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CHINESE  
LITERATURE

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**This is a special number commemorating  
the 25th anniversary of Chairman Mao's  
"Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature  
and Art."**

No. 9, 1967

## Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung

People of the world, unite and defeat the U.S. aggressors and all their running dogs! People of the world, be courageous, dare to fight, defy difficulties and advance wave upon wave. Then the whole world will belong to the people. Monsters of all kinds shall be destroyed.

— Statement Supporting the People of the  
Congo (L.) Against U.S. Aggression



Our great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman  
Chairman Mao Tse-tung

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

*(January 9, 1944)*

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

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

MAO TSE-TUNG

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

(May 20, 1951)

The questions raised by *The Life of Wu Hsun* are fundamental in character. Living in the era of the Chinese people's great struggle against foreign aggressors and the domestic reactionary feudal rulers towards the end of the Ching Dynasty, people like Wu Hsun did not lift a finger to disturb the tiniest fragment of the feudal economic base or its superstructure. On the contrary,

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

they worked fanatically to spread feudal culture and, moreover, sedulously fawned upon the reactionary feudal rulers in order to acquire the status they themselves lacked for spreading feudal culture. Ought we to praise such vile conduct? Can we ever tolerate such vile conduct being publicly praised, especially when such praise flaunts the revolutionary flag of "serving the people" and the failure of the revolutionary peasant struggle is used to heighten the contrast? To approve or tolerate such praise means to approve or tolerate reactionary propaganda vilifying the revolutionary struggle of the peasants, the history of China and the Chinese nation, and to regard such propaganda as justified.

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

In the view of many writers, history develops not by the replacement of the old by the new, but by the exertion of every effort to preserve the old from extinction, not by class struggle to overthrow the reactionary feudal rulers who had to be overthrown, but by the negation of the class struggle of the oppressed and their submission to these rulers, in the manner of Wu Hsun. Our writers have not studied history to ascertain who were the enemies oppressing the Chinese people, and whether there is anything praiseworthy in those who submitted to these enemies and served them. Moreover, they have not tried to find out what new forms of social

economy, new class forces, new personalities and ideas have appeared in China and struggled against the old forms of social economy and their superstructure (politics, culture, etc.) in the century and more since the Opium War of 1840, and they have accordingly failed to determine what is to be commended and praised, what is not to be commended and praised, and what is to be condemned.

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

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

## MAO TSE-TUNG

### Letter Concerning Studies of “The Dream of the Red Chamber”

(October 16, 1954)

Enclosed are two articles refuting Yu Ping-po. Please look them over. They are the first serious attack in over 30 years on the erroneous views of a so-called authoritative writer in the field of study of *The Dream of the Red Chamber*. The authors are two Youth League members. First they wrote to the *Wenyi Bao* (Literary Gazette) to ask whether it was all right to criticize Yu Ping-po, but were ignored. Having no other alterna-

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

tive, they wrote to their teachers at their alma mater — Shantung University — and got support. Their article refuting “A Brief Comment on *The Dream of the Red Chamber*” was published in the university journal *Wen Shi Zhe* (Literature, History and Philosophy). Then the problem came up again in Peking. Some people asked to have this article reprinted in *Renmin Ribao* in order to arouse discussion and criticism. This was not done because certain persons opposed it for various reasons (the main one being that it was “an article written by nobodies” and that “the Party paper is not a platform for free debate”). As a result a compromise was reached, and the article was allowed to be reprinted in the *Wenyi Bao*. Later, the “Literary Legacy” page of *Guangming Ribao* carried another article by the two young men refuting Yu Ping-po’s book, *Studies of “The Dream of the Red Chamber.”* It seems likely that the struggle is about to start against the Hu Shih school of bourgeois idealism which has been poisoning young people in the field of classical literature for more than 30 years. The whole thing has been set going by two “nobodies,” while the “big shots” usually ignore or even obstruct it, and they form a united front with bourgeois writers on the basis of idealism and are willing captives of the bourgeoisie. It was almost the same when the films *Inside Story of the Ching Court* and *The Life of Wu Hsun* were shown. The film *Inside Story of the Ching Court*, which has been described by certain people as patriotic but is in fact a film of national betrayal, has not been



criticized and repudiated at any time since it was shown all over the country. Although *The Life of Wu Hsun* has been criticized, up to now no lessons have been drawn; what is more, we have the strange situation in which Yu Ping-po's idealism is tolerated and lively critical essays by "nobodies" are obstructed. This deserves our attention.

Towards such bourgeois intellectuals as Yu Ping-po, our attitude should naturally be one of uniting with them. But we should criticize and repudiate their erroneous ideas which poison the minds of young people and should not surrender to them.

MAO TSE-TUNG

## Two Instructions Concerning Literature and Art

### I. Instruction of December 12, 1963

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

part of the superstructure, which serve this base, still remain a serious problem. Hence we should proceed with investigation and study and attend to this matter in earnest.

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

## II. Instruction of June 27, 1964

In the last 15 years these associations, most of their publications (it is said that a few are good) and *by and large* the people in them (that is not everybody) have not carried out the policies of the Party. They have acted as high and mighty bureaucrats, have not gone to the workers, peasants and soldiers and have not reflected the socialist revolution and socialist construction. *In recent years*, they have slid right down to the brink of revisionism. Unless they remould themselves in real earnest, at some future date they are bound to become groups like the Hungarian Petofi Club.

## Great Truth, Sharp Weapon

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

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

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

In the 17 years since the founding of New China, the soul-stirring class struggles that have taken place one on the heels of another on the literary and art front are centred on political power. Backed to the hilt by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, the group of counter-revolutionary revisionists on the ideological and cultural front — such as Lu Ting-yi, Chou Yang, Chi Yen-ming, Hsia Yen, Lin Mo-han and Peng Chen, ringleader of the counter-revolutionary revisionists of the former Peking Municipal Committee of the Chinese Communist Party — carried out activities in the fields of the drama, cinema, fiction and literary and art theory which were all aimed at creating public opinion for the overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat. On the other hand, the struggle waged by the proletarian revolutionary fighters on the literary and art front under the leadership of the great leader Chairman Mao has been aimed at eliminating public opinion for counter-revolutionary revisionism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

As far back as 1944, in his *Letter to the Yen-an Peking Opera Theatre After Seeing "Driven to Join the Liangshan Mountain Rebels,"* Chairman Mao wrote: **"History is made by the people, yet the old opera (and all the old literature and art, which are divorced from the people) presents the people as though they were dirt, and the stage is dominated by lords and ladies and their pampered sons and daughters. Now you have reversed this reversal of history and restored historical truth, and thus a new life is opening up for the old opera. That is why this merits congratulations. The initiative you have taken marks an epoch-making beginning in the revolutionization of the old opera. I am very happy at the thought of this. I hope you will write more plays and give**

**more performances, and so help make this practice a common one which will prevail throughout the country."** Here Chairman Mao warmly supported the beginning of revolution in the old opera and indicated the road to revolutionizing the old opera and literature and art. Revolutionary workers in the theatre and all other revolutionary literary and art workers have advanced along this bright road. But the counter-revolutionary revisionists, supported by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, did exactly the opposite. Especially after the founding of New China, they went even further and adopted two-faced counter-revolutionary tactics to oppose the directives of Chairman Mao, using the power in their hands and the literary and art front they controlled to create public opinion for a bourgeois counter-revolutionary come-back. They allowed emperors and kings, generals and ministers, scholars and beauties, ghosts and monsters to control the stage and the "dead" to dominate many literary and art departments, turning a number of literary and art organizations into units like the Petofi Club in Hungary. Those counter-revolutionary revisionists vainly hoped that, once the chance came, they could overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat on a nationwide scale and bring about the restoration of capitalism.

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

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

China and the *Inside Story of the Ching Court* conformed to the need of his reactionary politics.

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

In 1954, it was again this group of "big shots" who repressed the "nobodies" and tried in vain to strangle the criticism and repudiation of Yu Ping-po's *Studies of "The Dream of the Red Chamber."* Chairman Mao supported the "nobodies" and led this great mass criticism and repudiation. In his *Letter Concerning Studies of "The Dream of the Red Chamber,"* he again directly criticized the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. Chairman Mao said: **"The whole thing has been set going by two 'nobodies,' while the 'big shots' usually ignore or even obstruct it, and they form a united front with bourgeois writers on the basis of idealism and**

**are willing captives of the bourgeoisie. It was almost the same when the films *Inside Story of the Ching Court* and *The Life of Wu Hsun* were shown.... Although *The Life of Wu Hsun* has been criticized, up to now no lessons have been drawn; what is more, we have the strange situation in which Yu Ping-po's idealism is tolerated and lively critical essays by 'nobodies' are obstructed. This deserves our attention."**

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

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

This secret history was eventually brought to light in the mass movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution initiated and led by

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

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

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

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

this would be tantamount to forgetting about the dictatorship of the proletariat.

(3) Who make up the command post of the class enemies vainly attempting to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat? They are a handful of people lurking in the apparatus of this dictatorship, a handful of people lurking in the leading organs of the Party. A fortress is most easily destroyed from within, and the agents of the bourgeoisie in the Party are the most dangerous enemies. We must not lower our guard. We should draw lessons from "the rut that overturns the cart" in the Soviet Union. We must faithfully carry out Chairman Mao's instructions. And, in order really to do this in practice, we must constantly strive to arm ourselves with Mao Tse-tung's thought and overcome the remnants of all types of non-proletarian ideas still in our minds. Only by so doing can we become staunch proletarian revolutionary fighters, speaking on behalf of the proletariat at all times and not on behalf of the bourgeoisie.

(4) The handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and the counter-revolutionary revisionists peddle their pretentious revisionist fallacies as if they were eternal truths. But facts prove that these people and their goods are just paper tigers. They and their products will collapse, once Mao Tse-tung's thought grips hundreds of millions of people. This has been proved by the victory of the revolution in Peking opera and, still more clearly by the victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution. Has not the most stubborn citadel, Peking opera, been breached? Have not the "bigwigs" taking the capitalist road who swaggered around like conquerors been overthrown? The same will happen in the future. All those in authority who want to take the capitalist road are bound to end up by being overthrown by the revolutionary people.

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

Only the literature and art and other parts of the superstructure that serve the workers, peasants and soldiers and the socialist economic

base have great vitality and an illimitable future. Decadent things that run counter to the trend of the times will be buried, once and for all, by the revolutionary people and, in fact, are now in the process of being buried by them.

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

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

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

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

March 22, 1966

Comrades of the Standing Committee,

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

cerning the cultural revolution in the period of socialism. It is of both extremely great practical and far-reaching historic significance.

The last 16 years have witnessed sharp class struggle on the front of literature and art and the question of who will win out has not yet been settled. If the proletariat does not occupy the positions in literature and art, the bourgeoisie certainly will. This struggle is inevitable. And it represents an extremely broad and deep socialist revolution in the realm of ideology. If things are not done properly, revisionism will prevail. We must hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and unswervingly carry this revolution through to the end.

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

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

With greetings,

LIN PIAO

## Summary of the Forum on the Work in Literature and Art in the Armed Forces with Which Comrade Lin Piao Entrusted Comrade Chiang Ching

### I

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

Before these comrades left for Shanghai, Comrade Lin Piao gave them the following instructions: "Comrade Chiang Ching talked with me yesterday. She is very sharp politically on questions of literature and art, and she really knows art. She has many opinions, and they

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

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

Comrade Chiang Ching suggested that we read and see a number of items first and then study relevant documents and material before discussing them. She advised us to read Chairman Mao's relevant writings, had eight private discussions with a comrade from the army and attended four group discussions, 13 film shows and three theatrical performances together with us. She also exchanged opinions with us while watching the films and the theatrical performances. And she advised us to see 21 other films. During this period, Comrade Chiang Ching saw a sample copy of the film *The Great Wall Along*

*the South China Sea*, received the directors, cameramen and part of the cast and talked with them three times, which was a great education and inspiration to them. From our contacts with Comrade Chiang Ching we realize that her understanding of Chairman Mao's thought is quite profound and that she has made a prolonged and fairly full investigation and study of current problems in the field of literature and art and has gained rich practical experience through her personal exertions in cultivating "experimental plots of land." Taking up her work while she was still in poor health, she held discussions and saw films and theatrical performances together with us and was always modest, warm and sincere. All this has enlightened and helped us a great deal.

## II

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

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

Actually in both stages of our revolution, the new-democratic stage and the socialist stage, there has been a struggle between the two classes and the two lines on the cultural front, that is, the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie for leadership on this front. In the history of our Party, the struggle against both "Left" and Right opportunism has also included struggles between the two lines on the cultural front. Wang Ming's line represented bourgeois thinking which was once rampant within our Party. In the rectification move-



ment which started in 1942, Chairman Mao made a thorough theoretical refutation first of Wang Ming's political, military and organizational lines and then, immediately afterwards, of the cultural line he represented. Chairman Mao's *On New Democracy, Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*, and *Letter to the Peking Opera Theatre After Seeing "Driven to Join the Liangshan Mountain Rebels,"* are the most complete, the most comprehensive and the most systematic historical summaries of this struggle between the two lines on the cultural front. They carry on and develop the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and theory on literature and art. After our revolution entered the socialist stage, Chairman Mao's two writings, *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* and *Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work*, were published. They are the most recent summaries of the historical experience of the movements for a revolutionary ideology and a revolutionary literature and art in China and other countries. They represent a new development of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and of the Marxist-Leninist theory on literature and art. These five writings by Chairman Mao meet the needs of the proletariat adequately and for a long time to come.

More than 20 years have elapsed since the publication of the first three of these five works by Chairman Mao and nearly ten years since the publication of the last two. However, since the founding of our People's Republic, the ideas in these works have basically not been carried out by literary and art circles. Instead, we have been under the dictatorship of a black anti-Party and anti-socialist line which is diametrically opposed to Chairman Mao's thought. This black line is a combination of bourgeois ideas on literature and art, modern revisionist ideas on literature and art and what is known as the literature and art of the 1930s (in the Kuomintang areas of China). Typical expressions of this line are such theories as those of "truthful writing," "the broad path of realism," "the deepening of realism," opposition to "subject-matter as the decisive factor," "middle characters," opposition to "the smell of gunpowder" and "the spirit of the age as the merging of various trends." Most of these views were refuted long ago by Chairman Mao in his *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on*

*Literature and Art*. In film circles there are people who advocate "discarding the classics and rebelling against orthodoxy," in other words, discarding the classics of Marxism-Leninism, of Mao Tse-tung's thought, and rebelling against the orthodoxy of people's revolutionary war. As a result of the influence or domination of this bourgeois and modern revisionist counter-current in literature and art, there have been few good or basically good works in the last decade or so (although there have been some) which truly praise worker, peasant and soldier heroes and which serve the workers, peasants and soldiers; many are mediocre, while some are anti-Party and anti-socialist poisonous weeds. In accordance with the instructions of the Central Committee of the Party, we must resolutely carry on a great socialist revolution on the cultural front and completely eliminate this black line. After we are rid of this black line, still others will appear and the struggle must go on. Therefore, this is an arduous, complex and long-term struggle which will take decades, or even centuries. It is a cardinal issue which has a vital bearing on the future of the Chinese revolution and the future of the world revolution.

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

2. The last three years have seen a new situation in the great socialist cultural revolution. The most outstanding example is the rise of Peking operas on contemporary revolutionary themes. Led by the Central Committee of the Party, headed by Chairman Mao, and armed with Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, literary and art workers engaged in revolutionizing Peking opera have launched a heroic and tenacious offensive against the literature and art of the feudal class, the bourgeoisie and the modern revisionists. Under the ir-

resistible impact of this offensive, Peking opera, formerly the most stubborn of strongholds, has been radically revolutionized, both in ideology and in form, which has started a revolutionary change in literary and art circles. Peking operas with contemporary revolutionary themes like *The Red Lantern*, *Shachiapang*, *Taking the Bandits' Stronghold* and *Raid on the White Tiger Regiment*, the ballet *Red Detachment of Women*, the symphony *Shachiapang* and the group of clay sculptures *Rent Collection Courtyard* have been approved by the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and acclaimed by Chinese and foreign audiences. They are pioneer efforts which will exert a profound and far-reaching influence on the socialist cultural revolution. They effectively prove that even that most stubborn of strongholds, Peking opera, can be taken by storm and revolutionized and that foreign classical art forms such as the ballet and symphonic music can also be remoulded to serve our purpose. This should give us still greater confidence in revolutionizing other art forms. Some people say that Peking operas with contemporary revolutionary themes have discarded the traditions and basic skills of Peking opera. On the contrary, the fact is that Peking operas with contemporary revolutionary themes have inherited the Peking opera traditions in a critical way and have really weeded out the old to let the new emerge. The fact is not that the basic skills of Peking opera have been discarded but that they are no longer adequate. Those which cannot be used to reflect present-day life should and must be discarded. In order to reflect present-day life, we urgently need to refine, create, and gradually develop and enrich the basic skills of Peking opera through our experience of real life. At the same time, these successes deal a powerful blow at conservatives of various descriptions and such views as the "box-office earnings" theory, the "foreign exchange earnings" theory and the theory that "revolutionary works can't travel abroad."

Another outstanding feature of the socialist cultural revolution in the last three years is the widespread mass activity of workers, peasants and soldiers on the fronts of ideology, literature and art. Workers, peasants and soldiers are now producing many fine philosophical articles which splendidly express Mao Tse-tung's thought in terms

of their own practice. They are also producing many fine works of literature and art in praise of the triumph of our socialist revolution, the big leap forward on all the fronts of socialist construction, our new heroes, and the brilliant leadership of our great Party and our great leader. In particular, both in content and in form the numerous poems by workers, peasants and soldiers appearing on wall-newspapers and blackboards represent an entirely new age.

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

3. The struggle between the two roads on the front of literature and art is bound to be reflected in the armed forces, which do not exist in a vacuum and cannot possibly be an exception to the rule. The Chinese People's Liberation Army is the chief instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat in China. It represents the mainstay and hope of the Chinese people and the revolutionary people of the world. Without a people's army, neither the victory of our revolution nor the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism would have been possible and the people would have nothing. Therefore, the enemy will inevitably try to undermine it from all sides and will inevitably use literature and art as weapons in his attempt to corrupt it ideologically. However, after Chairman Mao pointed out that basically, literary and art circles had not carried out the policies of the Party over the past 15 years, certain persons still claimed that the problem of the orientation of literature and art in our armed forces had already been solved, and that the problem to be solved was mainly one of raising the artistic level. This point of view is wrong and is not based on concrete analysis. In point of fact, some works of literature and art by our armed forces have a correct orientation and have reached a comparatively high artistic level; some have a correct orientation but their artistic level is low; others have serious defects or mistakes in both political orientation and artistic form, and still others are anti-Party and anti-socialist poisonous weeds. The August First Studio has produced as bad a film as the *Pressgang*.

This shows that the work in literature and art in the armed forces has also come under the influence of the black line to a greater or lesser degree. Besides, we have as yet trained relatively few creative workers who are really up to the mark; the ideological problems in creative work are still numerous, and the ranks are still not so pure. We must analyse and solve these problems properly.

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

5. In the cultural revolution, there must be both destruction and construction. Leaders must take personal charge and see to it that good models are created. The bourgeoisie has its reactionary "monologue on creating the new." We, too, should create what is new and original, new in the sense that it is socialist and original in the sense that it is proletarian. The basic task of socialist literature and art is to work hard and create heroic models of workers, peasants and soldiers. Only when we have such models and successful experience in creating them will we be able to convince people, to consolidate the positions we hold, and to knock the reactionaries' stick out of their hands.

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

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

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

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

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

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

But it is no easy matter to create good models. Strategically we must take the difficulties in creative work lightly, but tactically we must take them seriously. To create a fine work is an arduous pro-

cess, and the comrades in charge of creative work must never adopt a bureaucratic or casual attitude but must work really hard and share the writers' and artists' joys and hardships. It is essential to get first-hand material as far as possible, or when this is impossible at least to get the material at second hand. There should be no fear of failures or mistakes. Allowance should be made for them, and people must be permitted to correct their mistakes. It is necessary to rely on the masses, follow the line of "from the masses, to the masses," and repeatedly undergo the test of practice over a long period, so that a work may become better and better and achieve the unity of revolutionary political content and the best possible artistic form. In the course of practice it is necessary to sum up experience in good time and gradually grasp the laws of various forms of art. Otherwise, no good models can be created.

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

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

6. People engaged in the work of literature and art, whether they are leaders or writers and artists, must all practise the Party's democratic centralism. We favour "rule by the voice of the many" and oppose "rule by the voice of one man alone." We must follow the mass line. In the past, some people pressed the leadership to nod and applaud when they produced something. This is a very bad style of work. As for the cadres in charge of creative work in literature and art, they should always bear two points in mind: First, be good at listening to the opinions of the broad masses; second,

be good at analysing these opinions, accept the right ones and reject the wrong ones. Completely flawless works of literature and art are non-existent, and as long as the keynote of a work is good, we should help improve it by pointing out its shortcomings and errors. Bad works should not be hidden away, but should be shown to the masses for their comment. We must not be afraid of the masses but should have firm trust in them, and they can give us much valuable advice. Besides, this will improve their powers of discrimination. It costs several hundred thousand or as much as a million yuan to produce a film. To hide a bad film away is wasteful. Why not show it to the public so as to educate writers and artists and the masses and at the same time make up for its cost to the state and thus turn it to good account ideologically and economically? The film *Beleaguered City* has been shown for a long time but it received no criticism. Shouldn't the *Jiefang jun Bao* write an article criticizing it?

7. We must encourage revolutionary and militant literary and art criticism by the masses, and break the monopoly over literary and art criticism by a few so-called critics (those wrong in orientation and deficient in militancy). We must place the weapon of literary and art criticism in the hands of the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and integrate professional critics with critics from among the masses. We must make this criticism more militant and oppose unprincipled vulgar praise. We must reform our style of writing, encourage the writing of short, popular articles, turn our literary and art criticism into daggers and hand-grenades and learn to handle them effectively in close combat. Of course, we must at the same time write longer, systematic articles of theoretical depth. We oppose the use of terminology and jargon to frighten people. Only in this way can we disarm the self-styled literary and art critics. The *Jiefang jun Bao* and the *Jiefang jun Wenyi* should set up special columns, regular or occasional, for comment on literature and art. Warm support should be given to good or basically good works and their shortcomings pointed out in a helpful way. And principled criticism must be made of bad works. In the theoretical field, we must thoroughly and systematically criticize typical fallacies on literature and art and the many other fallacies spread by certain people who attempt

to falsify history and to boost themselves in such books as the *History of the Development of the Chinese Film*, *A Collection of Historical Data on the Chinese Drama Movement in the Last Fifty Years* and *A Preliminary Study of the Repertory of Peking Opera*. We must not mind being accused of "brandishing the stick." When some people charge us with over-simplification and crudeness, we must analyse these charges. Some of our criticisms are basically correct but are not sufficiently convincing because our analysis and evidence are inadequate and should be improved. With some people it is a matter of understanding; they start by accusing us of over-simplification and crudeness but eventually drop the charge. But when the enemy condemns our correct criticisms as over-simplified and crude, we must stand firm. Literary and art criticism should become one of our day-to-day tasks, an important method both in the struggle in the field of literature and art and in Party leadership in this field of work. Without correct literary and art criticism it is impossible for creative work to flourish.

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

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

The fine qualities of the worker, peasant and soldier heroes who have emerged under the guidance of the correct line of the Party are the concentrated expression of the class character of the proletariat. We must work with enthusiasm and do everything possible to create heroic models of workers, peasants and soldiers. We should create typical characters. Chairman Mao has said that "life as reflected

**in works of literature and art can and ought to be on a higher plane, more intense, more concentrated, more typical, nearer the ideal, and therefore more universal than actual everyday life.”** We should not confine ourselves to actual persons and events. Nor should we portray a hero only after he is dead. In fact, there are many more living heroes than dead ones. This means that our writers must concentrate and generalize experience from real life accumulated over a long period of time to create a variety of typical characters.

When we write about revolutionary wars, we must first be clear about their nature — ours is the side of justice and the enemy's is the side of injustice. Our works must show our arduous struggles and heroic sacrifices, but must also express revolutionary heroism and revolutionary optimism. While depicting the cruelty of war, we must not exaggerate or glorify its horrors. While depicting the arduousness of the revolutionary struggle, we must not exaggerate or glorify the sufferings involved. The cruelty of a revolutionary war and revolutionary heroism, the arduousness of the revolutionary struggle and revolutionary optimism constitute a unity of opposites, but we must be clear about which is the principal aspect of the contradiction; otherwise, if we make the wrong emphasis, a bourgeois pacifist trend will emerge. Moreover, while depicting our people's revolutionary war, whether in the stage in which guerrilla warfare was primary and mobile warfare supplementary, or in the stage in which mobile warfare was primary, we must correctly show the relationship between the regular forces, the guerrillas and the people's militia and between the armed masses and the unarmed masses under the leadership of the Party.

Regarding the selection of subject-matter, only when we plunge into the thick of life and do a good job of investigation and study can we make the selection properly and correctly. Playwrights should unreservedly plunge into the heat of the struggle for a long period. Directors, actors and actresses, cameramen, painters and composers should also go into the thick of life and make serious investigations and studies. In the past, some works distorted the historical facts, concentrating on the portrayal of erroneous lines instead of the cor-

rect line; some described heroic characters who nevertheless invariably violate discipline, or created heroes only to have them die in a contrived tragic ending; other works do not present heroic characters but only “middle” characters who are actually backward people, or caricatures of workers, peasants or soldiers; in depicting the enemy, they fail to expose his class nature as an exploiter and oppressor of the people, and even glamorize him; still others are concerned only with love and romance, pandering to philistine tastes and claiming that love and death are the eternal themes. All such bourgeois and revisionist trash must be resolutely opposed.

10. Re-educate the cadres in charge of the work of literature and art and reorganize the ranks of writers and artists. For historical reasons, before the whole country was liberated it was rather difficult for us proletarians to train our own workers in literature and art in the areas under enemy rule. Our cultural level was relatively low and our experience limited. Many of our workers in literature and art had received a bourgeois education. In the course of their revolutionary activities in literature and art, some failed to pass the test of enemy persecution and turned traitor, while others failed to resist the corrosive influence of bourgeois ideas and became rotten. In the base areas, we trained a considerable number of revolutionary workers in literature and art. Especially after the publication of the *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*, they had the correct orientation, embarked on the path of integration with the workers, peasants and soldiers, and played a positive role in the revolution. The weakness was that, after the country was liberated and we entered the big cities, many comrades failed to resist the corrosion of bourgeois ideology in the ranks of our writers and artists, with the result that some of them have fallen out in the course of advance. Ours is the literature and art of the proletariat, the literature and art of the Party. The principle of proletarian Party spirit is the outstanding feature distinguishing us from other classes. It must be understood that representatives of other classes also have their principle of party spirit, and that they are very stubborn too. We must firmly adhere to the principle of proletarian Party spirit and combat the corrosion of bourgeois ideology in creative thinking, in organizational line and in style

of work. As for bourgeois ideology, we must draw a clear line of demarcation and must on no account enter into peaceful coexistence with it. A variety of problems now exist in literary and art circles which, for most people, are problems of ideological understanding and of raising such understanding through education. We must earnestly study Chairman Mao's works, creatively study and apply them, tie up what we learn from them with our own thinking and practice and study them with specific problems in mind. Only in this way can we really understand, grasp and master Chairman Mao's thought. We must plunge into the thick of life for a long period of time, integrate ourselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers to raise our class consciousness, remould our ideology and wholeheartedly serve the people without any regard for personal fame or gain. It is necessary to teach our comrades to study Marxism-Leninism and Chairman Mao's works and to remain revolutionary all their lives, and pay special attention to the maintenance of proletarian integrity in later life, which is not at all easy.

### III

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

## Two Diametrically Opposed Documents

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

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

The "Forum Summary" was written after repeated consideration by comrades who attended the Forum on the Work in Literature and

Art in the Armed Forces and finalized after being personally examined and revised by Chairman Mao three times. The forum, which was held in Shanghai between February 2 and 20, was convened and presided over by Comrade Chiang Ching who was entrusted with the task by Comrade Lin Piao. The "Summary" contrasts sharply with the "Outline Report"; it is an important document aimed to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and to frustrate the restoration of capitalism; it is a Marxist-Leninist document that holds high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

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

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

The two documents put forward two diametrically opposed orientations for struggle. The "Outline Report" sticks to the bourgeois world outlook. It directs the spearhead of struggle against the revolutionary Left and the revolutionary masses in a vain attempt to attack the Left, disintegrate the revolutionary ranks of the Left and

protect the representatives of the bourgeoisie within the Party, the revisionists and the reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities." It shows bitter hatred for the proletarian revolutionaries, but profound love for the bourgeois Rightists. The "Forum Summary" upholds the proletarian world outlook. It firmly trusts the masses, relies on them, enthusiastically supports and praises their revolutionary actions, and indignantly directs the spearhead of struggle against the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and the counter-revolutionary revisionist line. It greatly heightens the morale of the proletariat and crushes the arrogance of the bourgeoisie.

The appearance of the two documents was by no means fortuitous. They are inevitable products of class struggle, products of the struggle between the proletarian revolutionaries and the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the contradiction between two classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and the contradiction between two roads, the socialist and capitalist, find concentrated expression in the contradiction between the proletariat and the agents of the bourgeoisie within the Party. This is the principal contradiction during the whole period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and it is an antagonistic contradiction. The "Forum Summary" and the "Outline Report" are products of this antagonistic contradiction which has reached a critical point.

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



stage of preparing public opinion for the mass movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution in China.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

in the ideological sphere since the founding of the People's Republic of China. The same red thread runs through the "Forum Summary."

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

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

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

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

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

In May 1966, the great Marxist-Leninist document — the May 16, 1966 "Circular" of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China — was drawn up under the personal guidance of our great leader Chairman Mao. This document made a penetrating exposure and criticism of the "Outline Report," shattering the plots of the Peng Chen counter-revolutionary revisionist clique to strangle the great proletarian cultural revolution and bring about a capitalist restoration, and throwing into confusion the battle array of the counter-

revolutionary revisionists headed by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. This document set forth the theory, line, principles and policies of the great proletarian cultural revolution and sounded the clarion call for its advance. This document advanced the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat to a completely new stage.

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

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

The "Forum Summary" has now been made public. With the current tasks of the revolutionary struggle in mind, and along with our study of the great, historic document, the "Circular," Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art* and other documents

and directives concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution, let us make a serious study of the "Forum Summary," hold still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, thoroughly criticize and repudiate the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

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

## Seminar Sponsored by the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau to Commemorate the 25th Anniversary of Chairman Mao's "Talks"

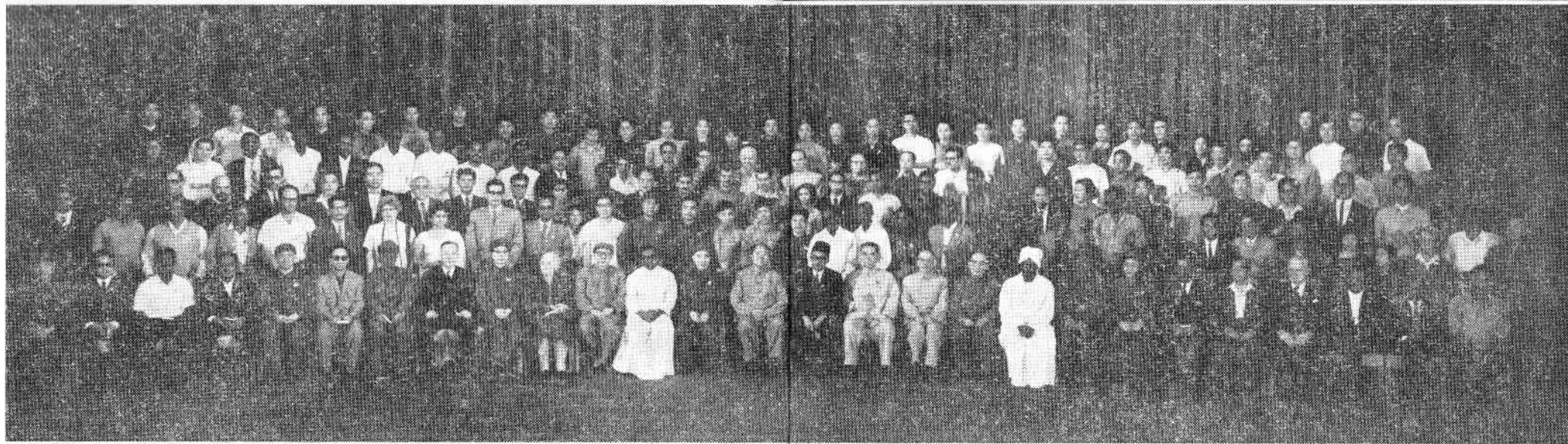
At a time when the world-shaking great proletarian cultural revolution in China has scored great victories, during the high tide of the jubilant nationwide celebration of the 25th anniversary of Chairman Mao's brilliant *Talks at the Yen'an Forum on Literature and Art*, the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau held a seminar to commemorate the 25th anniversary of Chairman Mao's *Talks*. This seminar opened triumphantly on May 31 in Peking, headquarters of China's great proletarian cultural revolution.

The seminar was attended by more than 80 writers and friends from 34 countries and regions of the world. The holding of this international meeting to study and discuss Chairman Mao's work

was a concrete manifestation of the fact that the whole world is entering a completely new era, an era in which Mao Tse-tung's thought is the great banner! It showed that the boundlessly brilliant thought of Mao Tse-tung and his revolutionary line and theory on literature and art are becoming a powerful ideological weapon for the revolutionary people of the world in their struggle against imperialism, revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries, are becoming the fighting orientation of the revolutionary and progressive writers of Asia and Africa.

The seminar was pervaded by the warm love of the world's revolutionary people for Chairman Mao; it brimmed over with revolutionary solidarity and militancy. The writers and friends from many lands who eagerly entered the hall held bright red copies of Chairman Mao's precious revolutionary work, *Talks at the Yen'an Forum on Literature and Art*. They gazed with boundless respect at the huge portrait of Chairman Mao, great leader of the world's revolutionary people, which hung high above the presidium; and they read aloud the quotations from Chairman Mao's works written up in Chinese, Arabic, English and French. The meeting hall kept resounding with the cries: "Long live Chairman Mao!" "Long live the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung!" and "Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!"

The opening ceremony began at 8:30 in the evening of May 31. Filled with infinite respect for Chairman Mao and holding their bright red copies of *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, the writers and friends from many lands together read in different languages: **"People of the world, unite and defeat the U.S. aggressors and all their running dogs! People of the world, be courageous, dare to fight, defy difficulties and advance wave upon wave. Then the whole world will belong to the people. Monsters of all kinds shall be destroyed" and "(Our purpose is) to ensure that literature and art fit well into the whole revolutionary machine as a component part, that they operate as powerful weapons for uniting and educating the people and for attacking and destroying the enemy, and that they help the people fight the enemy with one heart and one mind."**



On June 9, the red sun in the hearts of the world's people Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Comrade Lin Piao as well as other leading comrades of the central departments receive writers and friends from Asia, Africa and the rest of the world

Kuo Mo-jo, head of the Chinese Writers' Delegation, was asked to preside over the opening ceremony. In his speech he pointed out that never before in the history of mankind had there been an international meeting of this nature, attended by friends from so many different countries in order to study and discuss Mao Tse-tung's thought. He declared that the success of this seminar was bound to set a fine example for the revolutionary people of Asia, Africa and the world in the study and application of Mao Tse-tung's thought. It was bound to have a far-reaching effect on further strengthening the unity of all the oppressed nations and peoples of the world with Mao Tse-tung's thought as their weapon in their struggle against imperialism, revisionism and the reactionaries of all lands.

R. D. Senanayake, Secretary-General of the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau, made the opening speech. He stressed that Chairman Mao's brilliant *Talks* is of very great international significance in that it gives the correct political guidance to all revolutionary and progressive literary and art workers, lighting up the path for the Afro-Asian writers' movement and for all revolutionary and progressive writers and artists of the world.

Senanayake said that the purpose of this seminar was to examine how best we could unite the cultural front and military front in the liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings, for winning national independence and people's democracy.

Next, friends from many lands presented messages of greetings. Djawoto, Secretary-General of the Afro-Asian Journalists' Association, said: Chairman Mao's great *Talks* is the powerful ideological weapon for the Chinese people in defeating their internal and external enemies and also the ideological weapon for the world's people in opposing imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, fascism and revisionism and winning national and social liberation, democracy and peace. Djawoto paid glowing tributes to China's great proletarian cultural revolution. He declared that the hundreds of millions of Chinese people have scored great victories in the struggle between two classes, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, and between two lines, and have safeguarded the proletarian revolutionary line. These victories will have a most far-reaching effect on the people of all countries who are now engaged in struggle, and on the world revolution.

The Sudanese writer Osman Hassan Ahmed pointed out that the brilliance of the thought of Chairman Mao has penetrated to the four corners of the African continent, driving away all dark clouds and mist there and giving the fighting African people clear sight and vision on their victorious road. He declared: The thought of Chairman Mao is Marxism-Leninism in its peak. It is the antidote for all decadent bourgeois and revisionist theories spread by the Soviet modern revisionist ruling clique to undermine the just struggle of the African people.

Osman warmly applauded the holding of this seminar. He said: "Today is a day which will be written in gold in the annals of the history of the Afro-Asian writers' movement as well as in the history of the world literary and art movement. It is the first time in the history of our movement that such a seminar is being held in the light of the invincible thought of Chairman Mao. This is an extremely significant event which will have a far-reaching effect on the revolutionary movement for art and literature for many, many years to come."

The noted American writer Anna Louise Strong recalled in her speech how she had been received by Chairman Mao in Yenan in 1946 and the spring of 1947, and the great inspiration and lessons she had drawn from what Chairman Mao told her then. She said that Chairman Mao pointed out clearly: imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers, while it is the people who are really powerful. That is why we writers must rely on the people. Chairman Mao teaches us that imperialism becomes powerless when the people raise their political consciousness. Thus it is our duty as writers to use Chairman Mao's teachings to awaken the people's consciousness.

Fidelia of Haiti said: Chairman Mao Tse-tung's masterpiece of genius, the *Talks*, has sounded the death knell of all the erroneous old bourgeois and reactionary concepts and it represented a whole programme of struggles and victories for all the oppressed and exploited peoples of the world.

Rewi Alley of New Zealand declared: "Always, the writer and the artist must learn in whose service he really is." He said that in the struggle to resist U.S. imperialist aggression in many parts of the

world, in the current international class struggles, "more must be written to show where true strength lies. That people mean more than armaments." He stressed that "today we face a changing world." "We are in the vanguard of the advancing peoples of mankind. Let us then fight with our pens, so that with every drop of ink, we can make a thousand think."

H. M. Petrela of Albania said: Comrade Mao Tse-tung's *Talks* has made immeasurable contributions to the development of Marxist-Leninist aesthetics and the literature and art of the proletariat. The theses advanced by Comrade Mao Tse-tung in the *Talks* are of particularly great significance towards the establishment, not only in China but also throughout the world, of a revolutionary literature and art of the proletariat, serving the politics of the proletariat and class struggle.

Robert Williams of America said: The thought of Chairman Mao is universally applicable. It is a guide line for revolutionaries in all climes and in all seasons. The pen and the gun are indispensable instruments that complement each other in the bitter protracted struggle to overturn oppression and tyranny—to build a people's world. We who are oppressed, we who labour and struggle for the liberation of the oppressed, know the inherent truth of Chairman Mao's statement: **"To defeat the enemy we must rely primarily on the army with guns. But this army alone is not enough; we must also have a cultural army, which is absolutely indispensable for uniting our own ranks and defeating the enemy."**

Yang Kuang-man, representing the proletarian revolutionaries of the Chinese Writers' Union, stated: Today the incomparably brilliant thought of Mao Tse-tung has been grasped by hundreds of millions of revolutionaries in our country, and is being grasped by the revolutionary people of the whole world. It is not only leading the Chinese revolution from one great victory to another, but is also bound to lead the world revolution to final victory. This is the inevitable law of historical development, which no one can obstruct. We revolutionary and progressive writers should therefore act according to this inevitable law of historical development, and eagerly propagate the most advanced thought of the present era, the

great invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, so that the broad masses of people throughout Asia, Africa and the whole world will master Mao Tse-tung's thought. This is the most glorious, most sacred duty of every revolutionary and progressive writer.

From June 1 to 6, the seminar held discussions. The speakers included: P. V. Sarma of Malaya; Samir Hakim of Palestine; Saleh Dahhan of Yemen; Wen Ming Chuan of North Kalimantan; F. L. Risakotta of Indonesia; Mohamed Mao Abu Baker of Somalia; Mukenge Dieudonne of the Congo (K); Ahmed Mohamed Kheir of the Sudan; a writer of the Philippines; Fidelia of Haiti; Amada Bachard of Niger; Khosrawi of Iran; Ahmed Gora Ebrahim of Azania; Manuweera of Ceylon; Kiyoshi Inoue of Japan; Abeid Salim and Salim Said of Tanzania; Edmundo Palacios of Chile; Lehault Samvel of the Congo (B); Chin Ching-mai of China; Bhayom Chulanond of Thailand; Minn Latt Yek-haun of Burma; J. Martins of Brazil; Denise Li of France; Monique Pairoux of Belgium; Rose Smith of Britain; and Djawoto, Secretary-General of the Afro-Asian Journalists' Association.

In speeches fired with strong revolutionary feeling these writers and friends stressed that, as the world is entering upon a new age in which Mao Tse-tung's thought is the great banner, revolutionary and progressive writers of all lands must take Mao Tse-tung's thought as their common fighting programme, take the *Talks* as their weapon, to make literature and art a component part of the whole revolutionary machine. They must organize a huge revolutionary cultural army and, together with the broad masses of oppressed and exploited workers and peasants of the world, completely overthrow imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries. They must reverse the centuries old reversal of history by the ruling classes on both the political stage and the stage of literature and art in Asia, Africa and the rest of the world. They must restore the original truth of history.

During the four days of discussion, writers and artists of many lands again and again expressed their boundless love and boundless respect for Chairman Mao, the red, red sun in the hearts of the world's revolutionary people. In many different languages they voiced the

common desire of the world's revolutionary people: Long live Chairman Mao, great leader of the people of the world! A long, long life to Chairman Mao! Long, long live the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung!

On June 4, the writers and friends from many lands attended a concert of revolutionary Chinese songs and dances. During this performance, Kuo Mo-jo of China, Saleh Dahhan of Yemen, Ahmed Mohamed Kheir and Hamid Mahmoud Wafi of the Sudan, Rewi Alley of New Zealand, and Rondang E. Marpaung of Indonesia also mounted the stage. With boundless love and respect in their hearts for Chairman Mao, the great leader of the world's revolutionary people, they gave stirring recitations of poems by Chairman Mao or poems they had written in his praise, in praise of Mao Tse-tung's thought and of revolution. These recitations evoked storms of applause from the audience of more than a thousand Chinese and foreign friends.

On June 5, the seminar concluded triumphantly amid shouts of "Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!" Among the leading comrades of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and members of the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Party's Central Committee present at the closing ceremony were Chou En-lai, Chen Po-ta, Kang Sheng, Hsieh Fu-chih and Chiang Ching. R. D. Senanayake, Secretary-General of the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau, read the Message of Salute to Chairman Mao which had been unanimously adopted by the seminar. He then handed the message to Premier Chou En-lai and asked him to pass it on to Chairman Mao. The hall rose and burst into a stormy ovation. Cheers rang out again and again: "Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!"

After receiving the message, Premier Chou expressed his thanks for the glorious task the seminar had entrusted to him. He promised to present it to our great leader Chairman Mao. The message, Premier Chou declared, was imbued with boundless love for Chairman Mao and hatred for the enemy, with infinite confidence in the revolutionary cause. It was a militant message.

Premier Chou said: Comrades and friends, in the face of imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries, let us unite, fight together and win victory together!

He congratulated the seminar on its success.

Before the closing ceremony, a plenary session of the seminar adopted a call issued by the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau. This was a call to all revolutionary and progressive writers of Asia, Africa and the world to make great efforts to study Chairman Mao's great works, including his *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* and his profoundly revolutionary poetry; to hold high the revolutionary banner of criticism and mobilize millions upon millions of people to launch a fierce offensive, by speech and writing, on imperialist, revisionist and reactionary literature and art.

It was announced at the closing ceremony that the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau had decided to issue Chairman Mao badges to the revolutionary, progressive writers of Asia, Africa and the rest of the world in commemoration of the 25th anniversary of the publication of Chairman Mao's brilliant work *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*.

Senanayake announced the decision of the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau to hold the Third Afro-Asian Writers' Conference in November in Peking.

Chi Pen-yu, a member of the Cultural Revolution Group, was then invited to speak. Finally, Kuo Mo-jo, head of the Chinese Writers' Delegation, made the closing speech.

At the end of the closing ceremony, the writers and friends from many lands shouted again and again: "Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!" Last of all, they sang together *Sailing the Seas Depends on the Helmsman*.

## Chairman Mao and Comrade Lin Piao Receive Writers and Friends from Many Countries

Chairman Mao, our great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman, and his close comrade-in-arms Comrade Lin Piao received on the afternoon of June 9 writers and friends from various countries in Asia, Africa and the rest of the world who had attended the seminar held by the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau in commemoration of the 25th anniversary of Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*.

Radiant with smiles, Chairman Mao, the red sun in the hearts of the world's people, walked briskly into the reception hall amid cheers and cordially greeted the more than 80 writers and friends from 32 countries and regions throughout the world. Waving their red-covered copies of *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, the foreign friends





Chairman Mao warmly shakes hands with R. D. Senanayake (Ceylon), Secretary-General of the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau

enthusiastically shouted "Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to Chairman Mao!" again and again. The foreign friends, who were overwhelmed with happiness, extended their hands towards Chairman Mao. Chairman Mao and Comrade Lin Biao warmly shook hands with everyone and posed for a photograph with them.

Present on the occasion were leading members of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and members of the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Party's Central Committee Chou En-lai, Chen Po-ta, Kang Sheng, Chiang Ching, Chi Pen-yu and Yao Wen-yuan.

Members of the seminar's presidium present were: Senanayake and his wife, and Manuweera of Ceylon; Kuo Mo-jo and Chin Ching-mai of China; Djawoto, F. L. Risakotta and his wife, and Aff

of Indonesia; Kinkazu Saionji and Kiyoshi Inoue of Japan; Ahmed Mohamed Kheir and his wife, Osman Hassan Ahmed, Hamid Mahmoud Wafi and his wife of Sudan; Fidelia of Haiti; H. M. Petrela of Albania; Anna Louise Strong and Robert Williams of U.S.A.; and Rewi Alley of New Zealand.

Also present were: Minn Latt Yekhaun of Burma; Hu Wan-chun, Wang Hsing-yuan, Li Ying-ju, Yu Hui-yung, Shu Shih-chun, Li Chi-kai and Yang Yi of China; Supeno, Umar Said, A. L. Rasjid, Rondang E. Marpaung, Sarmadji and Darmini of Indonesia; Khosrawi, P. Parvizi and Khorasani of Iran; Norio Shirato, Ichihei Sugiyama, Hiroshi Yagi, Kenji Asakawa and Katsuhiko Yamamoto of Japan; P. V. Sarma and Lin Kean Chong of Malaya; Wen Ming Chuan

of North Kalimantan; Samir Hakim and Basim Hakim of Palestine; Jose Ma Sison and his wife of the Philippines; Bhayom Chulanond and Wugtawan of Thailand; Saleh Dahhan of Yemen; Ahmed Gora Ebrahim and Deliza Lande of Azania; friends from Botswana; Loumouamou Dieudonne, Ouenabio Michel, Lehault Samvel and Atsoutsoula Paul of the Congo (B); Mukenge Dieudonne and Ismail Bin Mselem of the Congo (K); Odilon Tea and Toure Samba of Guinea; Amada Bachard of Niger; Mohamed Mao Abu Baker of Somalia; Nandaveja Kasuto and Albert Tjizoo of South West Africa; Mohamed Doha Ahmed of Sudan; Salim Said and Abeid Salim of Tanzania; J. Martins of Brazil; Edmundo Palacios of Chile; Monique Pairoux of Belgium; Denise Li of France; Michael Shapiro and Joshua Horn of Britain.

## Message of Salute to Chairman Mao

Our Most Respected and Beloved Chairman Mao:

We, revolutionary, progressive and patriotic writers of Asia, Africa and the rest of the world, are assembled here in Peking, the capital of China — the great red bastion of world revolution, from May 31 to June 5, 1967, at a seminar sponsored by the Executive Secretariat of the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau to commemorate the 25th anniversary of your *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*. At this seminar we have discussed the question as to the creative study and application of this great brilliant writing of yours in our struggles against imperialism led by the United States, against modern revisionism led by the Soviet leading clique, and against reaction of all countries.

Chairman Mao, the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our times,

We participants at this seminar express the following conviction:

Your *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* is of great world-wide epoch-making significance. It gives the revolutionary and

progressive writers and artists of the world the most correct political guidance based on revolutionary Marxism-Leninism. In this brilliant writing, you have, creatively and with genius, developed the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and theory on literature and art. It is a most systematic, comprehensive and thoroughgoing programme of the great proletarian cultural revolution and the proletarian revolutionary line on literature and art. This great work of yours is also the beacon light guiding the Afro-Asian writers' movement and the cultural revolution of the people of the world.

Chairman Mao, our great helmsman,

In the *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* you have profoundly, systematically and successfully settled the question of the general orientation of literature and art, namely, literature and art in the service of the workers, peasants and people's armed forces.

We hold that, as you have pointed out, "This question of 'for whom?' is fundamental; it is a question of principle." Only when we are clear as to for whom our literature and art are produced, can we fulfil the historical and revolutionary task entrusted to us by the people of our respective countries and the world. Only thus can we become fighters on the cultural front fighting side by side with the fighters on the military front and, under the guidance of your correct thought, we will all point our pens and guns straight at the heart of the enemy of the people and revolution — imperialism, modern revisionism and reaction.

We consider that herein lies the demarcation line between proletarian and bourgeois literature and art, and this is also the focal point of struggle between the two lines on literature and art, the line of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung's thought and that of counter-revolutionary revisionism.

Chairman Mao, our great teacher,

You have taught us that literature and art in the service of the workers, peasants and people's armed forces means serving the requirements of their struggles and their fundamental interests. And we have fully realized that this can find concentrated expressions only

through the politics inspired and guided by Mao Tse-tung's thought. We have full conviction in this great truth expounded by you, namely, **"Literature and art are subordinate to politics, but in their turn exert a great influence on politics. Revolutionary literature and art are part of the whole revolutionary cause, they are cogs and wheels in it."** Therefore, we consider that serving the workers, peasants and people's armed forces means serving their political struggles. We stand opposed to the scheme of the counter-revolutionaries and their spokesmen, the Soviet modern revisionists, to separate literature and art from politics. This is a deceptive scheme in view of the fact that they are using literature and art to help suppress the revolutionary people's struggles against imperialism, modern revisionism and reaction and that they are carrying out a criminal policy to oppose revolution and the revolutionary people. They have been vociferously trumpeting about "humanitarian" literature and art. As a matter of fact, however, they have been producing non-humanitarian literature and art and submitting to non-humanitarian persons and their inhuman acts, and this is what the counter-revolutionary writers and artists in the Soviet Union have been doing. As you have rightly pointed out: **"In class society there is only human nature of a class character; there is no human nature above classes."** There simply does not exist "humanitarianism" above classes. Our own experience proves that the liberation of the people and the overthrow of the reactionary rule can only be achieved through armed struggles. This is in conformity with your teaching that **"Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."** We should precisely use our pens to promote revolutionary armed struggles. Our literature and art should function as charcoal and faggots to kindle the flames of armed struggles.

Our most beloved and respected Chairman Mao,

In accordance with your instruction that literature and art should serve the workers, peasants and people's armed forces, we revolutionary writers and artists must resolutely adopt the revolutionary political stand of Mao Tse-tung's thought, heartily extol the people, extol the workers, peasants and people's armed forces and their revolu-

tionary struggles, and mercilessly expose the evil features and the crimes of the enemies of the people — imperialism, modern revisionism and reaction. Proceeding from this stand, revolutionary writers and artists should produce works that will arouse the people and the workers, peasants and people's armed forces to crush their enemies. We should use our works to help the workers, peasants and people's armed forces become convinced that imperialism, modern revisionism and reaction are all "paper tigers" which can certainly be defeated by the mighty strength of the masses of the revolutionary people. Such works which we produce under the inspiration and guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought should function as **"powerful weapons for uniting and educating the people and for attacking and destroying the enemy."**

Chairman Mao, our great leader,

We have witnessed the great role which your *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* has played in guiding the great proletarian cultural revolution now going on in China. This earth-shaking great proletarian cultural revolution is uprooting revisionism, overthrowing reactionaries and persons in authority taking the capitalist road, thus preventing the restoration of capitalism and ensuring that socialist China, the powerful bastion of world revolution, will never change its political colour. It has made the imperialists, modern revisionists and reactionaries tremble with mortal fear. To the revolutionary peoples of Asia, Africa and the whole world, however, it is an immense source of inspiration enhancing their spirit to fight and to rebel, to smash the shackles of oppression and exploitation and win a bright future.

We have seen how the Chinese revolutionary literary and art workers armed by the *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* have, with remarkable success, created such works as the ballets *The White-Haired Girl* and *Red Detachment of Women*, the Peking opera *The Red Lantern*, the symphony *Shachiapang* and the novel *The Song of Onyang Hai*. These works are the models in applying Mao Tse-tung's thought in literary and artistic creation. By your own poetry, Chairman Mao, you have furnished us with clear examples in literary and artistic creation.

In these works we can clearly see how literature and art are harmoniously integrated with politics. This represents a great victory of Mao Tse-tung's thought and the fruit of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

We hold that, precisely as you have pointed out, in order to create literature and art serving the workers, peasants and people's armed forces, revolutionary writers and artists must whole-heartedly go among them, study Mao Tse-tung's thought in the heat of the struggles, study society, remould themselves and gradually shift their stand **"to the side of the workers, peasants and soldiers."** We believe that a change in one's world outlook is the key to a correct solution of the problem of whom literature and art should serve.

Chairman Mao, helmsman of revolution,

Your line on literature and art is a thoroughgoing revolutionary line. With this line, you have charted the sole correct path for the development of revolutionary literature and art. The 25 years' history since your *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* has proved that as long as we adhere to the orientation indicated by you, we will promote the thriving development of revolutionary literature and art and the movement of the revolutionary writers and artists, and our literary and artistic creation will function as a powerful weapon to prepare public opinion, pave the way ideologically for the revolutionary struggles, win national liberation and consolidate the fruits of revolution.

Through studying Mao Tse-tung's thought, we express our deep respect and gratitude for you from the bottom of our hearts. Our gratitude will be all the more significant when we truly apply your great teachings to our daily work and struggle.

Finally, we wish to say that Mao Tse-tung's thought is a powerful ideological weapon in opposing imperialism, modern revisionism and reaction. Inspired and guided by Mao Tse-tung's thought, the movement of revolutionary writers and artists, and the Afro-Asian writers' movement in particular, will certainly achieve the sacred objective of serving the revolutionary peoples of Asia, Africa and the whole world and their revolutionary struggles. We place all hopes on you, Chair-

man Mao, for leading our revolutionary struggles. We pledge ourselves always to study and follow your teachings. We are confident that any deviation from your teachings will bring defeat and darkness, while adherence to your teachings will bring success and brightness.

Long live the great, radiant thought of Mao Tse-tung which shines for ever brightly!

Glory to the Communist Party of China! Glory to the Chinese people!

Long live the People's Republic of China, the great red bastion of world revolution!

Long live the *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*!

Long live the world-shaking great proletarian cultural revolution!

Long live the ever-lasting solidarity of the Afro-Asian peoples in opposing imperialism, revisionism and reaction!

May the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau advance from victory to victory under the inspiration and guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought!

Finally, we wish Chairman Mao, the great teacher, great helmsman, great leader, great revolutionary, great poet, and the very red sun which shines most brightly in the hearts of the revolutionary people of the world, a long, long life!

Seminar Held by the Executive Secretariat of the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau to Commemorate the 25th Anniversary of Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*

June 5, 1967, Peking

## Study Chairman Mao's "Talks at the Yen'an Forum on Literature and Art"!

—*Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau's Call to All Revolutionary and Progressive Writers of Asia, Africa and the World*

June 5, 1967

Revolutionary and Progressive Writers of Asia, Africa and the World,

The red flag is fluttering in the winds and the thunders are echoing in the sky. At a time when the great proletarian cultural revolution in China has scored great victories, the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau has invited friends from 34 countries and regions of the world to hold a grand seminar in Peking, the heart of world revolution, to commemorate the 25th anniversary of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's brilliant *Talks at the Yen'an Forum on Literature and Art*. This seminar has amply demonstrated our deepest respect and regards for Chairman Mao, the great leader of the revolutionary people of the world and the very

red sun that shines most brightly in our hearts; it has given expression to our common pledge to remain for ever true to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line on literature and art.

Chairman Mao's *Talks* is an epoch-making, great Marxist-Leninist work. It is the most comprehensive, thoroughgoing, correct and revolutionary proletarian programme on literature and art in the history of mankind. It is a powerful ideological weapon of the revolutionaries to transform the subjective world and the objective world in the image of the proletariat. It is the bugle call for the oppressed nations and oppressed peoples of the world in their great political and ideological struggles against imperialism, modern revisionism and all reactionaries.

During the Chinese people's war of resistance to Japanese imperialist aggression and the subsequent war of liberation, this great work guided the broad masses of revolutionary literary and art workers in joining the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and in making literature and art a powerful weapon to be used in co-ordination with the revolutionary armed forces in the seizure of political power, thereby performing a meritorious service in the struggles to destroy the ferocious Japanese aggressors and overthrow the tyranny of the Chiang Kai-shek regime. And now in the unprecedented, great proletarian cultural revolution, this great work has become the fighting programme of the broad masses of Chinese workers, peasants and soldiers and young Red Guards in destroying all old ideas, culture, customs and habits. This great revolution marks an entirely new stage in the development of Marxism. It is sweeping away all filth and sludge in society and has uprooted the counter-revolutionary revisionist black line on literature and art lurking in China's literary and art circles, and shattered the pipe dream for a capitalist restoration on the part of a handful of top persons in authority in the Chinese Communist Party taking the capitalist road. It has immensely consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat in China and hence the base area of world revolution. This constitutes a powerful support to the liberation struggles of the oppressed nations and world revolution. It has dealt a fatal blow to U.S.-led imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, modern revisionism with the leading clique of the C.P.S.U.

as its centre and all reaction. These earth-shaking great victories have eloquently proved that the people armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought are invincible and that nothing can block their advance.

The *Talks* penetratingly points out that the fundamental orientation for proletarian literature and art is to serve the workers, peasants and soldiers. (Note: by soldiers it is meant armed people's forces.) The broad masses of workers and peasants constitute the overwhelming majority of the population and possess the greatest strength. They create and defend the material and spiritual wealth of human society with diligence and wisdom, and are hence the real masters of the world. However, under the dictatorship of the exploiting classes they are consigned to the very bottom of society and made to lead a miserable life even worse than that of the draught animals. They nourish the deepest hatred for the exploiting classes and are most militant. They are the main force of the revolution. Literature and art serving the workers, peasants and soldiers means serving the fundamental interests of the masses of workers and peasants, serving their revolutionary struggles to seize political power and to consolidate it thereafter; and in Asia, Africa and Latin America today, this means primarily serving the revolutionary struggles and the people's revolutionary wars against imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction.

U.S. imperialism is the sworn enemy of the peoples of Asia, Africa and the whole world. Everywhere it fosters reactionary forces and carries out wanton plunders, ruthless persecution and sanguinary suppression. In Vietnam, U.S. imperialism is frantically massacring revolutionary people, expanding its war of aggression and making new grave escalations in the war. In Palestine and the Middle East, it is busily sharpening swords in league with its accomplices, and is using Israel — a dagger which it has planted in the heart of the Arab world — to carry out armed provocations and war threats against the Arab people. In the Congo (K), Indonesia and other parts of the world, it has incurred heavy debts of blood.

The Soviet modern revisionists are the No. 1 accomplices of U.S. imperialism. In a further betrayal of the revolutionary cause of the people of the world, they are using every possible means to sabotage the revolutionary struggles of the people of the world and national-

liberation movements, and are servilely serving the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war. Moreover, they are frantically carrying out cultural infiltration against the peoples of Asia, Africa and the rest of the world, using utterly reactionary, decadent revisionist literature and art to poison and benumb the revolutionary people, and spreading the notion that exploitation is no crime and rebellion is not justified, attempting thereby to subjugate the revolutionary people spiritually. This is something we absolutely cannot tolerate.

Where there is oppression, there rebellion is bound to break out. And the crueller the oppression, the stiffer the rebellion. Under the illumination of Mao Tse-tung's thought, the revolutionary situation in the world today is excellent. Asia, Africa and Latin America have become the storm centre of world revolution. The oppressed peoples there are taking up arms and are advancing wave upon wave in heroic battles, and the raging flames of the national-liberation movements are burning on the continents of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Like mad bulls crashing into a ring of flames and getting badly burnt, the imperialists, modern revisionists and reactionaries of all countries are frantically putting up a last-ditch fight.

Chairman Mao says, **"To defeat the enemy we must rely primarily on the army with guns. But this army alone is not enough; we must also have a cultural army, which is absolutely indispensable for uniting our own ranks and defeating the enemy."** For the complete victory of world revolution and the complete liberation of the whole of mankind, it is imperative to create a revolutionary cultural army which will co-ordinate with the revolutionary military front to crush the enemy's armed suppression and cultural aggression. Accordingly, the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau makes the following fighting call to all the revolutionary and progressive writers of Asia, Africa and the world:

We must all make great efforts to study Chairman Mao's great works, including his *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* and his profound revolutionary poetry. In doing so we must have a feeling of deep respect for Chairman Mao and a burning desire to seek truth and victory of revolution. We must carry on this study in the storms of class struggle and in the flames of national-liberation struggles;

we must study conscientiously and do so over and over again; we must study and apply what we have studied in a creative way and combine study with practice. Let us emulate the path-breakers in China's great cultural revolution by taking Mao Tse-tung's thought as the compass guiding all our actions, by impressing it firmly in our mind, infusing it into our blood and translating it into our action.

We must, in accordance with the *Talks*, hold high the revolutionary banner of criticism and mobilize millions upon millions of people to launch a fierce offensive, by speech and writing, on the imperialist, revisionist and reactionary literature and art, tearing off all their disguises, thoroughly exposing such stuff as "humanitarianism," "literature and art of the whole people," "art for art's sake," literature of the traitors, decadent and yellow literature and art, denouncing their criminal aim of deceiving the people and poisoning their minds, so as to enable the masses of the people to understand that U.S. imperialist cultural aggression and the Soviet revisionists' counter-revolutionary line on literature and art are in the service of their reactionary political aim of enslaving the people of the world. Revolutionary and progressive writers of Asia, Africa and the world, let us unite with the peoples of the whole world and emulate the merciless spirit towards the enemy displayed by the late Lu Hsun, the most valiant fighter on the front of revolutionary culture, and use the massive cudgel of Mao Tse-tung's thought to deal resolute and devastating blows to U.S. imperialism, Soviet modern revisionism, all reactionaries, and their running dogs. We should, in the process of criticism and struggle, organize and train a mighty revolutionary cultural army and develop a revolutionary, national new literature and art, an anti-imperialist and anti-revisionist literature and art of the masses of the people.

We must creatively study and apply the *Talks* as well as Chairman Mao's other writings, and take his poetry as a model in integrating revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism. We must hold high the red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought on literature and art, follow the examples of the revolutionary new literature and art born in the storms of China's great proletarian cultural revolution and make literature and art serve the current revolutionary struggles of the people of various countries and serve the workers, peasants

and people's armed forces; we must transform literature and art into daggers, lances, drums and bugles; we must enthusiastically extol the revolutionary struggles of the people and depict the noble characters of the revolutionary heroes; we must relentlessly expose the enemy's ferocity and brutality and his weakness; we must expose the cultural aggression and infiltration by imperialism and modern revisionism; we must loudly proclaim the slogan: "It is no crime to make revolution and rebellion is justified"; we must help awaken more and more workers and peasants to take up swords and guns and join the battle arrays; we must inspire more fighters to make bold charges against the enemy; we must see to it that the flames of battle blaze ever higher and that there are more tidings of victories; and we must reverse the reversal of history.

We must firmly bear in mind this teaching of our great leader Chairman Mao: **"In the final analysis, the dividing line between revolutionary intellectuals and non-revolutionary or counter-revolutionary intellectuals is whether or not they are willing to integrate themselves with the workers and peasants and actually do so."** We must make up our mind to go to the factories, to the countryside and to the smoking battlefield, to share weal and woe and fight shoulder to shoulder with the masses of workers and peasants. Let us intensify our hatred against the enemy and deepen our feelings for the workers and peasants in the course of the fierce hand-to-hand battles between the revolutionary classes and the reactionary classes. And after protracted and arduous tempering, we will gradually shift our standpoint over to the side of the masses of workers and peasants, the side of the proletariat, truly hate what the workers and peasants hate, and love what they love. We will stand in the forefront of the struggle, raise the most powerful voice of the time, create outstanding heroic characters of the masses of workers and peasants and people's armed forces, characters whom the Afro-Asian peoples will appreciate, thereby opening a brilliant new era of revolutionary Afro-Asian literature and art.

Revolutionary and progressive writers of Asia, Africa and the world, the world is entering a new era in which Mao Tse-tung's thought is the great banner. Chairman Mao Tse-tung is the greatest supreme commander of the revolutionary people of the world in their revolu-

tionary struggles. The *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* is the beacon light for all revolutionary people of the world, and the revolutionary and progressive writers in particular. It is the guide of their action and the bugle call for their combat. With this work, we can find our bearings in any bad weather; with this work, we can hold ground in the worst tempest; with this work, we will gain increased revolutionary wisdom, courage to fight and strength to work miracles. We will certainly study this work with great efforts, carry it out faithfully, propagate it enthusiastically, and defend it courageously. Following the revolutionary road indicated by our great supreme commander Chairman Mao, and facing a very bright future, let us courageously march on and on!

Our seminar in commemoration of the 25th anniversary of the *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* has laid the ideological basis for the Third Afro-Asian Writers' Conference to be held in Peking, capital of China. The Third Conference will hold even higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and push the movement of studying Chairman Mao's works to a higher stage. It will be a militant conference and a conference of unity and victory, which will use the incomparably mighty weapon of Mao Tse-tung's thought to further mobilize and organize the revolutionary and progressive Afro-Asian writers and people to combat U.S.-led imperialism, modern revisionism with the leading clique of the C.P.S.U. as its centre and all reaction. We are firmly convinced that under the infinitely bright radiance of Mao Tse-tung's thought and through our common efforts, the Third Conference will certainly be a success.

The sun is breaking through. Revolutionary and progressive writers and heroic peoples of Asia, Africa and the world, fight still more valiantly! Victory will surely belong to us!

## Speech by Sudanese Delegate

Comrades and Friends,

May 1967 marks the twenty-fifth anniversary of Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*. The significance of the *Talks* at that time, in 1942, and at present, 25 years afterwards, was and is extremely great. It contains profound truths both for China and the world at large, for fighters with guns as well as for fighters with pens. Chairman Mao has said in the *Talks*, "**We are Marxists, and Marxism teaches that in our approach to a problem we should start from objective facts, not from abstract definitions, and that we should derive our guiding principles, policies and measures from an analysis of these facts.**" The facts at the time were, in short, that China had been fighting the War of Resistance Against Japan for five years while at the same time the world-wide anti-fascist war was going on. The big landlords and big bourgeoisie were vacillating and continuing their policy of oppression of the Chinese people; there were large numbers of revolutionary writers and artists in the base areas, and controversial issues concerning art



and literature had arisen there. These were the actual circumstances. By giving his talks on art and literature, Chairman Mao established, for the first time in history, his revolutionary thesis on how art and literature should serve revolutionary struggle; thus for the first time in history a genuine Marxist line on art and literature was laid down in clear-cut terms.

Chairman Mao in his *Talks* solved the problem of how art and literature could operate as powerful weapons for uniting and educating the people and for attacking and destroying the enemy. Not only that, but he also enumerated and fully explained the problems to be solved so as to reach that goal. Thus Chairman Mao thoroughly repudiated and defeated many mistaken ideas and lines on art and literature and laid down a firm basis for the correct, revolutionary development of art and literature. This is a creative work of genius, and an extremely important and significant contribution to the development of Marxism-Leninism.

What is the significance of Chairman Mao's talks on art and literature at present? To give an answer to this question we must start from the objective facts of today. The most essential objective facts of today are the following:

1) The peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, especially the heroic people of Vietnam, are locked today in a life-and-death struggle against imperialism and old and new colonialism led by the United States of America. The flames of the revolutionary struggles in these countries of the world are spreading like a prairie fire, blasting to smithereens the strongholds of the enemies of the people one after the other. The East Wind has already prevailed over the West Wind.

2) In contradistinction to the Soviet modern revisionists' theories of "peaceful co-existence," "peaceful transition" and "peaceful competition," the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, Marxism-Leninism at its peak, like the sun at eight or nine in the morning, has penetrated every corner of the globe. No revolutionary theory, no revolutionary thought, ever had such brilliance, such a far-reaching inspiring effect and such revolutionary piercing power. While the glowing red image of Chairman Mao rises in all its serenity to occupy the middle of the world sky, the image of the Soviet leading

clique is eclipsed and swallowed up in the darkness of revisionism. What a vast contrast! The imperialist world, staggering under the hammer-blows of the world's peoples, is torn by acute and antagonistic contradictions. The old world is falling apart, its feet of clay are melting in the surging oceans of the peoples' revolutionary struggle. Behold, the new world is in sight. Let us hail the new world. Its mast has already risen above the horizon. Let us all cheer in welcome! Raise both your hands. The new world is ours!

3) In China which is a socialist country under the dictatorship of the proletariat, an unprecedented great proletarian cultural revolution personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao Tse-tung has been unfolded, for the first time in world history. This is an extremely important event in the history of mankind. For the first time, since the appearance of socialism as a social system, it is being proved beyond any shadow of doubt that classes and class struggle exist in socialist society, and revolutions of this type are necessarily needed from time to time, to uproot revisionism, to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, block the road to capitalist restoration and pave the road to communism.

The joints of devil gods are shaking,  
And for the first time  
Whips of torture are snatched  
From their hands.  
The shackled have broken their chains,  
And prison walls  
Have fallen one after another.  
Who would have thought that these millions,  
These tens of millions  
Were enslaved in their brains?

How powerful are your thoughts,  
Chairman Mao; they are  
A compass for the revolution,  
A blue-print for construction,  
A clock whose ticks announce  
The end of imperialism, revisionism.  
The march of time cannot be stopped,  
Zero hour must come.

4) As there were revolutionary writers and artists in the base area of Yen-an when Chairman Mao gave his talks 25 years ago, revolutionary Afro-Asian writers are today meeting in China which is the base area of the world revolution. We revolutionary Afro-Asian writers have set up our Executive Secretariat to prepare, from this base area, for the successful convening of the Third Afro-Asian Writers' Conference. We are in the midst of the great proletarian cultural revolution and Chairman Mao himself is present in this base area with us.

It is in these circumstances that the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau celebrates this glorious anniversary of Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*. The timely convening of this seminar is a splendid action on the part of our Secretary-General R. D. Senanayake and other comrades of the Secretariat. We warmly congratulate them and wish this seminar all success, and wish Chairman Mao excellent health and a long life.

Comrades and friends,

Chairman Mao teaches us that **"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."**

Our people, the Sudanese people, are now in the stage of the national democratic revolution. Our main enemies are the imperialists, particularly the U.S. imperialists and the semi-feudalist and comprador classes. We are determined to **"be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory."** The capitulationist Sudanese modern revisionists have chosen the infamous road of peaceful co-existence with the enemy, the road of peaceful transition, the parliamentary road. We have chosen the revolutionary road. We are absolutely clear that **"a revolution is not a dinner party, or writing an essay, or painting a picture, or doing embroidery; it cannot be so refined, so leisurely and gentle, so temperate, kind, courteous, restrained and magnanimous. A revolution is an insurrection, an act of violence by which one class overthrows**

**another."** The modern revisionists in the Sudan have publicly discarded class struggle, the Marxist philosophy of dialectical materialism and revolution. They have become open betrayers of the cause of the Sudanese people and miserable running dogs of the Soviet modern revisionists. They are being used today by the Soviet revisionists in such bogus international organizations as the "World Peace Council" to betray the people of Vietnam, the Congo, Angola, Eritria, Mozambique and other countries, and to peddle the outworn goods of the Soviet leading clique. We are confident that the fate of this scum will be no better than that of all traitors, renegades and stooges.

The experience of our people, particularly during the last few years, confirms the correctness of Chairman Mao's thesis on the importance of culture in preparing public opinion for both revolution and counter-revolution. Our experience shows that after the U.S. imperialists engineered the military coup of General Abboud in 1958 as a first step in their attempt to penetrate our country, they began through that notorious regime to prepare public opinion for their economic aggression, using art and literature as an effective weapon for this purpose. Using the military regime as their main tool, they banned all revolutionary and progressive literature. Books, magazines and newspapers of a revolutionary progressive character were confiscated by the police. Censorship was imposed on the progressive and even nationalist press. At the same time, the puppet regime paid special attention to literary and art circles. They bought over some poets, journalists, writers and theatrical companies to sing their praises. It suffices to mention that some of these writers who sold themselves to the puppet regime are the same persons who were used afterwards by the Soviet modern revisionists to counterpose revolutionary Sudanese writers in the Afro-Asian writers' movement. After suppressing revolutionary and patriotic literature and art, the military regime gave the green light to American decadent literature and art to flood the country. Jazz bands of the American decadent style cropped up in many cities and towns, twist, "rock and roll" and shake dances spread like a plague among the youth; notorious films like *Lolita* were shown everywhere. Films lauding and propagating the Ameri-

can way of life, portraying the U.S. imperialists as the defenders of democracy and justice and similar stuff, were widely spread to poison the minds of workers and intellectuals in the cities and towns. Novels, short stories and magazines propagating decadent literature based on sex could be found everywhere selling comparatively cheaply. Under the suppression of military rule pessimism gripped the spirit of many young people. They have taken to narcotics, gambling and drunkenness. The American imperialists also used religion for their purposes, offering through their puppets in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait large amounts of money to install loud-speakers in mosques. They warmly encouraged superstition among the peasants, and also religious fanaticism. Not a few extremely reactionary religious groups appeared at that time. All this prepared the ground in the ideological field for the U.S. imperialists to penetrate our country economically and politically. American so-called aid and loans, directly or indirectly through the United Nations, gradually increased until the state became mainly dependent on them. American so-called experts were planted in every ministry and every field and especially in the field of education.

The October uprising in 1964 toppled the puppet system of the generals, but not long afterwards, the fruits of that uprising, during which hundreds of people lost their lives, were snatched away by the reactionaries, who later joined forces and took control of the state machinery. That was how the U.S. imperialists and reactionary classes used art and literature to prepare the ground for tightening their grip on the people after crushing their resistance.

Dear comrades and friends,

Chairman Mao teaches us that **“our purpose is to ensure that literature and art fit well into the whole revolutionary machine as a component part, that they operate as powerful weapons for uniting and educating the people and for attacking and destroying the enemy, and that they help the people fight the enemy with one heart and one mind.”** Since the modern revisionists in the Sudan controlled the leadership of the Party, that is, until three years ago, the question of how literature and art should serve

the needs of revolutionary struggle was never studied. For nearly 18 years the Party was groping in the dark in this important field, and it was only after the Party split, three years ago, that the thought of Mao Tse-tung could find access to the revolutionary fighters. This is a great change in the revolutionary history of our people and will be decisive for the future of our people. We are confident that the teachings of Chairman Mao at the Yen-an forum on art and literature will be the main guiding line for our work in this field.

Comrades: We are writers; we want to be revolutionary writers. This means that before we become revolutionary writers, we must be revolutionaries. This is not an easy objective to attain. For 18 years the modern revisionists in the Sudan have been shouting Marxist phrases telling the people that they are revolutionaries; but were they really revolutionaries? Acute class struggle proved that they are nothing but phony revolutionaries. Not only that, but class struggle proved that they are counter-revolutionaries. When revisionism is applied in practice, it ceases to be a purely ideological trend confined to the distortion of Marxism but enters the realm of counter-revolution; because the application of revisionism does not stop at opposing Marxism-Leninism, but goes further to counter Marxism-Leninism, to counter revolution. When the Soviet revisionist line of peaceful co-existence, peaceful transition and peaceful competition first appeared, it was only a theory based on their distortion of Marxism; but when they applied their line in practice, they moved from ideological opposition to Marxism to the position of pulling the Soviet Union back to capitalism; and those who counter socialism by capitalism are really counter-revolutionaries. The modern revisionists in the Sudan today have become traitors betraying Marxist-Leninists to the class enemy. The Soviet modern revisionists have betrayed all the revolutionary people of the world. The Sudanese revisionists are no different. They are birds of a feather.

Comrades and friends,

When Chairman Mao spoke to the revolutionary writers and artists at Yen-an, he told them that **“The life of the people is always**

**a mine of the raw materials for literature and art, materials in their natural form, materials that are crude but most vital, rich and fundamental; they make all literature and art seem pallid by comparison; they provide literature and art with an inexhaustible source, their only source. They are the only source, for there can be no other."** Chairman Mao wanted the writers and artists to be one with the people, not only to be "in touch with the people" or "to be close to them." He wanted them to be one with the people like seeds planted in the soil. Can there be rice if rice shoots are not planted and well planted in the soil? This is also the case with the creation of writers and artists. If they are isolated from the soil, from the people, the workers and peasants, they will not produce anything of value. If they are well planted, then they will produce fine work which is the fruit of this integration. For us Sudanese writers, this means that we should move from the city to the countryside, from the decadent life of the bourgeoisie to that of the workers, from sitting on a chair and observing to taking an actual practical part in what is being done by the workers and peasants. Chairman Mao wanted the writers and artists to be tempered in the flames of class struggle, not to shut themselves in their rooms and "reflect on themselves three times a day" as advocated by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road in his black book on "self-cultivation."

1) We have listened with great attention to the speeches given by the comrades here. We think they have all made a good contribution to this seminar. However, we believe that the most important thing at this time for the Arab people, or, at least, for all those who call themselves Arab revolutionaries, is to rid themselves completely of the illusion that socialism can be built by the bourgeoisie. This is a revisionist theory which is being widely spread by the Soviet modern revisionists together with a handful of Arab renegades who have sold their souls to the bourgeoisie. To have a revolutionary Arab literature and art, it is absolutely essential and of the first and foremost importance to have revolutionaries, who, armed with the thought of Mao Tse-tung, organize the workers and peasants and lead them in revolutionary struggles to win liberation. Without

this, there will be no revolutionary art and literature in the Arab countries.

2) We fully support the struggle of the fighting peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. We support the aim of the fighting people of Palestine in liquidating Israel and liberating their homeland through armed struggle. We support the people of Kalimantan in their armed struggle for liberation. We fully support the heroic people of Vietnam who occupy the forefront in the struggle against U.S. imperialism. While we support all these just struggles, we declare from this platform, in no unclear words: That the people of Palestine should never place any hopes on the Soviet modern revisionists. The Soviet modern revisionists are like a poisonous snake in one's pocket. They will take the first opportunity of biting the Arab people of Palestine. Comrades, be vigilant! If the Soviet modern revisionists genuinely support the people of Palestine, they should, at this crucial moment, when Israel is mobilizing all its forces to attack the Arab people, sever all diplomatic relations with Israel once and for all.

Without revolution there can be no revolutionary art and literature. Revolutionary art and literature does not fall from the sky, it comes from practice, and revolution is the highest form of practice. The art and literature of the Soviet modern revisionists comes from their social practice; and their practice today is "peaceful co-existence, peaceful transition and peaceful competition"; their practice today is to restore capitalism. How, then, can their art and literature be revolutionary? How can it be in the service of socialism? How can it be against exploitation, since they are working to restore capitalism? What is the practice of the modern revisionists in the Sudan? Their practice is parliamentary prostitution, catering for the needs of the bourgeoisie, the feudalists and even the U.S. imperialists. Therefore, what kind of art and literature would they produce? One of them was racking his brains writing articles on the genius of Shakespeare; another is translating revisionist short stories; still another, whom they sent to the bogus Beirut meeting, is opposed to politics in the literary and art field. They all dance to rock-and-roll, twist and shake music. Last year in the Sudan, in a public square, on the occasion of May Day, they performed these decadent dances to the

disgust of many workers and clean-minded intellectuals. Revolutionary art and literature comes from revolutionary practice and in its turn serves revolutionary practice.

Art and literature are the product of ideology. The ideological struggle which took place at Yen-an, 25 years ago, on the question of art and literature is a thousand and ten thousand times multiplied today in the form of the great proletarian cultural revolution, personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao. In his talks at the Yen-an forum, 25 years ago, Chairman Mao solved the question of how art and literature should serve the cause of resisting Japan. He clearly pointed out how art and literature should unite and educate the people to attack and destroy the enemy, how they should **“help the people fight the enemy with one heart and one mind.”** Today, by initiating and leading the great proletarian cultural revolution, Chairman Mao has solved the question of how, after the establishment of the socialist system, we can consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, prevent the restoration of capitalism and lay a firm foundation for the development towards communism. Not only that, but Chairman Mao also gives us a profound and unprecedented lesson on how revisionism should be fought in socialist countries where the modern revisionists have usurped state power and have taken the capitalist road. This is a great exploit of Chairman Mao's. This is a revolutionary, creative, and brilliant development of Marxism unprecedented in the world. We are really living in the great epoch of Mao Tse-tung's thought. Glory to Chairman Mao! Glory to his brilliant thought and long life to him!

Let us raise high the brilliant red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

Let us be worthy pupils of Chairman Mao.

Long live the great proletarian cultural revolution!

Long live Chairman Mao Tse-tung! Long, long life to him!

*F. L. Risakotta*

## Let the Great Red Banner of Mao Tse-tung's Thought Fly All over the World

Comrade Kuo Mo-jo,  
Respected brother R. D. Senanayake,  
Dear Comrades and Friends,

We Indonesian comrades are actively participating in this seminar and today we take this opportunity to express the Indonesian writers' boundless faith in, infinite gratitude to and veneration for our great teacher and great poet Mao Tse-tung, the staunch architect of the revolutionary line on literature and art. Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art was born amidst the arduous great struggles of the Chinese people. This is a revolutionary line on literature and art that has passed the severe test of the various historical stages in the struggle against imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism, revisionism headed by Soviet revisionism and all reactionaries, especially in the struggle against the Chinese reactionaries.

The *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*, published 25 years ago, that we are discussing here today, is a landmark as to how literature and art can serve proletarian politics, and it is a sharp weapon for the Indonesian writers and people in their struggle. So, with respect and pride, I wish Chairman Mao a long, long life! You are the beacon light in the darkness of our revolution. We hope that you will see our victory with your own eyes. Today, in the upsurge of the great proletarian cultural revolution in China, Chairman Mao's close comrade-in-arms has shown us a good and correct method of studying and applying Chairman Mao's works in a creative way. Therefore, I wish Chairman Mao's close comrade-in-arms, Comrade Lin Piao, good health.

Today, we are holding this seminar when the *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* has been published for 25 years, and at a time when it is going through the acute life-and-death struggle of the great proletarian cultural revolution in China. Our seminar on the *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* is also held in the upsurge of the great proletarian cultural revolution initiated and led personally by our great guide, Chairman Mao.

We have made a very high appraisal of this positive and resolute action of the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau, its Permanent Secretariat and its Secretary-General Senanayake, because through this seminar they have made the great thought of Mao Tse-tung the compass guiding the work of our organization.

I fully support the holding of this seminar, because we have really understood and must realize that the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung belongs to all the revolutionaries of the five continents of the world.

Revolutionaries of the five continents are the prairie sparks that will burn away the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries as well as their masters. Therefore, comrades and friends, I give my report the title: "Let the Great Red Banner of Mao Tse-tung's Thought Fly All over the World." We are convinced that nothing, however big it may be, can obscure the radiance of the red sun of Mao Tse-tung's thought; no wall of iron, however high, can prevent the dis-

semination of the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung. This is because the tempestuous storm and the roaring waves whipped up by U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism and all reactionaries are unable to conquer the infinitely brilliant thought of Mao Tse-tung; because Mao Tse-tung's thought is like a sturdy pine towering over the snow-capped mountains amidst storm and tempest. It is a coral reef defying typhoons, gales and towering waves; it is a red crag on the summit of a high mountain withstanding wind and frost; it is a sharp sword for destroying the enemy; it is a weapon which will weaken the atom bomb.

Comrades and friends,

This seminar has a profound historic significance. For the revolutionary line on literature and art, the line of literature and art serving the workers, peasants and soldiers, pointed out by Chairman Mao in his *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*, will become a weapon for the people of the world, particularly the Afro-Asian peoples. It will enable them to close their ranks and to mobilize and arm themselves to liberate the world from the sinister claws of imperialism, revisionism and all reactionaries. This lofty objective of Chairman Mao's is a creatively developed doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, which it has raised to a completely new peak. Chairman Mao is the Lenin of our times, and the great helmsman on the ship of the world revolution. That is why this seminar is of great importance internationally. The discussion of the *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* means giving a blood transfusion, a transfusion of new literature and art, to the people who are taking up arms to win the liberation of their motherland. Chairman Mao Tse-tung teaches us: **"To defeat the enemy we must rely primarily on the army with guns. But this army alone is not enough; we must also have a cultural army, which is absolutely indispensable for uniting our own ranks and defeating the enemy."** We should painstakingly rely on Chairman Mao Tse-tung's teaching in our own writing. This is the task of every revolutionary writer.

Comrades and friends,

If we view the situation in our country before the reactionary coup d'état, it can be said that the progressive people of Indonesia had their cultural ranks. But because they had no revolutionary armed force, no matter how great the influence of these cultural ranks, they could not win victory in the revolution. This revolution met with setbacks; this is our experience. On the other hand, without a cultural army we cannot defeat the enemy, even if our armed force is very strong. As Chairman Mao has taught us, **"An army without culture is a dull-witted army, and a dull-witted army cannot defeat the enemy."** Therefore, if we fail to understand the importance of the two armies who fight on two fronts, as pointed out by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the revolution will surely fail. That is why the task given to literary and art workers by the world revolution is not a light one, but a heavy one, and this task is also that of the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau. The Bureau must resolutely and boldly take the great thought of Mao Tse-tung as its flag with which to fight, resist and rebel against imperialists, revisionists and all reactionaries, because **"rebellion is justified and it is no crime to make revolution."**

The people's cultural ranks of Indonesia were born in 1950, and it seems that during the 15 years before the fascist generals Suharto and Nasution usurped the revolution, they have "developed" in contradiction to the correct political line of revolution. And it had not been pointed out that, to win victory in the revolution, the line on literature and art must serve the correct political line. At that time, many works were created which were not according to the only correct political line, the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, which is the practical development of Marxism-Leninism. Indonesia, as a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country, should have pointed the spearhead of her political line at the reactionaries at home and abroad, especially at feudalism in the countryside at a time when she was not invaded by foreign armed forces, this is the situation at the stage of the democratic national revolution, and at this stage democratic revolution should be given prominence. That is to say, we should have carried out an agrarian revolution at home. But, because of the

erroneous line which took Holland and then the United States as the main enemies, literary and art circles in our country directed their spearhead at these main enemies though there had been no direct armed aggression from these countries. This was a fundamental error committed by the revolutionary classes of our country. After Holland handed over sovereign rights to Indonesia at the "round-table conference," the Indonesian revolutionary people should have made use of this opportunity to turn their spearhead against the reactionaries at home, particularly against the landlords in the countryside, and at the same time should have initiated an armed agrarian revolution according to Chairman Mao's instructions. As a result of the erroneous political line our literature and art, after the counter-revolutionary coup d'état by the fascist military clique, failed to unite us and unite millions and millions of working people to form a powerful armed force to defeat the enemies of the Indonesian people, the Suharto-Nasution fascist regime. From this we can see very clearly that the whole task of literature and art is to serve politics. If politics is reactionary, the literature and art that serves it is likewise reactionary; if literature and art serve a wrong political line, mistakes will also be committed. On the other hand, if literature and art serve a correct political line, this will bring about brilliant victories for the world revolution, as has been pointed out by the great teacher of world revolution Chairman Mao.

It is necessary to correctly apply the thought of Mao Tse-tung concerning agrarian revolution and resistance to armed counter-revolution at home and enabling the working people to form their own armed forces. Thus the task of the cultural ranks is to serve the aforesaid interests of the revolution. Following this road, our revolution would certainly not have met with setbacks and would not have committed Right opportunist and revisionist errors. Isn't it true, as our great leader has said, **"Without a people's army, the people have nothing"?**

Despite all this, even with the erroneous political orientation, before the counter-revolutionary armed coup d'état, Indonesian writers and cultural workers had already waged a struggle against certain Indonesian writers who followed the Soviet revisionist line and

acted as a tool of U.S. imperialism. True, these attacks showed that to oppose U.S. imperialism, one must also oppose Soviet revisionism. Nevertheless, these attacks did not bring home to us the need to carry out the revolution in our country, because the greatest danger was deviation from the Marxist-Leninist political line and the great Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Having realized the fundamental errors committed during the revolution in the past 15 years and more, the Indonesian people and writers are holding high, with full confidence, the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought in Indonesia and are turning Indonesia into a big school of Mao Tse-tung's thought, because this is the only road we should take. Mao Tse-tung's thought alone can be the beacon that brings victory to the revolution of the Indonesian people, our guide in defeating the rural feudal classes, establishing rural (revolutionary) bases, encircling the cities to finally smash the Suharto-Nasution fascists and set up the people's political power in our country.

To attain this sacred goal, Indonesian writers are confident that they can use Chairman Mao's revolutionary literary line as a weapon to defeat their enemy. They will no longer have illusions about ghosts and monsters and they will wail no more for the enlightenment of a remote and unrealistic god, because the outcome of the victory of the Indonesian revolution can be seen from developments in China under the personal leadership of Chairman Mao, the creator of the Chinese revolution. Yes, the armed revolution in our country will follow the road of armed revolution pointed out by Mao Tse-tung. The Indonesian people believe that once we deviate from the teachings of our great teacher, our revolution will encounter setbacks, and the dawn awaited by the people will never come. This is the orientation of the Indonesian writers in serving the people to win victory in our revolution, it is the literary line pointed out in the *Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art*.

The *Talks* is a very good study for us Indonesian people and writers, because from this brilliant writing we can not only study problems of literature and art but also learn from experiences in carrying out struggles in the field of literature and art, proceeding from the

proletarian world outlook. This brilliant victory of Chairman Mao's is an achievement of the highest level in literature and art at the stage when imperialism is heading towards its total collapse and socialism is advancing towards victory. This writing will have a far-reaching significance down to the day of the perishing of imperialism on earth and the establishing of socialist countries throughout the world. This writing is also a complete and comprehensive heritage for the world's oppressed peoples, including us Indonesian people, for winning victory in our revolution.

We Indonesian writers are proud to have such a great teacher as Chairman Mao Tse-tung in art and literature. We shall continue to apply the brilliant thought of Mao Tse-tung in this sphere in order to fulfil our revolutionary tasks and provide the ideological ground for pushing our revolution through to final victory. Chairman Mao, we therefore declare, with boundless veneration, that, come what may, we shall hold you in deep affection. Come what may, we shall always have faith in you. Seas may dry up, stones may rot, but our loyalty to you will never change. Our most respected and beloved Chairman Mao, with your works you have changed the face of the earth! The old world outlook which for long years dominated literary and art circles has been replaced by a new one. In the past, the workers, peasants and soldiers were eliminated from novels, poems, ballets, etc., or sacrificed their rightful place to the ruling classes. The long history in which the workers and peasants were portrayed as slaves in the arena of art and literature has now been reversed. They are now masters of this arena. Thanks to the *Talks*, the emperors, kings, generals and ministers, scholars and beauties who for long years dominated the stage have been thrown into the garbage can.

The great proletarian cultural revolution has hit hard at a handful of reactionary intellectuals and top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road who tried to use their power to change the colour of China and take the capitalist road. But the militant intellectuals and the Red Guards educated by Chairman Mao have speedily thrown them out. All these facts are reflected in the current great proletarian cultural revolution, which proves what Chairman Mao has said: **"The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the**



**making of world history.”** This development, that of putting the workers, peasants and soldiers on the stage, is of tremendous significance in the development of the revolution in art and literature and in the furthering of the political revolution. For it is necessary to make ideological preparation in order to seize political power, and revolutionary art and literature is the most important factor in creating public opinion amongst the masses of the people to overthrow any reactionary regime.

Consequently, art and literature which does not reflect the political content of the revolution cannot create public opinion amongst the masses of the people or bring about the storm of revolution. On the contrary, they reinforce the reactionary rule. This is what happened in Indonesia where literary and art workers did not create public opinion amongst the masses of the people to overthrow the bourgeois rule; on the contrary all their works served the bourgeois regime. From the bitter but fruitful experience of our failure, we have come to realize how important the *Talks* is in educating the people, uniting the people and attacking the reactionary regime. Whether or not we apply Mao Tse-tung's thought in art and literature is a test by which to judge whether we are firm and serious as regards the brilliant future of the Indonesian people. To get away from the universal truth of Mao Tse-tung's thought, or to run counter to it, would bring disaster and destruction to our revolution. In the correct and creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works on art and literature, we can not only educate and unite the masses, but also encourage them in their struggle against the enemy. In the great proletarian cultural revolution, the fact of boldly arousing the masses and giving them the freedom of daring to think, to speak, to act and to make revolution has enabled us to realize the above-mentioned task. It is also for us writers to promote revolution in our works.

Chairman Mao teaches us: **“Be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory.”** This fighting spirit has greatly encouraged the Indonesian writers and people, arousing them to action and enabling the people to overcome the difficulties they have to face in prisons and concentration camps and to fight against the current persecution by the Indonesian fascist military

regime. The Indonesian people will not only overcome difficulties and suffering but will also dare to surmount all difficulties according to Chairman Mao's teachings: to fight and overthrow the fascist regime. Creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's works we should rely on the brilliant thought of Mao Tse-tung to create works of our own. We should depict the dauntless spirit of Chairman Mao and how he arouses the people and listens to the voice of the people in struggle. Our works, if we do this, will not be useless to the revolution of our country.

From what we have learnt, the Indonesian writers and people who are being persecuted in detention houses or exiled will sing the song to arouse the people: “Arise, ye prisoners of starvation, arise ye wretched of the earth.” Poets are beginning to write in the light of Mao Tse-tung's thought and from their poems arises an angry roar against the enemy, which will turn into a material force that will defeat those armed with modern weapons. The Indonesian people will not be intimidated. The enemies are but what Chairman Mao calls “paper tigers and beancurd tigers.” They will be overwhelmed by people's war. This is our conviction, the conviction of the Indonesian writers and people. This is also the aspiration of the Indonesian writers who regard the *Talks* as a weapon for ideological preparation, to carry the Indonesian revolution from its upsurge to final victory.

Comrades and friends,

Many of us have begun to apply Mao Tse-tung's thought in our work. As far as we are concerned, the *Talks* is the beacon which illuminates the glorious path of our revolution.

Whenever our writers and poets meet with any problems in their writing, and whenever they are confused in their thinking about art and literature, they re-read the magnificent works of Chairman Mao. Because every time we re-read this essay we always discover new points, like brilliant pearls, and the bright morning which follows the long dark night. This is what this great work means to us. We not only apply it in our literary and art creation but also in the correct handling of other problems arising from the situation in our country. Our purpose is to enable ourselves to whole-heartedly serve our revolution.

Many have fallen. The Indonesian people have long suffered persecution, oppression and deep miseries. **“Ten thousand years are too long, seize the day, seize the hour.”** These words by Chairman Mao strengthen our conviction and enable us to dare to think, to speak, to act and to make revolution.

Comrades and friends,

The holding of this seminar in commemoration of the 25th anniversary of Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* in the upsurge of the great proletarian cultural revolution personally initiated and led by the great leader of world revolution Mao Tse-tung is of great significance to the promotion of world revolution. We are convinced that the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau will make a still clearer distinction between this revolutionary organization of ours and another organization manipulated by the Soviet revisionists. That so-called organization most outstandingly held up the banner of betrayal to the Afro-Asian people at its bogus conference recently held in Beirut. This bogus conference was a stock exchange for U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism. Through this conference they cooked up a bunch of hocus-pocus by which the Afro-Asian people may be taken in if they do not keep on the alert. On the other hand, our Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau must hold aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, so that it can become a sharp weapon in defeating the schemes and intrigues of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism, and, at the same time, it can save the Afro-Asian writers who due to their lack of vigilance have been deceived by the enemy of the world's people. Our Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau must display its revolutionary role in the struggle against the people's enemy. We should at the same time take Mao Tse-tung's thought as our weapon, because in the present era Mao Tse-tung's thought alone can enable the people of the whole world to win liberation from under the claws of imperialism, revisionism and world reaction. With this determination, we can lay a reliable foundation for the Third Afro-Asian Writers' Conference, which will be held in China this year, to mobilize the broadest masses. In this way, we shall surely be able to completely overthrow those who have

betrayed the people of the world. Through this very significant seminar, the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau and its Secretariat will hold aloft the great banner of revolutionary literature and art even more courageously in our organization, and the magazine and the publications of the Secretariat will more frequently print a greater number of quotations from Chairman Mao which can be used as the weapons for the members of our Afro-Asian writers' organization. Comrades and friends! The radiance of the red sun of the east is illuminating our vast earth. The East Wind is blowing and awakening people who were fast asleep. The East Wind is prevailing over the West Wind. Overjoyed, the people of the world are applauding and heartily cheering the victory for the strongest bastion of the world revolution, the centre of the world revolution. No matter how hard all kinds of monsters and demons are trying to destroy it, this bastion will remain firm and will never change its colour, because it has the leadership of Mao Tse-tung, the red sun in the hearts of the people of the world.

Long live the beacon light for revolutionary literary and art workers, *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art.*

Long live the ever-victorious thought of Mao Tse-tung!

Long live the victory of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in the great proletarian cultural revolution and in the whole world!

A long, long life to our most respected and beloved Chairman Mao!

Long live the militant solidarity of the Afro-Asian writers who are faithfully holding aloft the red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought!

## Stride Forward Along Chairman Mao's Revolutionary Line on Literature and Art

Comrades and Friends,

Allow me to extend warmest congratulations to the Seminar in Commemoration of the 25th Anniversary of Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* held by the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau. In the last few days, you have made many excellent speeches which have inspired us and taught us a great deal.

This meeting has fully demonstrated the ardent love of the revolutionary people of the world for our great leader Chairman Mao and the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung. The leading comrades of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the

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This speech was made on June 5 at the closing session of the seminar sponsored by the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau to commemorate the 25th anniversary of Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*.

Cultural Revolution Group Under the Central Committee express their thanks to the comrades and friends taking part in this meeting. Comrade Chiang Ching would have liked to address the meeting, but these past few days she has been suffering from a cold and is unable to do so. She ought to be resting today, but despite that she has come here to offer her congratulations to this meeting and to meet our comrades and friends. She specifically asked me to extend her greetings to our comrades and friends and a revolutionary salute to the fighters on the cultural front coming from the six continents.

### I

Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* was born amid the storm and stress of the struggle for national liberation. It was at the most difficult time for China in the War of Resistance Against Japan; it was also the time when our Party was combating Wang Ming's Right opportunism and unfolding the great rectification movement. After the outbreak of the War of Resistance Against Japan, large numbers of patriotic and revolutionary intellectuals broke through heavy blockade lines to get to Yen-an, the sacred centre of the revolution. To undermine the people's war of resistance against Japan, the Kuomintang reactionaries also sent a handful of spies and Trotskyites to infiltrate Yen-an. In collusion with a handful of anti-Party elements and renegades, they stirred up a reactionary adverse current on the cultural front co-ordinated with the military attacks of the Japanese aggressors and Chiang Kai-shek. In order to incite opposition to the Party and the people they energetically advocated bourgeois theories on literature and art, and spread around such absurd arguments as "even the sun has spots" and "the task of literature and art has always been to expose." A very sharp question was thus put before literary and art workers: Should literature and art serve the struggle for national liberation and the people's liberation or should they serve the reactionaries who undermined the War of Resistance and tried to betray the country and capitulate? Should they serve the revolution or the counter-revolution?

It was at this time that our great leader Chairman Mao convened in Yenan the forum on literature and art at which he delivered the *Talks* which is of epoch-making historic significance. On the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, Chairman Mao in the *Talks* creatively and with genius developed Marxist-Leninist theory on literature and art, formulating a most comprehensive, systematic and correct proletarian revolutionary line on literature and art for the proletariat engaged in struggle.

In this brilliant work Chairman Mao first raised and solved the question of the relationship between literature and art on the one hand and politics on the other. Chairman Mao pointed out: **Proletarian literature and art are part of the whole proletarian revolutionary cause. Revolutionary literary and art forces are an army for winning national liberation and the people's liberation and seizing political power.** Chairman Mao added: **"In our struggle for the liberation of the Chinese people there are various fronts, among which there are the fronts of the pen and of the gun, the cultural and the military fronts. To defeat the enemy we must rely primarily on the army with guns. But this army alone is not enough; we must also have a cultural army, which is absolutely indispensable for uniting our own ranks and defeating the enemy."** Proletarian literature and art **"operate as powerful weapons for uniting and educating the people and for attacking and destroying the enemy."**

In order to fundamentally solve the question of the relationship between literature and art and politics, Chairman Mao has pointed out in his *Talks* that it is necessary first of all to solve the problem of the class stand of literary and art workers. Revolutionary literary and art workers must take the stand of the proletariat and the masses of the people. With regard to the enemy, they must expose his cruelty and deceptions and point out the inevitability of his defeat. With regard to the people, they should extol their labours and struggles and not ridicule or adopt a hostile attitude to their shortcomings and errors but help them to fight these, so as to unite, make progress, and strengthen their confidence in the victory of their struggle.

On the basis of the solution of the problem of class stand, Chairman Mao raised the fundamental problem of the orientation of literature and art — they must serve the workers, peasants and soldiers and serve proletarian politics. Chairman Mao called upon literary and art workers to go into the very midst of the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, learn from them, bring about a thorough change in their own world outlook and **"move their feet over to the side of the workers, peasants and soldiers, to the side of the proletariat."** Chairman Mao said: **"If ... writers and artists who come from the intelligentsia want their works to be well received by the masses, they must change and remould their thinking and their feelings. Without such a change, without such remoulding, they can do nothing well and will be misfits."**

Creatively applying and developing the Marxist theory of knowledge, Chairman Mao gave a penetrating exposition of the relationship between source and stream in literature and art. He pointed out: **The life of the people is the only source of literature and art. The literary and artistic works of ancient times and of foreign countries are not a source but a stream. Taking over literary and artistic works of the past and using them as examples must never replace our own creative work. Writers and artists of promise must go among the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, go to the only source, the broadest and richest source, and create genuine revolutionary literary and artistic works.**

Chairman Mao has pointed out the orientation of proletarian literary and art criticism and set forth the principle of **putting the political criterion first and the artistic criterion second.** Chairman Mao's *Talks* relentlessly refutes such reactionary fallacies as "the theory of human nature" and "love of humanity."

After the publication of this brilliant work of Chairman Mao, revolutionary literary and art workers, guided by this revolutionary line on literature and art, saw clearly the objectives of their struggle, found their orientation, liquidated the influence of Wang Ming's Right opportunism and repulsed the anti-Party adverse current whipped up by a handful of anti-Party elements, Trotskyites and traitors. Acting in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions

and with literature and art as their weapon, many fine literary and art workers served the War of Resistance Against Japan and the War of Liberation and tempered themselves into staunch revolutionary fighters in the flames of national liberation and the people's liberation.

## II

Chairman Mao's *Talks* is the programme for the current great and unprecedented proletarian cultural revolution; comprehensively and systematically, it provides the theories, the line, principles and policies for our great proletarian cultural revolution.

After the proletariat seizes political power, the overthrown exploiting classes will by no means be reconciled to their doom. Relying on their broad and extensive international contacts, on the spontaneous trend of small production towards capitalism and, in the ideological sphere, on positions in culture, art, philosophy, law, etc., which they still occupy, they will work strenuously for a restoration. Lenin has said: **"The transition from capitalism to communism represents an entire historical epoch. Until this epoch has terminated, the exploiters inevitably cherish the hope of restoration, and this hope is converted into attempts at restoration. And after their first serious defeat, the overthrown exploiters—who had not expected their overthrow, never believed it possible, never conceded the thought of it — throw themselves with energy grown tenfold, with furious passion and hatred grown a hundredfold, into the battle for the recovery of the 'paradise,' of which they have been deprived, on behalf of their families, who had been leading such a sweet and easy life and whom now the 'common herd' is condemning to ruin and destitution (or to 'common' labour...)"** In order to defeat the class enemy's activities for a counter-revolutionary restoration, the proletariat must use the dictatorship of the proletariat to fight the enemy. In this struggle between restoration and counter-restoration under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, ideology is a front-line position. The revolutionary and counter-revolution-

ary forces clash in the first place on this front. After the seizure of political power by the proletariat, the Soviet Union and some East European countries did not carry out the revolutionary movement in the ideological field very effectively and failed to destroy the ideology of the exploiting classes; on the contrary, bourgeois and revisionist ideas were allowed to spread unchecked, undermining the socialist economic base and corroding proletarian political power, and this led to today's capitalist restoration. On the basis of the historical lessons of the Soviet Union and some East European countries, Chairman Mao has summed up the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat at home and abroad, and has personally initiated and led the movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

China's great proletarian cultural revolution is a great revolution which has been staged under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat by arousing hundreds of millions of the masses to practise mass proletarian democracy, that is, a free airing of views, the use of big-character posters and great debates. It is a great revolution which uses the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung to arouse the masses to liberate themselves. This great revolution is a major decisive battle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist and capitalist roads. One of the great historical contributions made by this great revolution is that a handful of top persons in authority taking the capitalist road who have entrenched themselves in key departments of the Party Central Committee have been dragged out, and the power in the Party, government, financial and cultural fields usurped by them has been recovered, thus smashing their scheme for a capitalist restoration.

China's great proletarian cultural revolution has greatly developed Marxism-Leninism. It has revealed to the people an entirely new universal truth: In a socialist society and during the entire historical period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, class struggle by no means dies out, but continues to develop in depth with the struggle between restoration and counter-restoration as its main content; revolution does not end, but goes on in a new form. Living in the new epoch in which imperialism is heading for total collapse while socialism

is advancing towards worldwide victory, a genuine Marxist-Leninist should not only recognize class struggle but also the dictatorship of the proletariat, and should recognize the existence of the struggle between restoration and counter-restoration under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao's theory on the great cultural revolution carried out under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat has pointed out the orientation for the international communist movement, and serves as a beacon showing the way for the world proletariat in its struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism.

The revolutionary people all over the world warmly acclaim China's great proletarian cultural revolution. Our comrades, the proletarian revolutionaries, say: "The great proletarian cultural revolution which has won a decisive victory will go down in the annals of history as an event of the greatest epoch-making significance in the world. In the great proletarian cultural revolution, Comrade Mao Tse-tung with rare talent and prophetic insight has solved many hitherto unsolved problems, thereby greatly enriching the treasury of Marxism-Leninism." It was well said by many comrades at this seminar: "China's great proletarian cultural revolution has smashed the pipe dream of the counter-revolutionary revisionists in China, the Soviet Union and other countries. It has turned China into an even more powerful stronghold of the world proletarian revolution, and a more glorious path-breaker for the oppressed nations and the oppressed peoples."

The world-shaking great proletarian cultural revolution in China has frightened the U.S. and British imperialist and Soviet revisionist overlords out of their wits. In the irresistible torrent of the great proletarian cultural revolution they see their inevitable doom. Picking up the rotten weapons of the German fascist Goebbels, they have resorted to all kinds of slander and vilification against China's great proletarian cultural revolution.

It must be noted in particular that in this wild chorus of abuse, the Soviet revisionist clique has played a most despicable role. It has attacked our most respected and beloved leader Chairman Mao in the foulest language of U.S. imperialism and the Chiang Kai-shek gang. It has directed a notorious cultural clown to write a host of

foul poems, frantically vilifying Chairman Mao. The Soviet revisionists have recently called a sinister meeting of writers and artists to make wanton attacks on Chairman Mao, a meeting symbolic of the approaching doom of the decadent culture of modern revisionism. To be opposed by our enemy is not a bad thing but an extremely good thing. Their vile attacks on Chairman Mao testify all the more to the greatness and correctness of Chairman Mao — the Lenin of our times. Chairman Mao, the great helmsman of the proletarian revolution, has pointed out the orientation and road for the Chinese revolution; the revolutionary people under the rule of modern revisionism have also recognized the fact that Chairman Mao has pointed out the orientation and road for their revolution. The modern revisionists fear that under the impact of China's great proletarian cultural revolution, the people under their rule will grasp the weapon of the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, rise in rebellion against them and drive them out of office. Therefore, they do not hesitate to resort to all sorts of base means to smear and attack Chairman Mao. Is this not true? Well then, Brezhnev, Kosygin and company! Do you have the courage to publish the writings of Chairman Mao and the editorials and documents concerning China's great proletarian cultural revolution and let the Soviet people know the whole truth about this revolution? Do you have the courage to let the Soviet people criticize you with a free airing of their views, big-character posters and great debates as weapons? No. You don't! What sort of "heroes" are you, hiding yourselves in dark corners and screeching all the time?

Chairman Mao has said in one of his poems: **"On this tiny globe a few flies dash themselves against the wall, humming without cease, sometimes shrilling, sometimes moaning."** In hurling attacks and abuse at our great leader Chairman Mao, the Soviet revisionists are nothing but a few flies shrilling and moaning in their death-throes, unable in the least to tarnish the splendour of the great thought of Mao Tse-tung.

The imperialist and revisionist lords are mouthing such nonsense as "you have destroyed traditional culture" and "you have adopted a sectarian attitude of contempt for the achievements of world culture."

This is pure virulent slander against China's great proletarian cultural revolution.

We have always adopted an analytical attitude towards past and foreign culture. Chairman Mao teaches us: **"We must take over all the fine things in our literary and artistic heritage, critically assimilate whatever is beneficial, and use them as examples when we create works out of the literary and artistic raw materials in the life of the people of our own time and place. It makes a difference whether or not we have such examples, the difference between crudeness and refinement, between roughness and polish, between a low and a high level, and between slower and faster work. Therefore, we must on no account reject the legacies of the ancients and the foreigners or refuse to learn from them, even though they are the works of the feudal or bourgeois classes. But taking over legacies and using them as examples must never replace our own creative work; nothing can do that."** Chairman Mao also teaches us: **"It is imperative to separate the fine old culture of the people which had a more or less democratic and revolutionary character from all the decadence of the old feudal ruling class."**

Following Chairman Mao's instructions, we critically take over what is revolutionary, progressive and fine in traditional culture, that is, absorb its quintessence on the one hand and, on the other hand, criticize and do away with what is decadent, backward and reactionary in it, that is, discard the dregs. With regard to decadent, backward and reactionary feudal culture and capitalist culture, i.e., the dregs of "traditional culture," we will indeed destroy them utterly. Without their destruction, capitalism will be restored, revisionism will spread unchecked and the revolutionary cause of the proletariat will be defeated. Without their destruction, it is impossible to build up a proletarian, revolutionary new culture. Chairman Mao teaches us: **"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."** **"Destruction means criticism and repudiation; it means revolution. It involves reasoning things out, which is construction. Put destruction first,**

**and in the process you have construction."** But it is a complete fabrication to assert that in destroying the decadent, backward and reactionary cultures of feudalism and capitalism, and the culture of imperialism and modern revisionism, we also want to destroy all that is fine in the cultural heritage of the past.

Critically inheriting the "traditional culture" is, in Chairman Mao's words, **"to make the old serve the present."** Facts have proved that only by critical inheritance can we remove the impediments to our progress, absorb what is useful to us and create a brand new culture of the people. Was not the old Peking opera already on the decline? But under the personal leadership of Comrade Chiang Ching, the path-breakers of China's great proletarian cultural revolution have given a vigorous new life to this declining Peking opera, and created fine models of Peking opera on contemporary themes, such as *The Red Lantern*, *Taking the Bandits' Stronghold*, *Shachiapang*, *On the Docks*, and *Raid on the White-Tiger Regiment*. Have not these model pieces critically inherited this traditional Chinese art form and implemented the principle of "making the old serve the present"? As soon as they appeared on the stage, these models were warmly received by the masses of the workers, peasants and soldiers. Does not this contrast with the poor reception given to the old Peking operas demonstrate the complete bankruptcy of the imperialists' and modern revisionists' shameless fabrication that China's great cultural revolution is meant to "destroy traditional culture"?

Comrade Chiang Ching creatively studies and applies Chairman Mao's works. Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art, she applies whatever she learns, works hard and assiduously, and has turned this ancient art form into a shining pearl dispelling the darkness which dominated the stage in the past. The emperors, kings, generals, ministers, scholars and beauties, the lords and ladies as well as their pampered sons and daughters have all been driven off the stage which they had dominated, and heroic images of workers, peasants and soldiers have been brought to the stage in all their splendour; the reversal of history has thus been reversed. This fact fully demonstrates that it is Chairman Mao's revolutionary

line on literature and art, and this line alone, which is the true defender of all that is best in traditional culture.

As for "taking a sectarian attitude of contempt for the achievements of world culture," it is not we who do this but the imperialists and modern revisionists. Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, is the peak of the world's cultural achievements. The imperialists, however, have banned its propagation. The modern revisionists are distorting, adulterating and emasculating Marxism-Leninism, and have prevented distribution of the works of the great Marxist-Leninist Stalin by locking them up. They have even rejected the dialectics and materialism of ancient times, not to speak of the revolutionary teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Chairman Mao. Is this respect for the cultural achievements of the world? The imperialists and modern revisionists have discarded the genuine traditional art of the people of the world and blatantly advocate decadent, reactionary bourgeois "art." Is this respect for the cultural achievements of the world?

It is precisely China, slanderously accused by the imperialists and modern revisionists of "sectarianism," that genuinely respects the cultural achievements of the world. Chairman Mao has taught us: **"To nourish her own culture China needs to assimilate a good deal of foreign progressive culture.... We should assimilate whatever is useful to us today ... for example, from the culture of the various capitalist countries in the Age of Enlightenment. However, 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."** He also said: **"As for foreign culture, it would be a wrong policy to shut it out, rather we should as far as possible draw on what is progressive in it for use in the development of China's new culture."** Taught by Chairman Mao, the Chinese people modestly learn and critically absorb what is progressive in foreign culture. Another group of cultural revolutionary fighters, under the leadership of Comrade Chiang Ching, have trans-

formed the old arts of foreign ballet and symphonic music and produced brilliant treasures of art: the ballets *Red Detachment of Women* and *The White-Haired Girl* and the symphonic music *Shachiapang*. Are these not eloquent proof? Iron-clad facts show that the assertion that we "take a sectarian attitude of contempt for the achievements of world culture" is bold-faced slander.

The imperialists and revisionists, with one voice, attack our great proletarian cultural revolution as being intended to "knock down all intellectuals." This is sheer slander. Intellectuals belong to different classes and take different political stands. There is one category which is composed of proletarian intellectuals who have accepted Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, and integrated themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers. They are a force at the core of the great proletarian cultural revolution. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, we must energetically train intellectuals of this category. Another category of intellectuals are those who have not undergone a basic or an adequate change in their world outlook, but who are in the main patriotic and support the Party and socialism. These two categories constitute the great majority of the intellectuals. There is still another category of intellectuals who are counter-revolutionary revisionists, traitorous and reactionary, stubbornly persisting in taking the capitalist road. They are only a small handful. It is only this handful of reactionary intellectuals opposing communism and the people that we want to knock down in the great proletarian cultural revolution. No "benevolence" must be shown to them, for they are the **"enemies without guns"** who undermine socialism and are a special detachment of the imperialists and modern revisionists in socialist China. If these anti-Party, anti-socialist reactionary intellectuals are not exposed, if their counter-revolutionary revisionist words and deeds are not thoroughly criticized and repudiated, and if they are not fully refuted, overthrown and completely discredited, then capitalist restoration like that carried out by the Soviet revisionist leading clique will occur and our socialist cause will be harmed.

Our Party has always attached importance to revolutionary intellectuals. Chairman Mao has always taught us: **"Without rev-**



olutionary intellectuals the revolution cannot triumph,” and that “it is an important and indeed an essential policy to win over all progressive intellectuals and bring them under the influence of the Party.” China’s great proletarian cultural revolution has unfolded precisely with the warm support and active participation of tens of millions of revolutionary intellectuals. It is using Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung’s thought, to form a mighty army of Left-wing revolutionary intellectuals to fulfil the great and glorious task of socialist revolution.

We have always strictly adhered to the stipulations of our policy in dealing with the question of intellectuals in general. Diametrically opposed to the reactionary bourgeois line which “hits hard at many in order to protect a handful,” we follow the proletarian revolutionary line. Following our great leader Chairman Mao’s teachings, we take care in the struggle to distinguish strictly between the anti-Party, anti-socialist Rightists and those who support the Party and socialism but have said or done something wrong or have written some bad articles or other works and between the reactionary bourgeois scholar-despots and “authorities” on the one hand and people who have ordinary bourgeois academic ideas on the other. A strict distinction is also made between the two different types of contradictions, and great efforts are made to prevent contradictions among the people being dealt with as contradictions between ourselves and the enemy. With regard to the intellectuals who came over from the old society, we have always adopted the policy of unity, education and remoulding. As to bourgeois scholars in general, so long as they are not anti-Party, anti-socialist, anti-communist and anti-people, we provide them with suitable working conditions and let them continuously remould their world outlook in the course of their work. As for those who have been guilty of this or that kind of shortcoming or mistake, so long as they correct their mistakes they are welcomed by the masses. The actress Tu Chin-fang, who played a role in the bad opera *Peach-Blossom Fan*, has been welcomed by the masses as she has corrected her mistake and is willing to make revolution together with them. She has now been elected a leading member of the revolutionary committee of the China Peking Opera Theatre. The imperialists

and modern revisionists slandered our great proletarian cultural revolution as intending “to knock down all intellectuals” and to “throw the elite of the intelligentsia of the country into deep misery.” This is the most shameless slander. What “elite”? Their so-called “elite” are actually counter-revolutionary revisionists and cultural special agents such as Hsia Yen, Tien Han, Wu Han, Teng To and their like. The reason why they go all out concocting slanders and lies on the question of intellectuals is simply because, with these people pulled down, their hopes of a capitalist restoration in China have been utterly dashed, so there is nothing else for them to do but to flare up, bluster and try to vindicate these persons.

“You have no freedom of speech, no democracy.” This is another slander by the imperialists and modern revisionists against the great proletarian cultural revolution of our country.

Chairman Mao says: **“Freedom and democracy do not exist in the abstract, only in the concrete. In a society rent by class struggle, if there is freedom for the exploiting classes to exploit the working people, there is no freedom for the working people not to be exploited, and if there is democracy for the bourgeoisie, there is no democracy for the proletariat and other working people.”** What kind of freedom and democracy do the imperialists and modern revisionists advocate? Is it freedom and democracy for the working people? Certainly not. The freedom and democracy they want is freedom and democracy for the overthrown exploiting classes to engage in activities for a counter-revolutionary restoration. Can such freedom and democracy be allowed? No! In China, a country under the dictatorship of the proletariat, there is no freedom or democracy for the landlords, rich peasants, the counter-revolutionaries and bad elements and the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists who have been dragged out. But the overwhelming majority of the people — the workers, peasants and soldiers and the revolutionary masses — enjoy freedom and democracy to the fullest extent. China’s great proletarian cultural revolution led by our great supreme commander Chairman Mao is itself extensive democracy and freedom under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Our unprejudiced foreign friends have all seen that “this great ideological polemic in which

the entire people of the country are participating is conducted in a democratic way." Hundreds of millions of the revolutionary masses dare to put forth opinions, make criticisms, hold debates and put up big-character posters. We would like to ask the imperialists and the modern revisionists: Has any one of your countries ever witnessed such freedom and democracy as is enjoyed by the Chinese people now? Does the United States have it? No. Does Britain have it? No. Does the revisionist Soviet Union have it? No again. Far from having such freedom and democracy, they are brutally suppressing the people every day through bourgeois dictatorship. There, freedom and democracy has long become an irony of history. If the imperialist and modern revisionist overlords had allowed the people to enjoy this freedom and democracy, they would long ago have been done for.

The imperialist and modern revisionist overlords slanderously accuse our great proletarian cultural revolution of "xenophobia." We would ask: what foreign things are we against? We always adopt a friendly attitude towards the people of the world. We warmly welcome people from any country who come to China for friendly visits, although their thinking and customs are different from ours. We give strong support to the struggle of the oppressed nations and oppressed people of the world for liberation. And, as for proletarian revolutionary comrades-in-arms, we not only extend a sincere welcome to them but will also fight shoulder to shoulder with them against imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction. Our Asian and African friends are particularly well aware of this.

But if this "xenophobia" means struggle against the imperialists, revisionists and special agents who endanger the cause of the Chinese revolution, then we have swept them away and will go on sweeping them away lock, stock and barrel, just as we clear away garbage. Such "xenophobia" is excellent! Without this "xenophobia" against the imperialists and modern revisionists, they would bully us. Today the great Chinese people have stood up, and the imperialists and modern revisionists must not think that they can ride roughshod over China once again. Recently, British imperialism has stage-managed the sanguinary incidents of May 2, 6 and 22 in Hongkong,

unwarrantedly arresting our patriotic compatriots in Hongkong and Kowloon, suppressing the revolutionary masses and imposing a fascist reign of white terror. Several days ago, a few wretched warships were sent to the coast off Hongkong to make a blustering show of force. Overrating himself, stupid John Bull has clean forgotten the times, so much so that he does not know what age he is in now. We must warn the British imperialists that the era of the imperialist piratical "gunboat policy" has long since ended. You are now at the end of your tether and have fully revealed your features as a paper tiger. You had better recall the thoroughly abject manner in which the *Amethyst* sneaked away. Today, in the face of powerful socialist China, it is really pitiable and ludicrous that you should vainly try to intimidate the great Chinese people with a few wretched warships. We hereby warn the British imperialists: The old debt you owe us for launching the dirty Opium War and forcibly occupying Hongkong by taking advantage of the corruption of the Ching court is not yet repaid. Today you are again perpetrating fascist atrocities in Hongkong. This is a grave provocation against the great People's Republic of China. The 700 million Chinese people will absolutely not tolerate it. British imperialists, if you do not lower your heads and own up to your crimes, we will let you have a taste of the Chinese people's iron fist!

### III

Comrades and Friends!

The Seminar in Commemoration of the 25th Anniversary of Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*, sponsored by the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau, has been a most successful and unprecedentedly grand one. More than 80 writers and friends from 34 countries and regions of the six continents have gathered here specially to discuss this brilliant work by Chairman Mao. This symbolizes the great unity of the revolutionary people of the world and a new development in the cause of national liberation of Asia and Africa. The success of this seminar is a concrete manifestation of the fact that the people of the world are entering a completely

new era in which Mao Tse-tung's thought is the great banner, marks the entry into a new stage of the Afro-Asian writers' movement, and shows that Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and theories on literature and art are becoming a powerful ideological weapon for the peoples of the world in their fight against imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries.

China is one of the countries in the Afro-Asian region. The today of those Asian and African peoples who are still under the rule of imperialism and reaction, is China's yesterday. The Chinese people have suffered enough of the miseries of oppression and exploitation from which the Afro-Asian peoples are suffering today. We Chinese people can most clearly understand the revolutionary sentiments of the Afro-Asian peoples and are most concerned about their cause of national liberation and the people's revolution. At the present time, the revolutionary situation is excellent in the Afro-Asian region where various sharp contradictions of the present-day world are concentrated, and which is the weakest link of imperialist domination as well as the storm centre of world revolution. In order to occupy this vast intermediate zone, U.S. imperialism is carrying out large-scale cultural aggression together with its military aggression. The U.S. imperialists have time and again declared that "ideology is as important as bread and guns" and that "every dollar used for propaganda is worth five dollars spent on national defence." They have clamoured about so-called "ideological offensives" and "winning the battle for men's minds." They have utilized their manpower and material resources on an unprecedented scale to carry out all-out cultural aggression against the Afro-Asian peoples in all aspects of ideology through the media of the press, cinema, radio, education, religion, etc.

The Soviet revisionist clique is an accomplice of the imperialist aggressors. Under the guise of "sympathy" and "aid," they are carrying out intensive cultural infiltration in the Afro-Asian region, peddling the literature of traitors and advocating capitulationism and so helping the imperialists to suppress and undermine the Afro-Asian people's revolutionary movement. They are utter hypocrites with honey on their lips and murder in their hearts.

Under such circumstances, a task of the first importance confronting Afro-Asian progressive writers is to use Chairman Mao's *Talks*, an infinitely powerful ideological weapon, to combat imperialist cultural aggression, modern revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries.

Chairman Mao teaches us: A tit-for-tat struggle must be waged in dealing with the enemy. It is necessary to use revolutionary dual tactics to counter-attack the enemy's counter-revolutionary dual tactics. Since the enemy has the fronts of the pen and of the gun, the revolutionary people must also establish the fronts of the pen and of the gun. If we want to defeat the imperialists and the reactionaries of all countries we must first of all build up and strengthen a people's army and rely on this people's army with guns. The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution. Without a people's army the people have nothing. **"Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."** Only with guns will it be possible to seize power and to consolidate it. But this army alone is not enough; we must also have a cultural army, which is absolutely indispensable for uniting our own ranks and defeating the enemy. For the Afro-Asian region, such an army is a powerful instrument both for seizing political power and for smashing imperialist cultural aggression.

A Japanese writer has said: The *Talks* is revolutionary theory on literature and art of the highest Marxist-Leninist level. It is the sharpest weapon for us in our struggle against the bourgeois and revisionist lines on literature and art. It is a guide to action for all revolutionary literary and art workers. Some Japanese revolutionary writers have already gone into action. Surmounting all kinds of obstacles, they have gone to mountain villages and to factories and mines to learn from the peasants and workers, and write revolutionary scripts. This is a very auspicious beginning.

From this we can see that Chairman Mao's *Talks* is not only the programme for building up China's proletarian cultural army, but also a programme for the Asian and African peoples in establishing

their cultural armies. It clearly points out the basic orientation for Afro-Asian literary and art workers and their fighting tasks.

Comrades and Friends!

The Afro-Asian region is the birth-place of world culture. Because of imperialist aggression, it has lagged behind during the past century. But the Asian and African peoples have now awakened and are waging vigorous revolutionary struggles. We are convinced that a new era of a progressive, brilliant culture of the Afro-Asian peoples will surely emerge out of the midst of the raging flames of the struggle for national liberation and of the people's revolution!

Let us advance with giant strides along the revolutionary line on literature and art laid down by our great leader Chairman Mao!

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

Long live the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung!

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

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Chairman Mao Is the Red, Red Sun in Our Hearts  
(gouache) ▶



*Hu Wan-chun*

## Establish the Complete Supremacy of Mao Tse-tung's Thought on Literature and Art

Our commemoration of the 25th anniversary of the publication of Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art*, at a time when the earth-shaking great proletarian cultural revolution in our country is winning victory after victory, has an especially deep significance. This brilliant work gives concentrated expression to Chairman Mao's proletarian line on literature and art. It provides comprehensive and profound solutions for a series of fundamental problems regarding the development of proletarian literature and art. For twenty-five years, in the course of struggles against all sorts of bourgeois and revisionist views on literature and art, Mao Tse-tung's thought on literature and art has shone with ever greater

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brilliance. Not only does it serve as a beacon light for all literary and art workers and intellectuals in remoulding their thoughts and expediting the revolutionization of their minds; it is also the most powerful ideological weapon for the broad masses of our revolutionary people, enabling them to eliminate bourgeois ideology and establish proletarian ideology, to combat and guard against revisionism, and to prevent a capitalist restoration. This great work, the supreme directive and programme for developing proletarian literature and art, is the acme of present-day Marxist-Leninist theories on literature and art. During China's great proletarian cultural revolution, unparalleled in history, the tremendous significance and combat effectiveness of the *Talks* have become even more apparent.

During these years one lesson has come home very clearly to our revolutionary literary and art workers: whatever the circumstances, if we act according to the *Talks*, we always win victory; if we go against it, we make mistakes and may even become the captives of bourgeois or revisionist ideas on literature and art. It follows that whether a man supports or opposes Chairman Mao's *Talks* is one of the marks distinguishing a revolutionary from a counter-revolutionary and a true revolutionary from a false revolutionary. All of us revolutionary literary and art workers should creatively study and apply the *Talks* in practice, and establish the absolute supremacy of Mao Tse-tung's thought on literature and art in the depths of our minds. Only so can we become genuine, seasoned fighters for proletarian literature and art.

## I

In the seventeen years since the establishment of New China, the sharp struggle between two lines has never ceased in our literary and art circles. In June 1964, our great leader Chairman Mao in a most important directive to literary and art departments pointed out: **"In the last fifteen years, these associations, most of their publications (it is said that a few are good) and by and large the people in them (that is not everybody) have not carried out the policies of the Party. They have acted as high and mighty bureaucrats,**

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

Why did the great majority of our literary and art departments and organizations fail to carry out the supreme directives in Chairman Mao's *Talks* well, or to act according to Mao Tse-tung's thought on literature and art? The basic reason was that a black line on literature and art, opposed to the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, ran all the way down from the Central Committee of the Party to local organizations. This black line served a capitalist restoration. Its representatives were a small handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists such as Lu Ting-yi, Chou Yang, Hsia Yen and others, whose boss behind the scenes was the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road.

In the seventeen years since liberation, Shanghai's literary and art circles have been the scene of the same sharp, complex struggles between two lines as those in other parts of China. In 1962, when our country went through the third successive year of natural calamities, the perfidious Soviet revisionist leading clique applied economic pressure on us. During the intensified class struggle at home and abroad, an ill wind sprang up in Shanghai's literary and art circles, just as elsewhere in the country. The handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road took advantage of the illness of Comrade Ko Ching-shih, staunch upholder of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, to boost the counter-revolutionary revisionist line on literature and art represented by Chou Yang and Hsia Yen, refusing to implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art. They launched frenzied attacks, ideological as well as organizational, against Chairman Mao's proletarian line on literature and art.

In the first place, in the ideological field, they went all out to peddle reactionary works of feudal, bourgeois and revisionist literature and art. They filled the stage with emperors, princes, generals, mi-

nisters, talented scholars and beauties, even releasing lewd dramas and operas dealing with ghosts as "traditional dramas." Examples are *Li Hui-niang*, *Half a Pair of Scissors*, *A Murdered Son* and *Lady Windermere's Fan*. In film circles, they advocated continuing the "tradition" of the thirties, sparing no expense to produce such films as *Sisters on the Stage*. In the field of literature, similarly, they were for what was "big," foreign and ancient or feudal, bourgeois and revisionist. Newspapers and magazines were flooded with writing devoid of political content discussing "literary taste" and "style" and quoting at length from *Carving a Dragon at the Core of Literature*; but no mention was made of Chairman Mao's *Talks*. Then came a spate of works presenting the "theory that there is no harm in ghosts," low bourgeois tastes, revisionist theories of class conciliation and human nature transcending classes, works using the old to satirize the present day and to oppose the Party and socialism. All these were aimed at resisting the supreme directives in Chairman Mao's *Talks*, at preventing the establishment of the absolute supremacy of Mao Tse-tung's thought on literature and art in literary and art circles, and at preparing public opinion for a capitalist restoration.

In the second place, to prevent the proletarian revolutionaries from carrying out the supreme directives in Chairman Mao's *Talks*, and to push through their own revisionist line on literature and art, they recruited deserters and enlisted renegades to seize positions and the leading power from the proletarian revolutionaries. In 1962, a handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road in Shanghai's literary and art circles, on their "master" Chou Yang's instructions, stirred up a tempest, attacking the Party for "neglecting to train intellectuals" and demanding the organization of the "veterans." During the Second Writers' Conference in Shanghai they went so far as to rally bourgeois "authorities" opposed to the Party and socialism, revisionists, devotees of the literature and art of the thirties, feudal relics and reactionary men of letters. They made this crew members of different associations and committee members of the Federation of Literary and Art Circles, giving them the "right to speak." Giving them the "right to speak" meant depriving the

proletarian revolutionaries of this right, thus facilitating the promotion of their revisionist line on literature and art.

Our great leader Chairman Mao has taught us: **"All revolutionary struggles in the world are aimed at seizing power and consolidating it."** The struggle on the literary and art front between two classes, two roads and two lines is, in the last analysis, a struggle for power, a struggle between seizure of power and counter-seizure of power between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Those literary and art departments where a handful of revisionists usurped leadership were under their strict control. They were allowed to toe the bourgeois, revisionist line, but they would not let us act according to Chairman Mao's *Talks*, to take the proletarian line. They were allowed to spread feudal, bourgeois and revisionist theories of literature and art, but they would not let us propagate Mao Tse-tung's thought on literature and art. They made frenzied attacks on the Party, socialism and Mao Tse-tung's thought on literature and art, plunging literary and art circles into murky gloom.

The Shanghai branch of the Chinese Writers' Union, or "the Shanghai branch of Chou Yang's gangster inn," had as its "big boss" Yeh Yi-chun (a renegade who betrayed the Party), and as its "second-in-command" Kung Lo-sun (a reactionary official under the Kuomintang). These men had the effrontery to disobey Chairman Mao, but they obeyed Chou Yang implicitly. On his instructions they set up a whole revisionist system enabling their "gentlemen" followers to lead a "high-class life" of luxury, cut off for years from the workers, peasants and soldiers. In 1962, the Shanghai Federation of Literary and Art Circles set up a Literary and Art Club. Kung Lo-sun, the former secretary-general of the federation, drew up revisionist regulations for the members of this club "to make friends on a literary basis," dispensing with the political leadership of the Party, opening wide the door to ghosts and monsters and facilitating their activities. Western and revisionist films, pornographic and reactionary books and magazines were lavished upon them, while hooligans and spivs were free to do as they pleased there. This club served to corrupt young literary and art workers.

During this great proletarian cultural revolution it was also disclosed that someone, praised by Chou Yang and Hsia Yen as "a great writer with an international reputation ever since the May 4 period" and "an old Left intellectual who has always been close to the Party," was the most typical bourgeois spiritual "aristocrat." He had about 300,000 yuan in the bank, owned more than a dozen transistors of every shape and size, and occupied a grand Western-style two-storied house with a big lawn and garden and large, richly-furnished reception rooms and studies. Living like a parasite, sucking the blood of the people, he wrote pernicious works against the Party and socialism, even supplying ammunition with his poisonous weeds to the United Press and the "Central News Agency" of Taiwan, thus enabling them to attack the dictatorship of the proletariat and oppose Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Twenty-five years ago in the *Talks* Chairman Mao warned them: **"That won't work! The proletariat cannot accommodate itself to you; to yield to you would actually be to yield to the big landlord class and the big bourgeoisie and to run the risk of undermining our Party and our country."**

The black revisionist line in literature and art represented by Chou Yang and Hsia Yen, and supported by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, was resisted and attacked by the proletarian revolutionaries in Shanghai, represented by Comrade Ko Ching-shih, who staunchly carried out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. On the personal instructions of Chairman Mao, Comrade Ko Ching-shih, ill as he was, waged a firm struggle against the counter-revolutionary revisionist black line in literature and art in Shanghai.

On New Year's Day, 1963, in accordance with the supreme directives of Chairman Mao's *Talks* and the spirit of the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Ko Ching-shih rebutted the praise of the thirties by Chou Yang and Hsia Yen by urging Shanghai's literary and art workers to reflect the socialist revolution and socialist construction, the struggles and life of the workers, peasants and soldiers. This was the proposal to "write about the last thirteen years." This revolutionary proposal, which exemplified Chairman Mao's proletarian line on literature and

art, dealt a head-on, tit-for-tat blow to the black line on literature and art. It was promptly opposed by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, as well as by the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists in literary and art circles represented by Chou Yang and Hsia Yen.

Chou Yang's lieutenant in Shanghai, Yeh Yi-chun, immediately entered the lists. In *Shanghai Literature* No. 2, 1963 he published an article entitled *Reflect Contemporary Life, Propagate Socialism*. In this, waving a "red flag" to oppose the red flag, he openly called for a taking up of the "tradition" of the thirties, insinuating that Comrade Ko Ching-shih's call to write about the period since liberation "truncated the history of the revolution." He insisted on writing about the past, about the old society, in a frenzied attempt to continue clearing the way for feudal, bourgeois and revisionist literature and art.

However, Comrade Ko Ching-shih abided firmly by the supreme directives in the *Talks*, stuck to his proposal "write about the last thirteen years," and in spite of his illness took a personal interest in the East China Drama Festival, calling for more socialist plays on modern themes reflecting the life and struggles of the workers, peasants and soldiers. I helped at that time to write two plays reflecting the life and struggle of the working class in the period of socialism, Comrade Ko Ching-shih attended many of our rehearsals, suggested changes in the plot and improved certain parts of the dialogue. After hearing Comrade Chiang Ching's views, he also organized the writing of articles repudiating the "theory that there is no harm in ghosts." Comrade Ko Ching-shih spared no pains to firmly carry out Chairman Mao's proletarian line on literature and art. All revolutionary literary and art workers should learn from his fine spirit.

But Chou Yang and his gang did not give up. They at once set their propaganda machine into action to attack Comrade Ko Ching-shih's proposal. The handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road in Shanghai literary and art circles, such as Yeh Yi-chun, roared that they must abide by what Chou Yang called "the spirit of the Central Committee." Chairman Mao in the *Talks* has



instructed us that the literature and art of ancient times and of foreign countries **“are not a source but a stream.”** But Yeh Yi-chun openly opposed the spirit of Chairman Mao’s *Talks*, proposing instead to “hold out one hand to ancient times, the other to foreign countries,” and to “walk on three legs” by producing modern, traditional and historical dramas. Chou Yang, Hsia Yen and their gang in Peking responded by seizing every chance to attack Comrade Ko Ching-shih. In fact, they were attacking the *Talks*, attacking Chairman Mao’s proletarian line on literature and art. See the unbridled fury of these counter-revolutionary revisionists against Mao Tse-tung’s thought on literature and art!

**Only heroes can quell tigers and leopards  
And wild bears never daunt the brave.**

In this great proletarian cultural revolution unparalleled in history, the proletarian revolutionaries who held to Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line launched a general offensive against the black line in literature and art and dragged out the boss behind the scenes—the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. We must thoroughly criticize and repudiate this long, black revisionist line on literature and art, and enable Mao Tse-tung’s thought in its infinite splendour to occupy all positions in literature and art.

## II

Chairman Mao has taught us: **“In our country bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology, anti-Marxist ideology, will continue to exist for a long time. . . . In the ideological field, the question of who will win in the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie has not been really settled yet. We still have to wage a protracted struggle against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology. It is wrong not to understand this and to give up ideological struggle.”** We should see clearly that owing to the protracted domination of literary and art circles by the black revisionist line, not a few people have been contaminated to varying extents by feudal, bourgeois and revisionist views of literature and art. For example, some comrades in the ranks of our Left have been influenced during

the last few years by certain feudal, bourgeois and revisionist things. In particular, some have been influenced by the book on “self-cultivation” by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. They developed a slave mentality to a rather serious degree, put blind faith in those “authorities” who masqueraded as Communists, failed to use Mao Tse-tung’s thought to see through Chou Yang’s revisionist line on literature and art, and often blindly “accepted opinions” and “obeyed them,” enabling the enemy to infiltrate their minds. During this commemoration of the 25th anniversary of the *Talks*, we must examine ourselves in the light of Mao Tse-tung’s thought. In all literary and art departments and organizations, as well as in the depths of our own minds, we must establish the absolute supremacy of Mao Tse-tung’s thought on literature and art.

**“There is no construction without destruction, no flowing without damming and no motion without rest.”** To establish the complete supremacy of Mao Tse-tung’s thought on literature and art we must first destroy revisionist theories of literature and art and the revisionist systems still existing in our literary and art departments and organizations. The task of destruction confronting us is an onerous one. The struggle, repudiation and reform in our literary and art circles are a question of destruction and construction. The destruction must start in our minds, and so must the construction. Not small destruction or destruction on a medium scale, but large-scale destruction is needed. Large-scale destruction means carrying out large-scale repudiation; means using Mao Tse-tung’s thought on literature and art to make a comprehensive, thoroughgoing criticism of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line on literature and art represented by Chou Yang and Hsia Yen; means repudiating feudal, bourgeois and revisionist views of literature and art. Large-scale construction is only possible after large-scale destruction. Only by completely destroying all that is obnoxious can we establish the ascendancy of Mao Tse-tung’s thought on literature and art and carry out Chairman Mao’s proletarian line on literature and art. The absolute supremacy of Mao Tse-tung’s thought on literature and art

will be established and developed in the ceaseless struggle to completely destroy all bourgeois and revisionist ideas on literature and art.

To solve the problem of ideas on literature and art, the basic thing is to solve the problem of world outlook. Ideas on literature and art are in no way isolated but controlled by the world outlook, subordinated to it. Chairman Mao in the *Talks* has taught us: **“Our literary and art workers must accomplish this task and shift their stand; they must gradually move their feet over to the side of the workers, peasants and soldiers, to the side of the proletariat, through the process of going into their very midst and into the thick of practical struggles and through the process of studying Marxism and society.”** This is the path pointed out to us by Chairman Mao for our thought remoulding and solving the problem of our world outlook. In the last analysis there are only two world outlooks: the bourgeois and the proletarian. They can be summed up very simply in the two words “self” and “public.” And there are two types of ideas on literature and art controlled by these world outlooks: those of the exploiting classes, or feudal, bourgeois and revisionist ideas on literature and art; and proletarian ideas on literature and art. Hence, again, these can be summed up in the two words “self” and “public”: the literature and art which serve “self,” and the literature and art which serve the “public.”

The present great proletarian cultural revolution is an excellent opportunity for us to remould our world outlook. Much more can be learned during a great revolution than during ordinary times; in fact, more may be learned in one day than in the course of several ordinary years. If we make the most of this opportunity, dare to destroy and dare to construct, we can rapidly establish the complete ascendancy of Mao Tse-tung’s thought on literature and art in the depths of our souls.

### III

Our ideological weapons in the great repudiation include not only Chairman Mao’s *Talks at the Yen’an Forum on Literature and Art*,

but also *On New Democracy, On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People, Speech at the Chinese Communist Party’s National Conference on Propaganda Work, Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan* and others of Chairman Mao’s works. If we can master the weapon of Mao Tse-tung’s thought, there are no battles we cannot win, no obstacles we cannot overcome; we shall certainly go from victory to victory.

With power and to spare we must pursue the tottering foe  
And not ape Hsiang Yu the conqueror seeking idle fame.

After we proletarian revolutionaries have seized the leading positions, the tasks confronting us in our struggle are not lighter but even more arduous. The ghosts and monsters, large and small, will not accept their destruction, they are bound to put up a struggle and counter-attack. **“Moreover, the serpents infesting most of China, big or small, black or white, baring their poisonous fangs or assuming the guise of beautiful girls, are not yet frozen by the cold, although they already sense the threat of winter.”** We should clearly recognize that the absolute supremacy of Mao Tse-tung’s thought has not yet been wholly and entirely established in the depths of the soul of each literary and art worker, or in the literary and art departments and organizations of different levels. We should clearly recognize that the small handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists represented by Chou Yang and Hsia Yen, who occupied leading positions in literary and art circles for so many years, struck poisonous roots in many places and wielded considerable power. We have pulled up some of these poisonous roots, but others still lie buried or concealed. We should clearly recognize that the contingents of our literary and art circles are still fairly mixed, and it is not easy to differentiate between the ranks of the Left, the middle and the Right. The class contingent with the revolutionary Left as its nucleus is only just taking shape; the revisionist line in literature and art has not yet been thoroughly criticized and repudiated; the true features of certain people originally in authority are not yet clear; some units have not yet succeeded in forming a “three-in-one” combination to seize power, and so on. It is up to the revolutionary comrades

in literary and art circles to continue the arduous struggle, to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

We firmly believe that the great thought of Mao Tse-tung is invincible, and Mao Tse-tung's thought on literature and art is the strongest weapon we have for conquering all kinds of bourgeois and revisionist ideas on literature and art. If we creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's works, firmly implement Chairman Mao's proletarian line on literature and art, serve the workers, peasants and soldiers and integrate ourselves with them, we can certainly transform our ranks into literary and art circles raising high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought on literature and art, can seize back the positions of literature and art from the revisionists for our proletariat.

Let us, in our great repudiation, open fire on the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and bombard the black revisionist line on literature and art represented by Chou Yang and Hsia Yen. Let us open fire on the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road in order to repudiate them! The longer we fire, the clearer the enemy's features will become. The longer we fire, the clearer our own minds will become. We shall not cease fire until the enemy falls, until the complete ascendancy of Mao Tse-tung's thought is established in the depths of our minds. In the dust and smoke of battle we shall greet the new dawn in the east and, heads high, stride forward towards the communist future!

*Yin Kuang-lan*

## All My Life I Mean to Be Chairman Mao's Loyal Fighter on the Literary and Art Front

On the twenty-fifth anniversary of our most respected and beloved Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*, I made another study of this brilliant work. Looking back over the path I have trodden, I feel from the bottom of my heart that "to make revolution depends on Mao Tse-tung's thought." What small success I have had in my spare-time writing is all due to the brilliant thought of Mao Tse-tung.

A village woman, once a child-bride, I have enjoyed singing folk songs ever since I was a little girl. But in the vicious old society I was not even free to sing. The old society was like a big padlock locking up my mouth, forcing me to nurse all my hatred and grievances in silence. Then came unforgettable 1949! Chairman Mao

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Yin Kuang-lan is a folk singer of Anhwei.

saved us working people from a sea of bitterness. We saw the red sun! The people held power. At last we could sing, and tens of thousands of words flowed from our hearts.

I remember, in 1955, after we had set up a co-op, things became more lively in our spare-time music group. We made up songs in the paddy fields, singing of Chairman Mao, of the Party and of the advantages of being organized. Songs floated all over the fields. From them it was as clear as day what we loved and what we hated. The peasants understood every word of our songs. Beginning in 1956, some newspapers and magazines published some of them. At first we couldn't believe it. We poor girls had been the lowest of the low before the liberation, and now our songs were published in the newspapers! Chairman Mao cared so deeply for us working people and backed us up to the hilt!

At that time someone read us Chairman Mao's brilliant work *Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art*. Every word, every sentence struck a chord in our hearts; the more we listened the more bucked up we felt. With Chairman Mao backing us, we working people could not only create material wealth but spiritual wealth as well. We said, "There are creative people everywhere, for everybody can make up rhymes. The children sing ballads, the young people always have a song on their lips, while the old people have more experience and whatever they say can be written into essays!"

Knowing that I was illiterate, the Party sent me to school. In 1960, as soon as I could read, I read through Chairman Mao's *Talks* word by word, and with tears of emotion. That was the first time I read through this splendid work all by myself. I felt as if I were standing on higher ground, able to see further. Chairman Mao teaches us: **"All our literature and art are for the masses of the people, and in the first place for the workers, peasants and soldiers; they are created for the workers, peasants and soldiers and are for their use."** Holding the precious *Talks*, I was so stirred that then and there I made up a song called *The Pen*.

This pen,  
Held by feudal landlords,  
Was dipped in the blood,

Dipped in the sweat  
Of the poor....  
In 1949,  
A great flag reddened the sky;  
Chairman Mao led us,  
The people,  
To take power!  
The working people  
Were liberated at last;  
Now this pen has come home,  
The people hold the big pen;  
One sweep of this pen  
And ten thousand poems  
Voice the gratitude of millions  
To the Party.  
Chairman Mao's loving-kindness  
Overtops mountains....

After studying the *Talks*, when I took up my pen I saw my way more clearly. I knew, then, that literature and art are powerful weapons for uniting and educating the people and for attacking and destroying the enemy. **"There is absolutely no such thing in the world as love or hatred without reason or cause."** So I took up my pen and wrote nearly two hundred songs, some long, some short, singing the praises of the people and attacking the enemy.

But Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art was wildly opposed by Chou Yang and the other counter-revolutionary revisionists in literary and art circles, as well as their chief boss behind the scenes — the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. They did their best to oppose the masses doing creative work, slandering the working people by swearing that they weren't up to writing poetry. The newspapers and magazines controlled by them and their agents refused to publish works written by working people. More and more of the songs and poems I wrote were rejected.

Certain bourgeois authorities in literary and art circles, certain "big writers," "advised" me to "improve" my writing by making it more "beautiful." I saw that the works of some so-called poets

were filled with phrases like "golden ideal," "flying to the green far-away" and "ah, ahyaya," while what I wrote was simple and homely. To try to make it more "beautiful," I began to take pains over the choice of words. I learned to use expressions like "billows," "bright clouds at morn" and so forth. Sure enough, some of this work was accepted and published. But when I sang some of these "improved" songs to our commune members, some old poor peasants commented very shrewdly, "You've raised your standard so high now that we can't understand your new songs." That really got me worried. It seemed impossible to please both sides. If I wrote "homely" songs, the commune members liked them, but not the "specialists." If I sang something more highfalutin, the commune members wouldn't listen. Which side should I please?

With this problem in mind, I studied Chairman Mao's *Talks* again. Chairman Mao teaches us: **"Popular works are simpler and plainer, and therefore more readily accepted by the broad masses of the people today.... The problem facing the workers, peasants and soldiers is this: they are now engaged in a bitter and bloody struggle with the enemy but are illiterate and uneducated as a result of long years of rule by the feudal and bourgeois classes, and therefore they are eagerly demanding enlightenment, education and works of literature and art which meet their urgent needs and which are easy to absorb, in order to heighten their enthusiasm in struggle and confidence in victory, strengthen their unity and fight the enemy with one heart and one mind. For them the prime need is not 'more flowers on the brocade' but 'fuel in snowy weather.'"**

I am a peasant, and if I don't sing for my class brothers, for whom should I sing? I decided not to write any more songs for newspapers and magazines, since they didn't want "homely" songs. I would sing for the commune members, sing for them with all my heart. At a water conservancy work site I saw an old poor peasant working away there selflessly with his son. So I sang:

The old man digs up mud,  
The son carries it off,  
Each crate fuller than all the rest

By several spadefuls;  
It's not that the father  
Doesn't care for his son;  
No, he is testing the lad  
In a labour class!

Our commune overcame one natural calamity after another and gathered bumper harvests year after year. So I sang:

On neither gods nor heaven  
Do we depend;  
The strength of our collective  
Knows no end;  
Chairman Mao shows how  
Communes should be run;  
We are changing everything  
Beneath the sun!

But then trouble cropped up once more. Some reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities" in literary and art circles put their oars in again. "You were educated by the Party," they said. "But for a long time you haven't written anything: that's bad!" Again, "You've been writing songs for several years but you've always turned out short ones.... If you don't write something longer, you'll fall behind." Spurred by their "advice," I spent over a month writing a poem of more than four hundred lines. I sent it to a newspaper but received no reply at all. After this snub, I once again studied the *Talks*. Chairman Mao's brilliant thought enlightened me. I realized more clearly that only works created for the workers, peasants and soldiers and for their use, have any significance. If we cut ourselves off from serving the workers, peasants and soldiers and serving proletarian politics when we write, or when we try to raise our standard, we will simply go astray.

The great proletarian cultural revolution, launched and led personally by Chairman Mao, made me see clearly that the counter-revolutionary revisionists Lu Ting-yi, Chou Yang and the rest, seizing the leading positions in literary and art circles, had done their best to put through a revisionist programme for literature and art, and that the big boss behind them was none other than the top Party

person in authority taking the capitalist road. They wildly opposed Mao Tse-tung's thought and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art, and frantically boosted feudal, bourgeois and revisionist literature and art to poison and corrupt the people, and so create conditions for the restoration of capitalism. We workers, peasants and soldiers armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought have seen through the criminal plot of Lu Ting-yi, Chou Yang and company. We vow to defend Mao Tse-tung's thought. We will overthrow anyone, whoever he may be, who opposes Chairman Mao or Mao Tse-tung's thought.

During the great cultural revolution, as a revolutionary rebel fighter filled with infinite love for Chairman Mao, I have stood in the fields and walked the streets singing folk songs at the top of my voice — *Chairman Mao Paved the Road of the Long March, Chairman Mao Is Dearer to Us Than Our Parents, The Standard-bearer Is Chairman Mao, Long Live Chairman Mao! Long, Long Life to Him!* On the twenty-fifth anniversary of the *Talks*, I pledged to my comrades-in-arms — the revolutionary rebels — to do my very best to study and apply Chairman Mao's works creatively. The sea may dry up, rocks may decay, but my heart will always be loyal to Chairman Mao and to Mao Tse-tung's thought. I will walk the golden highway pointed out by Chairman Mao, never cutting myself off from the masses, never cutting myself off from labour. All my life I mean to sing of our great leader Chairman Mao and to spread the thought of Mao Tse-tung far and wide. May the glorious thought of Mao Tse-tung occupy each and every position!

## We Work to Consolidate the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

The mighty current of the great proletarian cultural revolution has smashed many bastions of the bourgeois reactionary line. The handful of top Party persons taking the capitalist road have sunk into an ocean of people's war. Commemorating the 25th anniversary of Chairman Mao's brilliant work, *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*, the compass of the great proletarian cultural revolution in this excellent revolutionary situation, and making a fresh study of these great teachings, we feel that every word is the beat of a war drum and every sentence a bugle call to battle.

In this glorious work, Chairman Mao teaches us that **"To defeat the enemy we must rely primarily on the army with guns. But this army alone is not enough; we must also have a cultural**

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This article was written by a Mao Tse-tung's Thought Propaganda Team of a PLA unit in Peking.

army, which is absolutely indispensable for uniting our own ranks and defeating the enemy." We rely on guns and pens to seize political power and also to consolidate that power. During our performances since the start of the great proletarian cultural revolution, our Mao Tse-tung's Thought Propaganda Team has been convinced that in order to consolidate state power, to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, it is not enough to rely solely on the guns in our hands. Guns cannot wipe out the reactionary ideology of the enemy. The class enemy is corrupting and poisoning the people every day and every hour with the ideology of the exploiting classes and attempting to create conditions for a capitalist restoration. It is necessary to take up our pens and fight a hand-to-hand battle in the sphere of ideology to eradicate what is bourgeois and foster what is proletarian, to enable Mao Tse-tung's thought to occupy all positions and to ensure that our country under the proletarian dictatorship will not change colour.

In the past, a handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists with the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road as their chief boss behind the scenes tried by hook and by crook to seize positions in every sphere from the proletariat. They usurped power from us in the field of literature and art, released a host of poisonous weeds and turned the stage and the screen into platforms for revisionism, in an attempt to create public opinion for them to usurp power in the Party, the army and the government. Many staggering facts reveal that songs and ballads, operas and dances are by no means unimportant. They play a significant role in remoulding people's minds. We are a team propagating Mao Tse-tung's thought, we are Chairman Mao's guards. We need to defend the dictatorship of the proletariat, not only with our guns; we must also take up our pens and wage tit-for-tat struggles against the class enemy to strengthen the proletarian dictatorship. In order to consolidate this dictatorship we must go all out to spread Chairman Mao's thought, so that it takes root in the minds of the masses and will be handed down for generations and generations. Therefore, during every phase of the great proletarian cultural revolution, we have made up cultural items embodying the instructions and

directives of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, to make these widely known through our performances.

When our great leader received the revolutionary young fighters, we compiled *How Bold and Spirited Are the Red Guards, Singing of the 16 Points* and other items which we performed in Tien An Men Square among waving red flags. When Chairman Mao called upon the PLA to support the broad masses of the Left, we wrote and performed *Give Firm Support to the Proletarian Revolutionaries, We Pledge to Carry the Revolution Through to the End* and other items, to spread this call through the streets and factories in Peking. After the publication of the letter from Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee to the poor and lower-middle peasants and cadres at all levels in rural people's communes all over the country, we made up new turns such as *The Poor and Lower-middle Peasants Always Listen to Chairman Mao's Instructions, Take Firm Hold of the Revolution and Promote Production* and *Get the Spring Ploughing Off to a Good Start*. By performing these to the peasants in the countryside, we helped to meet the needs of the class struggle and the production struggle at that time.

In a certain factory dominated by a handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, the reactionaries incited the masses to struggle against each other and utilized the propaganda machine under their control to fan the flames and make trouble, in an attempt to undermine the great proletarian cultural revolution. To expose this enemy plot and to spread Chairman Mao's directives, we went to perform in that factory. All of us expressed our determination "to thoroughly smash the bourgeois reactionary line and give firm support to the revolutionary Left." We mounted the stage filled with fighting spirit, as if going into battle. When we performed the item *Give Firm Support to the Proletarian Revolutionaries*, our words were like bursts of gunfire aimed at the class enemy. Thunderous applause from more than 7,000 revolutionary workers and staff members greeted us amidst shouts of "Long live Chairman Mao! Long live the dictatorship of the proletariat!" At the end of our performance, an old worker told us with emotion, "That was a wonderful show! Of the thousand and one kinds of support

you can give us, the greatest support is to help us with Mao Tse-tung's thought. With the PLA backing us, we dare to scale a mountain of knives and cross a sea of flames." This performance greatly boosted the morale of the revolutionaries and deflated the enemy, completely bankrupting the enemy's plot to stir up trouble between the revolutionary masses and the liberation army and undermine our proletarian dictatorship.

At a time when we are commemorating the 25th anniversary of the *Talks*, we solemnly pledge to our great supreme commander Chairman Mao: "We will bear in mind your instructions and keep a firm grip on our guns and our pens to defend the proletarian revolutionary line represented by you. We can exercise dictatorship over the enemy with our pens as well as our guns. We will do our best to spread your brilliant thought until it occupies all positions and illuminates the whole wide world!"

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A poster based on a quotation from Chairman Mao: "All our literature and art are for the masses of the people, and in the first place for the workers, peasants and soldiers; they are created for the workers, peasants and soldiers and are for their use." ▶



**毛主席说：《我们的文学艺术都是为人民大众的，首先是为工农兵的，为工农兵而创作，为工农兵所利用的。》**

《在延安文艺座谈会上的讲话》



*Shen Chin-hsien*

## Helping the Seeds to Sprout

Chairman Mao has taught us, **“In order to guarantee that our Party and country do not change their colour, we must not only have a correct line and correct policies but must train and bring up millions of successors who will carry on the cause of proletarian revolution.”**

My story today is called *Helping the Seeds to Sprout*.

In March, it is still cold enough early in the mornings to wear a padded jacket. But the members of the Red Flag Brigade had such drive that they set off to work at the crack of dawn. The red flags planted by the fields, the songs floating through the air, fired everyone's blood!

In front of the village flowed a stream of clear water. This morning a man was standing beside it, barefooted, sleeves and trouser legs rolled up. By him were some baskets of rice seeds, chosen after immersion in brine. In silence, he was dipping these in the stream and scouring them with his hands. This was Wang Yung-chun, the twenty-five-year-old leader of the Red Flag Brigade. You

could see at a glance from his thick eyebrows, big eyes and tall, powerful frame that here was a cadre with plenty of go in him, a glut-ton for work.

The last few days, however, something had snarled up Yung-chun's mind. The commune members were joking:

He slogs away in silence  
With a frown.  
Something has got him down!

Yung-chun was in the dumps, actually, because those snarls in his mind hadn't been untangled. For his own part, he blamed those snarls on someone else. Who? Wang Fu-sheng, the brigade leader before him. Wang Fu-sheng had become a cadre in 1950. All the villagers called him the old brigade leader. Sixty-three this year, he was distantly related to Yung-chun. Yung-chun's father had died young before liberation, and since then Old Wang had been like a real uncle to him. After liberation, from the time Yung-chun put on a Young Pioneers' red scarf to the time he joined the Party, all the villagers had a high opinion of him, much to Old Wang's satisfaction. Two years before this, Old Wang had proposed to the Party secretary, "Yung-chun's young and capable. Now that I'm getting on, I'd like him to take over my job as brigade leader."

The commune members supported this proposal, and so Yung-chun became the brigade leader.

Yung-chun handled production well in his new post. Because of his success, various people cracked him up as a good cadre. These compliments went to his head and made him cocky. With his good class origin and his ability, he saw no need for serious self-remoulding. Bourgeois ideas began to seep like dust into his mind, accumulating little by little and causing him to make mistakes in his work. For instance, the previous year, to increase the brigade's income, Yung-chun had a great deal of fertilizer spread in their rape fields but very little applied to their wheat. He brushed aside some commune members' objections, with the result that their wheat crop was a poor one and they had less grain to supply to the state. As brigade leader, Yung-chun had to attend many commune and

county meetings as well as make frequent trips to the market-town; thus he monopolized the brigade's one and only bicycle most of the time. When he went to check up on the work of different teams, he got into the habit of cycling there and back along the dike. The peasants working in the fields took a dim view of this. They started saying:

Ding-a-ling, he rings that bell,  
Laying down the law as well!

Yung-chun's style of living gradually changed too. In winter he wore a padded overcoat, in summer a white shirt, and he seldom joined in the teams' work. When he did roll up his trouser legs one day to weed a paddy field, an old peasant took a look at him and remarked, "Yung-chun, your legs are much whiter now than before."

At the start of the cultural revolution, Yung-chun didn't think that he had any shortcomings, being blind to everything except his achievements. But as the movement developed, all the commune members started to criticize him. And the one with the most criticisms was the old brigade leader.

Because Old Wang loved Yung-chun, he was very eager for him to make a good job of leading the brigade, to follow Chairman Mao, and to take the road to socialism and communism. But now Yung-chun was like a pilot who hadn't kept a firm grip on the rudder and was heading his boat for a reef. Old Wang was frantic. Knowing that the aim of the great proletarian cultural revolution was to ensure that our country never changed colour, he took the bull by the horns and wrote in succession nine big-character posters on Yung-chun, all dealing trenchantly with his defects. The commune members didn't lag behind either. They put up plenty of posters about Yung-chun too. At the criticism meetings, Old Wang's voice was the one to boom out most loudly. He showed up Yung-chun's shortcomings one by one.

The effect of this was simply to put Yung-chun's back up. "You all turn a blind eye to my good points, just harping on my faults," he thought. "The old brigade leader, especially, is simply making mountains out of molehills." Because he was depressed, his thinking

became snarled up. He decided: "All right, since I've fallen down on my job, I'll pay less attention to brigade affairs and do more work in the fields. That way, I can hardly go wrong."

So he voluntarily asked the leader of their production team to give him the job of preparing seeds for sowing. When Old Wang knew this, he applied for the same job. That would give him more chances, he figured, of helping Yung-chun. Chairman Mao has said: **"We stand for active ideological struggle because it is the weapon for ensuring unity within the Party and the revolutionary organizations in the interest of our fight."** Old Wang studied this quotation. It made him more determined to help Yung-chun, more confident, too, that he could. He thought: "To unravel the snarls in Yung-chun's mind is like soaking seeds to help them sprout. You need the right temperature, the right degree of moisture and good seeds, in order to get good seedlings."

Today, then, as Yung-chun was busily washing rice seeds by the stream, he heard someone call his name. Looking round, he saw the old brigade leader approaching with two baskets of seeds swinging from his carrying-pole. The sight did not cheer him up.

"He's coming to have another bash at me," thought Yung-chun. He pretended not to have heard.

Old Wang raised his voice then and shouted: "Yung-chun! Let's team up on this job. I'm sure, with our combination of new and old, we can produce strong, sturdy seedlings, able to stand up to any test in the fields, to stand up to wind and rain..."

Guessing that this implication was aimed at him, Yung-chun cut in impatiently: "Why not go and write some more big-character posters? The important thing now is to raise criticisms. The team leader can find somebody else for this job."

Ignoring this thrust, Old Wang dumped his load on the bank. He picked up a handful of seeds from the bin Yung-chun had washed, and examined them carefully. A few of them had not been washed clean. Some of the lime put in during their soaking was still sticking to their husks.

"You must do better than this, Yung-chun!" he said. "A few of these seeds still have lime on them. One seed spoiled means one seedling the less. We've got to make a thorough job of this."

Yung-chun sullenly had a look. Sure enough, there were specks of lime on one or two of the grains in Old Wang's hands. He knew he was at fault, but didn't like to admit it. Trying hard to keep cool, he retorted: "Why make a fuss about such a little thing? What do a few specks of lime matter. Instead of giving credit where it's due, you're always picking fault!"

The old brigade leader knew the way he felt. He didn't flare up but tried to find the best way to get to the root of what was wrong with Yung-chun. After a pause he said: "You shouldn't take these small problems lightly, Yung-chun. Big problems grow out of a whole mass of small ones. Chairman Mao has taught us: **'Don't wait until problems pile up and cause a lot of trouble before trying to solve them.'** You know what a strong caustic lime is. However little is left on the seeds, in a couple of days it'll start fermenting and rot the whole bin. To have all these good seeds spoiled would be no joke. You'd better wash them again."

Since Yung-chun showed no sign of resenting this, Old Wang thought the time ripe to give him some more good advice. So he went on: "It's the same with our ideas. Just as Chairman Mao says: **'Dust will accumulate if a room is not cleaned regularly, our faces will get dirty if they are not washed regularly. Our comrades' minds and our Party's work may also collect dust, and also need sweeping and washing....'**"

Yung-chun knew that Old Wang stuck to principles, and he couldn't get out of washing the seeds again. He set about doing it. Since he also knew, however, that it wasn't only the seeds Old Wang had on his mind, as he worked he thought over what the other had said. "The old brigade leader is right," he decided. "We can't allow a small mistake to affect all our work and our output. If a cadre's way of thinking is wrong, if he has faults, that's bound to affect our collective." After thinking this over carefully, he felt that Old Wang was not so harsh after all. He also felt closer to him.



As for Old Wang, he was naturally very pleased when he saw Yung-chun wash the seeds all over again.

To be on hand to keep an eye on the rice seeds, the two brigade leaders, old and new, decided to have their study of Chairman Mao's works in the granary each evening. This evening, the old brigade leader took two sheets of red paper and wrote on them: **"These battalions of ours are wholly dedicated to the liberation of the**

people." **"They work entirely in the people's interests."** He pasted these up on the pillars on either side of the rice bin. After the two men had read *Serve the People* together, Old Wang repeated these words he had written up. He read them out again and again, then exclaimed, "Yung-chun, Chairman Mao wants us to serve the people wholly and entirely. Just think back. Since you became brigade leader, have you given your whole heart and mind to serving the poor and lower-middle peasants? Know what I think? You started giving yourself airs. Look at the sharp crease you ironed into those woolen pants of yours last year. Yung-chun! Your people before you were hired hands for three generations. Don't forget how your grandad and dad shivered in the winter wind, because they'd only thin cotton pants to wear."

This reminder from Old Wang struck home. Yung-chun burned with rage as he remembered how whole generations of his family had been ground down by landlords. When he thought of the villagers' and Old Wang's criticisms of him, when he measured himself against what Chairman Mao expected of cadres, he felt thoroughly ashamed. Reverting to the subject of the trousers, he sheepishly told Old Wang: "There's something I've never owned up to yet — another time I let the collective down."

"What was that?"

"Last August, on my way back from a meeting in our commune, as I passed the pigsties I heard a piglet squealing. I went over and had a look. A sow was lying on one of the piglet's legs. It couldn't wriggle free."

"Why didn't you pull it out?" Old Wang interrupted.

"Because I had on those new pants, and didn't want to get them dirty."

"So then what?"

"I rolled up my trouser legs and nipped in. But it was too late; the damage was already done. I've made one mistake after another, Old Wang. I'm just one mass of faults. Chang Szu-teh gave his life for the people's interests, but I..." Tears sprang to Yung-chun's eyes.

"Yung-chun." The old brigade leader patted his shoulder. "It wasn't your good pants holding you back; it was your backward thinking. But it's good to come clean about something no one else knows. If the lime on a seed is washed off at once, the seed will still sprout. Yung-chun, we must make a good study of *Serve the People*. We must make a revolution in the depth of our minds."

Yung-chun picked up his copy of *Serve the People* and fixed his eyes on the quotations on the pillars. The newly installed electric light made the red paper glow. Its red radiance filled his heart.

The weather was growing warmer day by day. The seeds of early rice, after their soaking, were now on the point of sprouting. Meanwhile the two brigade leaders had been studying Chairman Mao's works together; the older man had given the younger a good deal of help; and the commune members had held several meetings, during which they patiently levelled at him some sharp but fair and well-meant criticism. Quite a few of the snarls in his thinking had been untangled. Now the villagers were saying:

Our brigade leader  
Is getting his thinking straighter;  
Like the weather forecast:  
Cloudy first thing; clear later.

Talking of the weather forecast, at ten o'clock that night the radio forecast a sudden drop in temperature to freezing-point. This naturally put both brigade leaders on their guard.

His padded overcoat over his shoulders, Yung-chun hurried out with a flashlight. He saw someone lurching speedily ahead of him with a lantern. "Old Wang's back has been troubling him again these last few days," he thought, "yet he's beaten me to it again!" Putting on a spurt, he soon reached the granary. There, the old brigade leader had already steeped some straw in warm water to spread over the seeds. Between them the two men covered the seeds from the cold. This done, they sat down with easy minds and Yung-chun draped his coat over Old Wang, who was coughing. The door creaked open then, and three people came in. They were Ah-hsiang, militia company commander; Hung-ying, the women's chairman; and Hsiao-fang, head of the women's team.



Ah-hsiang laid his hands on both men's shoulders and asked: "Are the early rice seedlings going to be all right?"

"Sure!" cried Yung-chun. "You can take my word for it."

"No problem," chimed in Old Wang. "We've seen to it that the temperature and moisture are right."

The women's chairman said to Yung-chun, "You're in much better spirits these days, brigade leader. Everybody's glad to see you shouldering the double load of revolution and production."

"Don't worry," put in Old Wang cheerfully. "Like the seeds sprouting in the bin, proletarian thought is sprouting in his mind."

"Our old brigade leader has done a good job, helping the seeds to sprout," Ah-hsiang said with a chuckle.

"Not I!" replied Old Wang. "The great thought of Mao Tse-tung is like sunshine, rain and dew. It's helped Yung-chun to grow."

His heart warmed by these words, Yung-chun gazed with emotion at the portrait of Chairman Mao on the wall. Meanwhile the old brigade leader took out his *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, turned to page 276, and showed it to Yung-chun. "See the five requirements for successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat, Yung-chun," he said. "Mind you study them well. You must take the right attitude to your mistakes and shortcomings."

Yung-chun read the passage again and again and saw light.

"Yung-chun," continued Old Wang. "Comrade Lin Piao said: 'We must regard ourselves as a part of the revolutionary force and, at the same time, constantly regard ourselves as a target of the revolution.'"

"We hope you'll thoroughly overcome your mistakes and shortcomings," said Ah-hsiang. "If you boldly shoulder the double load of revolution and production, all of us will certainly support you and pull together."

Fired by this encouragement, Yung-chun declared with feeling: "I've realized at last, comrades, that all your criticism was meant to help me. I promise from now on to pay attention to Chairman Mao's instructions and to remember the good advice you've given me. The great cultural revolution has knocked a good deal of 'self-interest' out of my head."

They had a long, frank and friendly talk before going home to bed.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is going ahead splendidly in the Red Flag Brigade. The proletarian revolutionaries and the revolutionary cadres have been studying Chairman Mao's works together, have discussed the revolution and production together, baring their hearts to each other in a frank exchange of views. They are brimming over with revolutionary drive. This year a record ninety-five per cent of their early rice sprouted. The paddy fields are a luxuriant green, with young shoots nodding gently to the bright red sun. The villagers have written in their blackboard news: "The great cultural revolution is helping to revolutionize men's minds. Our brigade leader is carrying a double load, rushing at his work like the wind."

Yes, Yung-chun is going all out, and the villagers are racing to keep up. They have resolved to follow Chairman Mao's instructions, take firm hold of the revolution, promote production, and win a double victory this year in both.

Truly:

None so great as you, Chairman Mao!  
The cadres who follow your teachings will go right;  
And good successors to the working class  
Will make this land of ours shine ever bright!

## Crossing the Bridge

Yesterday, braving a downpour, I came over from the training team to the truck company. When I was told that the company commander had appointed me to Second Squad, I jumped for joy. The leader of Second Squad has been driving trucks for seven years and each year he was cited as a "model" in the safe running of trucks. He's a top-notch driver. That's why he's called "Iron Safety," which, in Chinese, sounds very much like his name, Tien Ah-chuan.

It so happened that as soon as I reached Second Squad, the squad leader told me to go out with him on a job. I was overjoyed! First we drove to the coal depot and loaded our truck with four tons of coal. With this heavy load, the truck chugged along as if it were panting for breath. On the way I kept a close watch on every movement of the squad leader, anxious not to miss this chance of learning something. He was an impressive figure in the driver's seat, with both hands firmly holding the wheel and with his alert, wide-open eyes fixed on the highway ahead, not so much as batting an eyelid for quite some time. I'm a new recruit. I only started learning to drive less

than six months ago. When I saw the squad leader so intent on his job, I thought this business of not batting an eyelid might be what accounted for his fine safety record!

"Honk ... honk..." The squad leader sounded the horn. I looked up and saw a group of men with wheelbarrows in the middle of the road. They did not seem to have heard our horn, however, for they showed no sign of getting out of the way. I hurriedly stuck my head out and shouted, "Hey, comrades! Make way, please!"

By now our truck had slowly come up behind them. Only then did they begin to move aside, while we slowed down to a crawl. Without turning his head the squad leader said, "When there are carts and people in front, we should show consideration. Safety first, even if it makes us a minute or two late. As you shouted just now, Young Chou, did anything strike you?"

"Did anything strike me?" I couldn't think what he meant. "No, nothing special."

"Stick your head out again."

"Again?" I wound down the window and stuck my head out. A strong gust of wind whipped my face. Could this be what the squad leader meant? I was just going to ask, when he said, "Well, how about it? Quite a strong headwind, isn't it?"

Then, I knew! It was because the men didn't hear the horn that they hadn't cleared out of the way. But when we started there was no wind whatever. The squad leader seemed to have guessed what I was thinking. "Look at the grass on that barrow," he said. "In which direction is it blowing?" I looked and thought for quite a while. "I know, Squad Leader," I said, in high spirits. "In order to run the truck safely, it's not only necessary to keep your eyes on the road, you've also got to use your head and notice the direction of the wind. Right?"

The squad leader smiled. "I see you can use your brains all right. But you haven't yet got to the root of the matter."

"Not got to the root of the matter?" I wanted to ask what that was. But the squad leader had accelerated and the truck started to fly forward again.

Some distance further on we rounded a bend and suddenly the squad leader braked. I was taken by surprise and thought something had gone wrong. So I jumped out of the truck after the squad leader. There was a wooden bridge in front of us. The squad leader walked on to it, looking this way and that. He stamped all over the flooring and then pushed against the railing. He crouched down and looked below the bridge. After some time he stood up and said firmly, "Young Chou, let's unload the coal. Only an empty truck can cross this bridge."

"An empty truck? But why?" I hurried to the head of the bridge and said, "There's no notice to that effect."

The squad leader pointed at the bridge and replied, "This bridge is quite an old one. It's been raining in torrents for seven or eight days on end. I'm afraid it's not safe. Don't you see that buttress is already a little on the slant? We've a full load on. It's better to be on the safe side." As he was talking he went to our tool-box and took out two shovels. He handed me one. "Don't stand there in a daze. Let's get on with it, quick!"

Though I did not say anything I was thinking: "My goodness! There are four tons of coal on our truck. We've only four hands to unload it with and then carry it over the bridge, and load it all back again. How long will that take us?" So I suggested, "Of course we should put safety first, Squad Leader. But is an accident likely? Let's have a try — I'll drive the truck with you directing me from in front."

"Have a try?" He threw me a look and asked seriously, "How can we risk the property of the people and the state?"

Flushing, I hurriedly helped him with the unloading. But I was still thinking to myself: "I wonder if that seven years' safety record hasn't made the squad leader overcautious?"

Only half of the coal was unloaded. But I was already tired and sweating hard. As I took out my handkerchief to wipe my face, I looked at the bridge and then at the truck, thinking, "This should be about it." The squad leader glanced at me and asked, "What are you thinking about, Young Chou?"

"Me? Of unloading the coal."

"No!" The squad leader grinned. "You're thinking that, with half the load on the truck can cross the bridge safely. Right?"

Hai! This was like magic — the squad leader had seen into my mind! I smiled awkwardly and nodded. He said warmly, "Young Chou, to make revolution we must be in earnest. After we've driven over the bridge we'll go and borrow crates from that village over there and carry the coal across. This is the safest way. Since we're not sure if we can run the half-loaded truck safely over the bridge, we must consider the worst possibility. Trusting to luck is a dangerous way of thinking, which could result in losses to the people and the state."

These words eased my mind. I seemed to have discovered a new quality in my squad leader. What was it? I couldn't put my finger on it. . . . Just then a group of people came out of the village beyond the bridge and walked towards us. Some carried axes; others crates and shovels. . . . One of them had a notice board, which he had brought to put up at the head of the bridge. I gave a start when I saw the red characters on it: "Bridge Unsafe for Heavy Traffic."

After placing the board in position, the man came over to the squad leader and said, "Comrade Tien, trust you to act so responsibly!"

I felt my face burning. "What? Is this bridge going to be repaired?" asked the squad leader.

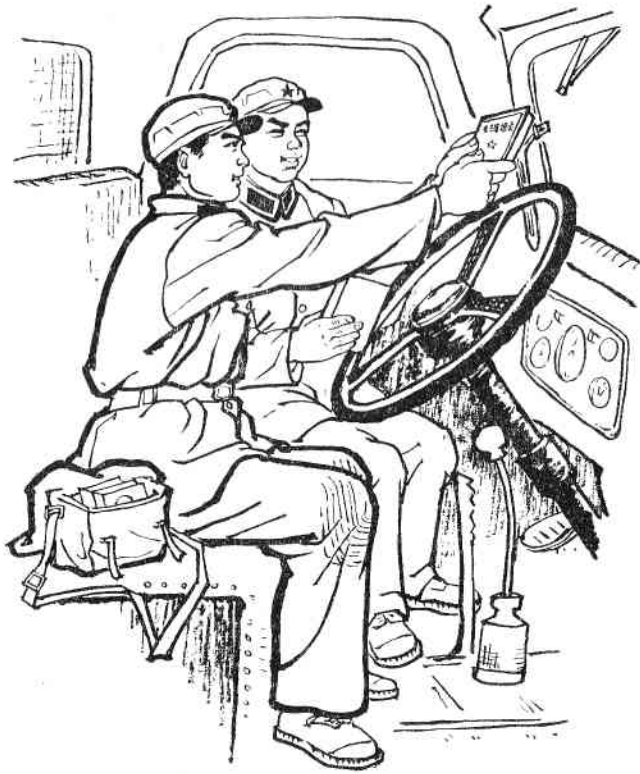
"Yes! We've just received a notice from the highway's administration bureau. . . ."

"When we come back after delivering this coal, you must let us help you repair it."

"Good!" said the man. He turned and shouted, "Comrades, come over here and help Comrade Tien unload his truck." The commune members all knew the squad leader as he had bivouacked here some time before this.

Many hands make light work. In no time the coal was unloaded. I saw the squad leader was thanking the others so I jumped into the cabin and made ready to drive the truck over the bridge. As my hands touched the wheel my eyes suddenly caught sight of a board on its left side. On this was written a quotation from Chairman Mao: **"Our duty is to hold ourselves responsible to the people. Every**





word, every act and every policy must conform to the people's interests . . . ." At once the truth dawned on me. Wasn't this the root the squad leader had wanted me to dig out? I shouted exultantly, "I've got to the root of the matter, Squad Leader."

The squad leader came into the cabin and saw me pointing to the quotation. Screwing up his eyes and laying one big hand on my shoulder, he said, "Now you've really got down to the root of it! Chairman Mao's teachings are our real steering wheel. With them, we'll never lose our bearings. Start up the truck!"

I started the motor and steered the truck safely across the bridge. I crossed a bridge in my thinking, too, which brought me onto a broad highway . . .

## They Speed Me on My Way

About ten o'clock one morning, I was driving a cart on the big dike along the canal. Not a breath of wind stirred on the north Kiangsu plain. The sun, high overhead, made it broiling hot. This was at the crucial time when we were waging a decisive battle in the great proletarian cultural revolution. We in the army had to grasp the revolution, step up our combat readiness, and speed up work and production at the same time. We were pretty well rushed off our feet. My cart was loaded with urgently needed supplies, which I wanted to deliver back to our base before nightfall. Although my three horses were in a lather of sweat, I kept urging them on with the whip.

"Hey, PLA comrade!" came a shout from behind. "Just wait a second! Please stop!"

"Whoa!" I reined in and looked back.

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Shih Hsien-liang is a five-good soldier in the PLA.



A girl was running towards me. She must have some important business, I thought, to be in such a hurry. I jumped down to meet her.

“Want a lift, comrade?” I asked.

The girl’s face was as flushed as a long distance runner’s just after a race. She was panting too hard to speak. As she shook her head with a smile by way of reply, beads of perspiration rolled down her cheeks, and the badge on her breast inscribed with the words “**Serve the People**” flashed and glittered.

While catching her breath, she sized up the load on my cart and then my sweating horses.

“Are you heading for Yilin, comrade?” she asked.

“That’s right.” I nodded.

“Have you brought a tarpaulin?”

“A tarpaulin? Yes.” I pointed to where it was.

She scrambled nimbly on to the cart and pulled out the tarpaulin. Then she looked at the big load I had and frowned.

“This is too small to cover such a big load,” she protested.

I looked up at the sky, as if to say, “It’s not going to rain today.”



With a serious expression, she told me incisively, “The ten o’clock weather forecast predicted a thunderstorm round about noon. There’ll be a southeast wind, too, of gale force. . . .”

Only then did I notice that her bright red armband of “Mao Tse-tung’s Thought Red Guards” had embroidered on it in smaller characters “Red Flag Commune Meteorological Station.” Not far off stood a red brick building with a tiled roof. Within the white fence enclosing it were a number of instruments, while in a nearby field stood two weather-vanes. So this girl must be a meteorologist.

“Comrade,” she went on, frowning thoughtfully. “It’s over a hundred *li* from here to Yilin, including a thirty-five-kilometre

stretch of dike. There aren't many villages by the canal. What will you do if it rains?"

I was floored by this question, being quite unprepared for rain. I didn't mind a soaking myself, if there really was a sudden downpour; but what about my load of military supplies and my three sweating horses?

When I failed to answer, the girl proposed eagerly, "Stop here, comrade, and bait your horses in our place. You can go on when the rain's passed."

I thought this over in silence.

"It's simple, isn't it, comrade?" she went on. "We proletarian revolutionaries and the PLA are one big family. It's our job to help the army. Don't worry, come on." She made as if to lead the horses off.

"No!" I was more determined than ever, after what she had said, to push on. You see, those supplies were urgently needed by my unit. It was out of the question to waste two hours here. I must be getting on. If it rained, I'd find some way to cope.

"Thanks, but I can't stop," I told her. "This load of stuff I'm carting is badly needed. In two hours I can cover another thirty *li*."

"Thirty *li*? Sure?"

"Of course," was my confident answer.

"All right, then," she agreed. "I know you don't waste a second in the PLA. I'm all for your race against time. Just keep a careful look-out on the road."

with final thanks I took my seat on the cart. At a crack of the whip the team set off at a trot.

The water in the canal was swirling eastwards. My heart, too, was deeply stirred. For the meteorologist's action had revealed the new ties between the PLA and the people, ties born of the great proletarian cultural revolution initiated and led by Chairman Mao himself. Now, the people and the army are closer than ever before.

The weather forecast proved correct. I had travelled another twenty-eight *li* or so, when thunder rumbled far off to the east, and a cold wind sprang up. Black clouds swept across the sky. They have a saying in our parts:

Like children's laughter  
Swiftly changed to tears,  
How fast May weather veers!

Sure enough, in a flash the air filled with swirling dust; everything grew dark. Lightning flashed, thunder crashed, and the wind howled. Any moment now, the rain would start pouring down.

I was wondering what to do, when a young man of twenty or thereabouts came running up to the road. Seizing my bridle, he yelled, "Come to our village, PLA comrade, to shelter from the rain." Without waiting for a reply, he led my team down the dike on to a dirt track. Soon we reached a tiny village of a dozen scattered households.

The young man took me into a compound at the east end of the village, where some people were hard at work. Greeting me hastily, they lost no time in unharnessing my team and pushing the cart into a neatly swept shelter, open on the front side. Little was said as they tackled this job, handling it with skill and, indeed, making short work of it.

No sooner was this done than the storm broke. The young fellow told the others, "You all know what you've to do, don't you? Take the horses off, quick, and bait them. Take extra care now that it's raining."

As the others started leading the horses away, I cried, "Wait a minute while I fetch their fodder."

The young man held me back. "No need," he said. "Army and revolutionary people are one. Don't worry, we've taken care of everything." With that, he took me indoors, poured me out some water and made me sit down to rest. Then he went out again.

This rapid sequence of events raised a big question in my mind. The whole operation had gone as smoothly as clockwork; everything had been prepared down to the last detail. But how could they possibly have known I'd be coming to shelter there? This wouldn't do. I must see to the horses myself.

When I went out into the yard again, I heard the familiar sound of a horse munching grass. Tracking down the sound, I discovered my young horse, Chestnut, tethered in the main room of one of the

villagers' homes. A man in his fifties had improvised a trough there out of a shallow willow crate propped on two benches. He was carefully replenishing this with fodder. A boy of sixteen or seventeen was rubbing down Chestnut, who munched contentedly.

I was at a loss for words when I saw a young girl go up to the water vat. She had to stand on tiptoe and stretch right in to get any water out. At once I picked up the buckets by the vat and hurried out to draw water.

Raindrops big as copper coins were now pelting down. When the old man saw what I was about, he strode over and made me put the buckets down.

"You've had a hard time on the road, comrade," he said. "We're not letting you fetch water for us! Go on in and rest."

Ignoring my protests, he hustled me back to the room where I had first been. The rain was coming down now by the bucketful.

While waiting inside for the young man I noticed, on the table by the telephone, a notebook covered with a page from a pictorial. I opened it out of curiosity, and found it was a record of telephone calls. A quotation of Chairman Mao caught my eye. I read it:

**"Without a people's army the people have nothing."**

The entry below it ran:

May 5

Before noon today, a PLA cart will be passing your way. If there is a rainstorm, please provide it with shelter. It's our duty to support the army.

Liu Hung, Red Flag Commune Meteorological Station

So at last the secret was out! That girl who had stopped me had sent this telephone message. A message holding such deep love for the people's army. And this message from the girl's red heart linked up countless other red hearts!

My blood was racing. So long as we followed Chairman Mao's instructions, had faith in the masses and relied on them, we need not fear any storm.

The young man came in now with a meal for me. I didn't like to refuse it. As I was eating, the telephone rang. He picked up the receiver and said: "Hullo, Yang Ping speaking.... He's

come, yes. He's having a meal. Everything's under control.... I know, he's carting military supplies.... That's right, don't worry. We'll speed him on his way. All right. Goodbye."

Overhearing this one-sided conversation gave me fresh energy.

The young man left me to finish my meal alone. At the end of it, I found that the rain was lighter. These sudden showers pass quickly. In the short space it took to eat a meal, the downpour had spent its force.

I hurried out, anxious to see if the dirt track had become too muddy for my cart to negotiate.

At the end of the village I pulled up short. Yang Ping and several dozen commune members were there carrying earth to repair those parts of the track which had been washed away. Since one carrying-pole was lying idle, I picked it up and set to work with the others, paying no attention when they urged me to rest. After we had carried several loads, Yang Ping told me:

"The road will soon be ready, comrade. You've urgent business. Go back and have a rest. We guarantee not to hold you up."

This reminded me of the heavy responsibility entrusted to the PLA by Chairman Mao — to support the proletarian revolutionaries and defend the great proletarian cultural revolution. I mustn't for a moment delay the delivery of supplies meant for this purpose. Since the road would soon be open, I went back to hitch up my cart.

Taking leave of Yang Ping and the other villagers, I took to the road again, my heart beating fast. Before me flashed the faces of the girl meteorologist, Yang Ping and the other commune members. This was no ordinary army-people relationship! No, this was a brand-new relationship, based on our common defence of the boundlessly brilliant and invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, on Chairman Mao's revolutionary line!

The sky had cleared after the rain, leaving hills and streams fresh and lovely. I cracked my whip and the team broke into a trot. The big cart loaded with army supplies bowled forward along the broad highway....

## Song over the Docks

The harbour was flooded with light. The powerful arc-lamps at the wharves, the buoys with their twinkling lights, the headlights on the locomotives, on the trucks and other vehicles speeding past — all these seemed a galaxy of shooting-stars.

Under all these lights the night-shift dockers were hard at work. Quite a number of freighters were being loaded or unloaded at the same time, thus several conveyor lines were moving simultaneously. Miracles of work and organization were being achieved everywhere. Even with the handling of such a large quantity of imports and exports, cargoes were not piling up at the docks. It was the proud boast of every one of the proletarian revolutionaries: "We will put on an extra spurt any time for the sake of Chairman Mao!"

This is one of the ports where ships from all over the world come to anchor. Since the beginning of the month, with the increase in foreign trade, double the usual amount of cargo has been handled. However, the proletarian revolutionaries at the dock guarantee that all ships will clear the port in time.

Before dawn, Old Yang, a member of the dock revolutionary committee, boarded a foreign freighter. The shipment of goods had been finalized and the hatch was closed. Yang looked at his watch and thought to himself, "Good chaps, what a speedy job they've done!" As he was about to leave the ship a sailor came up to him and gripped his hand. The seaman, a South American, was an old friend of Yang's, for the ship often berthed here.

"We'll soon be parted again. It has taken much less time to load up here than before," said the man.

"Surprised?" Yang asked, smilingly.

"No, not really. Before I left for China someone said, 'China's in a state of chaos. No one will do the unloading for your ship. Make up your mind to stay there for a year!' But I didn't believe a word he said."

"Why not?"

"Though I knew very little about China's great proletarian cultural revolution, I was confident that with your great helmsman Chairman Mao to chart your course, you couldn't miss your way! 'Sailing the seas depends on the helmsman' — isn't this a verse in your most popular song? As a seaman I well understand what it means."

"Right. As long as Chairman Mao's leading us, we'll be able to brave wind and waves, and go forward from one victory to another. No one follows Chairman Mao's instructions more faithfully than we Chinese workers. You've seen us in action, haven't you?"

"I certainly have," replied the sailor. "When I go home I'll tell my neighbours and friends all I've seen here, as well as the far-reaching significance of China's great proletarian cultural revolution and its great contribution to world proletarian revolution." He paused, as if he had remembered something important. A little embarrassed, he continued, "My friend, can you let me have a Chairman Mao badge?" Then he made haste to explain, "Not for myself, I have one already. It's my mother who wants it. She works on a cocoa plantation where they're cruelly exploited. Just before leaving for China I received a letter from her. She said, 'I'm living in a grim cocoa plantation in South America, but I can see the red sun rising in the

east — Chairman Mao, the most respected teacher of the world working class. When you have the happiness of stepping on the soil of great China, mind you don't forget, please, to convey my greetings to Chairman Mao — the hearty greetings of an old woman worker in South America. Wish him a long, long life. If possible, please ask a Chinese comrade to let me have a Chairman Mao badge. I'll wear it on my breast all my life. . . .”

Yang immediately took off the badge he was wearing and handed it to his friend.

“Please give this to your respected mother,” he said with deep emotion. “It was made to commemorate the founding of our municipal revolutionary committee. The date is on the back.”

“That makes it even more precious!” The sailor accepted the gift and gazed for some minutes at the profile of Chairman Mao which was shining under the lamplight. Then he wrapped the badge carefully in a snow-white handkerchief which he put into his pocket, next to his heart.

Now, it was dawn. The sun was rising slowly above the horizon, as the ship put out. On the deck the sailor and his companions sang a song in praise of the great leader Chairman Mao:

“Sailing the seas depends on the helmsman. . . .”

The crews of the towboats, the dockers on the wharves and the drivers of the motor vans, all chimed in with their strong voices. This magnificent song reverberated over the sea. Riding on the wind the men's voices soared aloft through the boundless sky.

## A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire

Ahmed, a young Iraqi seaman, found himself in Shanghai again. Having finished unloading, he went ashore with some of his mates. Rambling along the streets, he was very excited at seeing the grand demonstration made by the Shanghai people in support of the struggle of the Arab people against imperialism. Back at the docks, he stood for a long time gazing at the large portrait of Chairman Mao at the entrance, as if he had much he wanted to say to him.

That night, when most of the crew had fallen asleep, Ahmed's cabin was the only one alight. After a while he went out, a copy of the English edition of the *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* in his hand. He came up to one of our customs inspectors. Turning to page 72 in the *Quotations*, he asked: “What's the historical background of this excellent formulation that: **imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers?**” After the inspector had explained it in full, Ahmed nodded, and warmly invited him to his cabin.

Ahmed offered the inspector a cup of strong coffee and began explaining his interest in Chairman Mao's works.

“From 1948 on, U.S. imperialism has used Israel as a tool to launch armed aggression against the Arab countries. It’s made Israel a dagger aimed at the heart of the Arabs. The Arab people have struggled against U.S. imperialism and its running-dogs.

“Our Arab youth has organized several partisan detachments and they badly need Comrade Mao Tse-tung’s works. They’ve sent me letters urging me to get a copy of this precious little red book for them.

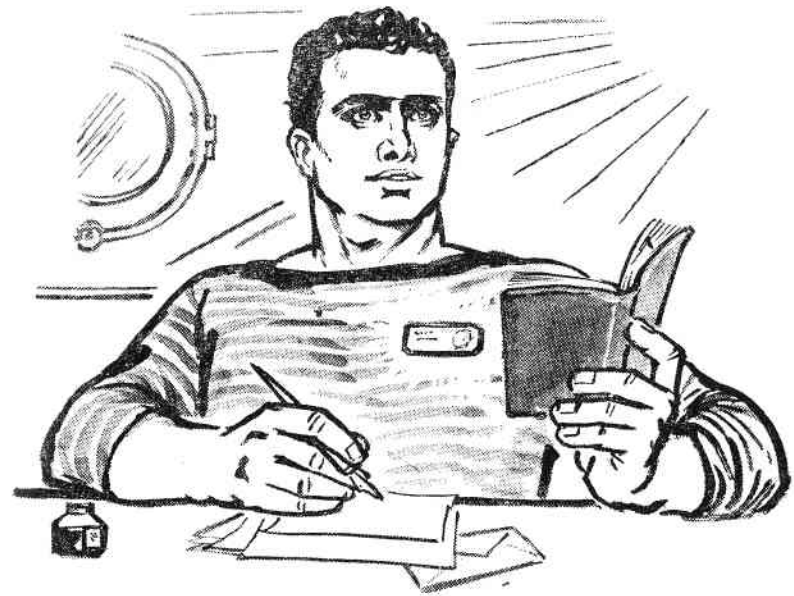
“When I came to Shanghai last time, I asked one of your officials if there were an Arabic edition of *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*. He told me that it would be published later on, and gave me this copy of the *Quotations* in English.”

Opening the *Quotations*, he continued, “For the sake of the revolution, I began to translate this book as soon as I came by it. Chapter by chapter, I translate the quotations into Arabic, type them out and send them off to the guerrilla fighters. Then, hundreds of copies are printed and sent to each detachment. Now I’ve come to Chapter 7, Dare to Struggle and Dare to Win.” With that, he showed the manuscripts of his translations to the inspector.

“I do this at night,” he went on. “Though it tires me a little, it gives me tremendous satisfaction, and I feel it an honour to have the chance to read Chairman Mao’s works and learn from him every day. As my English is not too good, I am afraid I may fail to translate Chairman Mao’s words correctly. Just now, I asked you about the historical background of that passage about paper tigers, in order to have a better understanding of its meaning so as to make a more faithful translation.”

The inspector realized then that Ahmed was not only a seaman but also a fighter who actively propagated Mao Tse-tung’s thought, and worked deep into the night at translating the *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*. The inspector looked at the Arabic translation of **Imperialism and All Reactionaries Are Paper Tigers**. He fished out from his pocket a copy of the *Quotations* in Chinese, and turned to the same section. Then both of them, together, read aloud:

**“All reactionaries are paper tigers. In appearance, the reactionaries are terrifying, but in reality they are not so powerful.**



**From a long-term point of view, it is not the reactionaries but the people who are really powerful.”**

After that, the inspector unpinned the Chairman Mao badge he was wearing, and put it into Ahmed’s hand. “Take this precious gift, please,” he said. “When you wear it, you will feel that Chairman Mao’s always by your side, and this will give you boundless strength.”

Taking the badge, Ahmed looked at it under the table-lamp. It was a bright red rectangular badge rimmed with gold. On the right was a profile of Chairman Mao. On the left, sparkling golden rays symbolized the brilliant light of Mao Tse-tung’s thought shining all over the world. In the midst of these golden rays was a sentence in Chairman Mao’s own handwriting: **A single spark can start a prairie fire.**

The inspector told him that the English translation was on the back of the badge. As soon as Ahmed read it, he exclaimed, “Well said! As I see it, our young guerrillas are a single spark, aren’t they?”

If we follow Chairman Mao's teachings, arm ourselves with his thought, mobilize the broad masses and unite with the people of all the Arab countries, our ranks will surely grow and the single spark will surely burst into a prairie fire. Then U.S. imperialism and the Israeli reactionaries will be burned up in the sea of revolutionary fire!"

Ahmed pinned the badge on his chest and, brimming over with energy, set to work again translating the *Quotations*.

Late that night, as the Whangpoo River swirled towards the sea, above the tall buildings on its banks sparkled the words "Long Live Mao Tse-tung's Thought!" and other slogans in red neon lights. The sky was reddened by the neon signs. Light was visible in Ahmed's cabin, too. Perhaps he was writing to tell his friends how warmly the Chinese people supported their struggle against imperialism, and to send them the quotations from Chairman Mao which he had just finished translating.

*Poems by Red Guards*

*Ku Chun*

## A Glorious Point of Departure

— A Visit to the Site of the First National Congress  
of the Chinese Communist Party

As if the great conference were still in session,  
I walk in softly, with bated breath!  
Glancing at the Chairman Mao badge on my breast,  
I pay silent tribute to our great leader.

This is an ordinary living room  
Where the great Communist Party of China came into being;  
A place not at all uncommon,  
From here great thunderstorms aroused the world!

Every article in the room  
Conveys the scene of those bygone days:  
The nation's misery; China's destiny; the world's future....  
Chairman Mao's heart is closely linked to the revolutionary  
people.



In spite of louring dark clouds,  
Police vans screaming down the streets;  
Singing heartily, a great proletarian army strode forward,  
The Chinese revolution embarked on a new course.

How I long to hand over a cup of steaming tea  
For our great teacher to moisten his throat,  
So that the strong voice of truth  
Will cross turbulent oceans and break through heavy dark clouds!

How I long to stand guard at the door for ever  
To safeguard the tranquillity of our great leader.  
Today, Chairman Mao has again donned a green uniform  
Leading us forward in our march towards the new world....

Bright sunshine streams through the window,  
The lilting song of comrades-in-arms is wafted towards me.  
Following the footsteps of our great supreme commander,  
Red Guards set out from this place to begin a new Long March!

*Chi Yu*

## The Red Sun Is Rising Over Tien An Men

I straighten the army cap  
Left me by my father,  
And smooth the uniform  
Worn by a soldier before me.  
As I stride towards Tien An Men  
My heart is a rushing tide,  
Too turbulent to be stilled....  
Chairman Mao, oh, Chairman Mao!  
Ten thousand words  
Cannot convey  
My boundless love for you;  
Ten thousand songs  
Cannot express  
My boundless loyalty to you.

Chairman Mao, oh, Chairman Mao!  
It was you who built up our great Party,  
    Built up our great army,  
You who, creatively,  
Developed Marxism-Leninism to new heights!  
    You who kindled  
    The "single spark" on Chingkang Mountain  
    And charted the course  
    To victory  
    For China's revolution.  
    At the Tsunyi Meeting,  
    Immortal in history,  
It was you who laid the foundation  
For the victory of China's revolution!  
You it was who led the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army  
To smash all encirclements,  
All pursuits and attacks  
And accomplish the Long March  
Famed throughout the world.  
You who, from Yenan, sacred to the revolution,  
Led the War of Resistance Against Japan;  
You commanded the people's army  
As it fought all over the country,  
Sweeping, victorious, from north to south.  
    You, in Tien An Men Square,  
    Hoisted the first  
    Five-starred red flag  
    Into the clear blue sky of our motherland.  
Chairman Mao, oh, Chairman Mao!  
To safeguard the splendid future  
Of socialism,

You personally initiated and led  
The great proletarian cultural revolution!  
You have led us to begin  
A new long march!  
    It was you who decided to publish  
    China's first Marxist-Leninist big-character poster,  
    Making the flames of revolution burn red...  
You personally drew up the Circular\*  
Correcting the course of the revolution;  
The brilliant Sixteen Points \*\*  
Sounded the death knell  
Of the reactionary bourgeois line!  
    It was you who discovered and supported  
    The Red Guards movement which has shaken the world.  
    Because of your warm concern  
    The young fighters have achieved immortal feats.  
Chairman Mao, oh, Chairman Mao!  
You are the red, red sun in our hearts;  
You will always be our most supreme red commander.  
Chairman Mao, oh, Chairman Mao!  
Your young fighters  
Have boundless love for you,  
Boundless loyalty,  
Boundless faith in you,  
Boundless veneration for you!  
We will always follow you,  
Never halting on the road of revolution!

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\*Referring to the Circular of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on May 16, 1966. See *Chinese Literature* No. 8, 1967.

\*\*Referring to the Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution adopted on August 8, 1966. See *Chinese Literature* No. 10, 1966.

... Across vast oceans  
Red hearts are linked as one;  
The world's revolutionary people  
Share our feelings:  
Deep love for the brilliant thought of Mao Tse-tung,  
Deep love for our great leader Mao Tse-tung.

... Look at this African fighter,  
How he exults  
Because he has been given  
A Chairman Mao badge,  
Pinned lovingly on his breast...  
... See those Vietnamese heroes,  
How jubilant they are,  
Because their night attack  
Has ended in another victory!  
At a meeting to celebrate,  
They wave the works of Chairman Mao  
Over their heads...

Mao Tse-tung — red sun,  
Red sun — Mao Tse-tung!  
Do you live in Peking?  
No! It is clear you live  
In the hearts of the world's revolutionary people!  
They long to see you,  
To offer you their greetings.  
Today, my dream of years  
Is about to come true,  
To come true!  
My heart  
Is pounding, pounding for joy.

Suddenly, like the eruption of a volcano,  
Like the crashing of thunder in spring,  
Before Tien An Men  
Joyful shouts burst from our throats:  
"Long live Chairman Mao! Long, long life to him!"  
Chairman Mao has come!  
Chairman Mao has come!  
To the strains of *The East Is Red*,  
Chairman Mao and Vice-Chairman Lin Piao  
Mount the Tien An Men rostrum —  
The highest peak in the world!  
And now,  
The red sun rises over Tien An Men,  
The Five Continents and the Four Seas are shining red!  
I have seen Chairman Mao,  
I have seen Chairman Mao!  
The hearts of Red Guards  
Hold wind, rain, thunder and lightning,  
But find it hard to contain  
This overwhelming joy...  
Chairman Mao, oh, Chairman Mao!  
You are the lighthouse by the foggy sea,  
The bright lamp showing us the way;  
You are victory,  
You are light!  
We will follow you  
With great strides  
Along the revolutionary road;  
We will follow you  
Till the Five Continents and Four Seas turn red!  
Long live Chairman Mao!  
Long live Mao Tse-tung!

## The Long March

Day after day, night after night,  
We thought of you, longed to see you,  
Our most beloved, most respected Chairman Mao;  
We dreamed of the day when we could be beside you  
To hear your instructions,  
To make our pledge to you.  
Today our dream has come true,  
Our hearts are bursting with joy;  
How can a clumsy pen  
Express our excitement?

Fifteen fighters, fifteen balls of fire,  
With fifteen *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*,  
We are your young red fighters, Chairman Mao,

---

This poem was written by the Long March Red Guards of the Talien Sea Transport Academy. A reportage on their march to Peking was published in *Chinese Literature* No. 3, 1967.

Propagandists of Mao Tse-tung's thought.  
The mighty East Wind, the waves of the Pohai Sea,  
Have sent us on a long march to your side,  
To make revolution like our forerunners,  
We swear to forge feet of iron!

The red flag, fluttering, shows us the way,  
Your works are our source of strength;  
When wind howls and rain beats down,  
When nightfall finds us far from any village,  
Our feet covered with blood blisters,  
Our mouths parched from marching....  
If we open the *Quotations*  
At once you seem to be standing before us,  
Warmly encouraging us:

**"Be resolute, fear no sacrifice  
And surmount every difficulty to win victory...."**  
At once, our energy and strength are redoubled.

**"The Red Army fears not the trials of a distant march;  
To them a thousand mountains, ten thousand rivers are  
nothing...."**

These heroic lines inspire us  
To overcome all obstacles and dangers;  
Singing *The East Is Red*  
And *Sailing the Seas Depends on the Helmsman*,  
We drown the roar of wind and rain,  
Repulse the flashing lightning,  
Cross mountain after mountain,  
Ford river after river,  
Travel rough tracks,  
Pass the Great Wall  
And recite in ringing voices:

**"The sky is high, the clouds are pale,  
We watch the wild geese flying south till they vanish;  
We count the myriad leagues we have come already;  
If we reach not the Great Wall, we are no true men!..."**

We have had more than ten years of schooling,  
But this is the first time  
We have used our stencils  
To do battle.

Now, to proclaim 'your thought,  
We have tamed this intractable metal,  
We are handing out tens of thousands of red leaflets  
To the poor and lower-middle peasants.

The turbulent Fuchow River  
Has no bridge, no ferry boat;  
An old woman strains her eyes towards the further bank...  
Remembering your instructions  
To be servants of the people,  
Forgetting our fatigue and cold,  
We carry the old woman across on our backs.

At Tashan,  
Before the splendid martyrs' memorial,  
We seem to see gunfire again,  
Hear the tumult of battle;  
Solemnly we raise our hands and swear:  
The revolutionary youth of Mao Tse-tung's age  
Resolve to carry on the martyrs' cause  
And advance boldly forward!

In countless village cottages,  
By the light of oil lamps, candles,

Your brilliant works,  
Word by word, sentence by sentence,  
Have imprinted themselves on our minds:  
They teach us to "sweep the floor,"  
To "wash our faces."  
The bitterness of the old society,  
The sweetness of the new,  
Told us by old poor peasants,  
Stir us to our depths.  
"Tell Chairman Mao,  
If the Foolish Old Man removed mountains,  
We can wrest soil from the sea."  
"We've made up our minds to build canals, sink wells,  
Even if it means digging through the earth!"  
"Get cracking, youngsters!  
We poor and lower-middle peasants will back you up;  
We'll give you all-out support  
By raising better crops."  
"When you see Chairman Mao,  
Be sure, mind, to give him our greetings.  
We hope he will live for ever!"

We learned from thirteen-year-old Young Pioneers,  
We helped the production teams harvest, swept their yards;  
That old Eighth Route Army man who had fought all over  
China,  
That red communications officer, now white-haired,  
Were so deeply stirred to see us,  
They recalled those years  
When the flames of war blazed far and wide:  
The vast grasslands, the snowy mountains,  
The iron chains over the Tatu River,

The smoke of battle over Latzukou. . . .  
On regions bristling with gun towers,  
Where bayonets flashed with a cold, steely light,  
The people are still struggling,  
The factories are still producing,  
Leaflets are still posted on the block houses,  
The Party's directives still run the blockade. . . .  
It is our great leader Chairman Mao  
Who has led us  
Through long, arduous years  
Across a thousand mountains, ten thousand rivers!  
We will take the road of the Red Army,  
Follow you to grow to manhood through storm and waves!  
This is our pledge, firm as steel.  
As we first set foot in Peking,  
We remember your words:

**"To win country-wide victory**

**Is only the first step in a long march of ten thousand li."**

We know that the road of revolution is long,  
Many hidden reefs and whirlpools lie ahead;  
But with you as our great helmsman,  
We fear no billows towering to the sky;  
Let the wind blow harder, the waves tower higher,  
We know —  
We shall win through to the shore of communism.

Today, surmounting every difficulty,  
We have come to Tien An Men, our longed-for goal.  
Tomorrow, more young revolutionaries  
The world over  
Will brave every danger to come to your side.  
Respected and beloved Chairman Mao,

Here, let us give you our detachment's flag,  
The flag we made ourselves;  
With us it has weathered wind and rain,  
It is stained with the dust and smoke of the road;  
When we looked at this flag on our long march  
We thought:  
Tens of thousands of red flags flew  
On Chingkang Mountain, over the city wall of Tsunyi,  
In the square before Tien An Men. . . .  
And behind them our revolutionary forbears,  
Advancing wave upon wave, fought to this day. . . .  
Our detachment's bright red flag  
Can report to you from us:  
Please be easy in your mind, dear Chairman Mao,  
We promise that our great motherland  
Will remain red generation after generation,  
It will never change its colour!

With our young blood and our lives we will defend you,  
We will defend Mao Tse-tung's thought,  
And ensure that the great thought of Mao Tse-tung  
Sheds its glorious radiance over the world for ever.  
We vow to carry through to the end  
The great proletarian cultural revolution,  
And, before long,  
To bring to pass the ideals of communism!

## The Brilliance of Chairman Mao's Thought on Literature and Art Irradiates the Shanghai Stage

Twenty-five years ago, in his *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*, our great leader Chairman Mao taught us: **“(Our purpose is) to ensure that literature and art fit well into the whole revolutionary machine as a component part, that they operate as powerful weapons for uniting and educating the people and for attacking and destroying the enemy, and that they help the people to fight the enemy with one heart and one mind.”** Acting on these great instructions of Chairman Mao, the workers, peasants and soldiers of Shanghai put on a literary and art festival during this crucial period of the decisive battle between two classes, two lines and two roads.

Raising high the great red banner of the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung and the banner of revolutionary criticism and repudiation, the workers, peasants and soldiers of Shanghai, taking literature and

art as their weapon and the stage as their battlefield, vigorously mobilized the revolutionary masses into a huge army for revolutionary criticism and repudiation, launching a powerful offensive against the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road.

Chairman Mao's brilliant *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*, the pinnacle of present-day Marxist-Leninist theory on literature and art, has irradiated the revolutionary stage of the Shanghai worker-peasant-soldier festival of literature and art, enabling this festival to take up a new combat position on the battle front of revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation.

This festival opened in the streets on April 21, and the brief period of a fortnight was sufficient to reveal its immense political significance and the powerful impact of its propaganda. The 360-odd light cavalry units of literature and art organized by workers, peasants, Red Guards and PLA fighters—“Teams to Propagate Mao Tse-tung's Thought”—performed in factories, docks, fields and off-shore islands, as well as in public squares, new workers' residential districts, villages and market-places. Very often they performed on the bare ground, in the hot sun, wind or rain, to spread their militant propaganda far and wide.

This worker-peasant-soldier festival of literature and art epitomized the boundless love and respect of the proletarian revolutionaries and revolutionary masses for Chairman Mao, the reddest red sun in our hearts. With full and fervid class feeling, impassioned language and most spirited dancing, they paid tribute to our great leader Chairman Mao, to the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, and to the glorious victories of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao. During each performance, the players and audience alike cried with emotion: “Long live Chairman Mao! Long, long live Chairman Mao!” “Long, long life to our great leader Chairman Mao!”

The militant workers, peasants and soldiers who are the main force of the great cultural revolution proved, by the many items they presented on the revolutionary stage of literature and art, that they



A Chairman Mao's Thought Propaganda Team performs in the streets of Shanghai

have really become the masters of the culture and art of our country. This was the most distinctive feature of this festival.

Shanghai holds an important cultural position in our country, and its working people during the last seventeen years, in the brilliant light of Mao Tse-tung's thought on literature and art, have made great contributions to our motherland's socialist culture and art. But Shanghai was also the black lair of the literature and art of the

thirties, one of the main bases from which Chou Yang, Hsia Yen and a handful of revisionists frenziedly promoted their revisionist line on literature and art, an important position from which the handful of top Party people in authority taking the capitalist road plotted a counter-revolutionary comeback. In collusion with the handful of revisionists in the former Shanghai Municipal Party Committee, they stubbornly obstructed Chairman Mao's revolutionary



line on literature and art. Hence, in Shanghai the struggle between two lines in literature and art has always been extremely fierce and acute.

In the storm of the great "January Revolution" the proletarian revolutionaries of Shanghai seized power in the Party, state administration and financial and cultural fields from the handful of people in authority taking the capitalist road in the former Shanghai Municipal Party Committee. They seized back the art stage usurped by freaks and monsters. Today, the workers, peasants, soldiers and Red Guards have mounted this stage with great enthusiasm. This is an event of epoch-making significance in the great cultural revolution, yet another victory for the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao.

The workers, peasants, soldiers and Red Guards keep firmly in mind Chairman Mao's instructions: **"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."** They have directed the weapon of literature and art against the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, penetratingly exposing their vicious features and forcefully refuting the fallacies of these counter-revolutionary revisionists.

*The Unmasking, Never Forget Class Suffering* and other items performed in the Shanghai No. 1 Cotton Mill tore away the "veteran revolutionary's" mask of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, revealing his vile counter-revolutionary character and exposing to the masses the reactionary essence of his ridiculous contention that "exploitation is justified."

The fact that the workers, peasants and soldiers have mounted the art stage during the storm of class struggle shows even more clearly that they are the creators of a brand-new socialist culture and art. Setting out from the interests of the revolution and the needs of the political struggle, they have boldly broken through the old restrictions imposed by bourgeois "authorities," have produced many original works and made many innovations in performing techniques. The



The Mao Tse-tung's thought propaganda team of Kiangnan Shipyard performing in the streets

## Stage Photographs of the "Shanghai Festival of Workers, Peasants and Soldiers"



◀ Fighters of the East China Sea Fleet wish long, long life to Chairman Mao — the reddest sun in our hearts

The Mao Tse-tung's thought propaganda team of the East China Sea Fleet performing at the Shanghai Turbine Plant ▼





◀ The Mao Tse-tung's thought propaganda team of Shanghai primary school teachers come to perform for the commune members

A production team leader of Kaotung People's Commune takes part in the performances ▶

The Mao Tse-tung's thought propaganda team of Kaotung People's Commune performing in the fields ▼





▲ The Mao Tse-tung's thought propaganda team of Tungchi University performs for workers in a factory

The Mao Tse-tung's thought propaganda team of the No. 6 Girls' Middle School of Shanghai performing an original item hailing Chairman Mao's support for their great alliance ▶





The Mao Tse-tung's thought propaganda team of the Shanghai transport workers performing on the docks

bourgeois academic "authorities" always asserted that "the workers, peasants and soldiers do not understand art" and "art which is nothing but singing and leaping about can never reach a high level." They argued that "articulation comes first," that "stage effects and performing techniques must be united." This festival has forcefully rebutted their fallacies with incontrovertible facts. The workers, peasants, soldiers and Red Guards have used a great variety of artistic forms, with strong revolutionary colouring, to present excellent turns with a proletarian political content. To expose even more fully the reactionary nature of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, they created a new type of group recitation and ballad accompanied with gongs and drums, which are stirringly effective.

The Shanghai stage of literature and art has never known such splendid vitality as today. The workers, peasants and soldiers from the front lines of production and national defence, having occupied their own stage, are displaying the tremendous power of the main force of the great proletarian cultural revolution, so that this festival sparkles with the radiance of the age of socialism.

Another distinctive feature of this festival is that these teams propagating Mao Tse-tung's thought, emerging everywhere and in ever greater numbers, have struck root in the very midst of the masses and are active in the front line of the struggle. They have opened up vast horizons for literature and art serving the workers, peasants and soldiers, amassing a wealth of experience on the most effective ways to propagate Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Chairman Mao has taught us: **"All our literature and art are for the masses of the people, and in the first place for the workers, peasants and soldiers; they are created for the workers, peasants and soldiers and are for their use."** What especially rejoices us about this festival is the successful raising of the red banner of literary and art teams so well fitted to serve the workers, peasants and soldiers.

In the past, influenced by the revisionist policy of "stage art" put forward by Chou Yang and others, Shanghai's festivals of literature and art were restricted to large theatres. The full-length plays, foreign

plays and plays on ancient themes staged were divorced from real life struggles and the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers. This festival, illuminated by the splendour of Mao Tse-tung's line on literature and art, has righted the reversal of history. The members of many teams propagating Mao Tse-tung's thought, dressed in army uniform, marched boldly and proudly to the streets carrying red flags and portraits of Chairman Mao. They took songs and dances to the workers, peasants and soldiers, and propagated Mao Tse-tung's thought in factories, villages, army units and schools. The enthusiastic popular verdict was: "The old Red Army propaganda teams are back!"

The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road sneered that cultural troupes and propaganda teams were "fit only to dance folk dances and beat drums. There is no future for them going on this way... Let's not waste any more of their time like this." On the pretext of "reorganization," he ordered Chou Yang and his other henchmen to drastically reduce and banish these revolutionary cultural troupes and propaganda teams.

Today, the workers, peasants and soldiers of Shanghai have proved by their own practice that cultural troupes and propaganda teams are the best organizational form to serve the workers, peasants and soldiers. With iron facts they have debunked the reactionary assertions of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, who abolished cultural troupes and obstructed the propagation of Mao Tse-tung's thought. They have given this form of organization the splendid title: "Teams to Propagate Mao Tse-tung's Thought." These teams are mobile and adaptable, with a minimum of stage properties. The propagandists in them are all-rounders with at least one specialty, able to compose items, to act, sing and dance. As soon as they reach their destination, they sound gongs and drums, raise a red flag and start making propaganda. Because they live among the masses, are very close to them and have deep class feeling, the turns they put on embody all the wishes of the revolutionary masses and reflect real, topical struggles. Some of the items which proved the most popular were *Smash the Trust Contraband Wares of the No. 1 Careerist in the Party*, *Commune Members*

*and Cadres Unite to Fight and Get the Spring Ploughing Off to a Good Start* and *The People's Fighters Have Come to the Fields* put on by propaganda teams of the Shanghai Turbine Plant, the Huochiachueh Brigade of Huatsao Commune and a unit of the air force, respectively.

The thousands of propagandists who took part in this festival creatively studied and applied Chairman Mao's works throughout the whole process of composition and rehearsal and took the actual struggle to heart, making every effort to revolutionize their minds. Indeed, the most striking difference between this and all previous festivals was the way in which the worker, peasant, soldier and Red Guard performers held high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought whether on stage or off stage.

Many workers, peasants, soldiers and Red Guards who joined in the festival during their performances acted as red propagandists raising high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, while after their performances they set a fine example by eagerly responding to Chairman Mao's great call to "take firm hold of the revolution and promote production." Not for a moment did they forget this twofold duty. Thus between performances they carried out productive labour and made revolution. On the stage, they fiercely criticized and repudiated the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and the reactionary bourgeois line represented by him; off stage, with the revolutionary masses of their respective units, they liquidated the pernicious influence of this reactionary bourgeois line. On stage, they advocated taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production; off stage, they did not neglect to give prominence to politics, to put the revolution in command of their work, to take an active part in productive labour and to increase their preparedness for war. Whether on stage or off, they showed themselves proletarian revolutionary fighters holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

On this tiny globe  
A few flies dash themselves against the wall,  
Humming without cease,  
Sometimes shrilling,  
Sometimes moaning.

Let the handful of top Party people in authority taking the capitalist road and the reactionary academic "authorities" of every description moan before the art stage of the workers, peasants and soldiers! Let them tremble before the might of the weapon of revolutionary literature and art! The infinite brilliance of Mao Tse-tung's thought will for ever illuminate Shanghai's revolutionary stage, guiding the workers, peasants, soldiers and literary and art workers to stride forward on the front of revolutionary literature and art!

## 文学艺术属于一定的阶级 All Literature and Art Belong to Definite Classes

在 现 在 世 界 上， 一 切  
tsai hsen tsai shih chieh shang, yi chieh

文 化 或 文 学 艺 术 都 是 属 于  
wen hwa ho wen hsueh yi shu tu shih shu yu

一 定 的 阶 级， 属 于 一 定 的 政 治 路 线  
yi ting ti chieh chi, shu yu yi ting ti cheng chih lu hsen

的 为 艺 术 的 艺 术，  
ti wei yi shu ti yi shu,

超 阶 级 的 艺 术， 和 政 治  
chao chieh chi ti yi shu, ho cheng chih

并 行 或 互 相 独 立 的 艺 术，  
ping hsing ho hu hsiang tu li ti yi shu,

实 际 上 是 不 存 在 的。  
shih chi shang shih pu tsun tsai ti.

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

我們的文学艺术首先是為工农兵的  
 All Our Literature and Art Are in the First Place  
 for the Workers, Peasants and Soldiers



All our literature and art are for the masses of the people, and in the first place for the workers, peasants and soldiers; they are created for the workers, peasants and soldiers and are for their use.



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