treated as rats running across the street with everybody knowing how dirty they are! In these circumstances, however, that the Soviet modern revisionists have entered into a reac-
tionary alliance with U.S. imperialism in the field of culture to cater for its needs. The Soviet revision-
ist writers and the Soviet revisionist literature and art serve the revisionist general line of "U.S.-Soviet col-
laboration for world domination." Though their liter-
ature and art stand by the label of socialism, they are actually peddling poison to corrode the anti-imperialist revolutionary will and are playing a role which the decadent imperialist culture cannot play.

The Soviet revisionist literature and art also lay special emphasis on the reactionary "theory of human nature." They are indicating their true purpose to pettyf-

imperialism. They keep on prattling that "men are friends, comrades and brothers to each other," and that Johnson and company, the initiators of aggres-
sive wars, are "sensible," and "peace-loving," and that the murderers whose hands are wet with blood are "benevolent" and "human." How can we imagine that a common human na-
ture exists between Johnson who is using napalm bombs and toxic chemicals to slaughter people in Vietnam and the Vietnamese people who are heroically resisting aggression? Can we really resist aggression? How can we imagine that a common human nature exists between the Western slave-traders of the old days who brandished chains and whips, and those people who were kidnapped to becomeeering ships? They are not "friends, comrades and brothers" in any sense; they are irreconcilable enemies locked in a life-and-death struggle.

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

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

DEAR FRIENDS, to create an anti-imperialist, rev-
olutionary and national literature and new literature and art is a sacred duty of the people, the pro-
gerre Afro-Asian writers have already made out-
standing contributions and created magnificent works. This is something that the Chinese writers should earnestly learn from. Here, on behalf of the Chinese people and the Chinese writers, I extend warm con-
gratulations to the progressive Afro-Asian writers.

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

Friends, when you set foot on our land, we are in the midst of an upsurge of a vigorous and un-
precedented mental revolution.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung always teaches us: We must have a firm grip on ideology and the super-
structure, consolidate our ideological positions and strengthen our culture. The progressive Afro-
Asian writers and artists and the Afro-Asians in the Soviet Union are stepping on the path of ideological old to ideology, new culture and new literature and art in the tit-for-tat struggle against the reac-
tionary ideology and culture.

The overthrow of reactionary ruling classes also wants to retain a firm grip on ideology and the super-
structure. Although their reactionary rule has been buried, their ideology still endures. The role of the
destroying one, they engage in anti-Party and anti-socialist propaganda through radio broadcasting, books and periodicals, films, dramas, dances, music, etc. They are a gang of enemies without guns, and the pens in their hands are weapons which kill without drawing blood. All their reactionary propaganda is very clear to the way for the cause-lack of the bourgeoisie. It was with ideology and the superstructure that the Khru-
shchov revisionist group began its usurpation of the Soviet Party and state and its restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. In the counter-
revolutionary riot in Hungary in 1956 it was also a number of Soviet revisionist writers who acted as the shock brigade.

Therefore the great socialist cultural revolution in our country is a struggle between the forces seek-
ing cultural revolution and the forces resistant to cultural revolution. In this struggle, it is a great revolutionary movement to dig out the evil root of revisionism, consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, and change colour for thousands of generations to come.

Since the unfolding of the movement, hundreds of millions of workers, peasants and soldiers, revolu-
tional composers and intellectuals have launched fierce attacks all in the strongholds of reactionary ide-
ology and culture, sweeping away all obstacles in the way, and proving that they are invincible. Radically and penetratively they have criticized all the old ideology and culture, old customs and habits poisoning the people's minds and anti-spiritual, anti-ideological strongholds in the ideological domain. They have written many excellent articles showing their revolutionary and progressive spirit.

Mao Tse-tung, a new era has begun in which, as has never happened before, the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers have stoutly grasped and advanced Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought.

In the struggle to destroy the rotten ideology and culture, the revolutionary literature and art and the people's cultural revolution will achieve unprecedented brilliance.

The old Peking operas of China, this most stubborn stronghold, has been taken by storm with the gen-
erg of Peking operas on contemporary revolution-
ary themes like Szchhshanghai, Taking the Bandits'
Stronghold. Raid on the White Tiger Regiment and Red Lantern. Foreign classical art forms like the ballet were swallowed up in a revolutionary transformation with the emergence of the ballet Red Detachment of Women, The White-Haired Girl and so on. Sculpture Ren Collection Court Yard has ushered in a revolutionary upsurge in the sculptural art, The East Is Red, a large bronze statue and a pageant, reflects the heroic struggle of the Chinese people to change heaven and earth and ardently sings the praises of the great victory of Mao Tse-tung's thought. The novel The Song of Ou Yang Hai is an epoch-making work, which shows that socialist literature has an incomparably vast domain. The plays, On Greatness and Censorship, The End of the Subterranean World, The Equalizer on the Equator and the large numbers of poems and songs contributed by the broad masses of workers, peasant and soldiers, are that the thought of Mao Tse-tung is accessible for all. All these papers are examples of new and socialist and proletarian works which mark an entirely new age both in ideological content and artistic form.

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

Some gentlemen abroad are slandering us as "de-stroying culture," Yes, we are destroying the decadent culture of imperialism and revisionism, and all exploiting classes. We shall not only destroy such decadent culture but also eliminate it thoroughly. Our attitude toward some correct things and our culture is to reject its dregs and assimilate its fine elements and to critically take over what is required for our country. To create a new progressive culture, we advocate critical assimilation of whatever is useful to us today so as to use this as an example. However, taking only intellectual use as them, as examples can on no account take the place of creative work. This is an encouraging guidance given us by Comrade Tse-tung. The history of mankind shows that the works of our writers and people is to create a new socialist culture and socialist new literature and art. The present great cultural revolution should be regarded as a grand prelude to our creation of a new socialist culture.

Some gentlemen abroad also say that our struggle is "dismantling the edifice of Chinese civilization." This is the most irresponsible presentation. As you can see clearly, China's great socialist cultural revolution is directed only against a handful of anti-Party revisionists and their ilk. They are not the original sinners. The few flys in late autumn dashes against the walls everywhere and draining their own pathetic elegies. With regard to the large number of the people, particularly the old people, the Chinese Communist Party has always adopted the policy of uniting with them, educating them and remoulding them so that the intellectuals who are really willing to make progress may be prompted to take the road of renovation. Under the brilliant light of Mao Tse-tung's thought, the ranks of the new-type intellectuals of the working people are steadily growing and they are confidently moving forward in the course of struggle for production which changes heaven and earth.

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

It happened like this. Two and a half months ago, at a meeting of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress on April 14, we released a report on cultural work by a responsible comrade of the Ministry of Culture. The report dealt with the achievement of cultural work in such a short period as the country and the great role played by the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and revolutionary cadres in cultural work. This report illustrates the essential lingent of new-type intellectuals had expanded and that many fruitful results had been achieved. I was elated by this and delivered a speech extemporaneously in which I made a frank self-criticism and express my sincere feelings.

I said that in his Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art, Chairman Mao Tse-tung called on us literary and art workers to serve the workers, peasants and soldiers. Today, after a lapse of 24 years, we have not only failed to serve well the workers, peasants and soldiers, but we have also failed to serve properly the masses, the intellectuals. We have not served our times and the masses properly. What is the way forward? We can only learn from the experience of the Chinese writers and people. They thought, when they discuss philosophy they are actually discussing the condition of the masses which suits more the actual situation than some of our professors of philosophy. This is mainly because the workers, peasants and soldiers are adept at studying and applying Mao Tse-tung's thought creatively. No stopping at learning from books, they learn from practice in life and from the struggle for production and class struggle. What they have learnt they apply immediately and as soon as they have grasped the knowledge thoroughly of the masses, they go to the factory to be geared with oil and dirt, and that if U.S. imperialism should dare to impose war on the Chinese people, they could throw a few hand-grenades at the U.S. imperialists and get myself stained with blood. This statement represents the lofty aspirations cherished by all the Chinese people today.

But such anti-Chin hubbub has its value in the negative sense. When the imperialists and the revisionists set out to oppose us, we should respect this opposition. Should the imperialists and the revisionists start prating us, it would prove that we have degenerated. In that event, we would require the progressive Afro-Asian writers to demonstrate to us relentlessly and severely.

DEAR FRIENDS, July 1, three days ago, was the 43rd anniversary of the founding of our Party. It is during these 43 years that the Chinese people have passed through every kind of struggle, and that Comrade Mao Tse-tung has continually developed Marxism-Leninism by creatively integrating the truth of the Chinese revolution with the practice of the Chinese revolution. In these 45 years, we went through numerous difficulties and hardships and also experienced many bitter setbacks. We can never forget the massacre by Chiang Kai-shek in 1927; we can never forget the 25,000 Kiang Long March and we can never forget the life for more than ten years in the cave residence in Yenan, which ended 17 years ago. However, our Party has grown in strength amidst struggle and has continually strengthened. The thought of Mao Tse-tung's thought which has been developing continuously, out of the cave residence in Yenan has grown into a mighty force. We have not merely become the master of the world, but we have also built a great edifice of new culture and new literature and art which will surpass those of all our ancestors and illuminate the hundreds of generations to come.
Chairman Mao's works always study——Chairman Mao.

Chairman Mao's works are the supreme directives for all our work.

Through our own protracted revolutionary struggle, we Chinese people have understood Mao Tse-tung's thought.

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

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

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

The Chinese People's Liberation Army founded by Chairman Mao is all the more a model in creativity—studying and applying Chairman Mao's works. By relying on it, we have achieved the victory in the Chinese revolution; and also by relying on it we are able to defend the freedom of our motherland and to make sure that the world peace will not be spoilt.

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

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

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

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

Long live the anti-imperialist solidarity of the Afro-Asian people! Long live the great unity of the Afro-Asian people! Long live the great unity of the people of the world!

WARMLY responding to the invitation of the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau, 101 writer delegates from 33 countries and regions of Asia and Africa and observers from 5 international organizations have come to Peking, capital of the People's Republic of China, to attend the Emergency Meeting of the Afro-Asian Writers from June 27 to July 9, 1966, to discuss the following agenda:

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

2) Tasks of the writers in the Afro-Asian people's struggle against imperialism, for national unification, for the winning and safeguarding of national independence.

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

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

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

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

Promptly reacting to the wanton bombing of Hanoi, capital of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and Haiphong, and voicing the boundless indignation of the Afro-Asian peoples, it issued an urgent appeal strongly condemning this piratical action of U.S. imperialism and expressing resolute support for the just struggle of the Vietnamese brothers.

The Meeting considers that since U.S. imperialism has further expanded its war of aggression, the people of various countries have every right to support and assist the Vietnamese people by all the means at their disposal.

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

The Meeting considers it absolutely just for the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation to reject the so-called "peace negotiations"!

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

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

CHINA RECONCEETS

Communique of the Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting

July 9, 1966
The Meeting unanimously considers that the principal task of the Afro-Asian peoples at present is to eliminate completely all forces and influences of imperialism and colonialism in the political, economic and cultural domains and to carry the struggle for national liberation through to the end.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The meeting of the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau, held on June 23, 1966, in Peking, participated by Cameroon, Ceylon, China, Ghana, Indonesia, Japan and Singapore, warmly welcomes the Afro-Asian writers, who have already arrived in Peking from 33 countries to attend the Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting in support of the Vietnamese people's struggle and the national liberation struggles of all other Afro-Asian peoples.

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

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

Voicing the just feelings and great indignation of the Afro-Asian writers, the bureau meeting strongly condemns and denounces the illegal and ridiculous decisions of the splittist meeting, held in Cairo, from June 19 to 20, 1966, to set up a phoney "Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau" in Cairo and what they called to remove our respected secretary-general from his post.

Another illegal and absurd resolution of the Cairo splittist meeting to hold a so-called Afro-Asian writers' meeting in Bali, Soviet Azerbaijan, clearly exposes the fact that the Soviet splittists are the main culprit of all the treacherous and disruptive activities to undermine and sabotage the Afro-Asian writers' movement and the national liberation struggles.

Those illegal and preposterous decisions constitute not only an insult to the bureau and its secretary-general, but also to all the revolutionaries of the Afro-Asian writers.

The meeting unanimously announces that by such deliberate and intentional sabotaging of the Afro-Asian writers' movement, the splittist Soviet writers have totally divorced themselves from the unity of the Afro-Asian writers and forfeited all rights and place, for ever, in the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau.

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

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

June 23, 1966, Peking

AFRO-ASIAN WRITERS' BUREAU COMMUNIQUE

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

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

Resolution on the Vietnam Problem

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

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

For 12 years now, the American imperialists have conducted uninterrupted aggression against Vietnam. They have trampled underfoot the Vietnamese people's sacred national rights: independence, sovereignty, unity, and territorial integrity, and seriously sabotaged the 1954 Geneva Agreements which they had solemnly recognized. Together with their puppets, the traitors, they have pursued extremely cruel policies aimed at turning South Vietnam into a new-type colony and military base for aggression against the Democratic Republic of Viet- nam and other countries in Indo-China and Southeast Asia; they had hoped that the South Vietnamese people would surrender to them. But the people of heroic South Vietnam have refused to submit. They have courageously risen up to struggle uninterrupted-ly, with arms in their hands, against the American aggressors and their valets, storming ahead to score success after success. The American imperialists' "special war" came to grief. In the hope of saving themselves from total collapse, the American imperialists on the one hand rashly sent hundreds of thousands of troops to South Vietnam, and on the other, began to launch air and naval attacks against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, a member of the socialist camp and an independent and sovereign country. Frenziedly intensifying their war of aggression against both zones of Vietnam, the American imperialists have perpetrated untold barbarous
crimes against the Vietnamese people, which have been vigorously condemned by men of conscience all over the world.

In South Vietnam, the American imperialists have deployed over 200,000 American troops, 30,000 troops from American satellite countries, and over half a million puppet troops, to intensify their war of aggression on the peaceful people of South Vietnam by force. The American troops have put to current and general use thousands of tons of high explosives, hundreds of thousands of tons of phosphorus and napalm bombs; they have used B-52 bombers, etc., to massacre the old, women, children, civilians, and destroy crops and villages. Since the beginning of 1965, they have repeatedly launched gigantic attacks, slaughtered thousands of civilians, and destroyed the whole city of Saigon, the largest city in South Vietnam, thus intensifying their war of "escalation" to a new and extremely serious degree.

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

To conduct aggression on both zones of Vietnam, the American imperialists have used not only their own soldiers, but also troops of their Seventh Fleet off the shoal of Vietnam, but also their forces stationed in Thailand, Guam, Okinawa, the Philippines, etc., to plug the whole nation. The American forces stationed in Laos, North Vietnam, and the Philippines, the second largest city in North Vietnam, are intensifying their war of "escalation" to a new and extremely serious degree.

The scope of the crimes perpetrated by the American imperialists against the Vietnamese people proves their being far more barbarous, more cruel, more criminal, and far more fascist than the fascist criminals of our time. The facts in Vietnam prove that the American imperialists are even more barbarous, more cruel, more criminal, than the fascist criminals of our time. The American imperialists are the enemy number one of the people of Asia, and Africa, and of the whole world. The crimes they have committed in Vietnam have provoked the wrath of conscientious writers in Asia and Africa and of peace-loving people throughout the world.

The struggle being waged by the Vietnamese people against American imperialist aggression to defend national independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Vietnam, has continuously been supported and urged on by the patriotic and progressive writers of South Vietnam and South and Progress towards national unification.

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

Facing the spirit of heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people of both zones, the American imperialists have suffered severe defeats. However, due to their reactionary, aggressive and obdurate nature, they have refused to give up their aggressive designs on Vietnam. The more defeats they suffer, the more frenziedly they intensify their war of aggression. In the face of heroic resistance every time they push their war of aggression against Vietnam, the American imperialists timidly advertise deceptive slogans, and are busy making all sorts of "unconditional negotiations". But the mendacious "peace" catchwords of the American imperialists cannot deceive the Vietnamese people and their allies. The people of both zones have clearly seen that the so-called "peace negotiations" proposed by U.S. President Johnson are but a smokescreen designed to cover up the intensification and expansion of the American imperialists' war of aggression against Vietnam.

The American imperialists have rigged up in South Vietnam a puppet regime serving as a shield for repression of the South Vietnamese people. Under the pretext of keeping their "commitments" to the South Vietnamese people, they have launched a war of aggression on Vietnam. But everyone knows that the Saigon puppets are but traitors who are continuously betraying the American imperialists. They not only cannot represent the people of South Vietnam but are also deplorable enemies of the South Vietnamese people. In the face of the armed struggle and political struggle of the South Vietnamese people, the puppet administration rigged up in South Vietnam is clearly facing defeat and will not escape collapse. The situation prevailing in the towns and cities of South Vietnam is additional proof of the collapse of the puppet regime.

The South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, the sole government representative of the people of South Vietnam, has rallied all strata of the South Vietnamese people in the great struggle against the American imperialists for self-liberation. The programme of the Front faithfully reflects the interest and aspirations of the 17 million people of South Vietnam.

Under the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation's clear-sighted leadership, the South Vietnamese people have continuously roused the world's people up to theiractual defense of their territories of the territory of South Vietnam with a population of over 10 million. In the regions still temporarily under American imperialist occupation and their agents, political and military struggle is being expanded. The Front's prestige is mounting at home and abroad.

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

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

To severely condemn the American imperialists for carrying out a barbarous war of aggression, and for their brazenly violating the national independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Vietnam.

To warmly hail the heroic Vietnamese people in both zones, North and South, of Vietnam, who are valiantly struggling against American imperialism for national salvation, and who, in the face of the intensification of American armed
aggression, have dealt and are dealing crushing blows at the American aggressors;—

To express total approval of and unreserved support for the four-point stand of the Gov-
ernment of the Democratic Republic of Viet-
nam and the five-point declaration of the
South Vietnam National Front for Liberation,
considering them as the only correct stand on
which to solve the Vietnam problem;

To recognize the South Vietnam National
Front for Liberation as the sole genuine rep-
resentative of the 14 million South Viet-
amese people; the internal affairs of South
Vietnam must be settled by the South Viet-
amese people themselves in accordance with
the programme of the South Vietnam Na-
tional Front for Liberation;

To call on Asian and African writers, mem-
ers of the Asian and African Writers' Or-
ganization, and on all other progressive and
democratic writers in the world to give all-
support to the Vietnamese people in their
sacred struggle for national salvation against
American imperialist aggression.

Writers in all countries!
Men of conscience all over the world!

The American imperialists are conducting an
extremely barbarous war in Vietnam. Although
the Vietnamese people have suffered heavy
defeats and getting into a more and
more dangerous situation, they are stubbornly
interiting and expanding the war with
American aggression. By continuing to "escalate"
the war of aggression in Viet-
nam, they are seriously threatening peace in South-
East Asia and the world. Stop the blood-stained
hands of the American imperialists! The heroic Vietnamese
people are shedding their blood to stop the American
imperialists' aggression. Give wholehearted, timely
and all-out support to their resistance war against
American imperialism and for national salvation, by
effective means!

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

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

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

Demand that the American imperialists put an
immediate, definite, and unconditional end to the
continuing memorial bombing by the Democ-
ratic Republic of Vietnam!

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

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

The people of Asia, Africa and Latin America
the people of the socialist countries, the people
of the whole world, united and struggling resolutely
will certainly win the great victory over the
great American imperialists' aggressive designs!

Let the American people and African progres-
sive writers, who have vauntily struggled against
the American Government's war of aggression
in Vietnam, struggle still more vigorously against
the American Government, unite closely with the
people of East and Southeast Asia and the whole
of the world, and help to fail the American
imperialists' war of aggression in Vietnam!

The American imperialists will certainly be
defeated!

The Vietnamese people will certainly win!

Stamp 1. 6 fen. The front part of the sculpture "Thunderstorm" done by four
students and a teacher of the Shanghai Academy of Fine Arts. The figures, a
symbol of the unity of the Afro-Asian
peoples in their magnificent counter-
attack against U.S. imperialist aggres-
sion and the idea that the storm of na-
tional liberation is irresistible. Black
on red.
Stamp 2. 22 fen. The badge of the Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency
Meeting, a torch and an open book, in red, gold and
white.
The yellow characters in the upper left
corner of stamp 1 and the golden ones in
the book stamp 2 read: "AFRO-ASI-
AN Writers' Emergency Meeting. Peking."
The stamp measures 40 x 30 mm. No. 11, Flourished, Index No. Commemorative 119. Serial No. 363-369.
AFRO-ASIAN WRITERS EMERGENCY MEETING