

PEKING REVIEW

45

November 4, 1966

Victory for the Proletarian Revolutionary Line Represented By Chairman Mao

Hongqi editorial.

Commemorate Lu Hsun, the Great Standard-Bearer on the Cultural Front

Speeches by Chen Po-ta and other comrades at Peking rally.

On the War Criminal's "Search for Peace"

Renmin Ribao Observer comments on "Manila conference."

北
京
周
報

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

PEKING REVIEW

Nov. 4, 1966
Vol. 9, No. 45

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

IN THIS ISSUE

THE WEEK Chinese Communist Party Delegation Arrives in Tirana; Tsai Yung-hsiang Gives Up His Life to Save a Trainload of Red Guards; Protest Against Ghanaian Authorities' Unilateral Suspension of Relations Between China and Ghana; Vice-Premier Chen Yi Condemns Kidnapping of Guinean Delegation by U.S. Imperialism in Collusion With Ghanaian Authorities 5

ARTICLES AND DOCUMENTS

Victory for the Proletarian Revolutionary Line Represented by Chairman Mao — Hongqi editorial 6

Commemorating Lu Hsun — Our Forerunner in the Cultural Revolution — Hongqi editorial 8

In Memory of Lu Hsun, the Great Standard-Bearer on the Cultural Front 10

Concluding Speech at Meeting in Commemoration of Lu Hsun — Chen Po-ta 11

Commemorate Lu Hsun and Carry the Revolution Through to the End — Yao Wen-yuan 12

Learn From Lu Hsun, Be Faithful to Chairman Mao For Ever — Huang Ping-wen 17

Rebutting Simonov — Liu Lu 18

Mao Tse-tung's Thought Illuminates Lu Hsun — Hsu Kuang-ping 20

Commemorating Lu Hsun's Rebellious Spirit — Kuo Mo-jo 22

Congratulations on China's Successful Guided Missile-Nuclear Weapon Test 24

Credit for the Magnificent Victory Goes to the Great Leader Chairman Mao 27

Study "On New Democracy" 29

On the War Criminal's "Search for Peace" — Observer 35

Chinese Students in the Soviet Union Leave Moscow for Home 36

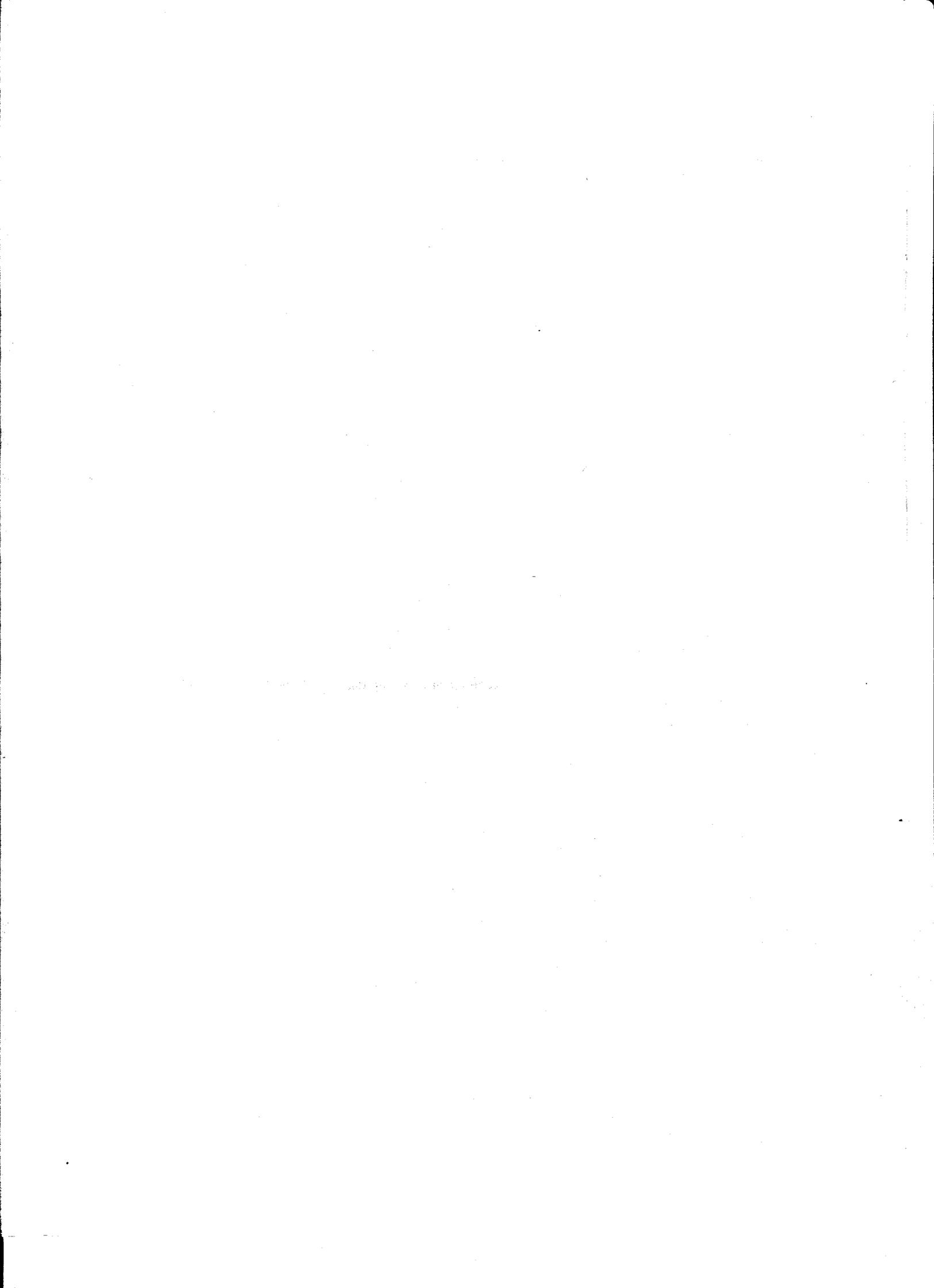
ROUND THE WORLD New Delhi Conference: Serving "Peace Talks" Fraud; Sihanouk Declares: No Negotiations on Vietnam; Johnson in Cam Ranh Bay: Paper Tiger Exposed 39

Published every Friday by PEKING REVIEW
Peking (37), China
Post Office Registration No. 2-922
Cable Address: Peking 2910
Printed in the People's Republic of China



Chairman Mao Tse-tung

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



Chinese Communist Party Delegation Arrives in Tirana

THE delegation of the Chinese Communist Party, headed by Kang Sheng, Member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau and of the Secretariat of the Party's Central Committee, and Li Hsien-nien, deputy leader and Member of the Political Bureau and of the Secretariat of the Party's Central Committee, arrived in Tirana on October 28 by special plane. When the delegation left Peking, Comrades Chou En-lai and Tao Chu, Members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Party's Central Committee, were among those seeing it off at the airport.

The delegation was invited by the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour to take part in the celebrations of the 5th Congress of the Albanian Party of Labour and the 25th anniversary of the founding of the Party. On its arrival at the Tirana airport, the delegation was welcomed by M. Shehu, H. Kapo, R. Alija and S. Koleka, Members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour, and other comrades.

At noon on October 28, the Chinese Communist Party delegation called on Comrade Enver Hoxha, First Secretary of the Albanian Party of Labour, and on the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party.

Tsai Yung-hsiang Gives Up His Life to Save a Trainload of Red Guards

A heart-stirring story of a heroic deed is being told and spread among the Red Guards and the masses of the people in Hangchow and its surrounding area. It tells how Tsai Yung-hsiang, a fighter in the People's Liberation Army guarding the bridge spanning the Chientang River in Chekiang Province laid down his life

to save a trainload of Red Guards and the big steel bridge just as the train was in danger of being derailed. People are acclaiming Tsai Yung-hsiang as a hero in the era of Mao Tse-tung, a fine soldier of Chairman Mao, a worthy son of the people and a loyal defender of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

The time was 02:34 hours on October 10. Tsai Yung-hsiang was on sentinel duty at the southern end of the bridge. An autumn rain had just stopped. It was pitch dark all around and the Chientang River was enveloped in mist. A special Peking-bound train from Nanchang carrying young Red Guards sped towards the bridge. Filled with boundless love for the great leader Chairman Mao, the young revolutionary fighters in the carriages were anxious to get to Peking as quickly as possible. The train neared the bridge at a speed of 60 kilometres per hour. In the strong headlights of the train, Tsai Yung-hsiang suddenly saw a big log lying on the rails about 40 metres away, between him and the onrushing train. It was an act of sabotage by a class enemy inveterately hostile to the current great proletarian cultural revolution. Unless the log was removed, the train would be derailed and there would be great casualties and the bridge might be damaged. At this critical moment, Tsai Yung-hsiang raced forward in the direction of the train, disregarding his own safety. Seeing a figure running towards the train, the driver hurriedly pulled the emergency brake. But the momentum of the fast moving train was too great for it to stop immediately. Jumping on to the rails, Tsai Yung-hsiang mustered all his strength, got the log up into his arms and was going to leap out of the way when the train roared past and stopped on the bridge. The Red Guards and the bridge were saved, but Comrade Tsai Yung-hsiang,

Chairman Mao's fine soldier, was knocked down by the train and died a hero's death.

Tsai Yung-hsiang was born and brought up in a poor peasant family. He joined the People's Liberation Army in February this year when he was just 18.

Protest Against Ghanaian Authorities' Unilateral Suspension of Relations Between China and Ghana

The Chinese Embassy in Ghana, in its October 28 note to the Ghanaian Foreign Ministry, expressed the Chinese Government's strongest protest against the Ghanaian authorities' unilateral suspension of relations between China and Ghana and the withdrawal of the Ghanaian Embassy in China, thereby unilaterally disrupting relations between the two countries. The note said that the Chinese Government was compelled to take the corresponding measure of withdrawing all personnel of the Chinese Embassy in Ghana.

In its aide-memoire to the Chinese Embassy in Ghana dated October 20, 1966, the Ghanaian Ministry of Foreign Affairs announced the suspension of relations between China and Ghana. Thus, relations between the two countries have been disrupted by the Ghanaian authorities unilaterally.

The Ghanaian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in its aide-memoire, turned the truth upside down and tried to shift the responsibility for disrupting relations between the two countries on to the Chinese Government. This is completely futile. The Chinese note pointed out that since February this year the Ghanaian authorities had been pursuing an anti-China policy deliberately undermining relations between the two countries. The Ghanaian authorities had also set their propaganda machine in motion to frantically oppose China.

(Continued on p. 38.)

Victory for the Proletarian Revolutionary Line Represented by Chairman Mao

AT present, the situation of the great proletarian cultural revolution is very fine. Characteristic of this very fine situation is the fact that the broad masses have really been mobilized. Just as Chairman Mao has said, "This is a movement of a momentous scale. It has indeed mobilized the masses. It is of very great significance to the revolutionization of the thinking of the people throughout the country."

The broad revolutionary masses have acquired a better understanding of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao. The orientation of their struggle has become still clearer and their fighting spirit has soared still higher. They study and apply Chairman Mao's works creatively in the struggle, pushing the mass movement of studying Chairman Mao's works to a new high. The movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution is developing in a more penetrating, more extensive and healthier manner.

Of late, in response to Chairman Mao's call to "pay attention to state affairs," the broad masses, conscientiously turning their minds to the struggle between the two lines in the great proletarian revolution, have unfolded a mass criticism and repudiation of the bourgeois reactionary line. This mass criticism and repudiation has spread to all provinces, municipalities, departments, colleges and schools throughout the country. All errors in contravention of Chairman Mao's line and all sorts of manifestations of the bourgeois reactionary line have been exposed, criticized and repudiated by the broad masses.

The broad revolutionary masses have risen to criticize and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line. This is an important indication that the broad masses have indeed been mobilized and that the current situation is very fine. It shows that the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao is penetrating ever deeper into people's hearts and the bourgeois reactionary line has gone bankrupt.

It is a very fine thing that the masses have themselves directly grasped Chairman Mao's correct line and have undertaken an extensive and profound mass criticism and repudiation of the erroneous line; it is a very fine thing that the masses in their hundreds of millions are paying such attention to state affairs. It

is acting as a great spur to comrades who have a very poor understanding of the work of leadership in this great proletarian cultural revolution and whose leadership has been far from conscientious or effective. It is a great help to those comrades who follow the bourgeois line, for them to correct their mistakes. It is a most important guarantee that the erroneous line will be rectified further and its bad influence eradicated, and that the proletarian revolutionary line and the 16-point decision concerning the great cultural revolution will be correctly applied and carried out.

The struggle between the two lines has all along centred on the question of one's stand and attitude towards the masses. The proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao is this: to trust the masses, rely on them, respect their initiative, and have them educate and liberate themselves; to boldly arouse the masses to struggle against the handful of persons in authority within the Party who are taking the capitalist road, to give free rein to the masses to struggle against all ghosts and monsters in society and to carry out the struggles [against those persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road], criticisms and repudiations [of the reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities" and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes] and transformations [of education, literature and art and all other parts of the superstructure that do not correspond to the socialist economic base]. The bourgeois reactionary line, however, runs counter to this. Certain representative personages who have put forward this line are against the masses educating and liberating themselves. In dealing with the masses, they resorted to the "tutelage" practised by the Kuomintang; they treat the masses as if they were ignorant and incapable and look upon themselves as men of wisdom and resourcefulness; they suppress the masses and stifle their initiative; they shift the targets for attack and direct their spearhead against the revolutionary masses, branding them as "counter-revolutionaries," "anti-Party elements," "Rightists," "pseudo-Leftists but genuine Rightists," and so forth.

These two lines are sharply opposed to each other. One is the mass line of Chairman Mao, the other is

the line of the bourgeoisie which opposes and suppresses the masses; one is the revolutionary line of the proletariat which is carrying the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end, the other is the bourgeois line of opposing revolution which wants to lead the great proletarian cultural revolution in the opposite direction and wants to strangle it in its cradle.

Without destruction there can be no construction. Without opposing the reactionary line of the bourgeoisie and eradicating the influence of this erroneous line, it is impossible to correctly and thoroughly implement the revolutionary line of the proletariat.

A great amount of work is needed before the evil influence of the bourgeois reactionary line can be eradicated. The bourgeois reactionary line has its social basis which is mainly in the bourgeoisie. The erroneous line has a certain audience inside the Party, because there exist the handful of persons inside the Party who are in power and are taking the capitalist road, and who regard this erroneous line as their protective talisman; and because there are still a considerable number of muddle-headed people inside the Party whose world outlook has not been remoulded or has not been effectively remoulded. A process is required for these comrades to return from the erroneous line to the correct line.

Distinctions should be made among those who have committed errors of line. Those (there are only one, two or several persons) who have put forward the erroneous line should be distinguished from those who have put it into effect; those (these are a minority) who have consciously implemented the erroneous line should be distinguished from those (there is a large number of these) who have done it unconsciously; we should differentiate between those who have put it into practice to a serious extent and those to a not so serious extent; differentiate between those who cling to their mistakes and those who are willing to correct them and are already in the process of doing so.

Generally speaking, the contradictions between those comrades who committed errors of line on the one hand and the Party and the masses on the other are still contradictions among the people. Provided that they can correct their errors, return to the correct stand and carry out the Party's correct line, it is not only possible for them to become cadres of the second category [comparatively good] or of the third category [those who have made serious mistakes but have not become anti-Party, anti-socialist Rightists], it is also possible for them to develop into cadres of the first category [good]. [See *Peking Review*, No. 33 for the Decision of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.] Nevertheless, these comrades must be sharply told that no matter who they are, and no matter how great their past achievements, if they cling to the erroneous line, the nature of the contradictions between them and the Party and the masses will change; the non-antagonistic contradictions then may become antagonistic contradictions and they will slide down the anti-Party and anti-socialist road.

The mark distinguishing rectification of errors from stubborn adherence to them is the attitude towards the masses and whether they have publicly admitted before the masses that they have carried out the erroneous line; whether they have made serious efforts to reverse the decisions passed on those of the revolutionary masses who have been branded as "counter-revolutionaries," "anti-Party elements," "Rightists," "pseudo-Leftists but genuine Rightists"; and whether they have publicly rehabilitated them and support the revolutionary actions of the revolutionary masses.

A communist who has committed an error of line should be courageous enough to admit his errors, critically examine those errors and join the masses to criticize and repudiate his own errors. Chairman Mao has taught us: "Countless revolutionary martyrs have laid down their lives in the interests of the people, and our hearts are filled with pain as we the living think of them—can there be any personal interest, then, that we would not sacrifice or any error that we would not discard?"

In the course of criticizing and repudiating the erroneous line, the policy of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones" and "curing the sickness to save the patient"—a policy which Chairman Mao has consistently advocated—should be adopted towards those comrades who have committed errors of line, "in order to achieve the two-fold objective of clarity in ideology and unity among comrades." The revolutionary masses and revolutionary youth who have stood up energetically to criticize and repudiate the erroneous line should all pay attention to this teaching of Chairman Mao's. As to some of the masses who have been hoodwinked for a time by the erroneous line, they should not be blamed, nor should such labels as "Royalists" be stuck on them; instead, patient efforts should be made to help them and to unite with them.

Those comrades who have committed errors of line should modestly, sincerely and wholeheartedly listen to the criticisms of the masses, and, as Chairman Mao has repeatedly taught us, "shedding the ugly mantle of pretentiousness and becoming a willing pupil." They should stand together with the revolutionary masses and with them eradicate the evil influences caused by the bourgeois reactionary line. No feelings of antagonism should result because of some excesses in words and actions by the masses in the course of criticism and repudiation. Instead one should see that the masses' main orientation is correct, understand how they feel, have faith in the majority of the masses and have faith that the masses are reasonable.

Those comrades who have committed errors must get rid of the many "fears" in their minds. In the final analysis, these "fears" are being afraid of the masses and afraid of revolution. They should act according to Chairman Mao's instructions and replace "fear" with "daring," "self" with "public" and "having faith in oneself" with "having faith in the masses." Only by doing so can errors be corrected, can they take the initiative instead of being passive, and give leader-

ship in the great proletarian cultural revolution in accordance with Chairman Mao's line.

All comrades who want to make revolution, let us unite and push forward the great proletarian cultural

revolution under the great banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and on the basis of the revolutionary proletarian line represented by Chairman Mao.

(*"Hongqi"* editorial, No. 14, 1966.)

Commemorating Lu Hsun—Our Forerunner in the Cultural Revolution

THE great proletarian cultural revolution surges to a new high in its advance along the revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao Tse-tung. The broad revolutionary masses are thoroughly criticizing and repudiating the bourgeois reactionary line. It is in this excellent situation, and in a spirit of militant pride that we commemorate Lu Hsun — our forerunner in the cultural revolution.

Chairman Mao has given the most comprehensive, the most penetrating appraisal of Lu Hsun. He said: Lu Hsun was "the greatest and the most courageous standard-bearer of this new cultural force." He was "the chief commander of China's cultural revolution"; "representing the great majority of the nation, Lu Hsun breached and stormed the enemy citadel; on the cultural front he was the bravest and most correct, the firmest, the most loyal and the most ardent national hero, a hero without parallel in our history."

The life of Lu Hsun was a life of struggle. He always stood at the forefront of the times, waging an unswerving struggle to overthrow imperialism and its lackeys, sweep away the old culture of the exploiting classes, and spread and promote the new culture of the masses.

The old semi-feudal, semi-colonial system and culture of the China of the past was a prison that kept the masses incarcerated and rigidly shackled their minds. Lu Hsun had an implacable hatred for all man-eating systems and cultures. He sounded "the call to charge forward" to "clear out" and "sweep away" all the old forces, old ideas, old cultures, old customs and habits and trample them down, whether they were ancient canons, rare texts, sacred oracles, precious idols, traditional recipes or secret nostrums. With the fighting spirit of a man "breaking through all snares and traps," he attacked the old world courageously. He put daring above all else and boldly declared war on all the enemies, using his pen as a javelin to throw at the enemy's heart. He was fearless in face of threats, of isolation, of detraction and slander, of overt or covert persecution, of death itself. "Fierce-browed, I coolly defy a thousand pointing fingers" — Lu Hsun always despised the "flunkey-ism" of being "servile and submissive" to the enemy. He broke completely with old traditions and old forces. He was a genuine revolutionary, free from the slightest trace of philistinism; he had not a moment's regret for the death of the old

world. He repudiated the old world in the most merciless way. The force of his pen was such that the enemy was vanquished wherever it pointed.

Destruction comes first, and construction comes in the course of destruction. A new world can only be discovered in the course of repudiating the old world. This was precisely the course followed by Lu Hsun. He once said that at first, he had no idea what the new was like. It was in the course of struggling against the old system and old culture, and especially in the struggle against such reactionary bourgeois ideas as "the theory of human nature," "humanitarianism" and "vulgar evolutionism" and in the struggle against the Trotskyite gang that he found Marxism and learnt the Marxist theory of class struggle. With this weapon he observed society, attacked the enemy and at the same time constantly "dissected himself" to transform his world outlook and consciously temper himself into a revolutionary. It was through such sharp class struggles that Lu Hsun was transformed from a radical democrat into a great communist fighter. He firmly believed that "the future belongs to the newly rising proletariat alone" and placed the hopes of the Chinese revolution in the Chinese Communist Party led by Chairman Mao.

Today, as we commemorate Lu Hsun, we must follow Chairman Mao's teachings and learn from Lu Hsun's utterly fearless fighting spirit and spirit of thoroughgoing revolution.

The phrase "beating a mad dog in the water" is an outstanding expression of Lu Hsun's thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit. Lu Hsun resolutely opposed any talk of "forgiving" or "showing mercy" to the enemy. He sharply rebutted the drivel which vilifies the spirit of "beating a mad dog in the water" as "going to extremes" or "being too harsh in hating evil." He clearly pointed out that "the nature of the dog" would not change and that if it were allowed "to crawl back on to the bank" and catch its breath, it would some day "bite to death" many revolutionaries. We say: Listen, you who are always charging us with "going to extremes"! Can we talk about "forgiving" in regard to our class enemies at home or abroad, the counter-revolutionary revisionists or the handful of persons who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road? Can we allow them to rise up again some day to "bite to death" revolutionaries? No! We must learn from Lu Hsun's thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit of "beating a mad

dog in the water," and beat them to the earth so that they never get up again.

Lu Hsun bitterly hated those seemingly "fair" and "just" "peace-makers," the "fence-sitters" who pretend to be "unbiased" between two armies locked in battle. "Conciliation" or "eclecticism" means "obliterating the difference between good and bad" and "serving as the enemy's jackal." To practise eclecticism in a life-and-death class struggle means in fact to stand on the side of the enemy. At every crucial moment in the class struggle, the eclectics invariably raise a hue and cry or mumble complaints. But history has booked these characters for a tragic role. There is no middle road in the present struggle between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism with the C.P.S.U. leadership at its centre. Those who advocate a middle road will inevitably slip down into the quagmire of revisionism.

In the great proletarian cultural revolution, there is also no middle road in the struggle between the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and the bourgeois reactionary line. To practise conciliation and eclecticism in this struggle between the two lines is, in fact, to defend the bourgeois reactionary line and oppose the proletarian revolutionary line. Every revolutionary should do as Lu Hsun did: "enthusiastically uphold what is right" and "spiritedly attack what is wrong," be clear-cut in what he loves and hates and persist in a principled stand.

From start to finish, in the revolutionary struggle, Lu Hsun fought on stubbornly and unyieldingly, no matter how long and tortuous the road or how many the difficulties, dangers and obstacles on the way. He opposed those who regarded the revolution as something simple, easy, and all plain sailing, and who would be thrown into a state of "despair and despondency" whenever things got difficult. This was the "tenacious" fighting spirit that Lu Hsun firmly upheld. This was that revolutionary staunchness characterized by down-to-earth effort, dauntlessness and defiance of all difficulties and refusal to give up before the aim is achieved. Enemy encirclement and persecution made him all the more resolute. The enemy encirclement and persecution brought out and tempered Lu Hsun's fighting spirit. Lu Hsun did not feel alone when dark clouds obscured the sky and he was isolated. This was because he breathed the same air as the masses and threw in his lot with them, because he stood with Chairman Mao, the great leader of the Chinese people. At the time, although on the surface he was isolated, truth was on his side; he represented the interests of the proletariat and the broad masses of working people of China and the path of historical advance.

Reactionary encirclement and attack brings out and tempers the revolutionary Left. Such are the dialectics of history. In the great proletarian cultural revolution, all comrades of the Left should understand this truth, and be fearless in the face of twists and turns, encirclement and isolation, consciously tempering themselves in the class struggle and making themselves into staunch and steeled fighters.

"Head-bowed, like a willing ox I serve the children" — Lu Hsun had confidence in the people and a great love for them. Because of this, Lu Hsun was adept at discovering the newborn forces in society and resolutely supported them. Throughout his life, Lu Hsun carried the banner for the emerging new things in society, cheered for their growth and sounded the clarion to clear the way for them. He spared no effort to "bring forth a large number of new fighters." With great enthusiasm he concerned himself with the growth of the young generation and encouraged them to go into battle. He saw China's hopes and future in the proletariat, in the masses of the people and in the revolutionary youth, and this strengthened his revolutionary confidence and militant courage. One's attitude towards new things emerging in society, of supporting or not supporting or opposing them, is an important criterion of whether one is a revolutionary, or not a revolutionary or opposes the revolution. Proletarian revolutionaries can see the infinite vitality and the great future development of a new thing as soon as it emerges on the horizon and they will enthusiastically greet it and resolutely support it. As for the political philistines, they are blind, they cannot see the new things, or else dare not support them for fear of getting their fingers burnt. Representatives of the decaying forces heap scorn and abuse on, and ruthlessly seek to overthrow and destroy new emerging things. In the great proletarian cultural revolution, new, revolutionary things are constantly emerging and the newly emerging forces are continuously growing stronger. Before them, one must swiftly show one's attitude and make a choice.

What most of all deserves emulating in Lu Hsun was his boundless esteem and love for the great leader Chairman Mao. In his early years he had "wandered," but once he had found Marxism, especially after he had found the Communist Party of China represented by Chairman Mao and had found the revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, he became resolute, obeyed orders and willingly became "a foot soldier" and "an ordinary soldier" in the proletarian revolution. Ignoring the White Terror of the Kuomintang reactionaries, the lies and slanders of the Trotskyite gang and the deceit and attacks of the Chou Yangs, Lu Hsun resolutely followed Chairman Mao from start to finish and courageously defended the correct line represented by Chairman Mao.

"The heart of the hero in his old age is as stout as ever." The older Lu Hsun grew the stronger his revolutionary will and the more pronounced became his militant youthful vigour. What force inspired him? It was the Communist Party of China represented by Chairman Mao; it was our great teacher Chairman Mao. Genuine revolutionaries must all be like Lu Hsun, resolutely follow Chairman Mao, follow him for ever, and march forward along the way pointed out by Chairman Mao. Today, we are much luckier than Lu Hsun in that we can hear Chairman Mao's instructions in person. We must make revolution throughout our lives, read Chairman Mao's writings throughout our

lives, study Mao Tse-tung's thought throughout our lives, and be for ever loyal to Chairman Mao, loyal to the people and loyal to the cause of communism.

Thirty years have elapsed since our forerunner in the cultural revolution, Lu Hsun, left us, but his revolutionary spirit lives on in the heart of every revolutionary comrade.

In the tempestuous waves of the great proletarian cultural revolution we need people of unyielding proletarian integrity armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought; we need all-round revolutionary pathbreakers with penetrating insight, and wisdom and courage. The revolutionary spirit of Lu Hsun and his experience in

struggle are a precious heritage. We must act according to Chairman Mao's teachings, emulate Lu Hsun's example, use Mao Tse-tung's thought as our guide, and take over and carry forward Lu Hsun's spirit of daring to make revolution and being good at making revolution, of daring to struggle and being good at struggling. We must hold still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, thoroughly criticize and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line, resolutely implement the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

(*"Hongqi" editorial, No. 14, 1966.*)

Great Meeting in Peking

In Memory of Lu Hsun, the Great Standard-Bearer on the Cultural Front

IN the new upsurge of the unprecedented great proletarian cultural revolution, more than 70,000 members of a great army of cultural revolution — the Red Guards, workers, peasants and soldiers and representatives of literary and art workers in Peking and from other parts of the country — held a great meeting in the afternoon of October 31 in solemn memory of the 30th anniversary of the death of Lu Hsun, the great standard-bearer of the proletarian cultural front.

Filled with militant spirit, the revolutionary masses present were resolved to take Lu Hsun as their example and hold still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought. They were resolved to inherit and develop Lu Hsun's fearless and thoroughgoing spirit of proletarian revolutionary rebellion and, fierce-browed, to coolly defy imperialism headed by the United States and modern revisionism with the C.P.S.U. leadership group at its centre and the reactionaries of all countries. They were resolved, head-bowed, like a willing ox, to serve the revolutionary people of China and the rest of the world, defend to the death the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, thoroughly smash the bourgeois reactionary line, carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end and make still greater contributions to the revolutionary cause of the world proletariat.

Among the responsible people of various fields of work and representatives from all walks of life present were Chou En-lai, Tao Chu, Chen Po-ta, Chen Yi, Hsieh Fu-chih, Liu Ning-I, Hsiao Hua, Yang Cheng-wu, Chiang Ching, Liu Chih-chien, Chang Chun-chiao, Liu Chien-hsun, Chao Yi-min, Kuo Mo-jo, Hsu Kuang-ping, Chu Tu-nan, Hsieh Tang-chung, Wang Li, Kuan Feng, Chi Pen-yu, Mu Hsin, Yao Wen-yuan, Wang Tung-hsing, Chou Yung-hsin, Tang Ping-chu, Hu Chih,

Chen Ya-ting, Tsao Yi-ou, Chin Ching-mai, Yuan Ming, Nieh Yuan-tzu, Chang Pen, Chu Hsi-hsien, Li Li-fang, Chien Hao-liang, Chang Ying-che, Wei Feng-ying and Cheng Shu-yu. The entire meeting place resounded with hearty applause when they and the representatives of the Red Guards in the capital mounted the rostrum.

Foreign friends invited to the rostrum to attend the meeting included Anna Louise Strong, the noted American writer; Rathe Deshapriya Senanayake, Secretary-General of the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau; Djawoto, Secretary-General of the Afro-Asian Journalists' Association; Nguyen Minh Phuong, Acting Head of the Permanent Mission in China of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation; Yukio Kanazawa from Japan; Joshua Horn from Britain; da Cruz from Angola; Pablo Cortes from Chile and Rewi Alley from New Zealand.

Red flags fluttered over the meeting place. Opposite the rostrum were huge placards with quotations from Chairman Mao: "Representing the great majority of the nation, Lu Hsun breached and stormed the enemy citadel; on the cultural front he was the bravest and most correct, the firmest, the most loyal and the most ardent national hero, a hero without parallel in our history. The road he took was the very road of China's new national culture" and "This couplet from a poem by Lu Hsun should be our motto:

*Fierce-browed, I coolly defy a thousand
pointing fingers,*

Head-bowed, like a willing ox I serve the children.

The 'thousand pointing fingers' are our enemies and we will never yield to them, no matter how ferocious. The 'children' here symbolize the proletariat and the masses. All Communists, all revolutionaries, all revolutionary literary and art workers should learn from

the example of Lu Hsun and be 'oxen' for the proletariat and the masses, bending their backs to the task until their dying day."

This meeting in memory of Lu Hsun was presided over by Chen Po-ta, Member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and leader of the cultural revolution group under the Central Committee. At the end of the meeting, he made a concluding speech. (See below.)

Comrade Yao Wen-yuan delivered the first speech, entitled "Commemorate Lu Hsun and Carry the Revolu-

tion Through to the End," to the meeting. Speaking after Comrade Yao Wen-yuan were Huang Ping-wen, a student at the Peking Institute of Geology, whose speech was entitled "Learn From Lu Hsun, Be Faithful to Chairman Mao for Ever"; Liu Lu, a student at the Long March Middle School in Peking, whose speech was entitled "Rebutting Simonov"; Comrade Hsu Kuang-ping (Madam Lu Hsun), whose speech was entitled "Mao Tse-tung's Thought Illuminates Lu Hsun"; and Kuo Mo-jo, whose speech was entitled "Commemorating Lu Hsun's Rebellious Spirit." (For full texts of these speeches see pp. 12-22.)

Concluding Speech at Meeting in Commemoration of Lu Hsun

by CHEN PO-TA

I WISH to say a few words at the conclusion of our meeting to commemorate Lu Hsun, that great fighter on the cultural front.

On the eve of his death, Lu Hsun made a famous testament. It contains some penetrating remarks which are worthy of deep thought even today.

Lu Hsun wrote: "Never mix with people who injure others yet oppose revenge and advocate tolerance."

He also said: "... once during a fever (Lu Hsun had tuberculosis and often suffered attacks of fever) I remembered that when a European is dying, there is usually some sort of ceremony in which he asks the pardon of others and pardons them. I have a great many enemies, and I thought, what should my answer be if some modernized persons should ask me my views on this? After considering it, I decided: Let them go on hating me. I shall not forgive a single one of them."

I feel this a most important testament Lu Hsun has left us, something we must never forget.

Lu Hsun was hitting out at the renegades of that time who went over to the enemy but pretended that they had "foresight." Lu Hsun mockingly dubbed them "modernized persons."

At that time, Lu Hsun actively supported our Party and the Anti-Japanese National United Front advocated by our great leader Chairman Mao. The counter-revolutionary Trotskyites, however, bitterly opposed Chairman Mao's proposal for unanimous resistance to Japan, so Lu Hsun denounced them scathingly. Lu Hsun sharply pointed out that the Trotskyites' behaviour "runs counter to the present-day standards of morality of the Chinese people." At the same time, Lu Hsun entirely supported Chairman Mao's policy of both unity and struggle in the united front, and his

policy of maintaining proletarian independence within the united front. Lu Hsun bitingly exposed the fact that "ever since the 'coalition front' was proposed, those 'revolutionary writers' who went over to the enemy have reappeared posing as pioneers of the 'coalition front.' All their contemptible acceptance of bribes and their traffic with the enemy are now made out to be 'progressive,' 'glorious deeds.'"

Lu Hsun accepted Chairman Mao's thought and was diametrically opposed to the capitulationism of Wang Ming, Chou Yang and their like.

Now, thirty years later, Lu Hsun's prophetic words have not lost a ray of their lustre. Let those shameless modern revisionists listen to them! Was not every word of Lu Hsun's exposure of capitulationism and the traitors of that time also meant for them?

The modern revisionists with the C.P.S.U. leadership as their centre have betrayed the great Lenin and are on a honeymoon coexisting with the U.S. imperialists. In this criminal cause, they are using the name of so-called "united action" in an attempt to sell out the revolutions of the world's peoples and to sacrifice the world-shaking, heroic and great struggle of the Vietnamese people.

I think it is very useful today, as we commemorate Lu Hsun, to recall his testament, for it helps to reveal the schemes of the modern revisionists and the U.S. imperialists in their united opposition to revolution, to the people, to communism, to the Vietnamese people's anti-U.S. war, and to New China. Once the people of the various countries see through the schemes of the modern revisionists in capitulating to imperialism headed by the United States, then, as our Chairman Mao has often pointed out, they will take their destinies

into their own hands and their revolutions will be ever-victorious.

Long live the spirit of Lu Hsun, the great comrade-in-arms of Comrade Mao Tse-tung!

Let us follow in the footsteps of Lu Hsun, the forerunner of the cultural revolution, and march forward!

Let us forge ahead along the road of the great thought of Mao Tse-tung!

Commemorate Lu Hsun and Carry the Revolution Through to the End

Speech by Yao Wen-yuan*

Comrades! Red Guard Comrades-in-Arms! Friends!

Held during the high tide of the vigorously developing great proletarian cultural revolution and after our great leader Chairman Mao has reviewed for the fourth time one and a half million of the forces of the cultural revolution, our solemn commemoration of Lu Hsun, the great standard-bearer on the proletarian cultural front, is of great international and domestic significance.

Only the revolutionary people are entitled to commemorate the revolutionary fighters. The best commemoration of the proletarian revolutionary fighters of the past can only be the continuous carrying forward of the revolution under new historical conditions. With the leading clique of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union at their centre, the modern revisionists who bow down obsequiously before imperialism and the bourgeoisie, the representatives of the bourgeoisie who, in the period of socialist revolution, hold on like grim death to the old bourgeois ideas, culture, customs and habits, the counter-revolutionary double-dealers who advocate "new skills but old ideas," and the flies and mosquitoes which flit endlessly over the garbage dumps of the decadent culture of the exploiting classes and refuse to leave them—all these are utterly disqualified from talking about commemorating Lu Hsun. Those who are today most qualified to commemorate Lu Hsun are the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and the heroic Red Guard fighters who, in the great proletarian cultural revolution and under the shining banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, are vigorously destroying the "four olds" [old ideas, culture, customs and habits] and fostering the "four news" [new ideas, culture, customs and habits], and the revolutionary people of the whole world who, wave upon wave, are waging struggles against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. The great deeds done by the Red Guard fighters in their fierce attack against the old things of the exploiting classes are the best commemoration of Lu Hsun!

Chairman Mao has given the most correct, most comprehensive and fullest appraisal of the historical contribution of Lu Hsun.

* Yao Wen-yuan is a member of the group in charge of the cultural revolution under the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

Chairman Mao said: "The chief commander of China's cultural revolution, he [Lu Hsun] was not only a great man of letters but a great thinker and revolutionary. Lu Hsun was a man of unyielding integrity, free from all sycophancy or obsequiousness; this quality is invaluable among colonial and semi-colonial peoples. Representing the great majority of the nation, Lu Hsun breached and stormed the enemy citadel; on the cultural front he was the bravest and most correct, the firmest, the most loyal and the most ardent national hero, a hero without parallel in our history. The road he took was the very road of China's new national culture."

Lu Hsun's contribution is many-sided. Its soul and core is the proletarian revolutionary spirit pointed out by Chairman Mao. To cast away the revolutionary spirit of Lu Hsun means to cast away his soul or Lu Hsun as a whole. The commemoration of Lu Hsun means, first and foremost, in accordance with the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, to greatly develop this fearless and thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit of daring to think, speak, act, break through and make revolution, steel oneself into a fighter with the unyielding integrity of the proletariat, and carry through to the end the fight against imperialism headed by the United States, modern revisionism with the leading clique of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union at its centre, the claque wildly gesticulating and adding their shouts to the big anti-China chorus, the reactionary forces at home and abroad, and all kinds of ghosts and monsters.

We commemorate Lu Hsun because in the period of the May 4th Movement he used his sharp and pungent pen to launch heroic attacks against the reactionary, decadent cultures of imperialism and feudalism and ruthlessly criticize the entire old world where man eats man. Wherever his pen struck, it was invincible. The old feudal diehards and the lap dogs lost their courage when they heard his name.

We commemorate Lu Hsun who, following the Kuo-mintang betrayal of the revolution in 1927, and in the course of stubborn struggles against imperialism and its lackeys, faced with the bloody lessons of the class struggle, continued to "dissect himself" strictly, remoulded his world outlook, established the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and developed from a bourgeois revolutionary democrat into a great communist fighter.

We commemorate Lu Hsun who, at the end of the 1920s and in the 1930s, used the weapon of Marxism-Leninism to wage great and heroic struggles against imperialism and the Kuomintang reactionaries, against all sorts of ghosts on the cultural front, and the revisionists who had wormed their way into the Party and donned the cloak of revolutionaries; who smashed all kinds of bourgeois reactionary thoughts and reactionary culture; who thoroughly exposed the despicable faces of the lackeys of the landlord and bourgeois classes such as Hu Shih, Liang Shih-chiu and the advocates of "a nationalist literature"; who reflected the revolutionary "soul of the Chinese masses," and performed immortal deeds in the cause of the Chinese people's liberation.

We commemorate Lu Hsun, particularly his last years. At that time, firmly taking the correct stand of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, he defended the anti-Japanese national united front put forward by Chairman Mao and sharply denounced the capitulationist line of Wang Ming's Right opportunism that was being followed by Chou Yang and others. Lu Hsun sharply exposed these persons' reactionary nature as "truly dissipated descendants of bankrupt families" disguised as "so-called revolutionary writers"; he uncovered their sectarian methods of "whispering campaigns and stirring up trouble" and their "evil propensity" for double-dealing; he exposed their criminal acts of surrendering to the Kuomintang reactionaries and spreading of their treason and renegade philosophy under the pretext of forming a "coalition front." Lu Hsun insisted on raising the proletarian slogan of "a literature of the masses for the national revolutionary war" and criticized the bourgeois slogan of "a literature of national defence." In "Reply to a Letter from the Trotskyites" Lu Hsun wrote: "I count it an honour to have as my comrades those who are now doing solid work, treading firmly on the ground, fighting and shedding their blood in defence of the Chinese people." This boundless love for the Chinese Communist Party headed by Chairman Mao, this unswerving faith in the great thought of Mao Tse-tung and his resolute implementation of the correct line mapped out by Chairman Mao showed Lu Hsun's most profound proletarian feeling in his last years. These things will always deserve our deep respect.

The proletarian revolutionary line has always existed in opposition to the bourgeois reactionary line and developed in the struggle with it. The history of the revolution tells us that the revolutionary cause has developed and advanced successfully whenever the correct line represented by Comrade Mao Tse-tung held sway, and suffered setback or defeat whenever an erroneous line contravening Mao Tse-tung's thought became dominant for a time. The struggle in literature and art reflects the political struggle and serves it. Lu Hsun's struggle on the cultural front during the 1930s against the revisionists wearing the cloaks of "Left-wingers" or "Communists" was no isolated phenomenon; it was the sharp reflection on the cultural front of the struggle between the two lines — the

correct line of the proletariat represented by Comrade Mao Tse-tung and the bourgeois reactionary line represented by Wang Ming. Chou Yang's attacks and distortions relating to Lu Hsun after his death culminated in the great conspiracy of 1957 in which a handful of shameless people under Chou Yang and instigated by him tried to stand the facts of history on their head, encircle and attack Lu Hsun and reverse the verdict on the bourgeois slogan of "a literature of national defence." All these were designed to oppose Mao Tse-tung's thought and the proletarian revolutionary line, reverse the verdict on Wang Ming's bourgeois reactionary line and serve the political needs of the anti-Party clique of a handful of people who were trying to restore capitalism. In February last, the forum on literary and artistic work in the People's Liberation Army called by Comrade Chiang Ching on Comrade Lin Piao's request raised high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and made profound Marxist-Leninist analyses of many problems relating to the current class struggle on the front of literature and art. The *Summary* of this forum of far-reaching historic significance has, by applying Mao Tse-tung's thought, provided the answers to many important questions concerning the cultural revolution in the period of socialism, resolutely defended the proletarian line in literature and art, thoroughly exposed the bourgeois line in literature and art of the 1930s represented by Chou Yang, brought to light and criticized Chou Yang's conspiracy to tamper with history and attack Lu Hsun and revealed the reactionary bourgeois essence of the slogan of "a literature of national defence." It was a struggle to defend Mao Tse-tung's thought and the correct line represented by Chairman Mao. The struggle between the proletarian and bourgeois lines continues today in the great proletarian cultural revolution and, as it deepens, assumes certain new forms. We must resolutely defend and carry out the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and overthrow the bourgeois reactionary line! We must raise still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, criticize and repudiate all erroneous tendencies opposing Mao Tse-tung's thought and the mass line, and clean up the poison of the bourgeois reactionary line!

In a letter of May 1936 and with those revisionists in mind who, under the cloak of "Left-wingers," had covertly attacked him and tried to get him into trouble, Lu Hsun wrote indignantly: "Those so-called 'men of letters' of Shanghai are really rotten, . . . I really want to write an article of at least fifty or sixty thousand words to spell out all the unspoken vexations I have suffered these past years. This would in fact also be a little legacy left to the future." This shows that Lu Hsun had wanted to launch a large-scale counter-attack against the rotten group of Chou Yang and company. It is a pity that Lu Hsun died before he could realize his wish. Today, we should realize this wish of Lu Hsun's, carry on the struggle to expose and criticize the revisionist line on the literary and artistic front

represented by Chou Yang and do a thorough and exhaustive job of it!

The imperialists, reactionaries of all countries and modern revisionists are scared out of their wits by the great proletarian cultural revolution. They see the great proletarian cultural revolution as something as dangerous as a deluge or wild beasts. They are on tenterhooks that they will be awakened from their dreams by roars of the revolution. The words "Red Guards" grip them with fear as if the death sentence has been passed on them and they are on edge and alarmed all day. They have started all their propaganda machines going to give vent to their fear and hatred and to curse the Red Guard movement and our great proletarian cultural revolution. But as Lu Hsun pointed out: "Cultural reforms flow on like great rivers and cannot be checked." The roaring tide of the revolution and the spread of revolutionary truth cannot be stopped by the puny shouts of the reactionaries. In those days, literary men of all stripes in the service of the Kuomintang reactionaries and revisionists who had wormed their way into the ranks of the "Left-wingers" both staged campaigns of "encirclement and suppression" against Lu Hsun. What was the result? As Chairman Mao has said: **"It was in the very midst of such campaigns of 'encirclement and suppression' that Lu Hsun, who believed in communism, became the giant of China's cultural revolution."** One can be sure that curses hurled by the world's reactionaries against China's great proletarian cultural revolution can only, by providing a negative example, result in helping to spread the sparks of the proletarian cultural revolution throughout the world, hasten their own downfall, and enable people of the world to see more clearly the historic, epoch-making significance of that great revolution and the tremendous impetus it gives to the world communist movement and the history of mankind!

The modern revisionists, with the leading clique of the C.P.S.U. at their centre, have of late been using the occasion of the Lu Hsun commemorations to vilify Lu Hsun and so shamelessly slander the great proletarian cultural revolution. They had the effrontery to malign Lu Hsun as a "humanitarian" and a "singer of fraternity," alleging that Lu Hsun upheld the literature and art of the old times as of "permanent value," and that he opposed the revolution in the cultural field and the idea of literature and art serving proletarian politics. This is indeed the basest fabrication against Lu Hsun. During his lifetime, Lu Hsun most bitterly hated those deceivers who publicized class conciliation. When he said "The oppressed are either slaves or enemies of the oppressors but can never be their friends," he had in mind the slavish philosophy that advertises "fraternity" and "forbearance." What a clear-cut proletarian stand he took! This is indeed a hard knock at the heads of the revisionists who deceive and lull the oppressed people with talk of "fraternity" and "humanitarianism"; it reveals their true features as servants of imperialism and the bourgeoisie. Throughout his life Lu Hsun opposed the pursuit of "permanent

values," and was always the most enthusiastic supporter and singer of the cultural revolution. He said: "China can have no genuine new literature and art without pathbreakers who break away from all traditional ideas and methods." He sharply denounced the reactionary bourgeois theory which held that "literature is permanent whereas political phenomena are temporary, so the former cannot be related to the latter"; he revealed that "the third category of people" who sang this tune did so precisely to serve the butchers who slaughtered the people. He always insisted that literature and art should serve the current revolutionary struggle and pointed out that the "three treasures — universality, permanence and completeness" — of the bourgeoisie are nothing but "nails which would nail a writer in his coffin." As a matter of fact, the "permanent value" advertised in modern revisionist art is nothing but the shopworn tune of the theory of human nature copied from bourgeois literature and art; it is nothing but the decadent life and a fashionable trade mark picked up from the rotten culture of the Western capitalist countries characterized by shamelessness, emptiness and vulgar taste. All this is dross which will soon be washed away by the tide of history. How can it have any "permanent value"?

The militant legacy which Lu Hsun left us includes many profound ideas which summed up the historical experience of class struggle on the cultural front and deserve to be studied and developed by us. Here let me cite a few points:

Firstly, we must develop Lu Hsun's fighting spirit of "beating a mad dog in the water." It is necessary to have this spirit both in order to overthrow the reactionary state power of the landlords and bourgeoisie and also to defend the proletarian dictatorship. Lu Hsun was highly vigilant against the enemies of the people. He saw through the enemies' utter cruelty and cunning and he would certainly show them no mercy. If you do not struggle against him; he will struggle against you. You may not "hate evil as you do your enemy," but he will "hate goodness as he does his enemy." You think of letting him go, but he definitely will not let you go. He will put on various masks to trick you into compromise, but he himself will never compromise. In his famous essay "Fair Play Should Be Put Off for the Time Being," Lu Hsun summed up many lessons learnt at the cost of blood, and pointed out that "preaching not to 'beat a mad dog in the water' is very harmful." If those "mad dogs in the water" are not beaten thoroughly, once they crawl back on to the bank, they will bite to death many revolutionaries. This will cost more blood; and at the very least they will splash people all over with water. He said: if you think "to give a free hand to evil is to show mercy," and talk about benevolence with regard to ghosts and monsters "to allow them to breed quickly," "this will cost a lot more energy and lives" on the part of future revolutionaries.

To those so-called "well-disposed people" who refuse to beat "a mad dog in the water," Lu Hsun said

that some mad dogs only seemed to have fallen into the water, but actually had not. "At most they only pretend to be limp so as to appeal to people's sense of pity." Then they will start by biting these "well-disposed people" first as soon as they have a chance for a come-back. He also said: "The nature of a mad dog cannot be changed. Things may be different ten thousand years later, but we are now talking about the present. If you regard those "in the water" as very pitiful, then there are many harmful creatures that look pitiful. Even cholera germs, though they breed quickly, seem simple in nature. But a physician definitely will not let them go."

The life of Lu Hsun was a life of fighting uncompromisingly against the reactionaries both at home and abroad. He never forgave the enemies of the people. Many times he rebutted the "idea of making no distinction between right and wrong." In his opinion, revolutionaries should always maintain a clear-cut stand, make a clear differentiation between right and wrong, and have a strong sense of likes and dislikes. Most of all he hated those "gentlemen" who made a show of "righteousness" yet in fact stood on the side of the old forces. He drew a most incisive portrait of the ugly features of these "gentlemen": "Although they are dogs, they look very much like cats, having an air of eclecticism, fairness, conciliation and righteousness, and the appearance that only they themselves know 'the doctrine of the mean' while all others are not exempt from going to extremes." In his essay "Ghosts and Monsters in China's Literary World," he mercilessly showed up the ugly features of those who said they were "definitely not Left-wingers, nor Right-wingers, but stand far above both," saying that "no deception can last long." This is really an excellent portrait of some modern revisionists who today describe themselves as "far above others" and "fair." Take a look at those in the international communist movement who consider that they "alone are pursuing 'the doctrine of the mean'"; they are in fact showing themselves up as the most vulgar of revisionists. We must develop this fighting spirit of never compromising with the enemies, see through all the plots of those mad dogs in the water or not yet fallen into the water, tear the eclectic masks off those "gentlemen" of a new type, expose the ugly features of those lap dogs who "although dogs, look very much like cats," in order to carry resolutely to the end the fight against imperialism headed by the United States and modern revisionism with the leading group of the C.P.S.U. at its centre, and resolutely to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

Secondly, we must develop Lu Hsun's revolutionary spirit of tenacity and perseverance. Lu Hsun said: "In the struggle against the old society and old forces, it is necessary to be firm, enduring and to pay attention to strength." He said: "Without tenacity, nothing can be achieved in culture." This is because no reactionary force or reactionary idea will ever step down from the stage of history of its own. It is necessary to have many trials of strength and to wage repeated struggles

in order to wipe them out step by step; this can never be done "at one stroke." It calls for the greatest tenacity to win victory step by step, to consolidate and extend victory, and to make bankrupt all kinds of counter-attacks by the old forces and all their attempts to soften up the revolutionaries.

During his lifetime, Lu Hsun many times experienced the ebb and flow of the revolution, victories and failures, zigzags and reversals, unity and division. Time and again the revolutionary ranks were divided into two, with "some going higher in rank and some going to live in seclusion," "some withdrawing from the ranks, some deserting, some becoming despondent and some, traitors." But he stood firm as a proud pine in the wind and frost, fearless of darkness and violence; he kept marching forward, persisting unswervingly in a protracted, heroic struggle against imperialism and its lackeys, constantly assimilating the experience of class struggle, and he ultimately grasped the great truth of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, and tempered himself into a man of staunch proletarian integrity.

Today, under the dictatorship of the proletariat, we have launched the great proletarian cultural revolution, a movement without parallel in history. This great, torrential revolutionary movement was started by Chairman Mao on the basis of a summing up of the experience of the class struggle in China and in the international arena and of the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and taking into account the profound aspirations of the revolutionary masses. This is a great innovation in the international communist movement, a great innovation in the socialist revolution in our country, a revolutionary movement of the proletariat carried out at a higher stage and after the proletariat has seized state power and transformed private ownership, with the aim of remoulding the outlook of society and remoulding the ideological outlook. This is an extremely great revolution, a far-reaching and deep-going revolution that touches the people to their very souls. All classes, all kinds of social ideas and political groups will come to the stage to give their performances; a handful of persons who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road will never of their own accord step down from the stage of history. In such a great revolution, it is only natural that stubborn resistance should be encountered from the old forces of the exploiting classes, as well as many new problems, extremely complex struggles and all manner of reversals. It therefore calls urgently for just such a proletarian tenacity as that displayed by Lu Hsun.

A staunch revolutionary of the proletariat, a true Communist Party member, must have a firm proletarian class stand and a militant spirit of holding fast to principles; he must be able to stand up to the tests of storms as well as attacks by sugar-coated bullets. When he has met with temporary setbacks, he should not lose heart, complain, be disillusioned, or run away; he should be fearless in face of attacks from all sides, and not be scared of "isolation." Fearing nothing, he puts his trust in the truth, sums up the lessons, persists in the

struggle and resolutely advances according to the main orientation pointed out by Chairman Mao. Once a victory is won, he must not relax his vigilance, grow complacent, cease to make progress or become light-headed; he must pay attention to rallying the great majority, pay attention to the new problems cropping up among the masses, continue to sum up the lessons, persist in the struggle, and advance according to the main orientation pointed out by Chairman Mao. Only with this revolutionary spirit of tenacity and perseverance tempered in accordance with the teachings of Mao Tse-tung's thought, will it be possible to carry the proletarian revolution through to the end, dig out, bit by bit, all the roots of revisionism and shoulder the great historic mission of thoroughly wiping out the bourgeoisie and bringing to reality the ideal of communism.

Thirdly, we must learn from Lu Hsun's dialectical viewpoint in looking at problems. In his *Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work*, Chairman Mao particularly mentioned the need to learn from Lu Hsun's method of analysing problems as shown in his later essays. He said: "The analytical method is dialectical. By analysis, we mean analysing the contradictions in things. And sound analysis is impossible without intimate knowledge of life and without real understanding of the pertinent contradictions. Lu Hsun's later essays are so penetrating and powerful and yet so free from one-sidedness precisely because he had grasped dialectics by then." After he became a Marxist in the later period of his life, Lu Hsun overcame certain shortcomings characteristic of the metaphysical and one-sided views expressed in his earlier articles; he skilfully used dialectics in analysing all sorts of problems and thus lifted his fighting activity on to an entirely new ideological plane. Lu Hsun's fighting experience shows that to be a staunch proletarian revolutionary on the cultural front, one must grasp dialectics and overcome one-sidedness. **In the present great proletarian cultural revolution, we have come up against all kinds of complex contradictions and so it is particularly necessary for us to make a further advance in creatively studying and applying those great philosophical concepts of genius of Chairman Mao and use Marxist dialectics to make class analyses.** Lu Hsun's later essays and other articles shine with the unquenchable light of struggle and serve as a very good example from which to learn to analyse problems.

Fourthly, in emulating Lu Hsun the most important and fundamental thing is his great communist spirit in bending his back to his dying day for the proletarian revolutionary cause. Here let us restudy Chairman Mao's teaching: "This couplet from a poem by Lu Hsun should be our motto:

*Fierce-browed, I coolly defy a thousand
pointing fingers,*

*Head-bowed, like a willing ox I serve the
children.*

The 'thousand pointing fingers' are our enemies, and we will never yield to them, no matter how ferocious.

The 'children' here symbolize the proletariat and the masses. All Communists, all revolutionaries, all revolutionary literary and art workers should learn from the example of Lu Hsun and be 'oxen' for the proletariat and the masses, bending their backs to the task until their dying day."

We must follow Chairman Mao's teachings and do as Lu Hsun did, never yielding to any enemy, however ferocious, and daring to wage tit-for-tat struggles against them, despising them, overpowering them and defeating them. Like Lu Hsun, we should wholeheartedly serve the proletariat and the masses, and be the honest servants of the people and the "oxen" of the people; we should talk with the masses on an equal footing; work for the masses; struggle for and serve the masses to our last breath; we must overcome individualism and discard the bureaucratic airs of the exploiting classes who consider themselves superior to the masses of the people. Like Lu Hsun, we should have an ardent love for the proletariat, the masses and the revolutionary young people; and fight, study and advance side by side with the revolutionary people.

Our revolutionary younger generation should also learn from this spirit, discard all selfish ideas, unite with the broad masses, and identify themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers; they should develop the spirit of hard struggle, strive to foster in themselves the proletarian world outlook in the course of the struggle and train themselves to be fighters boundlessly loyal to the cause of communism.

Thirty years have passed since Lu Hsun's death. In this time, earth-shaking changes have taken place in China. Lu Hsun once enthusiastically put forward this appeal: "We should train large numbers of new fighters," but this could not be done in his time. Today, there is a mighty cultural revolutionary army of new fighters. Millions upon millions of people have now become critics of the old world and old culture and the breadth and depth of this criticism are beyond comparison with anything in Lu Hsun's time. We have seen with our own eyes that tens of thousands of heroic young fighters have come forth group by group in the course of sharp class struggle. They have mastered the truth of Mao Tse-tung's thought, and have been following a correct orientation and a correct line. Representing the majority of the people, they dare to wage brave and fierce struggles against those old things that appear very strong. They have indeed overthrown all the formidable obstacles that hindered the advance of the revolution. This is a historical truth: the "unlearned" have overthrown the "learned," the revolutionary "small fry" have defeated the counter-revolutionary "big shots." This is the cause undertaken by tens of millions of revolutionary people under the leadership of the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung. The representatives of the reactionary classes have finally been toppled from their thrones and their true nature as paper tigers has been exposed because they act contrary to the development of the revolution, because they follow an incorrect orientation and an incorrect line, and because

they are against the revolution, against the people and against Mao Tse-tung's thought. They have been transformed from "big-shots" into unimportant persons and finally they have become something not worth a rap. This is true of reactionary fools everywhere in the world, the Khrushchov modern revisionists and Chou Yang and company. This holds good and will hold good with all the representatives of the bourgeoisie both inside and outside the Party. History never stops its advance; it inevitably casts aside group by group the handfuls of people who act against the revolution. In the light of the history of such class struggles, Lu Hsun's spirit in always going forward and carrying the revolution through to the end has become more precious than ever. **We must act as Lu Hsun did and constantly remould our ideology, keep up with the constantly developing situation, and always follow Chairman Mao, our great teacher, great leader, great supreme com-**

mander and great helmsman in making revolution. Together with all the revolutionary people, we must always diligently study new things and warmly support new things. In the raging flames of the class struggle in the socialist revolution, we must constantly forge ahead and carry the revolution through to the end; we must never retreat in mid course, never drop behind the advance, and be always loyal to Chairman Mao, always be his good students and fighters.

May Lu Hsun's proletarian revolutionary spirit live for ever!

Long live the victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution!

Long live the great Chinese Communist Party!

Long live the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung!

Long live our great leader Chairman Mao!

Learn From Lu Hsun, Be Faithful to Chairman Mao For Ever

Speech by Huang Ping-wen

Student of the Peking Geological Institute

THIS year is the thirtieth anniversary of Lu Hsun's death and we Red Guards commemorate this great communist fighter with boundless reverence.

As Chairman Mao said: "Representing the great majority of the nation, Lu Hsun breached and stormed the enemy citadel; on the cultural front he was the bravest and most correct, the firmest, the most loyal and the most ardent national hero, a hero without parallel in our history."

Lu Hsun was the deadly enemy of imperialism and the Kuomintang reactionaries and was an intrepid fighter in the very forefront of the revolution. Using his biting, humorous and powerful pen he depicted the monstrous features of the forces of evil and the diabolical appearance of hideous imperialism. The way in which he portrayed them so accurately, exposed them so thoroughly and repudiated them so pointedly fully showed his ability to make a deep and penetrating survey of society.

Lu Hsun was a thorn in the side of all feudal and traitorous literary hacks, paid literary hacks of the Kuomintang reactionaries and the reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities"; and he was the biggest obstacle in the way of the Chou Yangs who were trying to push their bourgeois line in literature and art forward. In his lifetime, Lu Hsun sharply repudiated and forcefully attacked the revisionist line in literature and art represented by Chou Yang. The slogan "Literature of the masses for the national revolutionary war" that he raised was a proletarian, revolutionary slogan based on

the anti-Japanese united front policy of the Party's Central Committee and Chairman Mao. The line in literature and art which he resolutely safeguarded was the proletarian line in literature and art. Lu Hsun was the great standard-bearer of proletarian literature and art and was a great figure of the Chinese cultural revolution.

Lu Hsun was a fine son and a faithful servant of the people. He closely integrated his life with the broad masses of the labouring people and with the fate of the proletarian revolutionary cause. His was a life of revolution, a life of struggle and a life dedicated to serving the people heart and soul. The two lines from Lu Hsun's poem:

*Fierce-browed, I coolly defy a thousand
pointing fingers,*

*Head-bowed, like a willing ox I serve the
children*

is a concentrated reflection of his proletarian world outlook and a vivid portrait of his character. **We revolutionary Red Guards are resolved to firmly keep in mind Chairman Mao's teachings, learn from the example of Lu Hsun and take as our motto this poem so as to spur ourselves on and continuously advance.**

Our country's great proletarian cultural revolution is sweeping the whole country and shaking the whole world with the force of an avalanche at present. The vestiges of the old society — the old ideas, old culture, old habits and old customs of the exploiting classes —

are like the sun setting in the western hills. But **Chairman Mao has taught us: "Everything reactionary is the same; if you don't hit it, it won't fall."** Therefore we must learn from the thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit of Lu Hsun and completely sweep away every remnant left by the exploiting classes.

We must learn from Lu Hsun's spirit of daring to struggle and daring to make revolution, persist in fully airing our views and using big-character posters and big debates to expose and criticize thoroughly, and to resolutely continue the righteous and severe denunciation of the open and hidden representatives of the bourgeoisie. We must put destruction first and daring in the lead. We must dare to think, dare to speak, dare to do, dare to act, dare to make revolution, dare to rebel, and vehemently beat a "mad dog in the water," relentlessly pursue the tottering foe and never withdraw our forces until complete victory is won.

We must learn from Lu Hsun's militant spirit of "tenacity," be good at struggle and good at making revolution. We are not afraid of being attacked, of setbacks, of dark clouds and heavy fog, of wild whirlwinds, thunder and lightning, of powerful resistance, or of many reverses; we will carry the revolution through to the end and rebel to the end without flagging. **We will stand staunchly under the great banner of Chairman Mao, fully and completely repudiate the reactionary bourgeois line and safeguard the revolutionary proletarian line represented by Chairman Mao. Down with conciliationism, down with eclecticism, down with slavishness. We will learn to swim in swimming, be steeled and tempered and grow up in the fiery crucible of class struggle, and turn ourselves into staunch and reliable successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause. We pledge to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.**

We must learn from Lu Hsun's clear proletarian distinction between love and hatred: Fierce-browed, we furiously defy imperialism headed by the United States, revisionism with the leadership of the C.P.S.U. at the centre, and all reactionaries; furiously defy those who have wormed their way into the Party, who are in positions of authority and are taking the road of capitalism, as well as the reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities"; sweep away all ghosts and monsters and be promoters of the proletarian revolution. **We have boundless love for our great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman Chairman Mao, and have infinite love for the great, glorious and correct Chinese Communist Party. We have unbounded love for our heroic and great people and for our beautiful socialist motherland. We must study well Chairman Mao's works *The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains, In Memory of Norman Bethune and Serve the People* to become a good "ox" working for the proletariat and the masses of the people and be a good red soldier of Chairman Mao, devoting our lives to the noble and splendid cause of communism.**

Lu Hsun died for the people, and his death is weightier than Mount Tai. In commemorating Lu Hsun we solemnly pledge to all revolutionary predecessors: We will be successors to the revolution, be successors to Mao Tse-tung's thought and carry the revolution through to the end!

Learn from Lu Hsun, and be for ever faithful to Chairman Mao and Mao Tse-tung's great thought!

May Lu Hsun's revolutionary spirit live for ever!

Long live the victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution!

Long live the great Communist Party of China!

Long live our great leader Chairman Mao, and long life, long, long life to him!

Rebutting Simonov

Speech by Liu Lu

Student of Peking's Long March Middle School (originally No. 44 Middle School)

TODAY amidst the upsurge of the great proletarian cultural revolution and at a time when we are bombarding the bourgeois reactionary line, we commemorate the great communist fighter Lu Hsun. This is of great significance for us in staunchly carrying the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end, to final victory.

Lu Hsun's life was a life of struggle, a life of revolution. He dedicated himself wholly to the revolutionary cause of the Chinese people. Our great leader Chairman Mao has given a very high appraisal of Lu Hsun.

In commemorating Lu Hsun, we Red Guards must learn from his revolutionary spirit, to rebel like him against imperialism, against the bourgeoisie, against revisionism; learn to be like him: "fierce-browed, I coolly defy a thousand pointing fingers; Head-bowed, like a willing ox I serve the children."

While we have been commemorating Lu Hsun, the modern revisionists, with the C.P.S.U. leadership as their centre, seized the opportunity to blow up a malicious wind, to raise a hue and cry to vilify Lu Hsun and viciously attack China's great cultural revolution.

There is a fellow in the Soviet Union called Simonov, a most mean creature and a big renegade from the Soviet revolution. When Stalin died, he wrote: "... no words can express how we grieve over you, Comrade Stalin. . . ." But the ink was hardly dry before, hard on the heels of Khrushchov, he joined in outrageously slandering, maligning and attacking Stalin, in smearing the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union, writing one long putrid revisionist piece after another reviling Stalin and the Soviet people, and thus becoming one of the chief abettors of the anti-Stalin campaign. It is no other than this representative of the high salaried stratum, this new aristocrat of the Soviet bourgeoisie, who, on the pretext of commemorating Lu Hsun, wrote an article in the Soviet *Literary Gazette* of October 18 calumniating the great communist fighter Lu Hsun and attacking China's great proletarian cultural revolution. We will never tolerate the besmirching of the glorious name of Lu Hsun by such a renegade.

In his article, this lordly Simonov wildly clamours that "all that is happening in China now and is called the 'cultural revolution' is a phenomenon that is alien to the people and transient."

Chairman Mao has taught us: ". . . (it is bad as far as we are concerned if a person, a political party, an army or a school) is not attacked by the enemy, for in that case it would mean that we have sunk to the level of the enemy. It is good if we are attacked by the enemy, since it proves that we have drawn a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves. It is still better if the enemy attacks us wildly and paints us as utterly black and without a single virtue, since it demonstrates that we have not only drawn a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves but achieved a great deal in our work."

The lordly Simonovs allege that our cultural revolution is alien to them. It is only natural that our great proletarian cultural revolution should be alien to revisionists like you. You are flunkeys of imperialists, faithful sons of revisionists. We want to rebel against you. How could you possibly feel good about what we are doing? The torrent of the great proletarian cultural revolution is washing away completely the stinking, nauseating rubbish that you represent. Of course you are scared to death and mortally hate it. Do you dare to do as we are doing now and rouse the whole nation to put up posters in big characters giving full and frank expression of views and opinions, carry out a nationwide exchange of revolutionary experience and organize Red Guards? You dare not. You shudder with fear. If you dared to do it, you would not survive for a single day. All you are good for is to ride on the heads of the people, suck their blood and eat their flesh.

To be attacked by the enemy is not a bad thing but a good thing. If they praise us, will it not mean that we are working hand-in-glove with them?

You gentlemen, who are as stupid as asses, harbour the illusion that our revolution is "transient." You

had better give up that idea! We, revolutionary Red Guards, are bent on carrying the great proletarian cultural revolution right through to the end. We are bent on rebelling against anything that is not in keeping with Mao Tse-tung's thought. We are bent on completely uprooting the poisonous origins of imperialism and revisionism, and lift them out by their roots. We are bent on fighting to the end, until all the demons and monsters in the world are completely wiped out and we will not stop short of complete victory!

This gentleman Simonov rants frenziedly about our "chorus of crude and unworthy anti-Soviet yells." In actual fact, it is not we, but revisionists like Simonov and his like who, using their foul pens to blacken the glorious history of the Soviet people, are really anti-Soviet. Simonov and his like have written novels, made films, put on plays and written poems defaming Stalin, the Soviet Red Army and the Soviet people, presenting Soviet socialist society under the leadership of Stalin as a mess. Isn't all this a big anti-Soviet campaign? Isn't all this a most contemptible anti-Soviet campaign? In actual fact, today, it is the Soviet revisionist gentlemen who are making a chorus of crude and unworthy yells against China. You follow hard on the heels of U.S. imperialism, yelling for all you are worth, and snapping at people at random like rabid dogs. U.S. imperialism says east and you dare not say west; U.S. imperialism says the sun is black and you dare not say it is red. You tell lies everywhere, spread rumours everywhere and everywhere engage in calumny and vilification, everywhere advertising your philosophy of survival and selling out the revolution, selling out the truth and everything else for the sake of a few crumbs. Everywhere you are chiming in with U.S. imperialism and you are vainly trying to sell out the Vietnamese people's revolution to U.S. imperialism. Some time ago, you cruelly suppressed the just demonstrations organized by revolutionary students of various countries studying in the Soviet Union, and the incidents resulted in serious bloodshed. Recently, you went further and drove home our students studying in the Soviet Union. By your words and actions you have proved yourselves the ringleaders of the anti-China chorus. It is you who are making "a chorus of crude and unworthy yells" against China.

Simonov also rants about Lu Hsun's name "sounding out louder and clearer." Lu Hsun's name is sounding out louder and clearer because he was a vanguard fighter on the proletarian cultural front, the staunchest of revolutionary rebels, a man of unyielding integrity with the most clearly defined loves and hates and the firmest of stands. An abject renegade such as you has no right to mention Lu Hsun's name! We, Red Guards, give warning to you Simonov that your despicable efforts to take advantage of this occasion to discredit the Chinese people and advertise yourself will be fruitless. It is the same as the braying of a donkey, and it will be spurned by the revolutionary people. In Lu Hsun's presence, renegades like you should feel so ashamed of yourselves that you dare not show your faces.

We are the young red fighters of Chairman Mao, we are red rebels. Holding aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, using Mao Tse-tung's thought, this sharpest of weapons, and with Lu Hsun as our model, we will carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end! We shall turn heaven and earth into realms of Mao Tse-tung's thought and arm all the people with it! We will plant the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought all over the world! We will make revolution to the end! We will

rebel to the end! We shall give our youth and blood for the world proletarian revolutionary cause!

We swear to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end!

Be loyal for ever to Chairman Mao!

Be loyal for ever to Mao Tse-tung's thought!

Long live the great Communist Party of China!

Long life, long, long life to our great leader Chairman Mao!

Mao Tse-tung's Thought Illuminates Lu Hsun

Speech by Hsu Kuang-ping*

Comrades, Red Guards, Friends:

I am moved beyond words that, in the midst of the upsurge of the great proletarian cultural revolution personally initiated and led by our most, most respected and beloved leader Chairman Mao, the Cultural Revolution Group under the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party has called this meeting to commemorate Lu Hsun, the great standard-bearer on the cultural front. The raging flames of the cultural revolution kindled through the length and breadth of our country by our great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman Chairman Mao have swept the whole world. How Lu Hsun would have rejoiced if he had lived to this day and witnessed this all!

I am deeply convinced that today as in the past it is none other but our most, most respected and beloved and our greatest leader Chairman Mao who thinks of Lu Hsun the most, who understands Lu Hsun the most, who has most correctly, most comprehensively and most penetratingly estimated Lu Hsun.

Chairman Mao has said:

"The chief commander of China's cultural revolution, he was not only a great man of letters but a great thinker and revolutionary. Lu Hsun was a man of unyielding integrity, free from all sycophancy or obsequiousness; this quality is invaluable among colonial and semi-colonial peoples. Representing the great majority of the nation, Lu Hsun breached and stormed the enemy citadel; on the cultural front he was the bravest and most correct, the firmest, the most loyal and the most ardent national hero, a hero without parallel in our history. The road he took was the very road of China's new national culture."

Chairman Mao extolled Lu Hsun as the chief commander of the cultural revolution, but Lu Hsun always

looked upon himself as a mere soldier doing his duty for the Party. He regarded his revolutionary activities as carrying out the "general's orders," and described his revolutionary literary works as "literature written to order." Throughout his lifetime the orders Lu Hsun obeyed and carried out were the orders of the revolutionary people, the orders of the proletariat, the orders of the Party and Chairman Mao. He tried hard to study and grasp the Party's guiding principles and policies laid down by Comrade Mao Tse-tung. He strained himself to the limit in working for proletarian culture. Like a soldier on patrol, he kept a good watch all the time on developments on the cultural front and put himself in the fighting ranks. Indefatigable and fearless of danger and difficulty, he trained and fostered new cultural forces for the Party, and denied himself to save up money to support the Party's cultural publications. All this I remember to this day, and I shall remember it all my life.

Lu Hsun's admiration and love for our most beloved Chairman Mao knew no bounds. When the Red Army led by Chairman Mao victoriously completed the Long March of 25,000 *li* to reach north Shensi, Lu Hsun wired a message of greetings and congratulations. Full of enthusiasm, Lu Hsun in his telegram acclaimed: "On your shoulders rests the hope of the Chinese people and humanity." In those darkest years of reactionary Kuomintang rule, Lu Hsun already clearly saw that the revolutionary people's war of the Chinese people waged under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung would not only win the liberation of China's toiling masses but bring in its train limitless prospects for all mankind as well. We could see how Lu Hsun beamed with love for Chairman Mao in his "Reply to a Letter from the Trotskyites," written just before his death. Under the Kuomintang White Terror, he cast personal safety to the winds and openly declared that he considered it a great honour to be one of Chairman Mao's comrades. At that time, Lu Hsun and Chairman Mao were sepa-

* Madam Lu Hsun.

rated by vast distances, yet Lu Hsun's heart was with Chairman Mao, beating with Chairman Mao. For Lu Hsun, our great leader Chairman Mao was the reddest red sun in his heart.

Our great leader Chairman Mao is the supreme commander not only on the political and military front but on the cultural front as well. In those days the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung was the supreme guiding principle for Lu Hsun and all revolutionary cultural workers. Acting under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought, Lu Hsun was a most courageous fighter who breached and stormed the enemy citadel on the cultural front; he was also a great standard-bearer. Especially in the struggle between the two lines on the cultural front in the 30s, Lu Hsun, guided by the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, held aloft the banner of the proletarian revolutionary line led by Chairman Mao and put forward the proletarian slogan "literature of the masses for the national revolutionary war." He thus mercilessly unmasked the reactionary features of those "four toughs" — Chou Yang, Tien Han, Hsia Yen and Yang Han-sheng — who were followers of Wang Ming's Right opportunist line, and ripped the bourgeois slogan "a literature of national defence" to shreds. This proletarian slogan, "literature of the masses for the national revolutionary war," which made Chou Yang & Co. go wild with hatred was precisely formulated by Lu Hsun in accordance with Chairman Mao's great directive. It was the radiance of Mao Tse-tung's thought that guided and inspired Lu Hsun to become the great champion of communism he was.

Those counter-revolutionary revisionists such as Chou Yang and his like who had long racked their brains to oppose Mao Tse-tung's thought nursed an inveterate hatred for Lu Hsun. They thought up various malicious ways to persecute him. Chou Yang used the pen-name Chih Yin for an article he wrote in a gutter sheet to attack him. When Lu Hsun was laid up with a serious illness and the doctors advised going away for a cure, Hsu Mao-yung was the "first to come bursting in at his home." This not only did not make Lu Hsun any better, it aggravated his condition. The result was that Lu Hsun could not make the trip, and he became fatally ill. The persecution by Chou Yang & Co. had a direct bearing on Lu Hsun's death. Chou Yang and his kind not only attacked Lu Hsun during his lifetime but continued to do so even after his death. In 1958 the Chou Yangs, hoisting a "red flag" to oppose the red flag, turned the publication of *The Complete Works of Lu Hsun* into an opportunity to falsify history, prettify their class capitulationist line and slanderously brand Lu Hsun with "Left sectarianism." There also was Cheng Fang-wu who as late as 1959 was still maligning Lu Hsun. These people calculated that with the positions of authority they had usurped they could do as they pleased to deceive the world. But the brightness of Mao Tse-tung's thought glowed on Lu Hsun. The intrigues of Chou Yang & Co. have been exposed during the current great proletarian cultural

revolution and their features as counter-revolutionary revisionists completely exposed before the masses. In the course of this struggle we have come to understand still more clearly that he who supports Chairman Mao, takes the side of Chairman Mao and firmly carries out Chairman Mao's line is a thoroughgoing revolutionary and is able to make his contribution to the people. He who opposes Chairman Mao and stubbornly boycotts Chairman Mao's line is a counter-revolutionary revisionist and consequently can only knock his head against a wall and ruin himself. Lu Hsun who supported Chairman Mao's line became a great communist, whereas Chou Yang & Co. who opposed Chairman Mao's line ended up as insignificant revisionists. Such is the verdict of history!

Chairman Mao has said, "Lu Hsun was a man of unyielding integrity, free from all sycophancy or obsequiousness." In face of evil forces and violent attacks, he stood like a sturdy, massive oak; he was not like delicate grass leaning or falling to either side. Once he clearly saw the political direction, he would apply himself with single-minded courageousness to carry through the struggle; Lu Hsun would never stop half-way, surrendering or compromising. Some people joined the struggle at first and later "skulked." Lu Hsun hated these types and fought them. As I remember, he saw through Hsia Yen and Pan Han-nien as bad sorts quite early, and so when they came he never introduced them to me.

In the long fighting years of his life Lu Hsun often found himself hemmed in by the enemy — by the repression of the Kuomintang reactionaries and the opportunists' attacks in his own camp. Towards the opportunists, Lu Hsun sharpened his vigilance and carried on a determined struggle with them. In this great proletarian cultural revolution which has no parallel in history, I would like to emulate Lu Hsun's example and together with the Red Guard youngsters firmly defend the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and carry on an irreconcilable struggle against the reactionary bourgeois line.

The great proletarian cultural revolution of our country has dug out the roots of capitalist restoration. Consequently this arouses fear and panic and rabid vilification among the imperialists, the revisionists and the reactionaries of all countries. They make up stories, they hurl venomous shafts at us, they viciously attack us for "destroying culture" and "destroying writers." They have even sunk to the depths of trying to distort Lu Hsun's illustrious image, in a vain attempt to counterpose Lu Hsun with our cultural revolution so as to attack and vilify the great proletarian cultural revolution in our country. The great lords of revisionism in the Soviet Union in particular are trying to do their best in this respect. Turning truth inside out, they have twisted the great communist Lu Hsun into a bourgeois "humanitarian," misrepresenting Lu Hsun's thought as "humanitarian in nature" marked with a "pacifist tendency." Recently I came across the journal *Soviet Woman* which, in the name of "commemorating the 85th anniversary

of the birth of Lu Hsun," published an article by someone who interviewed me ten years ago. The article went so far as to say this:

"From Hsu Kuang-ping's reminiscences it is simply impossible not to compare the many characteristics of Lu Hsun's life with the activities of Chernyshevsky and Dobrolyubov, Russia's great revolutionary democrats, and with their peerless prestige and influence among the revolutionary youth of Russia."

To meet the needs of the revisionist leading group, this man dared not in any way refer to what our great leader Chairman Mao described as the "great communist Lu Hsun." He chimed in from the other end with the counter-revolutionary revisionists of our country and compared Chernyshevsky and others, bourgeois democrats of the 19th century whom Chou Yang & Co. lauded to the heavens, with the proletarian revolutionary Lu Hsun of the 20th century, thus passing off fish eyes for

pearls to mislead people. He was not satisfied with saying this himself but even went to the length of ascribing this to me. This is shameless slander of the worst kind. Just see to what extent the modern revisionists have debased themselves!

The great proletarian cultural revolution in our country has hit the counter-revolutionary revisionists at home very hard; it has also hit the counter-revolutionary revisionists of all descriptions abroad very hard. Try as they might to make a last-ditch struggle, they are doomed to complete destruction. Their fate is sealed.

Long live the great proletarian cultural revolution!

Long live the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung!

Long live our great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman Chairman Mao! Long life, long, long life to Chairman Mao!

Commemorating Lu Hsun's Rebellious Spirit

Speech by Kuo Mo-jo*

OUR commemoration of Lu Hsun in the midst of the upsurge of the great proletarian cultural revolution is of profound and far-reaching significance at home and abroad.

The life of Lu Hsun was one of fighting and rebellion.

He fought on without let-up until he breathed his last — against feudalism, imperialism, bureaucrat-capitalism, fascism and modern revisionism which was represented by Chou Yang's "literature of the whole people."

Our great leader Chairman Mao has made a very high appraisal of Lu Hsun. Chairman Mao said:

"The chief commander of China's cultural revolution, he [Lu Hsun] was not only a great man of letters but a great thinker and revolutionary."

"Representing the great majority of the nation, Lu Hsun breached and stormed the enemy citadel; on the cultural front he was the bravest and most correct, the firmest, the most loyal and the most ardent national hero, a hero without parallel in our history.

"The road he took was the very road of China's new national culture."

Naturally, Lu Hsun's life underwent a definite process of development. He put Chairman Mao's revolutionary theory into practice. In the course of his persevering struggle he came under the influence of the developing revolutionary forces in China, which prompted him to go forward constantly and this in

turn promoted the constant progress of China's revolutionary culture.

In his later life, during the cultural "encirclement and suppression" campaign by the Kuomintang reactionary forces, Lu Hsun made extremely brilliant achievements in his fight. He rose from a democrat to become one who believed in communism.

Chairman Mao said: "It was in the very midst of such campaigns of 'encirclement and suppression' that Lu Hsun, who believed in communism, became the giant of China's cultural revolution."

Chairman Mao also said: "Lu Hsun's later essays are so penetrating and powerful and yet so free from one-sidedness precisely because he had grasped dialectics by then."

Lu Hsun's spirit of study and his revolutionary spirit are complementary to each other. "Study tirelessly and fight indefatigably" is something that can truly be said of him. Study is for revolution and revolution is for the people. Chairman Mao has constantly taught us that revolutionaries must trust and rely on the people and wholeheartedly serve them, and that revolutionaries should act as pupils before they act as teachers. Lu Hsun unerringly lived up to these teachings.

"Fierce-browed, I coolly defy a thousand pointing fingers,

Head bowed, like a willing ox I serve the children."
This widely quoted couplet of a poem by Lu Hsun is an outstanding self-portrayal.

Chairman Mao especially appreciates this couplet and considers that it "should be our motto."

In commemorating Lu Hsun today, we should act according to Chairman Mao's instruction: "... learn

* Kuo Mo-jo is Chairman of the China Federation of Literary and Art Circles.

from the example of Lu Hsun and be 'oxen' for the proletariat and the masses, bending their backs to the task until their dying day."

Lu Hsun always followed the Party's correct leadership. He considered the Chinese Communist Party to be the general headquarters of the cultural revolution.

In his letter "Reply to a Letter From the Trotskyites" dated June 9, 1936 (just over four months before his death), Lu Hsun praised Chairman Mao over and over again while severely denouncing the Trotskyites of that time. Plainly and squarely, he said:

"But whatever my faults, I am convinced that my views are quite different from yours [Trotskyites]. I count it an honour to have as my comrades those who are now doing solid work, treading firmly on the ground, fighting and shedding their blood in defence of the Chinese people."

Lu Hsun considered it "an honour to have as comrades" Chairman Mao and his close comrades-in-arms. In my view, that can be taken as an application for Party membership submitted by Lu Hsun shortly before his death. Chairman Mao later confirmed Lu Hsun to be a communist, and that can also be regarded as approval of Lu Hsun's application by the Party.

Two months later, on August 6, 1936, in his letter "Reply to Hsu Mao-yung and Concerning the Anti-Japanese United Front," Lu Hsun further said:

"I see and support the anti-Japanese united front policy presented by China's revolutionary parties of today to the people throughout the country, and I join this front unconditionally."

Thus Lu Hsun consistently paid attention to what the Party said, unconditionally supported the Party's policies and sang the praises of the Party and especially had ardent faith in Chairman Mao.

This is the good example handed down to us by Lu Hsun, and this is what we should learn from him. Our present era is vastly different in all conditions from Lu Hsun's time. Almost every one of us has with him *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung, Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung and Chairman Mao's poems and verses*. Our eyes are dazzled by brilliant achievements and our ears are ringing with majestic songs. We can also see Chairman Mao with our own eyes and listen to his instructions with our own ears. How happy we are! We should strengthen our efforts a hundred-fold to "study Chairman Mao's writings, follow his teachings, act according to his instructions and be his good fighters."

We are very happy today to see that the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung has become the unified thinking of China's 700 million people, and will be the guide in all our work for generations to come. Thus we have a unified understanding, a unified will and a unified feeling that will not only ensure that our impregnable state power will never change colour but also that

the people all over the world who want emancipation and progress will take the same road as we have taken.

If Lu Hsun were still alive today how happy he would be! He would certainly have stood in the first ranks of the cultural revolution front, breached and stormed the enemy citadel, and together with us, blazed, under the leadership of Chairman Mao, a road which no one had taken before and scaled heights which our predecessors had not been able to reach.

Finally, I would like to mention an event which calls for your attention. September 25 of this year marked the 85th anniversary of the birth of Lu Hsun. In certain countries, there were also people who commemorated that day. We are encouraged by the tribute international friends paid to Lu Hsun. But, it need not be concealed that there were people who were out to misrepresent Lu Hsun and launch frantic anti-China campaigns in the name of commemorating him. The Soviet modern revisionists are a case in point.

According to material reaching me, a Soviet magazine published an article entitled "The Writer Continues the Struggle" in a column called "On the 85th Anniversary of the Birth of China's Great Writer Lu Hsun."

In this article of around 2,500 words, not a single word was quoted from Chairman Mao's praise of Lu Hsun. It deliberately distorted and negated Lu Hsun's revolutionary fighting spirit, describing him as a writer "with deep humanity and love for people."

Since the article says that "the writer continues the struggle," then whom and what is he struggling against?

An insignificant Soviet paper, which published an article "Reminiscences of Lu Hsun," also used the same tactics.

These paltry followers of the modern revisionists, using the pretext of commemorating Lu Hsun, wildly misrepresented Lu Hsun in an attempt to attain the criminal aim of frantically opposing China, opposing communism and opposing the people and Mao Tse-tung's thought.

We have to warn these buzzing flies and the seemingly more powerful tigers and leopards that in the era when "the Four Seas are rising, clouds and waters raging; the Five Continents are rocking, wind and thunder roaring," the days are not far when you vermins will be completely swept away by the peoples!

The rebellious spirit of Lu Hsun is immortal!

Carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end!

Long live the great Communist Party of China!

Long live the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung!

Long live Chairman Mao, the great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman!

Congratulations on China's Successful Guided Missile-Nuclear Weapon Test

President Ho Chi Minh's Message

A great contribution to the revolutionary struggle of the people of Vietnam and the world against U.S.-led imperialism; a great stimulus to world peace

Chairman Mao Tse-tung on October 28 received a message from President Ho Chi Minh congratulating China warmly on its successful guided missile-nuclear weapon test. Comrade Lin Piao, Vice-Premier and Minister of National Defence, also received a message of greetings from General Vo Nguyen Giap, Vice-Premier and Minister of National Defence of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. President Ho Chi Minh's message to Chairman Mao, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Government reads in full as follows:

On the occasion of China's successful test of guided missile with nuclear warhead, I, on behalf of the Vietnamese people, the Vietnam Workers' Party, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and in my own name, convey to you, esteemed Comrade Chairman, the Communist Party and the Government of China, our warmest congratulations.

China's possession of nuclear weapons and her recent successful test of missile with nuclear warhead clearly prove the speedy development of China's science and technology and the increasing might of her national defence forces to safeguard great China.

This success is a great contribution to the revolutionary struggle of the people of Vietnam and the world against imperialism headed by the United States, and a great stimulus to the cause of preserving world peace.

The Vietnamese people firmly believe that under your clear-sighted leadership and that of the Chinese Communist Party, the brotherly Chinese people will record new and still greater successes.

Please convey, Comrade Chairman, our hearty congratulations to the cadres and men of the valiant People's Liberation Army, the scientists, technicians, work-

ers and public employees in China who have taken part in achieving this success.

Greetings From Albanian Leaders

China's brilliant achievement has smashed U.S. imperialist and Soviet revisionist schemes for a nuclear monopoly

Chairman Mao and other leading comrades of the Chinese Party and state have received a message of greetings from Comrade Enver Hoxha, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour, Comrade Haxhi Lleshi, President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Republic of Albania, and Comrade Mehmet Shehu, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania. The message reads:

On the occasion of your successfully conducted guided nuclear missile test, we wish on behalf of the Albanian people, the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour, the People's Assembly and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania to extend to you, and through you, to the People's Liberation Army, the scientists, the engineers, the technicians and the great Chinese people, our sincerest, revolutionary, fraternal congratulations and respects.

This is another brilliant victory of the fraternal Chinese people achieved under the leadership of the glorious Chinese Communist Party led by Comrade Mao Tse-tung. It shows the powerful strength of the Chinese people, their creative talent and extraordinary capabilities, and the very speedy, victorious development of China's socialist science and technology. This prodigious achievement of the Chinese people is clear evidence of the further strengthening of the national defence capabilities of the great People's China and a reliable guarantee that it can safeguard its national independence and sovereignty in face of any attack by the aggressors that dare to invade it.

The successful testing of the guided missile-nuclear weapon by the People's Republic of China is an event of great historic significance. It is a major victory for

the people of all countries and a tremendous encouragement to those who are fighting for freedom and national independence against imperialism and colonialism. Missiles and nuclear weapons in the hands of the Chinese people are powerful weapons for defending world peace and security and opposing the policies of aggression and war pursued by imperialism headed by the United States, and its lackeys. At this moment when the peoples of the world and all progressive mankind are excitedly greeting this brilliant victory of the 700 million Chinese people, their enemies are full of grief and trembling with fear. The achievements scored time and again by the Chinese people in the field of nuclear weapon have smashed the schemes of the United States and the Soviet revisionist leadership to monopolize the nuclear weapon, together with their vicious plans for world domination.

The Albanian people heartily rejoice over this great victory and sincerely hope the Chinese people—our brothers and ally—will advance victoriously in their socialist construction and in the continuous strengthening of their national defence, and score ever greater successes and victories, to the benefit of the further prosperity and strengthening of the People's Republic of China and of the cause of all the freedom-loving and peace-loving people of the world.

President Nguyen Huu Tho's Message

The south Vietnamese people consider China's achievement a powerful stimulus to their struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation

Chairman Mao also received a congratulatory message from Nguyen Huu Tho, President of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation. The message reads:

Respected and beloved Chairman Mao Tse-tung: Learning of the successful test of a guided missile with a nuclear warhead by the People's Republic of China, with immense joy I wish to convey, on behalf of the south Vietnamese people, the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation Central Committee, and in my own name, my warmest congratulations to you respected and beloved Chairman, and through you, to the Communist Party of China, the Government of the People's Republic of China, the Chinese People's Liberation Army, the workers, scientists, technicians and the entire brotherly people of China.

This brilliant achievement of the People's Republic of China is another proof of the rapid development of China's science and technology and of the constant strengthening of the national defence capabilities of the People's Republic of China. This is a tremendous and active contribution to the strengthening of the forces against imperialism and colonialism headed by the United States, to defending peace in Asia and the world.

The south Vietnamese people and the National Front for Liberation feel boundless joy and confidence before this great achievement, and consider it a powerful stimulus to their struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. They firmly believe that, under the leadership of the Communist Party of China led by you, the great Chinese people will record many greater and more brilliant successes.

Jacques Grippa's Message

This remarkable achievement is a new, great victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought, for China's socialist revolution and for the people of the whole world; it is a great defeat for U.S.-revisionist schemes of nuclear monopoly, blackmail and threats

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China has received a message from Comrade Jacques Grippa, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belgium. The message reads:

Our Central Committee extends to you warm and fraternal congratulations, and through you to all the Communists and revolutionary people of China, on the great and complete success in the test of a guided missile with a nuclear warhead conducted on October 27, 1966.

This is a new, great victory for Marxism-Leninism, for Mao Tse-tung's thought, for the socialist revolution in China and for the people of the whole world.

This remarkable achievement of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, the scientific workers and technicians, the workers and employees, who have responded to Comrade Lin Piao's call for the application of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, in a creative way, demonstrates the great leap forward made by the Chinese people in all fields, thanks to the correct Marxist-Leninist political line of the Chinese Communist Party and its Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

It also shows that owing to the great proletarian cultural revolution, great progress has been made in class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experimentation. Once grasped and assimilated by the masses, Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, generate an invincible material force.

The success of the October 27 test is a great defeat for the U.S.-revisionist anti-popular scheme of nuclear monopoly, blackmail and threats, a great defeat for the imperialists headed by U.S. imperialism—the main force of aggression and war in the world, and for their revisionist collaborators with the group which has usurped power in the Soviet Union as their centre.

The people of the world warmly acclaim the Chinese Government's statement which once again reiterates that at no time and in no circumstances will China be the first to use nuclear weapons, and they realize that

the U.S. imperialists and Soviet revisionists refuse to give any such undertaking, which reveals them once more in their true colours.

The people of the world vigorously support the proclamation of the Government of the Chinese People's Republic and the Chinese people on the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons, which has been ferociously opposed by the U.S. imperialists and Soviet revisionists.

The success of the October 27 test shows the development of the national defence capability of the People's Republic of China—the impregnable bulwark and powerful force of the world revolution. It is a new contribution to the striving for world peace and a great encouragement to the struggles of the revolutionary people of the world, and particularly to the heroic Vietnamese people's struggle, which is of world historic significance, to drive the Yankees-Nazis aggressors from their soil.

We wish you, dear comrades, we wish the Chinese people great new victories in all fields, victories which are also the victories for the people the world over.

Long live the Chinese Communist Party!

Long live the Chinese People's Republic!

Long live the world united front of the people against the imperialists headed by U.S. imperialism!

Long live Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought!

Greetings From the Congolese

(B) President

A contribution to the liberation of the oppressed peoples

Alphonse Massamba-Debat, President of the Congo (Brazzaville), in the capacity of General Secretary of the National Revolutionary Movement of the Congo (B), in his October 28 message to the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, hailed the recent test "as a scientific test of great importance in the world." The message says:

"In the name of the people of the Congo (B) and their Party, the National Revolutionary Movement, in the name of the Government and in my own name, I have the pleasure to extend my warm congratulations to the people of the People's Republic of China, to its Party and its Chairman, Mao Tse-tung, who enjoys high prestige, on this great scientific success which has been made possible by the creative spirit of the masses of the Chinese people and by relying on their own efforts." The message adds, "This victory of the great people of the People's Republic of China is also our victory. It will certainly contribute to the liberation cause of the

peoples of those countries still dominated by imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism."

Samdech Sihanouk's Message

- **Cambodia unreservedly shares China's happiness**
- **China's latest achievement benefits all countries opposing imperialism**

Chairman Mao has received a message from the Cambodian Head of State, Samdech Norodom Sihanouk. The message reads:

Chairman Mao Tse-tung: On the occasion of the successful launching by the People's Republic of China of a guided missile with a nuclear warhead, I, on behalf of all Khmer people and in my own name, extend the sincerest congratulations to Your Excellency on this new and very brilliant success achieved by China's science and technology. I and all my compatriots firmly believe that in face of the imperialist menace in Asia and other parts of the world, this most outstanding achievement will be a precious contribution to the cause of peace. Therefore, Cambodia unreservedly shares the happiness and proper pride of the great Chinese people. Under the wise leadership of their eminent national leader, the great Chinese people have ceaselessly achieved new progresses in all fields. This outstanding progress has set an example for the whole of Asia, and the Khmer people were most gratified by this. We are very happy to see this new, exceptional achievement of the People's Republic of China. This achievement is beneficial to the cause of all countries that love peace and progress and are determined, like Cambodia, to resist all pressure from imperialism. I take this opportunity to communicate my highest respects to Your Excellency.

Greetings From President Toure

China's latest achievement is a further guarantee of world peace

The state leaders of China received a telegram from the President of the Republic of Guinea, Sekou Toure, which reads:

On the occasion of the successful launching of a guided missile with a nuclear warhead by the Chinese People's Republic, we have the joy to ask you to accept and to convey to all Chinese scientists and technicians the heartfelt congratulation of the people, the party and the Government of Guinea. China's success in the atomic and scientific fields constitutes a decisive stage in the restoration of the dignity of the people of the third world and a further guarantee in the defence of world peace. At the same time, the Chinese People's Republic has also undertaken not to be the first to use the atomic weapons; for this we express our salute.

We offer you our high regards.

Credit for the Magnificent Victory Goes To the Great Leader Chairman Mao

— The Nation Rejoices Over China's Successful Guided Missile-Nuclear Weapon Test

ON October 27, China successfully conducted a guided missile-nuclear weapon test. In the early hours of the next morning, when the news was announced by the Central People's Broadcasting Station, the whole nation rejoiced. The hundreds of millions of the revolutionary masses enthusiastically acclaimed this great new victory for the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung. This great victory, they pointed out, has tremendously heartened the revolutionary people of the whole world and taken the wind out of the sails of imperialism, modern revisionism and all reactionaries. The Chinese people, armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, have made yet another great contribution to the cause of opposing U.S. imperialist aggression and safeguarding world peace.

In the Capital

In the days following, workers, peasants, revolutionary teachers and students, Red Guards, commanders and fighters of the P.L.A., and revolutionary cadres of Peking and revolutionary teachers and students and Red Guards who had come to the capital from various parts of the country, converged on the reception centre of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the State Council and Tien An Men Square in the heart of the city to celebrate this great victory and express their joy. The people held aloft portraits of Chairman Mao, red flags and placards inscribed with quotations from Chairman Mao. They carried congratulatory messages written on large sheets of red paper. They sang revolutionary songs and the slogan "Long live Chairman Mao, long life, long life to him!" echoed to the skies. Having read out their congratulatory messages, they declared: Our country's successful launching of a guided missile-nuclear weapon is a great victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought and a magnificent achievement of the great proletarian cultural revolution initiated by Chairman Mao. As long as we are armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, no miracle is impossible for us and we shall be ever invincible.

Among thousands of cheering groups was one of workers and staff members from the Peking Plastic Button Factory. They carried a congratulatory message with a large, finely made plastic badge with Chairman Mao's portrait on it and five smaller ones flanked by the words: "Will the Party centre please forward these to the commanders and fighters of the People's Libera-

tion Army, workers, and scientists and technicians who took part in the nuclear missile test." These plastic badges are new products which the factory's workers and staff have just successfully produced. They said: The comrades who took part in the test have held high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, creatively studied and applied Chairman Mao's works and made an important contribution to the cause, so these badges are a fitting gift for them.

On the afternoon of October 28, eleven Red Guards arrived at the reception centre. They came from Anhwei Province, thousands of *li* away, and received warm applause for an operatic item they performed and which they themselves had composed, hailing the successful nuclear missile test. Students of the Pengpu Railway Middle School in Anhwei Province, these Red Guards had come all the way to the capital on foot to exchange revolutionary experience. Their journey took them 44 days. They said happily: "This is really a double happiness for us! We have just come to where Chairman Mao lives and learnt this great news." They gave a pledge of their determination: "Our red hearts will never change; we shall be loyal for ever to Chairman Mao!"

A festive atmosphere prevailed in every factory, enterprise, people's commune, government office, school and shop in the capital. To celebrate the event, people put up red "double happiness" symbols, posters with congratulatory inscriptions and big-character posters in public places. Blackboard newspapers have devoted their latest issues to commendatory messages and articles. Celebration meetings or forums were held in many organizations.

In Other Places of the Nation

When the happy news reached Shanghai, the whole city immediately rejoiced and the celebrations continued for days. In numerous letters expressing their respects to Chairman Mao and the Central Committee of the Party, people declared that in resolute response to the call of Comrade Lin Piao they would make the utmost effort to truly grasp Mao Tse-tung's thought. Workers and staff, who took part in building in China the first synthetic benzene workshop in the world, said: China's successful launching of this guided missile-nuclear weapon once more incontestably proves that as long as we follow Chairman Mao's teachings we can catch up

with and surpass advanced world levels within a short period of time. Many Red Guards of Shanghai middle schools and colleges pledged that they would learn from the personnel participating in this test, creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's works still better in actual struggles and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

The revolutionary masses of Kwangchow held demonstrations over several days to celebrate the event. Workers and staff in a great many plants held forums, and wrote pledges and congratulatory messages. On hearing the news, some overseas Chinese on a visit to Kwangchow to see their relatives were too excited to sleep on that night. One overseas Chinese from Singapore said: "I have been back in China several times and this time I get a better understanding of our motherland's greatness. If U.S. imperialism dares invade us, it will be looking for its own doom."

When the happy tidings came to Sian at one o'clock in the morning of October 28, it found more than 30,000 revolutionary students and teachers, workers and peasants at meetings to criticize the bourgeois reactionary line. They immediately started celebration demonstrations. Chang Wen-chu, people's militia company commander of a people's commune of Changan County on the outskirts of Sian, declared: The fact that the Chinese people have mastered the guided missile-nuclear weapon gives most powerful support to the heroic Vietnamese people and all the revolutionary people of the world. We people's militiamen are determined to arm ourselves further with Mao Tse-tung's thought and practise our skills well in order to contribute our strength to the defence of world peace.

For several days the revolutionary masses of different nationalities in Lhasa, Tibet, carrying portraits of Chairman Mao and red banners, took to the streets to express their warm congratulations. Group after group delivered their congratulatory messages to the reception centre of the Communist Party Committee of the Tibet Autonomous Region. Many messages said: Armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought the Chinese people are invincible. Should U.S. imperialism and all the reactionaries dare launch an aggressive war against us, they will be smashing their heads against a wall.

In P.L.A. Units

When they got the happy news, commanders and fighters in the land, sea and air forces of the Chinese



The revolutionary masses in the capital come to the reception centre of the Party's Central Committee and the State Council to extend their congratulations

People's Liberation Army joyfully shouted: Long live the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung. They held celebration meetings, and joined the demonstrations on the streets. Cultural troupes composed and staged items in street performances or organized propaganda teams to tour rural people's communes, fishing villages and hamlets of the national minorities to spread this big and exciting news and explain its great significance.

In meetings of various units, commanders and fighters wrathfully condemned criminal U.S.-Soviet collusion to maintain a nuclear monopoly and engage in nuclear blackmail. They declared: We give our firm support to our Government's consistent stand that at no time and in no circumstances will China be the first to use nuclear weapons. As in the past, together with all the other peace-loving people and countries of the world, we will continue to carry on an unswerving struggle for the noble aim of completely prohibiting and thoroughly destroying nuclear weapons.

Commanders and fighters of a certain unit who participated in the guided missile-nuclear weapon test warmly hailed the successful test. They said: "Chairman Mao knows that the guided missile-nuclear weapon test was successfully conducted. Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee commended us and this is the greatest inspiration to us." They declared that, firmly responding to the call of Comrade Lin Piao, they would carry their creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works to a new stage. They are determined to make continuous advances and make new and still bigger contributions towards strengthening national defence construction, building a modern national defence and defending world peace.

Study "On New Democracy"

The following is an abridged reference material published by "Jiefangjun Bao" (Liberation Army Daily) on September 19 as a guide to help cadres and fighters study Chairman Mao's "On New Democracy." — Ed.

Historical Background

CHAIRMAN MAO'S *On New Democracy*, which was published in January 1940, is a Marxist-Leninist classic of epoch-making significance. At that time, the great War of Resistance Against Japan was in the difficult stage of a stalemate, important changes had taken place in the war situation, and the dust and din of compromise, capitulation and anti-communism filled the air, while the question of "whither China" had become the central question of the Chinese people's common concern.

In October 1938, after they had occupied Wuhan and Kwangchow, the Japanese aggressors ceased their strategic attacks on the frontal battlefield, concentrated their main force to frantically attack our Party-led anti-Japanese bases in the enemy rear, and changed their policy towards the Chiang Kai-shek Kuomintang to one of political blandishment. British and U.S. imperialism, in order to cope with the war scramble for colonies which had been started by the German and Italian fascists, had stepped up their activities of urging the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries to surrender; their attempt was to come to terms with Japan at the expense of China, to preserve their interests in China and realize their scheme of an "Eastern Munich."

In the circumstance in which Japan was inducing and Britain and the United States were urging them to surrender, Wang Ching-wei of the pro-Japanese clique inside the Kuomintang openly went over to the Japanese while the pro-Anglo-American Chiang Kai-shek clique, pursuing the policy of being "passive against the Japanese" and "active against the Communists," flirted with Japanese imperialism and intensified its anti-Communist measures. It successively promulgated a series of counter-revolutionary documents, including the "Measures for Restricting the Activities of Alien Parties," and stirred up a series of bloody anti-Communist, anti-people incidents. Between the end of 1939 and early 1940, Chiang Kai-shek touched off the first anti-Communist onslaught by launching wild attacks on the armed forces and civilians in the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region and other places who, under Party leadership, were fighting the Japanese aggressors; his vain attempt was to wipe out the people's revolutionary forces and thus clear the way for his capitulation to the Japanese invaders. At the same time, the Kuomintang reactionaries turned on all of their propaganda machinery, loudly advocated fascist despotism, fiercely attacked communism, preached the

so-called "theory of a single revolution," talked such nonsense as "communism does not suit the national conditions of China," and cried out for the liquidation of the Communist Party, the Eighth Route Army, the New Fourth Army and all the Communist Party-led anti-Japanese bases to prepare the public mind for their projected capitulation to the Japanese invaders.

Inside the Party, the Right opportunists represented by Wang Ming opposed the correct line drawn up by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, disclaimed the Party's leadership in the anti-Japanese national united front, objected to the independent strategic policy of guerrilla warfare, and maintained that "everything must go through the united front" and "everything must be submitted to the united front," which in fact meant capitulation to Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang. They were opposed to boldly mobilizing the masses and improving the livelihood of the workers and peasants, and deliberately wrecked the worker-peasant alliance. They were opposed to the building of anti-Japanese revolutionary bases by our Party and its leadership over them, opposed to boldly expanding the liberated areas and the people's army in the enemy rear, and were even of the opinion that the people's armed forces should be completely handed over to Chiang Kai-shek. The Party's Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao waged a resolute struggle against Wang Ming's capitulationist line. But the impact of Wang Ming's erroneous line was not yet eradicated and, within a certain scope, continued to impair the revolutionary cause.

The struggle between the two lines inside the Party also showed up on the cultural front at that time. The central question of the struggle was whether Mao Tse-tung's thought or the bourgeois, revisionist thought of Wang Ming's Right opportunism should be the guiding thought in culture. The dispute over the two different slogans, which took place in the Left-wing art and literary movement in 1936, was a reflection of the struggle. Chou Yang and company, faithfully carrying out Wang Ming's ideas of class capitulation, put forward the bourgeois slogan of "a literature of national defence" which openly ignored class contradictions and betrayed the interests of the proletariat. They rabidly defamed and attacked Lu Hsun who upheld Chairman Mao's correct thinking and raised the proletarian slogan of "a literature of the masses for the national revolutionary war." Guided by the revisionist line of art and literature represented by Chou Yang, "national defence plays," "national defence films" and many novels with the label of the "entire people" — all propagating class capitulation — flooded the literary world, poisoning the broad masses and causing extremely serious harm to the cause of revolution.

It was at this crucial moment in history that the central question, about which comrades of the whole

Party and the people of the entire nation showed their greatest concern, became one of whether China and what line should we follow in order to win victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan and later win complete victory in the democratic revolution. To answer this question, Chairman Mao wrote and made public this great Marxist-Leninist work *On New Democracy*.

Great Significance

CHAIRMAN MAO'S *On New Democracy*, which is a great work of epoch-making significance, has creatively developed the Marxist-Leninist theory on proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat with genius. It is the guide for the oppressed nations and peoples to wage revolutionary struggles and fight for liberation; it is the programmatic document for the proletariat to lead the democratic revolution and then on to socialism.

In this great work, Chairman Mao has made an overall, systematic and penetrating summing up of the basic experience of the Chinese revolution and world revolution, brought to light the law of development of the world proletarian revolution, especially that of the people's revolutionary movement in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, scientifically formulated the political, economic and cultural programmes of the new democratic revolution, and indicated the direction and road for the revolutionary movement of the proletariat. **This great work has not only illuminated the historical course of the Chinese revolution and guided the Chinese revolution to great victory, but it has also opened the road to complete victory for all the oppressed nations and peoples of the whole world in their revolutionary struggles against imperialism and its running dogs.** It is the powerful ideological weapon for all the revolutionary peoples of our time in opposing imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries and in fighting for complete liberation.

This great work by Chairman Mao and his *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*, published two years later, have creatively developed the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and theory on literature and art with genius. It has not only systematically criticized Wang Ming's opportunist political and cultural lines, scientifically summed up the basic experience of China's revolutionary cultural movement since the May 4th Movement of 1919, but also scientifically summed up the basic experience of the revolutionary cultural movement of the international proletariat. It has summed up the struggle between the two lines on the cultural front in the most complete, most comprehensive and most systematic way. This was the first time in the history of the proletarian revolution that the most complete, most thoroughgoing and most correct Marxist-Leninist cultural line was ever advanced.

Chairman Mao's brilliant works *On New Democracy*, *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*, *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* and *Speech at the Chinese Communist*

Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work are an important component part of the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, the acme of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and theory of literature and art in the present era, the supreme principle guiding our work in literature and art, the programmatic document of the proletarian cultural revolutionary movement, the compass for the great proletarian cultural revolution in our country today, and the sharpest ideological weapon for eradicating bourgeois ideas, fostering proletarian ideas, transforming man's soul, revolutionizing his mind, uprooting revisionism, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and developing the socialist system. By seriously studying these brilliant works by Chairman Mao, and mastering and applying this sharpest ideological weapon, we will be invincible and all-conquering and gain complete victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Main Points for Study

IN this brilliant work, Chairman Mao has made a comprehensive, systematic and profound elaboration on a series of important questions in the political, economic, cultural and other fields of the Chinese revolution and on the leadership of the proletariat. In our study of this work in the present great proletarian cultural revolution, we should pay special attention to grasping the following questions:

1. The Basic Question for Revolution Is State Power. Revolutionary Culture Is a Powerful Weapon for Smashing the Restoration of Capitalism and Consolidating the Dictatorship Of the Proletariat.

Chairman Mao has said, "Any given culture (as an ideological form) is a reflection of the politics and economics of a given society, and the former in turn has a tremendous influence and effect upon the latter; economics is the base and politics the concentrated expression of economics. This is our fundamental view of the relation of culture to politics and economics and of the relation of politics to economics."

The culture of a given form is determined by the politics and economics of a given form. In class society, the culture as an ideological form has a class nature, and invariably belongs to certain classes and to the politics of those classes. As Chairman Mao has said, "In the world today all culture, all literature and art belong to definite classes and are geared to definite political lines" (*Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*). The culture of a given form, after taking shape on the basis of the politics and economics of a given form, will in turn have an active effect upon the latter. That is to say, in its relation to politics and economics, culture is not in a passive position, but functions with relative independence and initiative. This function manifests itself in the fact that any given culture invariably serves the politics of definite classes and the

economic base of a given society, helping and stimulating them to consolidate and develop.

Chairman Mao has taught us: "Revolutionary culture is a powerful revolutionary weapon for the broad masses of the people. It prepares the ground ideologically before the revolution comes and is an important, indeed essential, fighting front in the general revolutionary front during the revolution." Revolutionary culture is a powerful weapon for uniting and educating the people and for attacking and destroying the enemy. In every revolution the basic question is state power. To seize state power, the revolutionary people naturally have to rely on violence and on the barrel of a gun. But without a revolutionary cultural movement, without work in the ideological field and without adequate preparation of public opinion, they will get nowhere. The new democratic revolution in our country began with the May 4th cultural movement in 1919. This movement made necessary ideological preparations for the founding of our Party and the revolutionary war under its leadership. In the protracted revolutionary struggle, revolutionary culture played an important role in uniting and educating the people and in attacking the enemy, enabling us to gain an overwhelming superiority over all enemies in spiritual force and ensuring victory in the revolutionary struggle. **As Chairman Mao has said: "Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement"; one can thus see how important the cultural movement is for the practical revolutionary movement."**

China is now in a period when the great socialist revolution and socialist construction are in progress, and proletarian culture is a powerful ideological weapon for us to carry forward the revolution and construction. In building socialism, we have two battlefronts: the material and the spiritual. We must take a firm hold of the latter and use the struggle on the spiritual front to promote the struggle on the material front. This is because the struggles on both fronts are the people's practical actions and the people, in their practical actions, are invariably guided by particular thoughts. As men's ideas differ, so do the results of practice. Only when there are correct ideas can there be correct actions. Only when victory is won in the ideological battle can victory be won in the material battle. Concerning his teaching that "matter can be transformed into consciousness and consciousness into matter," as explained in his *Where Do Correct Ideas Come From?* Chairman Mao has made a high-level summation of the great truth of dialectical materialism. **Chairman Mao has pointed out, "It is man's social being that determines his thinking. Once the correct ideas characteristic of the advanced class are grasped by the masses, these ideas turn into a material force which changes society and changes the world."** Therefore, we should take a firm hold of the ideological revolution, the class struggle in the field of ideology and use Mao Tse-tung's thought to arm the minds of the broad masses of people and mobilize them to action. The ideological revolutionization of the masses can be transformed into a tremendous material force to change so-

ciety and the world and constantly push ahead the cause of socialist revolution and socialist construction in our country.

Chairman Mao has taught us: "A cultural revolution is the ideological reflection of the political and economic revolution and is in their service." In the 17 years since the founding of the People's Republic of China, great successes have been scored in our country's socialist revolution on the economic and political fronts. The dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist economic base of our country have become more and more consolidated. However, in the sphere of ideology, the question of which will win out, socialism or capitalism, remains far from settled. Members of the overthrown landlord class and the bourgeoisie are still living and they have not yet given up. They still retain the last important position, i.e., the ideology and culture of the exploiting classes that had held a dominating position for several thousand years. They used this ideological and cultural position to obstruct and wreck the development of socialist politics and economics, and they left no stone unturned to pave the way for the restoration of capitalism. This is something we should never overlook. Didn't Teng To, the proprietor of the sinister inn, the "Three-Family Village," raise an uproar about "Don't think of them as mere intellectuals indulging in empty talk; fresh were the bloodstains when their heads rolled." When those in power who are taking the capitalist road and the reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities" go for capitalist and revisionist culture in a big way and widely spread the virus of bourgeois ideology, they are actually creating counter-revolutionary public opinion and waiting for a chance to stage a counter-revolutionary coup. If we do not carry out the great proletarian cultural revolution and do not strike them down and win complete victory for the socialist revolution in the ideological field, a capitalist restoration will possibly occur and our country will face the danger of forfeiting the fruits of the socialist revolution on both the economic and political fronts. Therefore, the great proletarian cultural revolution under way in China is a life-and-death struggle in which the bourgeoisie attempts a come-back and the proletariat opposes that come-back. It has an important bearing on whether or not the socialist political system and economic base in our country can be consolidated and developed and whether or not they will change their nature, and it is a great event that will affect the destiny and future of the world revolution.

The development in depth of the cultural revolution is bound to promote the political and economic revolution and propel the political and economic development forward. Cultural revolution always heralds political and economic revolution. The present great proletarian cultural revolution in China will not only bring about a fundamental change in the mental outlook of China's society as a whole, but will greatly strengthen our dictatorship of the proletariat, vastly consolidate and develop our socialist system, eradicate the roots of revisionism, block the road for the restoration of capitalism; it also heralds a great development in

our country's socialist politics and economics and help bring about a new leap forward in China's socialist construction.

2. Proletarian Culture Develops in the Course of Struggle. The New Culture of the Proletariat Cannot Be Built Up Without Sweeping Away the Reactionary Culture of the Exploiting Classes.

Chairman Mao has said: Reactionary culture "must be swept away. Unless it is swept away, no new culture of any kind can be built up. There is no construction without destruction, no flowing without damming and no motion without rest; the two are locked in a life-and-death struggle." Making revolution means to destroy the old world and build a new one. Only a thoroughgoing revolutionary method, and not a reformist one, should be adopted towards things of the exploiting classes and of revisionism. Struggle instead of persuasion is needed towards class enemies. Everything reactionary is the same; if you don't hit it, it won't fall. If you don't hit it, it will hit you. This is the inevitable law of class struggle which is independent of man's will.

Our country's proletarian culture has developed in the course of continually destroying the old and establishing the new and of struggling against all kinds of reactionary culture. **Chairman Mao has said:** "Everything new comes from the forge of hard and bitter struggle. This is also true of the new culture. . . ." As soon as the new cultural force of China's proletariat came into existence following the May 4th Movement, it launched heroic attacks against imperialist and feudal culture and brought about a great development in proletarian culture. Just as **Chairman Mao has pointed out:** ". . . Wherever this new cultural force has directed its attack, a great revolution has taken place both in ideological content and in form (for example, in the written language). Its influence has been so great and its impact so powerful that it is invincible wherever it goes." In the protracted revolutionary struggle, proletarian culture, as an important fighting front in the general revolutionary front, has all along waged a fierce struggle against the reactionary culture of imperialism, feudalism and capitalism. The history of the development of China's proletarian culture is a history of constant struggles against and victories over all kinds of reactionary culture of the exploiting classes.

The struggle between the proletariat and the exploiting classes on the cultural front has been reflected in the Party as a struggle between the correct line represented by Chairman Mao and all kinds of opportunist lines. Among all the varieties of opportunism, Wang Ming's opportunism held sway in the Party the longest, and it was the most harmful. His "Left" and Right opportunism as expressed in literature and art was the bourgeois line of literature and art represented by Chou Yang. Our struggle against the bourgeois line of literature and art represented by Chou Yang began

in the 1930s and has continued right to the current great proletarian cultural revolution.

The proletarian cultural revolution is a long-term task. In the 17 years since the founding of People's China, there has been many a flux and reflux in the struggle between proletarian culture and bourgeois reactionary culture. There have been big and small battles in this struggle. Our present great proletarian cultural revolution which is surging forward is a sharp class struggle to vigorously eradicate bourgeois ideology and foster proletarian ideology. It is a big campaign and a general attack on the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes. Without this battle of destruction and construction, China's socialist revolution cannot win a thorough victory and China's socialist system cannot be consolidated and developed.

The proletarian socialist revolution is a revolution to wipe out all exploiting classes and all exploiting systems; it is the most thoroughgoing revolution to eliminate step by step the differences between the workers and the peasants, between town and countryside, and between mental and manual labour. It is inevitable that it will meet with the most stubborn resistance from the exploiting classes. The landlord class and the bourgeoisie were defeated, but they have not yet been completely wiped out. We have confiscated the property of the exploiting classes, but we could not confiscate their reactionary ideas. They inevitably act as Lenin said they would: throw themselves with energy grown tenfold, with furious passion and hatred grown a hundred-fold, into the battle for the recovery of the "paradise" of which they have been deprived. They make up a small proportion of the population, but their power of resistance is far bigger than what this proportion implies. Their ideology is still very powerful and exerts a big influence in our country. If we have not launched the powerful, great proletarian cultural revolution, we cannot defeat their ferocious counter-attack, crush their plot for a come-back, clean up the influence of their reactionary ideology, and make proletarian culture the dominating culture.

The present great proletarian cultural revolution is a great revolution that touches people to their very souls. It is aimed at demolishing the old ideas, old culture, old customs and old habits which, fostered by all the exploiting classes, have poisoned the minds of the people for thousands of years and at establishing among the masses an entirely new ideology, new culture, new customs and new habits of the proletariat. It is aimed at transforming the souls of the people and at bringing about the revolutionizing of the people's ideology. Without a raging fire of revolutionary mass struggle to destroy the old and establish the new and without a big ideological revolution and convulsion, it will not be possible to bring about the revolutionization of the people's ideology.

The great proletarian cultural revolution in China has caused alarm and confusion among the imperialists, modern revisionists and the reactionaries of various countries. They have viciously cursed our great cultural

revolution as "destroying culture." We want to destroy the reactionary culture of the bourgeoisie, the feudal class and the revisionists resolutely, thoroughly, totally and completely, and build a real proletarian socialist new culture which serves the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers. The reason why the imperialists, modern revisionists and reactionaries of various countries hate and fear our great cultural revolution so much is that the complete victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution foreshadows the total collapse of their dream of staging a capitalist come-back in China, and foreshadows that the whole capitalist world is getting nearer to its doom.

Acting in co-ordination with the wild abuse of the imperialists and modern revisionists, the handful of the representatives of the bourgeoisie, who had wormed their way into the Party, waved "red flags" to oppose the red flag and set up a cry about "construction before destruction," saying that "without construction, there can be no real, thorough destruction." Their so-called theory of "construction before destruction" in fact does not allow the proletariat to attack the reactionary citadel of the bourgeoisie and destroy bourgeois ideology and foster proletarian ideology. Their "construction before destruction" is a big plot aimed at opposing Mao Tse-tung's thought and opposing the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Destruction before construction and construction in the course of destruction is revolutionary dialectics. Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought have both been established and developed in the incessant struggle to destroy the ideological system of the bourgeoisie. Its basic spirit is criticism, struggle, revolution. **Destruction means criticism and revolution. Destruction necessarily calls for reasoning, and reasoning is construction. Destruction comes first and construction comes in the course of destruction.** The great proletarian cultural revolution wants to vigorously destroy bourgeois ideology and foster proletarian ideology. In the final analysis, it is just as Comrade Lin Piao has said: **We will work with great energy so that Mao Tse-tung's thought achieves complete ascendancy. We will enable hundreds of millions of people to grasp Mao Tse-tung's thought, ensure that it seizes all ideological positions, apply it in transforming the mental outlook of the whole of society, and enable Mao Tse-tung's thought, this great spiritual force, to be transformed into a great material force.** In the great proletarian cultural revolution we must resolutely carry out this directive of Comrade Lin Piao's, creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's works in a still better way, with special attention to application, and further revolutionize our ideology so that we can victoriously fulfil all the tasks entrusted to us by the Party and the people.

3. A Revolutionary Culture Must Be a National, Scientific and Mass Culture.

In this work, Chairman Mao has comprehensively, systematically and penetratingly dealt with the principle that a revolutionary culture must be a national,

scientific and mass culture. This is not only the fundamental principle of the new democratic culture, but also of the socialist culture. It will illuminate the road of development of the proletarian culture for ever.

A revolutionary culture must be national. **"It opposes imperialist oppression and upholds the dignity and independence of the Chinese nation. It belongs to our own nation and bears our own national characteristics."** **"Chinese culture should have its own form, its own national form."** Only by becoming national and only by acquiring definite national characteristics and a national form can our culture be appreciated and enjoyed by our labouring people, serve them better, and make contributions to the new culture of the world's proletariat.

A revolutionary culture must be scientific. **"Opposed as it is to all feudal and superstitious ideas, it stands for seeking truth from facts, for objective truth and for the unity of theory and practice."** Guided by Marxism-Leninism, by Mao Tse-tung's thought, it stands in opposition to the ideologies and cultures of all the exploiting classes, which corrupt the people, and to idealism and metaphysics.

A revolutionary culture must be a mass culture. **"It should serve the toiling masses of workers and peasants who make up more than 90 per cent of the nation's population and should gradually become their very own."** The working people are the masters of history and culture. In the struggle for production and class struggle, the working people have created all the social wealth and human civilization. But in the old society, state power was in the hands of the exploiting classes, and the culture of these exploiting classes, which held a predominant position, was completely in their service. Proletarian culture is one which really serves the broad masses of the working people, serves the workers, peasants and soldiers. This is what fundamentally distinguishes the culture of the proletariat from that of all the exploiting classes.

In the socialist period, we must conscientiously implement Chairman Mao's directive concerning a national, scientific and mass culture in order to destroy the old culture of the bourgeoisie and all the other exploiting classes, and create and develop the socialist new culture of the proletariat.

To remove the old culture of all exploiting classes and establish and develop socialist new culture, it is necessary to completely repudiate ideas advocating the worship of what is foreign and the restoration of what is ancient in dealing with foreign and ancient cultural heritages. We do not refuse to assimilate and inherit our own and foreign cultural heritages. But assimilation and inheritance are possible only on the basis of completely repudiating all that is harmful in foreign and ancient cultures. Assimilation and inheritance should be completely in the service of socialism, in line with the principles of "weeding through the old to let the new emerge," and "making foreign things serve China, and the old serve the new." It is harmful and reactionary to talk about assimilation and inheritance

in the absence of this most basic premise. Chairman Mao has said: "We should not gulp any of this foreign material down uncritically, but must treat it as we do our food — first chewing it, then submitting it to the working of the stomach and intestines with their juices and secretions, and separating it into nutriment to be absorbed and waste matter to be discarded — before it can nourish us. To advocate 'wholesale westernization' is wrong." With regard to China's ancient cultural heritage, Chairman Mao has said that "to reject its feudal dross and assimilate its democratic essence is a necessary condition for developing our new national culture and increasing our national self-confidence, but we should never swallow anything and everything uncritically." "We must respect our own history and must not lop it off. However, respect for history means giving it its proper place as a science, respecting its dialectical development, and not eulogizing the past at the expense of the present or praising every drop of feudal poison. As far as the masses and the young students are concerned, the essential thing is to guide them to look forward and not backward."

Chou Yang, the counter-revolutionary, revisionist headman in literary and art circles, frantically advocated feudal and bourgeois culture. He lauded the European bourgeois culture of the 18th and 19th centuries as "the summit of human culture in the world," urging that foreign bourgeois literature and art should be "quickly popularized in China." He shamelessly call the bourgeois literature and art of the period following the May 4th Movement the "father" and the literature and art of the feudal period the "grandfather," shouting that we should carry on feudal and capitalist traditions and have such stuff "popularized among the masses." In the more than a decade since the founding of our People's Republic, the Chinese theatre, under the control of the Chou Yang counter-revolutionary, revisionist gang, was dominated by emperors, kings, generals, ministers, scholars and beauties, the dead and foreigners for a long period. In all forms of art — drama, ballads, music, the fine arts, the dance, the cinema, poetry and literature, feudal and capitalist junk abounded. Their fundamental aim was to eradicate the revolutionary content of proletarian culture, to let the trash of the landlord class, the bourgeoisie and the revisionists spread unchecked to poison the minds of the youth and corrupt the souls of the masses of people so as to pave the way for a capitalist come-back. Therefore, only by thoroughly repudiating the reactionary ideas and deeds of Chou Yang and company who advocated the worship of what is foreign and the restoration of what is ancient, would it be possible for us to make our culture serve our socialist revolution and socialist construction still better.

In order to eradicate the old culture of the exploiting classes and to foster and develop the new socialist culture, it is necessary to completely repudiate the revisionist nonsense concerning the question of whom our culture should serve. In class societies, all culture belongs to definite classes and serves these classes. Ours serves the toiling masses of workers and peasants who make up more than 90 per cent of the nation's popula-

tion, that is, it serves the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers. Serving the workers, peasants and soldiers represents the fundamental orientation of the revolutionary culture of the proletariat at all times.

The literary and art circles' counter-revolutionary, revisionist ringleader Chou Yang openly denied the class character of literature and art and, singing the same tune as Khrushchov, advocated the revisionist slogan of "a literature and art of the whole people." He talked such drivel as "today's literature and art should be acceptable to all kinds of people," "it should be appreciated by all classes and should arouse an echo in all people," "it reflects the interests of the whole people," and so on. Chou Yang and his crew of counter-revolutionary revisionists completely denied the workers, peasants and soldiers their position in the cultural sphere. They focussed their attention on things which were big and spectacular, foreign and ancient so as to serve the landlord and bourgeois classes. They tried in every way to dampen the enthusiasm of the worker, peasant and soldier masses in their study of Chairman Mao's works, and to prevent them from mastering revolutionary culture. Their counter-revolutionary actions were exactly what Chairman Mao pointed out in this work: "Their starting point is bourgeois despotism, which in culture becomes the cultural despotism of the bourgeoisie. . . . They do not want the workers and the peasants to hold up their heads politically or culturally." Therefore, to develop socialist culture and persist in adhering to the orientation of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers, it is necessary to thoroughly smash the cultural despotism of the Chou Yang counter-revolutionary, revisionist gang.

The broad worker, peasant and soldier masses are the masters of socialist culture, the main force in the great proletarian cultural revolution. By using rifles, we workers, peasants and soldiers have overthrown the old world, and we should also use our pens to criticize the old world. That the broad worker, peasant and soldier masses creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's works, directly master and apply Mao Tse-tung's thought and become critics is an epoch-making event. This is a manifestation of the great political consciousness of the Chinese people who make up one quarter of the world's population. They are ideologically emancipated. They have stood up completely. They are no longer slaves to the old ideas and old culture of the exploiting classes. The ghosts and monsters entrenched in the cultural and ideological positions have been encircled by the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers. The so-called "specialists," "scholars," "authorities," and "supreme masters" of the bourgeoisie have been thrown into utter dismay and their arrogance has been swept away. This is a great victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought. This is a great victory for Chairman Mao's proletarian cultural line of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers.

The present situation in our country's great proletarian cultural revolution is very good. In the great proletarian cultural revolution, everyone of our com-

rades should study this great work of Chairman Mao's, *On New Democracy*, still better, arm our minds with Chairman Mao's teachings concerning the proletarian cultural revolution, steadfastly carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end, sweep away the dust the bourgeoisie has concealed in every

corner, completely get rid of the ideologies of the exploiting classes which held a dominating position over the past several thousand years, create and develop the proletarian new culture, consolidate and strengthen our proletarian dictatorship, and open up a new era in the history of mankind.

On the War Criminal's "Search For Peace"

by OBSERVER

Lyndon Johnson, the arch war criminal guilty of slaughtering the Vietnamese people, has travelled all the way to Asia to hold a so-called "Summit Conference of Seven Nations." The joint communique of the conference, while clamouring for continuing the war of aggression in Vietnam "as long as may be necessary," hoists the flag of "search for peace" and "bringing about national reconciliation" [in Vietnam]. The real purpose of this conference was to dramatize a new "peace talks" fraud—namely the "forcing of peace talks through fighting"—and to plan an expansion of the war of aggression.

Why are the U.S. aggressor bandits and their accomplices, their hands dripping with the blood of the Vietnamese people, talking glibly about "peace" and "reconciliation"? Doesn't this sound rather ridiculous? One glance at the communique of the Manila conference will suffice to show that they are trying to achieve, through what they call the "search for peace" and "national reconciliation," what they cannot win on the battlefield.

In this communique a new card has been played on the question of "peace talks." It states that "not later than six months" after "the other side withdraws its forces to the north, ceases infiltration, and the level of violence thus subsides," will the U.S. aggressor army and the satellite troops be withdrawn. What does this American posture mean? Is the United States really thinking of laying down its butcher's knife, stopping its aggression and clearing out of Vietnam? Absolutely nothing of the kind. The proposal for "withdrawal" within "six months" is a complete swindle.

The U.S. imperialists say that their troops would be pulled out, but only under certain conditions. What are these conditions? One is called "subsiding" the "level of violence." Actually this means asking the south Vietnamese people to cease their armed struggle under the guns of the more than 300,000 U.S. aggressor troops. Another condition is that "the other side withdraws its forces to the north, ceases infiltration." This is to compel the people of north Vietnam to give up

their assistance to their compatriots in the south and to abandon their sacred struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. In short, this is asking the 31 million Vietnamese people to prostrate themselves before the counter-revolutionary violence of U.S. imperialism and submit to total surrender. The U.S. imperialists and their accomplices have fought the war tooth and nail for several years in order to conquer Vietnam, only to have been badly battered by the Vietnamese people and have landed in a hopeless predicament. The U.S. imperialists are losers on the Vietnam battlefield; yet, acting like conquerors, they are demanding that the heroic Vietnamese people sue for peace. This truly is arrogance and absurdity carried to the extreme!

For years the Vietnamese people, marching forward wave upon wave, have carried on a valiant struggle for winning complete unification and complete liberation of their fatherland. To ask the Vietnamese people to accept the humiliating terms served up at the Manila conference—isn't this tantamount to asking them to forfeit the fruits of their victory after more than 20 years of bloodshed in their wars of resistance? Isn't this tantamount to turning them into American colonial slaves? The only answer to such a proposal is a thousand times "No!"

U.S. imperialism is the aggressor, and the Vietnamese people are the victims of aggression. The United States has sent well over 300,000 troops to invade Vietnam while the Vietnamese people are resisting aggression on their own soil. This is the undeniable fact. The aggressor must get out of Vietnam. This is justice pure and simple. If the United States really means to withdraw its troops, it should do so unconditionally; there can be no preconditions to discuss. Furthermore, it should withdraw immediately and completely. It does not have to take six months. Actually six days would be enough. Voluminous as this joint communique of the Manila conference is, it boils down to the same old thing: the U.S. aggressors do not want to withdraw their troops, they want to hang on in south Vietnam.

The joint communique also contains another instance of double-talk. It says "when aggression ceases," south Vietnam will effect "a national reconciliation of all members of the society." What does this mean? To put it bluntly, first, the south Vietnamese people must lay down their arms; then a few official posts will be given them in the regime controlled by the United States and its puppets; and finally, one fine morning they will be snuffed out. Haven't we seen enough of such sinister counter-revolutionary manoeuvres by the imperialists and reactionaries in the history of Asia, Africa and Latin America? History has handed down enough bloody lessons of this kind!

Chairman Mao has said, "The principle of the reactionary forces in dealing with the democratic forces of the people is definitely to destroy all they can and to prepare to destroy later whatever they cannot destroy now." In dealing with the Vietnamese people's revolutionary forces, the U.S. imperialists will do likewise; they will never go against this principle.

The Manila conference was also a conference to plan an expansion of the war of aggression. U.S. Defence Secretary McNamara went to Saigon to make military preparations even before the conference took place. After the conference, Johnson flew to south Vietnam to boost the morale of the U.S. aggressor troops. At the conference, the ringleaders of the U.S. aggressor troops in Vietnam shouted for more U.S. forces and satellite troops to be sent to Vietnam. What U.S. imperialism is up to is "forcing peace talks through fighting." If this does not work, it is preparing to go into a bigger war. So the "search for peace" tune played at the Manila conference is actually an overture to U.S. imperialism's further expansion of its war of aggression.

The joint communique is not the creation of the United States alone. The revisionist leading group of the Soviet Union as well as many kinds of followers of the United States and the Soviet Union all have had a part in it. The secret talks between Gromyko and Johnson in the White House, the hectic activities of the Soviet leading group and their followers within and without the United Nations, and the services rendered

by the Indian reactionaries and the Tito clique are all component parts of this big conspiracy of "forcing peace talks through fighting." To smash this big conspiracy of U.S. imperialism, and to defend the revolutionary interests of the Vietnamese people and the people all over the world, it is imperative to thoroughly expose the traitorous activities of the revisionist leading group of the Soviet Union, and to wage a relentless struggle against this shameless gang of renegades.

The crux of the Vietnam question now is that the United States must withdraw completely and immediately all its aggressor troops from south Vietnam. All "peace talks" or "mediation" which does not call for the immediate and complete withdrawal of the U.S. troops serves the U.S. imperialist policy of aggression and war. This is a cardinal issue of right and wrong, an issue of principle which cannot be hedged over. If this principle is violated, then not only the interests of the Vietnamese people, but also those of the people of the world will be jeopardized. As Samdech Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, has correctly put it: "The only way to put an end to the Vietnam conflict is to demand that the Americans get out of Vietnam," and "this does not require either negotiation or mediation."

The Vietnamese people are a great, heroic people. They have achieved brilliant victories in their great struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. They have ceaselessly exposed and smashed all kinds of schemes and gimmicks of U.S. imperialism and its followers. Such a people are invincible. President Ho Chi Minh has recently once again issued a solemn call to the Vietnamese people. The Vietnamese people, united as one and fearing neither difficulties nor sacrifices, he said, are determined to defeat the U.S. aggressors. The enemy will certainly be defeated, and the Vietnamese people will certainly win. The 31 million Vietnamese people, encouraged by this militant call, will undoubtedly surmount all kinds of difficulties and march valiantly forward to final victory in the struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation!

("Renmin Ribao," October 28.)

Chinese Students in the Soviet Union Leave Moscow for Home

**Frustrating the obstruction by the Soviet authorities, they laid wreaths
At the Lenin Mausoleum and at Stalin's tomb before departing.**

THE 41 Chinese students in the Soviet Union who had been arbitrarily ordered by the Soviet Government to suspend their studies and leave that country within a set time left Moscow by train for home on October 27. Another 24 Chinese students in Irkutsk

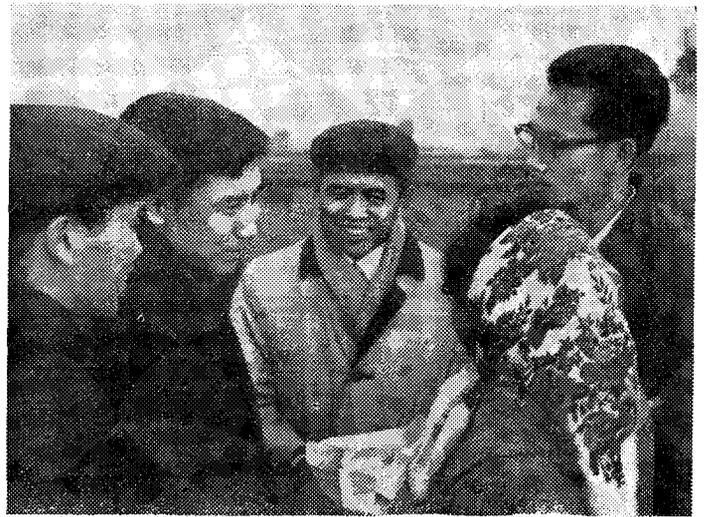
were scheduled to board the same train for home when it passed through that city.

Chang Teh-chun, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Chinese Embassy in Moscow, other Chinese Embassy staff members and a representative of overseas Chinese



Left: Despite obstruction from the Soviet authorities, Chinese students in the Soviet Union file across the Red Square to place wreaths at the Mausoleum of Lenin, the great leader and teacher of the proletariat, and on the tomb of Stalin, the great Marxist-Leninist

Right: A scene at the railway station. Students of many Asian, African, Latin American and European countries studying in the Soviet Union and some Soviet students cordially bade farewell to the Chinese students



in the Soviet Union were among the more than 100 Chinese people present at the railway station to see the Chinese students off.

Also present were students of many countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America and of some European countries, studying in the Soviet Union, as well as some Soviet students. They gave the Chinese students a hearty send-off, warmly shaking hands with them, embracing them, presenting them with flowers and exchanging badges and gifts with them. Group photographs were taken as remembrances. Vietnamese students were in tears when they embraced the Chinese students. A Soviet girl said: "The Chinese! Fine!" when she heard them sing the *Internationale*.

The Chinese students holding bright red copies of *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, wearing badges with the image of Chairman Mao and bearing flowers of honour, sang *The East Is Red*, *Sailing the Seas Depends on the Helmsman* and the *Internationale* together with those who came to see them off at the railway station.

A grand send-off meeting was arranged at the Chinese Embassy by the staff on the evening before they departed.

In a speech at the meeting, Chang Teh-chun condemned the Soviet authorities' despicable acts of intensifying opposition against China and their deteriorating of relations between China and the Soviet Union. He expressed the warmest and sincerest concern for the Chinese students in the Soviet Union who were arbitrarily expelled by the Soviet authorities. He quoted Chairman Mao: "To be attacked by the enemy is not a bad thing but a good thing."

Emphasizing that the revolutionary Chinese youth who are nurtured in their growth by Mao Tse-tung's thought were fearless, he urged the Chinese students to

persistently study Mao Tse-tung's thought, faithfully carry it out, enthusiastically propagate it and courageously defend it.

Sun Man-ling, speaking for the Chinese students, said: "We hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and persist in our stand to struggle to the end against modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist leading group as its centre. Whatever storms may rage on the road of our struggle, we are determined to embark on this revolutionary road." Sun Man-ling quoted Chairman Mao: "Successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat come forward in mass struggles and are tempered in the great storms of revolution." Sun Man-ling added: "In the days ahead we will act in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings to temper ourselves into reliable successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause in the great storms of class struggle."

The Chinese students solemnly laid wreaths at the Mausoleum of the great proletarian revolutionary leader and teacher Lenin and at the tomb of Stalin, the great Marxist-Leninist, in Red Square on October 26 after frustrating the Soviet authorities' deliberate obstruction.

Before bidding farewell to the Soviet people, the students, imbued with deepest feelings for the great leaders of the proletariat, wanted again to pay their respects to Lenin and Stalin.

On October 25 they arranged with an administrative officer of the Lenin Mausoleum, Colonel Mashkov, to lay wreaths there at 11:00 the following morning. They also informed the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Special Education of the Soviet Union of this.

Red Square Closed by Soviet Police

The next morning, the Chinese students, some of them carrying wreaths, found Red Square surrounded by Soviet police and iron railings when they assembled

at one of the entrances. All the entrances to the Square were closed.

A Soviet police lieutenant-colonel told the students' representatives: "The Lenin Mausoleum is now under repair and you are not allowed to enter it." The representatives pointed out that arrangements had been made with Colonel Mashkov and that the laying of wreaths would not obstruct the repair work. As a pretext, the lieutenant-colonel said that he wanted to get "instructions." He returned in half an hour and said: "It's still impossible. Colonel Mashkov did not know the true state of affairs when he made the arrangements." Another police officer said: "Colonel Mashkov is not here today. He did not say anything about this matter, either." Pointing out that this was being done deliberately to create trouble, the representatives insisted that the Soviet side honour its promises. When the lieutenant-colonel ran out of excuses he left again for more than one hour for "instructions." He came back saying that, except for the five who carried the wreaths, all the students were not allowed to enter Red Square. But the students persisted in their just demand that all of them should lay the wreaths at the Lenin Mausoleum and at Stalin's tomb. The lieutenant-colonel was compelled to agree after receiving "instructions," but, in accordance with the "instructions" from his su-

periors, he still made trouble for a long time over the question of how the students would enter. It was two o'clock in the afternoon before the Soviet side finally allowed all of them to enter Red Square in a bus but not in file on foot. A police car "led the way."

The students found Colonel Mashkov waiting when they alighted from the bus. He would not allow them to lay a wreath in front of the Lenin Mausoleum and another at Stalin's tomb, or to pay their respects. They were told to lay the wreaths in front of the reviewing stand at the left end of the Lenin Mausoleum.

The students' representatives lodged a protest with the Soviet authorities against their unjustifiable obstruction and trouble-making.

While the more than three-hour negotiations took place, hundreds of Muscovites gathered around the students and the two wreaths. They expressed discontent with the Soviet authorities' unjustifiable acts. Some asked: "Why are the Chinese students not allowed to lay wreaths?" and "Why are they not allowed to enter?" A Soviet girl said: "The Chinese students are going to lay a wreath for Stalin. It is fine!" Several Georgians told the students: "On behalf of the Georgians, we pay respect to the Chinese people!"

THE WEEK

(Continued from p. 5.)

Particularly since the Chinese people unfolded the great cultural revolution, the Ghanaian press had become more and more noisy in its campaign against China and had gone so far as to venomously attack Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the most respected and beloved great leader of the Chinese people. The note said: "As the facts show, the responsibility for disrupting the relations between China and Ghana rests entirely with the Ghanaian side. This action of the Ghanaian authorities cannot do the Chinese people the slightest harm; on the contrary, it fully reveals your true features as a pawn of U.S. imperialism in opposing China." The note said that a deep friendship existed between the Chinese and Ghanaian peoples and that no force on earth could destroy it.

Renmin Ribao Commentator published an article on October 30, pointing out that the Ghanaian authorities' unjustifiable suspension of relations between the two countries "is part and parcel of the present anti-China

adverse current set in motion by imperialism and international reaction and is an exposure of the reactionary features of the coup authorities of Ghana."

Commentator said: "In the present-day world, only the imperialists, modern revisionists and the reactionaries of various countries oppose China and they are only a handful of people. As early as 1939, Chairman Mao pointed out that 'to be attacked by the enemy is not a bad thing but a good thing.' Chairman Mao said that 'it is bad . . . if a person, a political party, an army or a school is not attacked by the enemy, for in that case it would definitely mean that we have sunk to the level of the enemy. It is good if we are attacked by the enemy, since it proves that we have drawn a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves.' That imperialism, revisionism and reaction wildly oppose China precisely proves that the great Chinese people are firmly opposed to imperialism, that they resolutely support the revolutionary struggles of the people of various countries, and that they are the most faithful and reliable friends of the revolutionary

people of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the rest of the world."

Vice-Premier Chen Yi Condemns Kidnapping of Guinean Delegation by U.S. Imperialism in Collusion With Ghanaian Authorities

Vice-Premier Chen Yi received Guinean Ambassador to China Camara Sekou on the evening of October 31. The Vice-Premier expressed great indignation at the outrage committed by U.S. imperialism in collusion with the Ghanaian reactionary authorities in kidnapping the Guinean delegation led by Guinean Foreign Minister Louis Lansana Beavogui. Vice-Premier Chen Yi also expressed firm support for the just actions taken by President Sekou Toure against U.S. imperialism.

Members of the Guinean delegation, flying by a Pan-American airliner on October 29, were illegally kidnapped by the Ghanaian authorities during a stop-over in Accra, capital of Ghana, on their way to Addis Ababa to attend the Ministerial Council Meeting of the Organization of African Unity.

ROUND THE WORLD

NEW DELHI CONFERENCE

Serving "Peace Talks" Fraud

The 4-day summit conference of Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, Yugoslav President Tito, and U.A.R. President Nasser ended inauspiciously on October 24 in New Delhi. It was held at a time when the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. were busy cooking up a new Munich conspiracy in the East, and setting up a big dirty deal on Vietnam. It is a component part of U.S.-Soviet schemes for large-scale global collaboration.

Not drawing a line of demarcation between right and wrong, the joint communique issued at the close of the conference expressed "deep concern" over the Vietnam question. The substance of the communique's section on Vietnam is a reproduction of U Thant's 3-point "peace proposal." The statements made by Indira Gandhi and Tito at the conference showed them up still more clearly as "peace talks" brokers for the U.S. and the Soviet Union, and as anti-China preachers.

Indira Gandhi avoided mentioning the root cause for the war in Vietnam, i.e., the U.S. imperialist aggression against the Vietnamese people. Instead of denouncing the heinous crime of the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, she talked glibly about "once bombing stopped in Vietnam and there was a cessation of hostilities, the whole problem could be brought to a conference table." This served the U.S. scheme for "inducing peace talks by suspending bombing."

Indira Gandhi prettified U.S. imperialism whose hands are stained with the blood of the peoples of various countries, while slandering China, which has never occupied an inch of soil of any country, as committing "aggression" in Asia. She even alleged that China has created "tension" along the Sino-Indian border.

Tito also slandered China as "interfering" in the Vietnam war, clamouring that China "constitutes a great danger to world peace."

According to Western news agencies reports, Indira Gandhi kept in close contact during the conference with U.S. President Johnson and Philippine President Marcos at the Manila conference. AFP reported that in his letter to Indira Gandhi, Johnson revealed to her the goal of the Manila conference. The letter was read out at the New Delhi conference by Indira Gandhi, who made a great effort to boost the Manila conference which was aimed at extending the war.

Tito sang the same tune as Indira Gandhi at New Delhi. Tito described the excellent international situation in the upsurge of the anti-U.S. struggle as "aggravation" of the situation in the world and "worse than say one or two years ago." He openly preached the view that "only if the principles of peaceful coexistence are endorsed," could "a new catastrophe" be averted. He peddled the worn-out line of "solving international problems by peaceful means" with a view to tricking the world's people to lay down their weapons in the struggle.

SIHANOUK DECLARES:

No Negotiations on Vietnam

Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, declared in a statement on October 23 that there was no need for either negotiations or mediation on the Vietnam conflict because what was necessary was that the United States withdraw from Vietnam and respect the right of the Vietnamese people to self-determination; this required neither negotiations nor mediation.

Sihanouk reaffirmed that in no circumstances would Cambodia lend herself to any mediation and thus it was completely useless to "sound out" the Cambodian Government on this subject. Actually, he said, the only way to put an end to the Vietnam conflict was to demand that the Americans get out of Vietnam; nevertheless, there were those who were following a different course, notably India, Yugoslavia and the U.A.R., who were meeting in New

Delhi in the course of which the Vietnam question was discussed. Sihanouk said that Cambodia could not agree to their views regarding negotiations on Vietnam.

On the Manila conference, Sihanouk said that Cambodia could not agree to take part in such a conference to discuss the Vietnam question without the participation of north Vietnam and the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation which are the two principal interested parties.

In a speech on October 29, Sihanouk denounced the United States for using the "carrot and stick" gimmick at the Manila conference and "trying to induce the Vietnamese people to forsake complete independence, give up their right to self-determination and even abandon their determination to reunify their country." It was certain that the Vietnamese people would not accept this despicable offer, he said.

JOHNSON IN CAM RANH BAY

Paper Tiger Exposed

Following the Manila war conference, Johnson sneaked into the heavily guarded Cam Ranh Bay base for a "top secret" visit in south Vietnam.

Johnson spent only two and half hours at this U.S. war base where 11,000 U.S. troops are stationed. To bolster the sagging morale of the U.S. forces who have been badly battered by the south Vietnamese people, this warmonger handed out medals and orders to U.S. Commander Westmoreland and other butchers and made a speech, after which he hurriedly slipped back to Manila.

Johnson went to Cam Ranh Bay to grab some political capital. However, the furtive manner in which the boss of the No. 1 imperialist power carried out his visit only served to expose the sad state of the U.S. paper tiger confronted by a people's war in south Vietnam. At the Manila conference, Johnson boasted that the United States had "built a shield" in south Vietnam. But no matter how many troops, aircraft or weapons the United States has, how can this "shield" ward off the south Vietnam people's fire of hatred for the aggressors?

RADIO PEKING's

Daily English Language Transmissions

	Peking Time	Local Standard Time	Metre Bands
EAST AND SOUTH AFRICA	00:00-01:00	18:00-19:00 (Cape Town, Salisbury) 19:00-20:00 (Dar-es-Salaam)	30, 25, 24
	01:00-02:00	19:00-20:00 (Cape Town, Salisbury) 20:00-21:00 (Dar-es-Salaam)	30, 25, 24
WEST AND NORTH AFRICA	03:30-04:30	18:45-19:45 (Monrovia) 19:30-20:30 (Accra, Freetown) 20:30-21:30 (Lagos) 21:30-22:30 (Cairo)	43, 31, 25
	04:30-05:30	19:45-20:45 (Monrovia) 20:30-21:30 (Accra, Freetown) 21:30-22:30 (Lagos)	43, 31, 25
SOUTHEAST ASIA	20:00-21:00	19:00-20:00 (Western Indonesia, Bangkok) 19:30-20:30 (Singapore) 20:00-21:00 (Saigon, Manila) 18:30-19:30 (Rangoon)	252, 224 32, 31, 25, 24, 19
	21:00-22:00	20:00-21:00 (Western Indonesia, Bangkok) 20:30-21:30 (Singapore) 21:00-22:00 (Saigon, Manila) 19:30-20:30 (Rangoon)	224, 32 31, 25, 24, 19
SOUTH ASIA	22:00-23:00	19:30-20:30 (Delhi, Colombo) 19:00-20:00 (West Pakistan) 20:00-21:00 (East Pakistan) 19:40-20:40 (Kathmandu)	41, 30, 25
	23:00-24:00	20:30-21:30 (Delhi, Colombo) 20:00-21:00 (West Pakistan) 21:00-22:00 (East Pakistan) 20:40-21:40 (Kathmandu)	41, 30, 25
AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND	16:30-17:30	18:30-19:30 (Aust. S.T.) 20:30-21:30 (N.Z.S.T.)	25, 19, 16
	17:30-18:30	19:30-20:30 (Aust. S.T.) 21:30-22:30 (N.Z.S.T.)	25, 19, 16
EUROPE	04:30-05:30	20:30-21:30 (G.M.T.) 21:30-22:30 (Stockholm, Paris)	45, 42, 31
	05:30-06:30	21:30-22:30 (G.M.T.) 22:30-23:30 (Stockholm, Paris)	45, 42, 31
NORTH AMERICA (East Coast)	08:00-09:00	19:00-20:00 (E.S.T.)	19, 16
	09:00-10:00	20:00-21:00 (E.S.T.)	25, 19, 16
	10:00-11:00	21:00-22:00 (E.S.T.)	25, 19, 16
NORTH AMERICA (West Coast)	11:00-12:00	19:00-20:00 (P.S.T.)	31, 25, 19
	12:00-13:00	20:00-21:00 (P.S.T.)	31, 25, 19