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This serial publication contains translations of articles from the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), No. 1, 1966. Complete bibliographic information accompanies each article.

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SPEECH BY CHOU YANG AT ALL-CHINA CONFERENCE OF
SPARE TIME LITERARY CREATION ACTIVISTS

[Following is a translation of the text of a speech by Chou Yang (0719 2254) in the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No. 1, 1 January 1966.]

-- This was an address given on November 29, 1965 at the All-China Conference of Spare Time Literary Creation Activists. --

Comrades! Today is the opening of the All-China Conference of Spare Time Literary Creation Activists. First of all, I express my congratulations to the Conference.

Different from past literary and art meetings, the persons taking part in this conference constitute a new army on our literary and art front. You came from out of the masses of workers, peasants. You both know how to labor and to create; when you take up a weapon you are a fighter, and when you take up the pen you are also a fighter. You make up ranks both for production and for fighting and also for creating. The appearance of such ranks on our literary and art front is a historical breakthrough in the history of literature; it is a great event worthy of great joy and congratulations.

You are new people who have grown up in the socialist era, under the training of the party and the thought of Mao Tse-tung, and through the forging of the mass class struggle and production struggle. In your basic level units, in the factories, in the villages, and in the armed forces, you began to write while still acting as laborers and soldiers. You possess a clear goal in writing: write for the workers, peasants, and soldiers; write for the revolution. You have strong class feelings, and you put into your writings the new life, the new struggles, and the new persons of the workers, peasants, and soldiers. You consider creation to be a battle, a battle to seize bastion of ideology. A writer of the military forces put it very well; he said: "No matter at what time a revolutionary fighter should seek out his own fighting position. This position, and it could be on precipices in wild mountains or in trenches along mountain ranges, is also a vantage point for the

proletarian thinking in our minds." Precisely right! It is only when we construct high points of proletarian thinking and the thought of Mao Tse-tung in our minds that we will be able to concern ourselves with the fatherland and set our sights on the world; only thus will our work be outstanding, and our works of literature of significance.

Some of your works, whether in ideological content or artistic style, have reached a rather high level; and this is something rare in our past literature. Of course, the harvest is not simply in the field of literary works. There is another more important aspect: Since you extensively developed mass, spare time cultural work in the factories, the villages, and the military units, since you told revolutionary stories, sang new songs and performed new plays, since you did battle with the old culture, served present politics and production, so that socialist literature and art would truly reach to the workers, peasants, and soldiers, and would occupy the battle stations, you have thus enabled our literature and art to truly become a strong frontline in which workers, peasants, and soldiers participate. You have brought fresh blood and revolutionary morning air into literary and art creations; you have taken this into the cultural lives of the masses. This is a new victory on the literary and art front, a new victory in the socialist cultural revolution, a new victory for the literary and art line of Mao Tse-tung.

Today there is every sort of literature and art in the world. There is progressive literature and art, and reactionary literature and art. That which serves imperialism and capitalism is reactionary and decadent and backward; it is a poison which eats away at people's thinking. The literature and art of the modern revisionists has degenerated into a yes man for Western bourgeois literature and art. Although it still holds up the signboard of socialism, it is in reality literature and art which opposes socialism and the people, literature and art which has made a metamorphosis. It slanders revolution and revolutionary fighters; it slanders the dictatorship of the proletariat; it propagates bourgeois humanitarianism, pacifism and spreads nuclear terror and panic; it propagates the philosophy that "living is everything", and it propagandizes every form of decadent bourgeois thinking and naked forms of bourgeois life. This literature and art has already become a tool by which imperialism undertakes ideological subversion within socialist countries, by which capitalism hopes for a restoration.

Our literature and art is diametrically opposed to that of imperialism and modern revisionism. Ours encourages people to advance constantly, to be constantly revolutionary. It utilizes socialist and communist ideology, it uses the ideology of class struggle and the people's war, and the ideology of proletarian internationalism to arm the people. Just as comrade Mao Tse-tung has said, it is "a vigorous weapon for uniting the people, for educating the people, for assaulting the enemy, and for annihilating the enemy." (1)

In the world today there are two forces locked in a life-and-death struggle: One is the force of the revolutionary peoples of the world. The other is the force of imperialism, of modern revisionism,

of all the various reactionaries. They are the enemy of the peoples of the world. In this hand-to-hand combat of these two forces, the revolutionary forces are presently surging forward. The anti-imperialist, revolutionary struggles of the peoples of the world, particularly the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, are heading towards a new high tide. The world-wide united front against U.S. imperialism is developing and broadening. The peoples of all countries are being tested in the flames of actual struggles; more and more people are gradually discarding their illusions about the old world and are increasing their confidence in fighting for a new world without imperialism, without capitalism, without systems of exploitation. In China, the socialist revolution and construction develop more with each passing day, and the socialist cultural revolution deepens more with each passing day. The thought of Mao Tse-tung, the rich experience and the huge accomplishments of the Chinese people's revolution and construction are more and more attracting the attention of the peoples of the world. The world's revolutionary peoples are absorbing wisdom and strength from the writings of comrade Mao Tse-tung. Under the great red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, all the nationalities of China, by means of hard struggle, self-reliance, blazing spirit and soaring determination, are constructing and protecting our great fatherland. At the same time, with a high spirit of proletarian internationalism they are supporting the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of the world. If any imperialist power or reactionary group should dare to invade the sacred soil of the fatherland, it will be smashed to pieces before the mighty fortress of the Chinese people. The Chinese people are both stepping up construction and are constantly prepared to battle any aggressors. Armed with the thought of Mao Tse-tung, the people are invincible.

Comrades, the domestic and international situations at present are both very good. Our literary and art workers should hold aloft the higher the red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, actively take part in the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, production struggle, and scientific experiments; they should strive to unite with the workers, peasants, and soldiers, and to become revolutionary and labor-ized. They should use the weapon of literature and art to firmly oppose imperialism and modern revisionism; they should propagate socialism and oppose capitalism. Let our literary and art all the better serve the workers, peasants, and soldiers, the socialist revolution and construction, and the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of the world.

This is the militant task facing our literary and art workers.

The Struggle on the Literary and Art Front and the New Situation in the Cultural Revolution

If we want our literature and art to assume well its own tasks, the basic guarantee lies in thoroughly implementing the literary and art line laid down by the party center and comrade Mao Tse-tung.

Is literature and art to be in the service of the workers,

peasants, and soldiers, or in the service of the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes? Will it serve socialism or capitalism? Will it be guided by Marxism-Leninism and the thought of Mao Tse-tung, or by the ideology of the modern revisionists? This is the struggle on the literary and art front between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between socialism and capitalism.

This struggle not only permeates the historical development of our whole literature and art, but also every phase of our cultural life.

I would now like to discuss the history of the literary and art struggle with the comrades.

Long ago in 1940, comrade Mao Tse-tung in his "On New Democracy" said that our culture "should serve the workers, peasants, and soldiers, who make up more than 90 percent of the people, and it should gradually become their literature and art." (2) In 1942, in his "Talk at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art," comrade Mao Tse-tung further proposed that literature and art should be for the workers, peasants, and soldiers, and he pointed out the crucial point for resolving this question. And that is that literary and art workers should unite with the workers, peasants, and soldiers. Comrade Mao Tse-tung combined Marxism-Leninism with the reality of the Chinese revolutionary cultural movement. For the first time in the history of the proletarian revolution, he put forward the most complete, most thorough, and most correct program for the proletarian cultural revolution and the line for proletarian revolutionary literature and art. After the Liberation, comrade Mao Tse-tung again put forward the policy of "let a hundred flowers bloom, push out the old and let the new emerge" and "let a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend." He proposed the creative method of combining revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism. In his two articles "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" and "Talk at the CCP All-China Conference on Propaganda Work", comrade Mao Tse-tung, based on the new situation and tasks of the socialist era, gave a detailed, penetrating accounting of the policy of "let a hundred flowers bloom, let a hundred schools of thought contend."

The practice of many years has shown that when we correctly carry out Mao Tse-tung's line on literature and art in an all-round way, we achieve victories in our work; when we violate this line, we suffer defeats.

In the policy of "let a hundred flowers bloom, let a hundred schools of thought contend," if we depart from the direction of serving the workers, peasants, and soldiers, and socialism, our literature and art head along the path of modern revisionism and the liberalization of the bourgeoisie. Conversely, if we do serve the workers, peasants, and soldiers, and socialism but do not adopt the policy of letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred school of thought contend, if we do not have a national mass line, then our literature and art will head towards dogmatism and ideological ossification. The literary and art line of Mao Tse-tung both opposed this revisionist aspect and the dogmatist aspect.

The content of the literary and art thought of comrade Mao Tse-tung is very rich. Its core is: Literature and art will serve the workers, peasants, and soldiers; literary and art workers will unite

with the workers, peasants, and soldiers.

On the literary and art front, the divergence between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the difference between socialism and capitalism, the divergence between Marxism-Leninism all focus on this question: Do we serve the workers, peasants, and soldiers? Do we want to unite with them?

The literary and art line of Mao Tse-tung was produced in struggle, and it developed its own path in the struggle.

The "Talk at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art" was the product of a great controversy. This was a summing up of the struggle waged against every type of tendency to oppose and depart from the workers, peasants, and soldiers. At the same time, it was a scientific summing up of the basic experiences in the literary and art movement since the "May Fourth" movement. Comrade Mao Tse-tung made a high evaluation of China's revolutionary literary and art movement since the time of "May Fourth" which had Lu Hsun as its outrider. At the same time, he pointed out its basic defect, and that is that it had departed from the workers, peasants, and soldiers. This defect was carried right to Yen-an, right to the revolutionary bases. When it reached the revolutionary bases, it had to be resolved.

"The Talk at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art" and the great changes which this brought about in literature and art caused China's revolutionary literary and art movement to enter a new historical era.

After the establishment of the CPR, all the literary and art circles expressed willingness to accept the proposal to serve workers, peasants, and soldiers. But giving lip service to this concept is not equivalent to carrying it out in actuality. These are two different things. Some orally praised this, but in actuality opposed it. Some honestly approved of this policy, but due to having departed from the masses, they didn't carry it out vigorously; they couldn't truly follow this path.

From the beginning of our state, with regard to whether our literary and art circles would follow a proletarian line or a bourgeois line, five great disputes and great criticisms took place.

First, there was the criticism in 1951 of the film "Wu-hsun Chuan". This film slandered the revolutionary tradition of the Chinese people, propagated bourgeois reformism and capitulationism. Wu-hsun was the slave of a landlord; in the film he was described as a "great personage" who got the chance to be educated and didn't hesitate to sacrifice himself for the children of poor peasants. With regard to the bourgeois thought in this film, many of our communist party members lost their power of discrimination, and they praised this film. In face of this situation, comrade Mao Tse-tung sharply pointed out that reactionary bourgeois thought had seeped into our militant communist party. Where did some of the party members who claimed that they had mastered Marxism-Leninism run to? This was a serious question. This criticism established Marxist-Leninist principles for correctly treating and evaluating historical persons, and at the same time it combined with an investigation of social history; it created the excellent work style for research and

investigation in academic work.

Second, there was the criticism in 1954 against "Research on the Hung Lou Meng [Dream of the Red Chamber]" . This work was written with the viewpoint of bourgeois idealism, but it was still highly praised by some communist party members, while some young persons who attempted to use the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint to re-evaluate it were repressed. In this two questions developed: In scholarly research work was idealism or materialism to be propagated? With regard to the newly risen forces of Marxism-Leninism were we to adopt an attitude of support, or would we have the old repressive attitude of the bourgeois aristocracy? This criticism opened a path for the newly risen Marxist-Leninist forces in the scholarly realm. Connected to this, we further undertook all-round criticism of Hu Shih's (5170 6684) bourgeois, idealistic thinking. This was because the basic viewpoint in this work on the Hung Lou Meng was of a like nature with the thinking of this notorious reactionary bourgeois pragmatist.

Third, in 1954 and 1955 there was the criticism of Hu Feng (5170 7364) and opposition to Hu Feng's reactionary, counter-revolutionary clique. Hu Feng was a renegade, who was later taken into the revolutionary ranks. He formed an anti-party clique within the right-wing revolutionary literature movement. After Liberation, he undertook counter-revolutionary activities. Within the Chinese literary movement, the one who made the most vicious attacks on the party's literary and art policies and the literary and art thinking of Mao Tse-tung was Hu Feng. He took the correct proposals for having literature and art serve the workers, peasants, and soldiers, and for having literary and art workers reform themselves ideologically and termed them "five knives" which would "slaughter" literature and art. He crucified the party leadership as being the "rule of a sectarian clique." He put forward a set of systematic, complete revisionist views of literature and art; he was the first revisionist in the Chinese literary movement to appear in the guise of a "Marxist-Leninist theoretician on literature and art." This criticism was both a thorough political exposure and also a vigorous counter-attack and criticism towards revisionist theories on literature and art.

The fourth criticism occurred in 1957. As everyone knows, in this year the bourgeois right wing launched frantic attacks on socialism. The main spearhead of these attacks was in the political field. Another important front of their attacks was also in the literary and art fields. In literature and art, as in other fields, two major slogans of the right wing group were: "Today is not as good as the past." This means that today's socialism is not as good as capitalism, not as good as the era of the Kuomintang; today's literature and art, education, and everything, are not as good as those things in the Kuomintang era. Second, "laymen cannot direct experts." This means that the party is a layman and it cannot guide culture, education, etc. Of these two slogans, one was opposed to socialism and was an attempt at a restoration of capitalism; the other was opposed to the leadership of the communist party, and an attempt to substitute the bourgeois right wing. In the literary and art fields, they also opposed the "Talk at the Yen'an Forum on

Literature and Art," labelling it as being "outmoded." They wanted to replace it with some sort of "broad path." They held that the most correct, most broad path of serving the workers, peasants, and soldiers was too "narrow"; they wanted to become "probers", to depart from the direction of the workers, peasants, and soldiers, and to seek out "new paths." They promoted "writing sincerely", and wanted to expose the "darkness" of socialist society. They ranted that they wanted to intervene in life," which is that they wanted to criticize and reform the actual life of socialism according to their own bourgeois world views. They also promoted "one book-ism", an attempt to use the individual fame and fortune of the bourgeoisie to lure young people to depart from the party's leadership, to cause them to follow a counter-party path.

Following the overall victory against the right wing, we also achieved victory against right wing elements on the literary and art front. The right wing forces, as represented by Ting Ling (0002 3781) and Ch'en Ch'i-hsia (7115 0120 7209), were dealt a serious blow.

After the struggle against the right wing, did class struggle cease in the literary and art circles? Did the bourgeoisie halt its attacks on us? No, the class struggle will not halt; it doesn't depend on man's will, for when a certain climate is created, the bourgeoisie again rises up to cause trouble. From 1959 to 1961, during the three consecutive years of natural disasters and temporary economic difficulties, imperialism, the reactionaries of every country, and modern revisionism all got together to raise up a frantic anti-China chorus. At that time, the bourgeoisie again launched new attacks on socialism in the political, economic, and ideological fields. Responding to these assaults, a new adverse current appeared on the literary and art front.

This time the bourgeoisie did not use the form employed by the right wing in 1957, that of saying boldly that the "present is not as good as the past", that "laymen cannot direct experts;" they adopted a different form.

In the literary and art realms, they first of all started to perform on the stage (because the stage is most extensively related to the masses) every sort of bad play and ghost plays. For a spell our stage was almost taken over by emperors, kings, generals and ministers, and talented scholars and great beauties. These plays praised the ancient feudal rule, and glorified feudal morality. Some plays also use metaphor and allusion, borrowed the past to ridicule the present, and raised the banner of "seeking the mandate for the people", in order to attack today's socialist society, and to express their dissatisfaction with life under socialism. The appearance of demons of every sort was not limited to the stage alone, but was a general social phenomenon. This was a reflection of the struggle between the various classes and political forces in society.

In the film field, some comrades put forward the proposal to "depart from the classics and to revolt against the path," which was to depart from the revolutionary classics and to revolt against the path of revolutionary war. They said that too many of our films described

revolution and arming struggles. If we did not depart from past practices, the movies would not be able to produce "new products." I would like to ask you: can we depart from the revolutionary classics, revolt against the path of revolutionary war? If we do so, what difference will there be between us and the revisionists? Some bad films which appeared later were the results of the erroneous thinking at that time.

In the literary field, some comrades put forward the theory of "writing about people in the middle." What are "people in the middle?" This approach is to slander the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants as dwelling in a "middle position" wavering between socialism and capitalism. Their goal was to spread doubt about socialism and attitude of wavering by means of "writing about people in the middle". They were opposed to writing about the heroes of the socialist era in their works.

There were some comrades who also vociferously propagated the literary and art tradition of "the 1930's." They used this to oppose the tradition of literature and art serving the workers, peasants, and soldiers, which had existed since the Yanan forum. In wanting to return to the literature and art of the 1930's, they wanted to depart from the socialist path, to follow the capitalist path.

The adverse current in literary and art circles reached a peak in 1961 and 1962. We felt that this bourgeois attack on literature and art was a little late and we did not counter-attack vigorously. Similar to the other criticisms and struggles of the literary and art circles, it was again comrade Mao Tse-tung who raised our vigilance. He pointed out that many communist party members were ardently promoting feudal and capitalist art; they were not vigorously promoting socialist art. He pointed out that some leaders of cultural departments and some literary and art publications were virtually not implementing the party's policies at all; they were not getting near to the workers, peasants, and soldiers, nor reflecting the socialist revolutionary activities and construction.

In accordance with the instructions of the party center and comrade Mao Tse-tung, we examined the shortcomings and errors in our work, undertook a rectification in literature and art. At the same time we opened sharp criticism in our publications of every type of bourgeois and revisionist thinking in the literary and art world. This was the fifth great criticism in the literary and art front; this was an even more penetrating criticism than in the past, a sharp struggle between the two paths.

Comrades, from the above brief account of the history of struggle in literature and art, we can see how complex and violent these struggles are. We can see that the literary and art front has not previously been a peaceful scene.

The reason why the struggle on the literary and art front is so acute and violent is because: First, this is an objective reflection of the domestic and international class struggle and is unavoidable. Literature and art are extremely sensitive sensory organs in the class struggle. Class struggle will necessarily be reflected in literature

and art, and it is often reflected there first of all. Literature and art are like a feeler, for it will immediately respond to whichever way the various classes move. When changes occur in the class struggle situation, when the proletariat meets with some difficulties, when the proletariat undertakes self-criticism, the bourgeoisie takes the opportunity to attack. This attack is frequently launched first in the literary and art realm, for this realm is the most sensitive and the weakest link. Second, the bourgeoisie still has a certain type of superiority in this realm. They themselves feel that they have sufficient capital to cross swords with the proletariat. Most intellectuals, and this includes party intellectuals, have received a bourgeois education. They retain many bourgeois things in their world view and literary and art views. In literary and art work, it is very easy to become contaminated with bourgeois thinking and the bourgeois concept of fame and fortune. Especially if the literary and art workers depart from the workers, peasants, and soldiers, if they depart from labor and the actual struggles, it is very easy for them to fall under bourgeois influence, to become slaves to, and spokesmen for, bourgeois thinking.

It can be seen that the struggle on the literary and art front is unavoidable. If we don't engage in this struggle, there is the danger that our literary and art workers will degenerate. Our economic base is socialist, our politics consist of the dictatorship of the proletariat. If literature and art, which is part of the superstructure ideologically, does not propagate proletarian, socialist ideology, it will propagate bourgeois, revisionist thinking. Then it will not only not be able to consolidate the socialist economic base and the dictatorship of the proletariat, but it will serve the role of sabotaging these. It will make ideological preparations for the restoration of capitalism and will prepare a path.

Comrades, we definitely must not underestimate the class struggle in the literary and art realm. When the counter-revolutionary elements revolted in Hungary in 1956 and wanted to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat, there was a p'ei-to-fei club, that is, a clique of a number of revisionist, bourgeois literary and art people and intellectuals, which acted as the vanguard. If we do not oppose modern revisionism and its thinking, if our literary and art workers do not conscientiously reform their thinking, there could come a day when the wind would blow stirring the grass, and our literary and art circles would fall into the quicksand of revisionism.

If we firmly and constantly struggle on the literary and art front, we not only can avoid and reduce the danger the revisionism, but we can also greatly spur the development of socialist literature and art. Our proletarian literature and art advances in the course of struggle. Criticism and struggle make straight the way of socialist literature and art. Bourgeois forces and influence hinder the development of socialism and block the growth of socialist literature and art. Therefore we must sweep the path clean. We must sweep repeatedly, and every time we do, we should advance by one large stride.

After the Yen-an forum on literature and art, a new situation

appeared in our revolutionary literature and art. The recent criticism and struggle on the literary and art front we may say is a large-scale rectification which is a continuation of this Yanan forum, a continuation of the Yanan rectification under new historical conditions. It can be predicted that our literature and art will leap forward into a new stage by means of this struggle. Now, a new high tide in socialist cultural revolution has already arrived. This has brought, and will continue to bring, great changes in every aspect of our literature and art. We are now in the process of these great changes.

First, there has been a change in the countenance of literature and art. This has first of all manifested itself on the stage. The stage is a frontline outpost. In 1961 and 1962, when feudal and capitalist forces made an assault on literature and art, they started by occupying the dramatic stage. When the proletariat counter-attacked and deepened the cultural revolution of socialism, they also started by occupying the dramatic stage. Peking opera performed many modern plays and opened a new situation in the cultural revolution. Plays such as "Hung Teng-Chi" and "Sha Chia Ping" were ardently praised by the broad masses. Throughout various areas, many good plays appeared on the stage. Practice has proven that as long as we follow the direction of serving the workers, peasants, and soldiers, and socialism, as long as we have the courage for bold innovation and the patience for repeated experiments, as long as we dare to use new revolutionary contents to transform old forms, not only will our contents be new, but our forms will also become new. This is true of traditional Chinese forms and also of foreign forms. The ballet put on the "Red Woman Fighter". In the "East Is Red," the form was major singing and dancing to perform a narrative poem of the Chinese revolution. This new bold experiment was crowned with success. A symphony group put on the Peking opera "Sha Chia Ping." Artistic workers in Szechwan joined together with the folk artists and masses. With strong class feelings, they carved out the moving images of "Shou Tzu Yuan." All these accomplishments prove that Chairman Mao's policy of pushing out the old and letting the new emerge, of utilizing the ancient for today and the foreign for China is the most correct way for developing the new national, socialist literature and art. We have already accumulated much useful experience in this field. All literary and art forms appreciated by the people are creations of our predecessors, crystallizations of their heart's blood. We must use them and develop them in a discriminating, analytical, and creative way; we must definitely not scorn them and discard them. With revolutionary thinking and new content, various changes in literary and art forms will be brought about; there will be changes on the stage, changes in music and dance, changes in sculpture, changes in literature. Doesn't our literature also want to change? Many new stories and tales have been created. They express the new thinking, new people, and new style in China's socialist revolution and construction. Both ideological content and artistic technique have clearly broken the past standard of the same sort of products. These have expressed new characteristics.

Hsin Jen Hsin Tso Hsuan (Selection of New Persons and New Works) has brought together some of the results in this field.

Second is the change in the appearance of the cultural life of the workers, peasants, and soldiers. Following the new high tide in industrial and agricultural production, and the development of the socialist education drive in the cities and countryside, as well as the deepening of the cultural revolution, there was a new leap forward in the cultural life of the masses of workers and peasants, particularly of the rural masses. Our overall cultural and educational work began to put the priority on the rural areas. The spare time cultural activities of the rural masses started to develop with its center around the club (the cultural center). Of you who are attending this meeting, many were activists in these clubs. You felt that you could not tolerate having the demons of feudalism and capitalism occupy the cultural fortress. Struggle pushed on to the battleground of literature and art. Many of you were forced to take up literary and art weapons which you had not previously been acquainted with. In the villages and factories you set up the socialist cultural positions. If you had not done so, there could have been no true mass socialist revolution in culture. Of the thousands of clubs in the production teams and factories, every one is an advance outpost. There you are toppling the old stories with new ones, the old plays with new ones, the old songs with new ones. You are the sowers of the new revolutionary culture, the propagandists for the thought of Mao Tse-tung, the shock troops for the socialist revolution in culture. By means of these activities, you have brought forth many good achievements in serving the revolutionary struggle and in serving production. As long as you follow closely the principles of relating to the masses, of coordinating with production, of acting in accordance with the needs and desires of the masses as instructed by comrade Mao Tse-tung, your activities will play an increasingly larger role, and will be more and more welcomed by the workers, peasants, and soldiers.

Third is the change in the appearance of the literary and art ranks. On the one hand, there is the new literary and art army which has sprung from out of the workers, peasants, and soldiers, and this is the new army of spare time literary and art creators as represented by you here. On the other hand, the literary and art specialists have actively responded to the party's call. In large numbers they are enthusiastically going among the workers, peasants, and soldiers with the determination for self-reform; they are taking part in labor, in struggle, sending revolutionary culture to the villages, the factories, and the military forces. A great change has taken place in their spiritual countenances. You are different from them: Many of you are of the workers, peasants, and soldiers, and you stand in the first line of socialist revolution and construction. Literary and art specialists must all the better unite with you and learn from you. At the same time, you should learn from them. When spare time literary and art workers and specialists are all deeply rooted in the masses of workers, peasants, and soldiers, when they all make a living study and use of

the works of Chairman Mao, then a truly revolutionary, labor-acclimated literary and art corps will grow up in a sturdy fashion.

In sum, the changes in the literary and art scene, in the cultural life of the masses, in the appearance of the literary and art ranks, have created a new situation in the cultural revolution. Could this situation have appeared without criticism and struggle? No, it could not have. We can see: It is only through criticism and struggle that we can advance the cultural revolution, push socialist literature and art towards a new high tide, towards a new stage; and we are presently striving for this goal.

Put the Emphasis on Writing about Socialism and Depicting Heroic Figures

The criticisms and struggle on the literary and art front primarily resolve the question of whether literature and art serves the workers, peasants, and soldiers, and socialism. After this is resolved, the task of developing creative work should be put in the first place. Of course, the question of direction is a long-term one, and it will not be forever solved by one campaign. We should constantly keep in mind in our practice of creation that we must never depart from the party's policy of serving the masses.

The question of creative work is primarily one of what and how we write. Today's literature and art should: First, put stress on writing about socialism; second, put stress on depicting heroic figures.

Do we want to write about socialism, and how do we go about it?

This question may appear a little strange. Do you mean to say that it is permissible not to write about socialism in our works? It would seem that nobody has ever said this. However there has already been a question about this. Three years ago, the now deceased comrade K'io Ch'ing-shih (2688 1987 2457) asked writers that they describe the 13 years (now it is 16 years) since the founding of the CPR, and at that time some comrades replied that this was not acceptable. What does it mean to write about 13 years? It means to write about the socialist era. If there is resistance to writing about the 13 years, isn't there also resistance to writing about socialism? This is the crux of the matter.

Why would one not wish to write about socialism? This is because some persons basically do not like socialism. They like the things of capitalism and feudalism, not socialist things. They use every sort of pretext to resist writing about socialism. For even more persons the reason is because they lack ideological preparation about socialism.

The establishment of the CPR in 1949 signalled the Chinese democratic revolution. Under the leadership of the CCP, after 28 years of struggles (and it is more than 100 years of battling if we count from the old democratic revolution), victory was virtually achieved throughout the entire country. Starting at this time, the revolution entered a new historical stage -- the stage of socialist revolution. Of course, there were still some tasks of the democratic revolution. For example, the land reform efforts in the newly liberated regions were completed only after 1949. However, the power of the dictatorship

of the proletariat was established in the country; more than 80 percent of the bureaucratic capital which had been controlling China's industrial and mining enterprises was confiscated, and this was changed into a state-operated economy of a socialist nature. This was the start of China's great socialist revolution. Due to the fact that the socialist revolution was carried out under conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat having seized power, and that the transition from the democratic to the socialist revolution was made very quickly, there were many persons who lacked ideological preparations for the socialist revolution, unlike their approach to the democratic revolution when they were prepared and deeply moved. Many people were not clear about the questions of what socialism was, what the primary object of the socialist revolution was, whether or not class struggle and the struggle between the two paths still existed under socialism. Comrade P'eng Chen (1756 4176) has said that the bodies of many entered into socialist society, but their minds stayed behind in feudal or capitalist society. This was the basic reason why many persons were not in accord with the times and the environment, why they could not adjust. This situation was strikingly manifest in literary and art circles.

From the stage of democratic revolution to the stage of socialist revolution involved a change in two different historical epochs, a change of the era. In these two stages our revolutionary proletarian literature and art had a similar and also a dissimilar position. The common part was: the literature and art of the two epochs was in the service of the masses and of revolutionary politics; it was to be guided by proletarian ideology and communist ideology. What was different was: In the stage of democratic revolution its main task had been to propagandize the nationalistic revolution, to oppose imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism; in the stage of the socialist revolution, the main task of literature and art has been to propagate the socialist revolution and construction, opposition to capitalism, and at the same time along with the revolutionary peoples of the world opposition to imperialism and revisionism. Due to the change in the social economic base and the change in the world situation, the task and content of literature and art had necessarily to change also. In the stage of democratic revolution, what we set up was a new democratic politics, economy, and culture, and although there were socialist elements in this, what played the major role in the overall picture was not the socialistic but rather the new democratic. After 1949, things were no longer the same. The proletariat had seized state power. By means of three great socialist reforms the entire economic base became socialist, and it was necessary that our culture also become socialist so that it would be in accord with the economic base. This was a fundamental change. After the end of the democratic revolution, the main domestic contradiction became that between socialism and capitalism and between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The main task of socialist literature and art was to oppose capitalism, and although it still had the tasks of opposing imperialism and feudalism, and from the viewpoint of the whole world opposition to imperialism was an extremely important task, domestically

opposition to capitalism was primary. For a rather long period of time some of our literary and art workers did not acquire a clear understanding of the change in literature and art of these two eras. Today, the foremost task on the whole ideological front and on the literary and art front is to propagate socialism, to oppose capitalism, to promote proletarian ideology and to annihilate bourgeois thinking.

Comrades, most of your works describe socialism, and your strong point is that you are rather well acquainted with socialism. In this respect the older generation of writers is not up to you. They are familiar with the democratic revolution but not so familiar with the socialist revolution. We mainly depend on you to write about socialism. Of course the older generation of writers is striving to become familiar with socialism and to write about socialism. Comrades, writing about socialism is your glorious task. In the present era, is there anything more worthy of describing and praising than socialism? A famous European bourgeois writer has said also that socialism is the only topic worth writing about today. But he also said that writers in socialist countries do not possess good techniques and their products are not good. The Western writers have the skills but do not have socialism to write about. His conclusion was pessimistic, and this is the necessary result of his looking at questions with a one-sided bourgeois viewpoint. To describe socialism is our duty; it is also our happiness.

If we affirm that we should write about socialism, the next question is how.

What sort of thing is socialism? Are there classes and class struggle in socialism? It is only when we clearly recognize the questions in our thinking and practice that we can correctly express socialism in art. According to the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint, during the entire historical period of socialism before the arrival of communism, there will be class struggle. Comrade Mao Tse-tung summed up the new historical experiences and deeply developed this thinking; he pointed out that after the virtual completion of the socialist reform of the ownership of the means of production contradictions would still exist in socialist society, as would contradictions between the enemy and us and among the people, and classes and class struggle. He pointed out that the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and the struggle between the two paths would run throughout the entire historical period of socialist society right up to the arrival of communism. This is an extremely important creative development of Marxism-Leninism.

With regard to the thinking about the existence of classes and class struggle in socialist society, comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out the direction concerning how to write about socialism. In the past we have had many influential pieces, the majority of which described the stage of democratic revolution, such as Hung Ch'i P'u (Red Flag Register), Ch'ing-ch'un-chih Ko (Song of Youth), Hung Yen (Red Rock), etc. But there are relatively few influential pieces which describe the socialist revolution and socialist construction. In recent years more have gradually appeared, and their viewpoint is rather clear; they have been written on new people and things in the socialist era and on class

struggle and the struggle between the two paths in the socialist society. Consequently, their influence has been rather large.

Looking back for a moment, when the stage was almost completely taken over by emperors, kings, generals, ministers, talented scholars, and great beauties three years ago, the writer from the military wrote and put on the stage the play Ni-hung Teng-hsia-ti Shao-ping (Sentinels under the Neon Lights). What was the significance of this play? Like the first clap of spring thunder, it cut through the miasma hanging over the stage. At the same time, it had a sharp class struggle theme of the encroachment of bourgeois thinking on the PLA soldiers after the Liberation. After this play came Tuo Yin (Seizure of the Seal), which described class struggle in the villages; next came Nien-ch'ing-ti I-tai (The Younger Generation), which described class struggle among young people; next came Ch'ien-wan Pu-yao Wang-chi (Never Forget), which described class struggle among the workers. These plays for the first time clearly pointed up and depicted the various forms by which capitalist forces and bourgeois ideology attack our workers, peasants, soldiers, and our young people; and they show how we vigorously beat back these assaults.

We should give a high appraisal to these works. Although they have some defects (for example, the images of some advanced persons are still not sufficiently striking, etc.), they were welcomed at once by the masses. Now why was this? This was because they answered the question of whether we should oppose capitalism in actual life, and they answered this question correctly. It is only when a work correctly reflects and answers a question of the times that it can actively help the people to advance history.

We must boldly describe every sort of contradiction and struggle in socialist society. We must describe the contradiction among the people, class struggle, and the struggle between the two paths. If we do not, we will violate the true nature of the times, and Chairman Mao's viewpoint on class struggle and the struggle between the two paths; we would as a result fall into the trap of the "theory of no clashes."

Some comrades feel that it is easy to commit errors when describing struggle and contradictions among the people, and so as much as possible they play down and smooth off these struggles and contradictions. This is incorrect. Not only is the struggle between the two paths and class struggle violent, but so is the struggle between the advanced and the backward, the correct and the erroneous. If we described contradictions and struggle in actual as being easy to resolve, revolutionary struggle as being smooth sailing, then why should we want to learn from the spirit of "Duke Yu Moves a Mountain?" Revolutionary struggle is filled with frightful waves and towering seas; it must undergo every sort of difficulty and danger, twisting and turning, and repeated hand-to-hand combat before it can achieve final victory. Where are there contradictions so easy to resolve? Where are there struggles which are such smooth sailing? If in our works we distort and oversimplify actual life, we cannot achieve the goal of correctly educating the people.

In stressing writing about socialism, we do not oppose

historical topics. However, what is foremost and required in great quantity is to write about socialism today. Of course, subjects on the democratic revolution and out of history of the people's struggles are indispensable in our creations. There are still many topics from the stage of the democratic revolution which should be written about. For example, we should write the great histories of the people's struggles in the various epochs, the history of the class struggle of the Chinese workers. Not only should we write about the class struggle presently on the industrial front, the struggle between the two paths, and the struggle between the advanced and the backward, but we should also write the history of the struggles of our workers. There have been two few past works which described the workers' class struggle and exposed the exploitation of capitalism.

Should we depict heroic figures, and how should we go about this?

Whether or not we write about the advanced persons and the heroes among the workers, peasants, and soldiers is related to the question of whether our literature and art is truly revolutionary and socialist, whether our writers truly stand on the side of the proletariat. Whether or not we can depict model images of heroic figures from the proletariat and working people shows whether our socialist literature and art is mature or not. The literature and art of every class praises the ideal persons of that class. If proletarian literature and art doesn't praise the proletariat and the working class and their advanced persons, then can it still be considered proletarian literature and art? Even with the advent of communism in the future when there will be no classes, we should still describe heroic figures. At that time, without classes, there will be still advanced and backward groups; the level of people's consciousness will not be all the same. The literary and art products of that time will still have to depict heroic figures, and help people continue to push history ahead.

Our Internationale is a great proletarian poem; doesn't it depict progressive proletarians? It isn't a short story, nor a long narrative poem, and of course it has no concrete figures in it. However, it exudes the heroic revolutionary aura of the entire proletariat, and throughout the entire song brilliant images of revolutionary proletarian heroes flash out. "Arise slaves," "smash the old world to pieces," "we will be masters of the world." -- what an heroic atmosphere! What brilliant heroic figures! Lenin said: The "Internationale" is the "song of the advanced fighters" of the working class, and it is only because it is precisely this that it can mobilize and encourage the proletariat of the world to rise up to battle, and thus it has become the "song of the proletariat of the whole world." Could the songs of backward people and people in the middle achieve this function?

We have already undertaken a series of struggles with the various bourgeois and revisionist viewpoint which are opposed to depicting heroic figures. We criticize the erroneous theory of "writing about people in the middle" because it essentially opposes praises socialism and praising the advanced figures of the workers, peasants, and soldiers. This is not to say that people in a neutral position cannot be depicted

in our works. There are many such people and they can and should be written about. We should write about reactionary people, so why not people in the middle? This is not the point; the point is that the persons who advocate "writing about people in the middle" have their own special understanding of these people. They consider that the majority of China's peasants are people in the middle who are wavering between socialism and capitalism. This is to slander our poor and lower-middle peasants. Of course, there are differences in the levels of consciousness of the poor and lower-middle peasants, but the majority of them follow the socialist path and wish to do so; who could say that they are wavering between socialism and capitalism? The persons who hold this theory are themselves wavering between socialism and capitalism, and in actuality they are quite hesitant about socialism and loath to bid farewell to capitalism. This is their spiritual state, and they want to impose this state on the working people. They don't believe that there are heroic figures within the masses, and so they hold that it is only in depicting "people in the middle" that they can be realistic, that they can deepen "realism." If they were to write more about heroic figures, that would not be realistic. Obviously, their reality is reality seen through the glasses of a member of the bourgeoisie; it is not the reality of the proletariat. They basically oppose the method of creation of combining revolutionary realism and revolutionary romanticism.

The question of depicting heroic figures is no longer a purely theoretical one, but rather an urgent practical question. What is our heroic figure today? He is a Lei Feng-like, Wang Chieh-like (3769 2638) figure who is armed with the thought of Mao Tse-tung, who is feverishly loyal to the revolution, who fears neither hardship nor death. He is a Ta-ch'ing or Ta-chai person who engages in world-transforming struggles with the spirit of "Duke Yu Moves a Mountain." This type of figure is not rare today. Ten years ago, in a note to his article, "Ch'en Hsueh-meng (7115 1331 1322), Leader of Cooperativization," comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out: "In China this sort of heroic figure is appearing in the thousands and tens of thousands. It's a pity that the men of literature gone to seek them out." (3) Some writers not only don't go to find them, but oppose other people going to find them. These persons, just as comrade Mao Tse-tung has said, are nothing but "worms within the revolutionary ranks."

Comrades on the Central Committee of the Young Communist League have pointed out that not enough advanced young people are written about today. In some works it is not the advanced side of the young people which is portrayed, but the backward side. This is an important question which our writing comrades should give heed to. We should describe the various deeds of the advanced young people on every front, and depict the brilliant images of every sort of advanced young person; these will serve as models for the young people to learn from. This is an important task for our literary and art creation. Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "Young people constitute one of the most active and vigorous forces of all the forces of society." (4) He compared youth to "the sun at eight

or nine o'clock in the morning." Of course, there are all sorts of young people in actual life: There are the progressive and the backward; there are those of firm will and those of weak will; there are those filled with the spirit to move ahead who do not fear hardship and who are courageous in advancing, and there are those who are just the opposite, who seek after a life of ease and of just getting by. There are all types and they may all be written about. But the priority should be on writing about the mainstream of the youth. There is no doubt that young people overall are the most active and vigorous; today's mainstream of young people is progressive and revolutionary. Their spiritual countenance is bursting with energy; they are filled with ardent concern to serve the people, with a constantly revolutionary spirit of moving ahead, with a firm will to dare to struggle to the finish with all enemies and all difficulties. A generation of new communist people is now growing up. Our literary and art products should honestly express this bursting spirit of the young people.

I also recommend that writers give heed to writing about young scientists and technicians and young intellectuals who go into the mountains and villages. Many scientists and technicians, especially young ones, have gone among the workers and peasants; they stand with the masses on the first line of production and without shirking serve the construction of the fatherland. They study diligently and do research, dare to think and act, and strive to scale the pinnacles of the world's science and technology. Are not the many advanced persons and stirring deeds which they do worthy of our writing efforts? In recent years, millions of young intellectuals have responded to the party's call; they have gone into the rural areas and mountains, have taken part in labor, have become new-style peasants, and they have given their youth and strength to construct new socialist villages. This is a great movement in the revolutionization of youth. Their revolutionization and laborization should be expressed in our literary and art works, so as to encourage even more young people to follow in their footsteps.

In recent years there have been some good works on writing about heroic figures, and in particular people have respected the writing done on military life. For example, the short stories, K'ai Ting-feng Ch'uan ti Chiao-se (The Role of Running the Boat Against the Head Wind) and Cheng-chih Lien-chang (Political Company Commander), have clearly depicted progressive soldiers armed with the thought of Mao Tse-tung; they have deeply embodied the truth of the human factor being primary. From these works we can see that subjective motivation and spiritual strength can be elevated to a very high degree. When a person is encouraged by great ideals and when he is armed with a great ideology, he can do extraordinary things. Did not K'ai Ting-feng Ch'uan-ti Chiao-se describe simply the unyielding character of Lu Niu-tzu (7627 3662 1311)? No, it rather described how this character was formed, where his surprising resolution and patience came from. This was developed by the party, forged in the furnace of the People's Liberation Army. Since the party pointed out a great objective for him, this objective became the source

of all his strength. Cheng-chih Lien-chang described political and ideological work within the military forces and to what a careful degree this work was carried out. It was like a key which unlocked everyone's heart, and it raised the original superior virtues of the working people and the friendship among them to an extremely high point. Our military forces come from the four corners of the country for a common goal. They develop comradely relations, mutual concern for each other, provide mutual help and mutual encouragement. This is a class friendship, a revolutionary love, a most lofty, most pure friendship without any trace of selfishness. The five-good soldiers and four-good companies typify an entirely new type of person, a new communist person; they represent entirely new relations among the working people, revolutionary comradely relations. In our works which describe the PLA forces, the workers, and the peasants, expression of these new persons and new relations is something which was not seen in the writing of the past.

Heroic figures constitute the positive face to our writings; we want to write about the positive and the negative also. The positive exists in comparison with the negative and develops in the struggle with the negative. Of course our works should not simply depict heroic figures, writing about them in isolation; they should rather depict them in the various contradictions and struggles which surround them. Heroes grow to maturity in struggle, and their most precious qualities can only be expressed in the course of struggle.

Much discussion about how to depict heroes has in the past been abstract and divorced from reality. Advanced persons in all walks of life have different types of characters, different experiences, and differing events in their lives. How can we beforehand set up a model and then create according to this model? With regard to the question of how to depict heroes, you have provided a most important experience, and that is to become acquainted with the heroes, to understand and to learn from them. I don't think there is any other path apart from this. How can you write about them if you don't know them? If you don't learn from them, if there is a great gap between your ideological boundaries and theirs, how can you write about them? In some of our works, the negative and backward characters have been depicted with vigor and force, while the advanced persons and heroic figures are played down in contrast. What principle is this? The basic reason is that we are not well enough acquainted with the advanced persons, we don't know them well enough. One comrade put it well in saying that the course of becoming acquainted with heroic figures and writing about them is the process of reforming and elevating one's own thinking.

The primary content of our literature and art is to write about socialism and heroic characters, but we want to have a diversity of forms and styles. In this diversity, if we depart from the direction of serving the workers, peasants, soldiers, and socialism, we will slide on to the corrupt path of the bourgeoisie. While firmly maintaining the prerequisite of this serving, the more forms and styles there are the better. This is the policy of letting a hundred flowers bloom in socialist literature and art. Our literary and art workers should strive to seek out and

create forms which the masses enjoy. Oral forms and written forms are both fine, and we must promote and disseminate those which the masses care for. For example, telling stories, this oral form, is something which the masses like and we must promote and disseminate it. In this respect, we must discard old rules and all things which hem in our approach. We must have the courage to establish the new and different in our literature and art. We must establish the new of socialism, the different of the proletariat. New revolutionary contents require new forms and styles. With correct political content and with the artistic form by which to lead people towards victory, our literature and art can all the better develop its role of educating and influencing the masses of people.

In order to develop socialist literary and art creation rapidly and in a healthy manner, we need to adopt the method of combining the leadership, the writers, and the masses. The leadership must provide the direction and the tasks to the writers; it must provide help and a pointer ideologically in the course of writing. Many young part time writers have felt from their own experiences that without the direction and enlightenment of the leadership, without the help of the masses, they could not have written well. You say that you want to seek instruction from the leadership and the masses, and this is correct. In this way, politics will take command over literature and art, individual wisdom will be combined with collective wisdom, and creative efforts will no longer be the work of the individual alone. It will have become a part of party work, a part of the revolutionary cause of the masses. So when we carry out the "three unities", it is a question of embodying the party's leadership in literature and art, a question of following the mass line.

Train Inheritors of the Cause of Socialist Literature and Art

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has repeatedly raised the point that our party must give full heed to training and creating inheritors to the cause of the proletarian revolution. He has said that this is a great 100-year, 1000-year, 10,000-year plan for the cause of the proletarian revolution. For the cause of proletarian literature and art, we must also train and create our own inheritors. This is a part of the general task of providing inheritors for the proletarian revolution.

There is a particular important in training inheritors for socialist literature and art. This is because:

First, the inheritors of literature and art must put on the mantle of the older generation, but it must follow completely the old path or follow a basically different path. We must continue the revolutionary spirit of the former generation in the field of revolutionary literature and art since the "May Fourth" movement. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said: "The direction of Lu Hsun is the direction for the new culture of the Chinese people." (5) From being a revolutionary democrat Lu Hsun in the end became a communist. "With an angry look I point coldly at the military leaders, while I gladly bow my head to act as the child's ox." These two lines of poetry fully express Lu Hsun's attitude on

clearly separating the enemy from us. Towards the enemy he felt hatred, and towards the people love. This spirit is what we should continue and develop. Apart from this, the older generation of writers has rather rich creative experience, and we should respect and learn from this. However, we cannot simply imitate this experience for we should study in analytically and critically. Since the era you live in is different, the objects you reflect are different. You are about to follow a completely different path than did the older generation of writers. You live, work, and battle in the basic level units of factories, villages, and military units. You are the new workers, peasants, and soldiers of the socialist era, and you possess experience in labor and in fighting. The majority of the older generation of writers do not have this experience. In this respect, I am a backward element compared to you, and I should learn from you. From the very start you grew up under the training and care of the party and the thought of Mao Tse-tung. This was not true with the older generation of writers. The majority of you will never depart from your production positions and basic level work; you will both work and create, and this is basically different from the situation of the older generation. Therefore, you are to follow a new path, a path of revolution and labor, a path of gradually narrowing the gap between mental and physical labor, a path which leads to communism.

Second, the reason why this question is important is also because the intellectuals (including those in literature and art and science) are an important target which the imperialists and bourgeoisie are contending over with the proletariat. The bourgeois enemy will both attempt to use violent force to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat, and will also use the trick of "peaceful evolution." In the Soviet Union under the rule of the Khrushchev revisionist clique, this plot has already achieved its purpose. To put it in ordinary terms, "peaceful evolution" means nibbling away at you, wearing you down ideologically, so that your nature changes and you become part of the bourgeoisie; and finally you will see that the dictatorship of the proletariat turns into a bourgeois dictatorship. Imperialism and the bourgeoisie no longer hold many illusions about China's older revolutionary generation, and they are placing their hopes on the next generation, particularly on the young intellectuals. They hope that you will change your natures, that with your knowledge you will not respect the working people, that you will depart from the working people, and pursue the bourgeoisie. People are striving for the key position in your minds, and if this is seized by bourgeois thinking, then you will become inheritors of the bourgeoisie, not of the proletariat. Despite the fact that you would have the designation of party members or members of the Young Communist League, you would in effect have become bourgeois inheritors. This is a danger facing every young intellectual. Young intellectuals in literature must give all the more heed to this danger.

On the question of developing the inheritors, there are two fundamentally opposed lines. One is the Marxist-Leninist line, which is that literary and art workers should become revolutionary and should

labor, so that the young generation becomes people who can both labor and create. They will gradually lessen the gap between mental and physical labor, and they will prepare conditions for entering communism. The method is to let politics and ideology take command. The other line is that of modern revisionism, which is to let literary and art workers depart from the revolution and the masses; they occupy a superior position and become a special stratum, so that finally they oppose the revolution and the people, and prepare conditions for a restoration of capitalism. The method is material incentives and letting individual fame and fortune take command. The results of the revisionist line can only be to cause many among the intellectuals and the literary and art circles to become new bourgeois intellectuals, to become a spiritual aristocracy, to form a social foundation for revisionism. If the preceding cart turns over, take a warning from it. We should put ourselves on guard and give heed to preventing this danger.

We ourselves have also had negative experience in developing young writers. When the right elements attacked, did not some young writers reverse direction politically, and become runners for the right wing? After the party and Young Communist League trained some young writers, they gradually removed themselves from the party and YCL once they had acquired a little reputation, and some went so far as to believe that the party and YCL were preventing them from becoming famous writers. These would prefer to seek out the "famous people" and "experts" of the bourgeoisie, and pay homage at the shrine of individualism. They could not withstand the applause and blandishments of the bourgeoisie, and they often listened to them, followed along behind them, and even set out on an anti-party course. This reflects this sharp struggle between the two paths. Consequently, we must adopt the correct method by which to train inheritors of proletarian literature and art; we must both give ardent encouragement to young people, and put strict demands on them. Literary and art organizations and publications should pay attention to developing new forces, should care for their coming to maturity. They should not use the method of pulling up the plant to aid its growth; they should not give them inappropriate applause; they should not bury their future with vain hopes or material interests.

Some of you comrades may think: We are living among the workers, peasants, and soldiers; we have been nurtured by socialism; we carry out the policy of serving the workers, peasants, soldiers, and socialism, and we are the inheritors of socialist literature and art. Is there still another problem? However, you definitely must not think there are no more problems, for if you do, you will be committing errors. Does the fact that you are from the masses, that you have been soldiers, mean that you will never be influenced by bourgeois ideology, that you might not become inheritors of bourgeois literature and art? The issue is just not that simple. We live in an environment of sharp class struggle both at home and abroad, and the problem of who will win and who will lose ideologically between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie

will require still quite a period to resolve. It may require decades or even centuries before it is resolved. Consequently, everyone of us must arm ourselves with Marxism-Leninism and the thought of Mao Tse-tung, hold firmly to the proletarian standpoint, stand together with the workers, peasants, and soldiers forever, constantly struggle, and constantly advance. We must prepare for a long struggle ideologically and prepare to be tested in the strong winds and high seas of this struggle.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung put forward five conditions for the inheritors of the proletarian revolution. First of all, one must be a "true Marxist-Leninist;" one must be a "revolutionary who whole-heartedly serves the majority of the people of China and of the world." One must also be able to unite and work with the majority of people, possess a democratic work style, modesty, a spirit of self-criticism, etc. One is first the revolutionary, and then one takes part in the division of labor for the various expertises. With regard to us, we are first of all revolutionaries, and then literary and art workers. At no time must we confuse this relationship.

Because of the standard for a revolutionary, put forward by comrade Mao Tse-tung, of whole-heartedly serving the majority of the people, the goal in our literary and art creation is very clear, and that is the good, resounding slogan raised by you comrades: Write for the workers, peasants, and soldiers; write for the revolution. Do not write for individual interests. Whether one writes for the workers, peasants, and soldiers, or for individual fame and fortune, whether one is a revolutionary first, or a writer first -- this constitutes the struggle between the two world views. This is the foremost important question which we must resolve. Some writers say that creation is like shooting at a target, and the eyes must fix themselves on only one target, for if there are two in view then he won't shoot accurately. That's it exactly! If we say we are going to write for the masses and also for individual fame and fortune, isn't this the same as looking at two targets at once? The result would be that both eyes would be covered over by the concept of fame and fortune. Therefore, we must whole-heartedly write for the masses and the revolution; no element of individualism must enter in. This so-called writing for individual fame and fortune is bourgeois writing. This concept is the classical bourgeois concept. With this concept we could not become loyal spokesmen for the proletariat and working people. When a person has some accomplishment to his name and gains a slight reputation, it is easy for him to become arrogant. We must prevent and oppose arrogance. We must understand that arrogance is a form of blindness, an expression of individualism, a low class spiritual condition. We must correctly handle the question of fame, for we must not consider that fame is individual, but rather that it is collective. We must view it as the result of the training by the party and the people, the encouragement of the party and people on oneself. We must put strict demands on ourselves, and we must do this first ideologically; there must be no relaxing. We must be able to undergo both criticism and praise. Only in this way can we become true revolutionaries.

The basic guarantee that our literary and art workers will not change their natures lies in their not departing from the workers,

peasants, and soldiers, and from labor, in their never departing in the least. In our socialist cultural revolution we want to laborize the intellectuals and intellectualize the masses of workers and peasants. We are going to create conditions for gradually lessening the gap between mental and physical labor. Only in this way can we successfully build socialism and head towards communism. Now we are going to continue to push the system of cadre participation in labor, and we will test out the system of half-work, half-study and half-farm, half-study. This is the basic construction of China. In this way we will be able to guarantee that our country doesn't change color. Our young literary and art workers should firmly hold to the revolutionary spirit and never shirk. The most important guarantee for all this is not to depart from labor nor from the workers, peasants, and soldiers.

Our spare time literary creators must never think of becoming specialized. Our literary and art ranks contain the two parts of the specialized and the spare time worker. There are great numbers of spare time ones, and only a small number of specialists. The future development will be that there are more and more spare time ones. When the communist society is reached, they may all be spare time ones. Marx said: "In communist society there will be no persons who are painters pure and simple; there will only be persons who paint as one of their many activities." (6) At that time, every person will engage in both physical and mental labor. This will be the communist era of the complete development of man. If in our work we do not gradually lessen the gap between physical and mental labor and finally eliminate it, if we continue to develop this gap, then how would we ever reach communism?

Our young generation of literary and art workers should study diligently and strive to elevate their ideological and professional level.

How is this to be done? There are two types of elevation: one is to proceed by following the direction of the workers, peasants, and soldiers; the other is to follow the direction of the bourgeoisie. In fact, these two types of elevation are two different paths on the literary and art front. We must elevate ourselves by following the former, never the latter. Any elevation which departs from the direction of the masses is incorrect.

Comrade Lin Biao has called on the military literary and art workers to strive to achieve the "three masteries." First is ideological mastery, to grasp the thought of Mao Tse-tung; second is life mastery, to understand the lives of the workers, peasants, and soldiers; third is mastery of basic skills, to grasp techniques and skills. All three are indispensable, and the priority is to be on ideological mastery; ideology is basic. Comrade Lin Biao's instructions are appropriate to all literary and art workers. We must learn from the PLA, and also from the literary and art work of the PLA. The reason why it has achieved special results is that it has let politics and ideology take command. Ideology is the moving spirit, the leader. Life is the foundation, the source. Skill and technique are the means by which to express ideology and life. Some young writers think that there are no problems in their thinking; understanding of life is there, and it's just technique which

is inadequate. This idea is incorrect, and it is also dangerous. There is no end to studying Marxism-Leninism and the thought of Mao Tse-tung. No one can say that he has already studied enough, that his thinking has no problems in it. We should study all our lives. Life is the only source for the creation of literature and art, and this source is inexhaustible. No one can say that his understanding of life is already adequate. We should live among the workers, peasants, and soldiers all our lives. If we want to express life correctly, we must learn how to observe, analyze, and study life with the thought of Mao Tse-tung. If we want to elevate our techniques, we must also study the thought of Mao Tse-tung and let it be the pointer; we must adopt a revolutionary critical attitude and a scientific attitude of seeking the truth from the facts. We must absorb the useful things of our forebears and from others. Therefore, whether it is in observing life or in mastering technique, we must use the thought of Mao Tse-tung as our weapon, as our pointer.

Hold high the red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, write for the revolution and the masses under the leadership of the party; become both working and creating literary and art fighters, diligently study and train, be firm and unyielding, strive to produce even more good products; do even more work in spreading mass culture, carry the socialist cultural revolution through to the end; make even greater contributions for China's socialist revolution and construction, and for the cause of world revolution. These are the goals which we are mutually striving for. Let us march courageously ahead.

Notes:

(1) "Talk at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art," The Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Vol. 3, People's Publishing House, 1953, 2nd ed., page 850.

(2) The Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Vol. 2, People's Publishing House, 1952, 2nd ed., page 701.

(3) See the middle volume of Socialist High Tide in Chinese Villages, People's Publishing House, 1956, page 544.

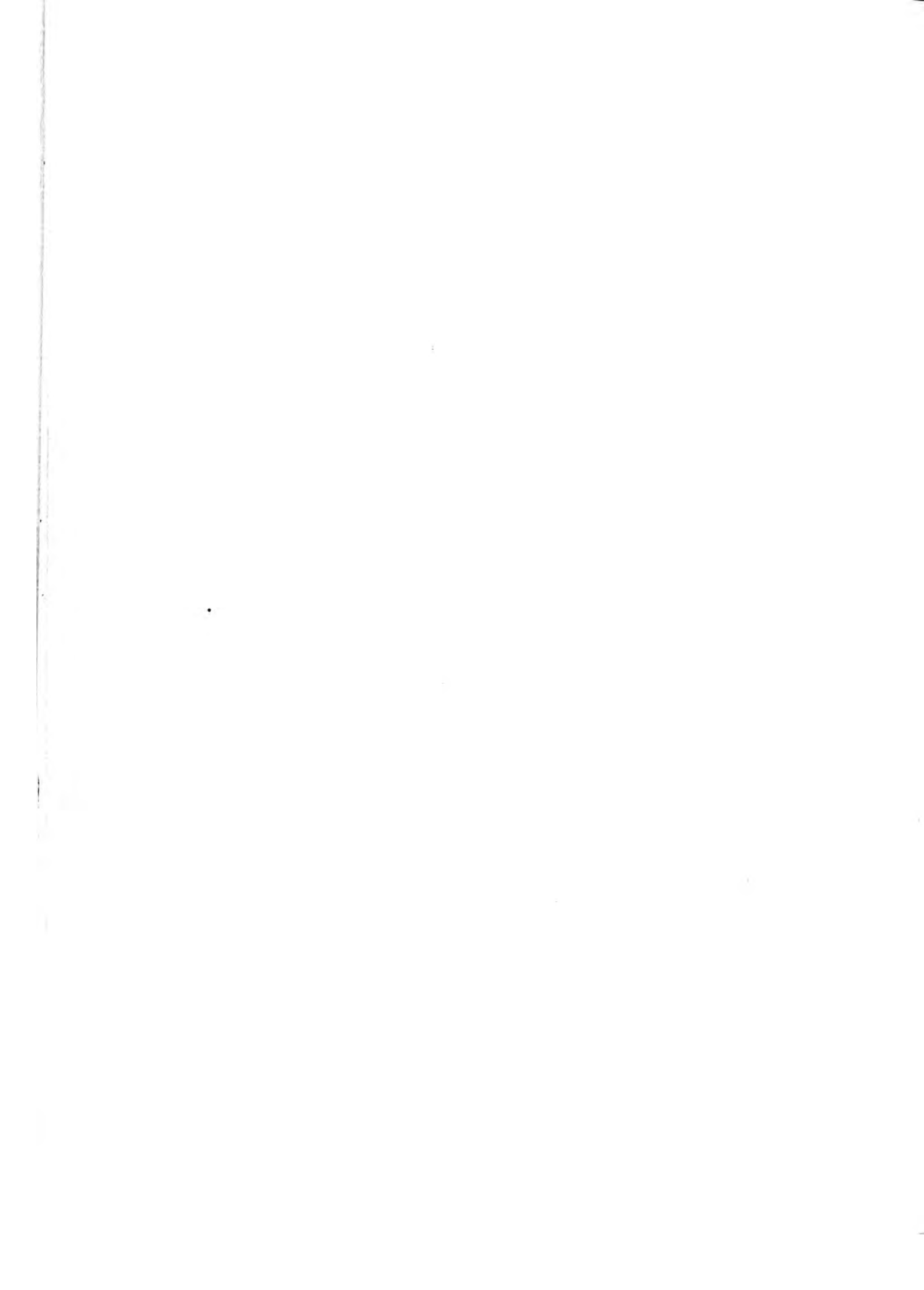
(4) Note to "The Young Shock Brigade of the Ninth Agricultural Cooperative of Hsin-p'ing Hsiang in Chung-shan Hsien." Volume 3 of the work quoted in note No. 3, People's Publishing House, 1956, p. 959.

(5) "On the New Democracy," The Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Vol. 2, page 691.

(6) "German Ideology", The Complete Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. 3, People's Publishing House, 1960, page 460.

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LEADERS OF C.P.S.U. ARE BETRAYERS OF DECLARATION
AND STATEMENT

[Following is the translation of an article by the Editorial Department of Jen-min Jih-pao in the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No. 1, 1 January 1966, pp. 9-12.]

On the fifth anniversary of the issuance of the Statement of 1960, the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. staged a short anti-Chinese farce by publishing a batch of articles.

The revolutionary principles of the Declaration of 1957 and the Statement of 1960 are as diametrically opposed to Khrushchev revisionism as is fire to water. In trying to confuse people by flaunting the banner of the Declaration and the Statement the faithful followers of Khrushchev revisionism only help to reveal their own ugly features still further.

During the drafting of the Declaration and the Statement, the Marxist-Leninists waged intense struggles against the Khrushchev revisionists.

The revisionist line advanced by Khrushchev at the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. is the opposite of the revolutionary principles of the Declaration of 1957. The 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. created grave confusion in the international communist movement. Together with the other fraternal Parties, the Communist Party of China conducted a principled struggle against Khrushchev's revisionist line at the Moscow Meeting.

It was again at Khrushchev revisionism that the revolutionary principles of the Statement of 1960 were directed. By that time, Khrushchev had completely transposed enemies and friends, was openly collaborating with U.S. imperialism, had thoroughly undermined the principles guiding relations among fraternal Parties and countries and was creating a split in the international communist movement. Together with other Marxist-Leninist Parties, the Communist Party of China waged a tit-for-tat struggle

against the Khrushchev revisionist clique and safeguarded the purity of Marxism-Leninism.

Of course, the formulation of certain questions in the Declaration and the Statement is not altogether clear and there are even weaknesses and errors. As the leaders of the C.P.S.U. repeatedly requested that allowances should be made for their need to connect this formulation with the formulation of the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U., we made certain concessions at that time in order to reach agreement. On more than one occasion, we have expressed our readiness to accept any criticism of us on this point. Despite all this, the Declaration and the Statement set forth a series of revolutionary principles which all Marxist-Leninist Parties should abide by.

In the eyes of the Khrushchev revisionists, however, both the Declaration and the Statement were mere scraps of paper. They tore up these documents on the very day they signed them. The Khrushchev revisionists had made up their minds to sing a tune opposite to that of Marxism-Leninism and the Declaration and the Statement. By the time of the 22nd Congress of the C.P.S.U. they produced the revisionist Programme of the C.P.S.U., casting to the four winds all the basic theses of Marxism-Leninism and all the revolutionary principles of the Declaration and the Statement.

Let us contrast the revolutionary principles of the Declaration and the Statement with the line laid down at the 20th and 22nd Congresses and in the Programme of the C.P.S.U., which is being followed tenaciously by its new leaders.

The Declaration and the Statement lay down a revolutionary line. But the Khrushchev revisionists are pressing forward with their anti-revolutionary line of "peaceful coexistence," "peaceful competition" and "peaceful transition." They themselves do not want revolution and forbid others to make revolution. They themselves oppose the armed revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations and forbid others to support armed revolutionary struggles.

The Declaration and the Statement point out that U.S. imperialism is the common enemy of the people of the world and that the people throughout the world must form the broadest united front against the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war. But the Khrushchev revisionists are uniting with U.S. imperialism against the people of the world and carrying out the policy of U.S.-Soviet collaboration for world domination.

The Declaration and the Statement point out that socialist countries must maintain the dictatorship of the proletariat and carry out socialist revolution and socialist construction. But the Khrushchev revisionists advance the fallacies of the "state of the whole people" and the "party of the entire people," abolishing the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union and changing the character of the C.P.S.U. as

the vanguard of the proletariat. They are enforcing the dictatorship of the privileged bourgeois stratum in the Soviet Union and have embarked on the road of capitalist restoration.

The Declaration and the Statement point out that unity among all the Communist Parties and socialist countries must be based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and that in their relations with each other fraternal Parties and countries must follow the principles of independence, complete equality, mutual support and the attainment of unanimity through consultation. But the Khrushchev revisionists practice big-power chauvinism, national egoism and splittism, waving their baton everywhere, willfully interfering in the affairs of fraternal Parties and countries, trying hard to control them and carrying out disruptive and subversive activities against them, and splitting the international communist movement and the socialist camp.

The Declaration and the Statement point out that all Communist Parties must wage struggles against revisionism and dogmatism, and particularly against revisionism, which is the main danger in the international communist movement at present, and the Statement, moreover, explicitly denounces the Yugoslav Tito clique as renegades. But the Khrushchev revisionists join the Tito clique in a passionate embrace and publicly try to reverse the verdict on this gang of traitors. They gather around themselves revisionists of all descriptions to oppose the Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people throughout the world.

The great debate in the international communist movement over the last few years represents a great struggle over whether to uphold or to betray Marxism-Leninism and whether to safeguard or to discard the revolutionary principles of the Declaration and the Statement.

The "Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement" which the Communist Party of China put forward on 14 June 1963, sums up the revolutionary principles of the Declaration and the Statement, upholds the Marxist-Leninist position and refutes Khrushchev revisionism on a series of fundamental questions relating to the revolution in our times.

Preliminary but important results have already been achieved in the Marxist-Leninists' fight against the Khrushchev revisionists. The new leaders of the C.P.S.U. love to talk of the "line confirmed by life itself," don't they? Please open your eyes and have a look. The results "confirmed by life itself" are quite clear. In the face of resolute struggle by all the Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people, the great people of the Soviet Union included, Khrushchev revisionism has been discredited and its founder driven off the stage of history. This is a great victory in the struggle to defend Marxism-Leninism. It is a great victory in the struggle to defend the revolutionary principles of the Declaration and the Statement.

In an article in Pravda, the new leadership of the C.P.S.U. said, "The C.P.S.U. has been and will continue to be loyal to the general line of the international communist movement." Well, let us now examine what the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. have been and will continue to be.

What were they in the past? They were Khrushchev's close comrades-in-arms. They were loyal to the general line of Khrushchev revisionism. They had to relegate to limbo the illustrious Khrushchev, the founder of their faith and the maestro who "creatively developed Marxism-Leninism," simply because Khrushchev was too disreputable and too stupid to muddle on any longer, and because Khrushchev himself had become an obstacle to the carrying out of Khrushchev revisionism. The only way the Khrushchev revisionist clique could maintain its rule was to swap horses.

What are they now? They are the old cast of the Khrushchev revisionist leading group. They remain loyal to the general line of Khrushchev revisionism. They never weary of swearing that the general line worked out at the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the C.P.S.U. under Khrushchev's sponsorship is their "only, immutable, line in the entire home and foreign policy." At times they give the appearance of opposing the United States, but all their policies boil down to one of U.S.-Soviet collaboration for the domination of the world. They have reaffirmed time and again "the immutability of the policy of the U.S.S.R. aimed at establishing all-round co-operation with the United States." While proclaiming that they are building "communism" in the Soviet Union, they are speeding up the restoration of capitalism. Amidst the dust and din of their "united action," they called the divisive March Moscow meeting, stepping up their divisive activities, and they are now hatching a big plot for a general attack on China and a general split in the international communist movement and the socialist camp. They are going farther and farther along the road of Khrushchev revisionism.

And what will they continue to be? Whether or not they can return to the path of Marxism-Leninism and whether or not they can return to the path of the revolutionary principles of the Declaration and the Statement, depend mainly on whether or not they themselves can repudiate the revisionist general line laid down at the 20th and 22nd Congresses and in the Programme of the C.P.S.U. Unless they utterly repudiate this line, whatever tricks they play and whatever patching they do can only prove that they are still practicing Khrushchev revisionism without Khrushchev. All Marxist-Leninists, the great Soviet people and the revolutionary people everywhere have no alternative but to continue to expose them and fight them to the end.

The new leaders of the C.P.S.U. are shouting themselves hoarse for "united action." Above all, they are clamouring for "united action" on the question of Vietnam. But it is precisely on this question, which is the focus of the present international struggle, that their anti-revolutionary position is revealed in its most concentrated form. Far from believing that the Vietnamese people can win in a people's war

against U.S. imperialist aggression, they are afraid that this will bring them "troubles" and hamper their collaboration with U.S. imperialism. Whatever pretences they put up, in the final analysis all their activities are aimed at united action with U.S. imperialism to bring the question of Vietnam into the orbit of Soviet-U.S. collaboration, help U.S. imperialism to realize the plot of "peaceful negotiations" and extinguish the raging flames of the Vietnamese people's revolution. The slogan of "united action" has now become a poisoned weapon in the hands of the Khrushchev revisionists for sowing dissension. In coordination with U.S. imperialism, they are vainly trying to use this slogan to undermine the fighting friendship between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples and the Vietnamese people's unity against U.S. aggression. The Vietnamese people are waging a victorious struggle against U.S. imperialism and for national salvation. It is the duty of the Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people to give their staunch support to the just revolutionary struggle of the Vietnamese people and firmly expose the plot of "united action" hatched by the new leaders of the C.P.S.U.

The new leaders of the C.P.S.U. assert that anyone who does not take "united action" with them is "encouraging the imperialists to launch their ventures." This is turning things upside down. Is it not the very policies of appeasement and capitulationism of the revisionist leading group of the C.P.S.U. and its line of Soviet-U.S. collaboration for world domination that are helping to inflate the aggressive arrogance of U.S. imperialism? It should be pointed out that it is the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. themselves who are actually "encouraging the imperialists to launch their ventures."

What the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. fear most is that the Marxist-Leninists will draw a line of demarcation between themselves and these leaders. But, as Lenin said,

The great work of uniting and consolidating the fighting army of the revolutionary proletariat cannot be carried out unless a line of demarcation is drawn and a ruthless struggle is waged against those who serve to spread bourgeois influence among the proletariat. [V. I. Lenin, "Resolution Adopted by the Second Paris Group of the R.S.D.L.P. on the State of Affairs in the Party," Collected Works, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1963, Vol. XVII, p. 223.]

By clinging to their revisionism and splittism the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. have placed themselves in direct antagonism to Marxism-Leninism. In such circumstances, can the Marxist-Leninists be expected to fail to draw a line of demarcation, both politically and organizationally, between themselves and the new leaders of the C.P.S.U.?

If we failed to draw a clear line of demarcation, both politically and organizationally, between ourselves and the Khrushchev revisionists:

Wouldn't we be joining them in betraying Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary principles of the Declaration and the Statement and become revisionists ourselves?

Wouldn't we be joining them in entering into the service of U.S. imperialism and acting as its accomplices?

Wouldn't we be joining them in undermining the revolution of the fraternal Vietnamese people and rendering service to the U.S. imperialist policy of aggression against Vietnam and of war expansion?

Wouldn't we be accepting them as the "patriarchal father Party" and serving as an instrument under their baton, recognizing their big-power privileged status and serving as their appendage?

Wouldn't we be following them in restoring capitalism at home and once again reducing the broad masses of laboring people to a position in which they are oppressed and exploited?

Wouldn't we be following them in putting ourselves in antagonism to the people of our own country and the whole world and heading for a miserable end without being able to escape the punishment of history?

As a serious Marxist-Leninist Party, the Communist Party of China can only give the categorical answer that we will do none of these things either now or in the future.

The Chinese Communist Party has consistently upheld the unity of the international communist movement and of the socialist camp. The only genuine unity is unity based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and on the revolutionary principles of the Declaration and the Statement. What the new leaders of the C.P.S.U. call "unity" is sham unity. They have betrayed Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism and the revolutionary principles of the Declaration and the Statement, and their betrayal can only lead to a split. We want genuine unity and resolutely oppose sham unity. It is for the sake of achieving genuine international proletarian unity that we are waging struggles against Khrushchev revisionism.

Together with all the other Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people of the world, the Chinese Communists will continue, as always, to hold aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, abide by the revolutionary principles of the Declaration and the Statement and carry the struggle against Khrushchev revisionism through to the end.

The world is on the march. It is our strong conviction that the struggle of the people of the world against imperialism, reaction and modern revisionism and the cause of world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and socialism are bound to keep on winning new great victories.

CSO: 3530-D

POLITICS, THE SUPREME COMMANDER, THE VERY
SOUL OF OUR WORK

[Following is a translation of an unsigned article in the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No. 1, 1 January 1966.]

The new year 1966 has begun. The past year was one in which the Chinese people continued holding the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought up on high, giving prominence to politics on all fronts and so achieving brilliant successes. Again and again Comrade Mao Tse-tung has told us that politics is the supreme commander, the very soul of our work. "Not to have a correct political point of view is like having no soul" (note 1) and "political work is the lifeblood of all economic work." (note 2)

Giving prominence to politics and placing politics in command means placing Mao Tse-tung's thinking in command, giving first place to creative study and application of Mao Tse-tung's ideas in all our work, and strengthening political work. In any field of work, those who do so are able to persist in the correct direction, overcome all difficulties and make outstanding achievements. Those who do not, or do it ineffectively, will certainly make no impact and may even find themselves on the wrong road. This truth has been borne out in our practice time and time again.

The way the relationship is handled between politics on the one hand and different fields of work such as economics and technology on the other, and the place that is given to political work in any sphere of work is a matter of policy and line, and on it depends success or failure in our cause of revolution and construction.

Proletarian politics reflects in concentrated form the fundamental interests of the overwhelming majority of the people. Every field of work is a constituent part of the cause of the proletarian revolution. Every field of work is subordinate to proletarian politics and the political line of the proletariat. It is in the service of proletarian politics,

either proletarian politics or bourgeois politics prevail. There is actually no such thing as economic, military, cultural, or other work which is not subordinate to politics.

Lenin has said, "Unless it has a correct political approach to things, a given class cannot retain power and consequently cannot solve its own tasks in production." (note 3) Therefore, we must persist in this fundamental Marxist-Leninist principle that politics commands everything.

Political work takes first place relative to economic work. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has always emphasized that politics is the concentrated expression of economics. Politics must take command of economics, and not vice versa. The view that "to be good economically means to be good politically," and "to be good in production means to be good politically," is wrong.

Political work takes first place relative to military work. Military affairs are only one means of accomplishing the political tasks. Politics must take command of military affairs, and not vice versa. As far back as 1929 at the famous Kutien conference, Comrade Mao Tse-tung criticized the purely military view on the question of the relationship between military affairs and politics. He pointed out that it is politics which guides military matters, and not the other way round. The view that "to be good militarily means to be good politically" is wrong.

Politics takes first place relative to science and technology. Politics must take command of science and technology, and not vice versa. The view that "to be good in technology means to be good politically" is wrong.

This is the only way to deal with the relationship between politics and economics, military affairs, and science and technology, and with the relationship between political work and all professional work. Naturally there are contradictions between political work and the various kinds of professional work. In solving the contradictions, however, one must not weaken the political work, let alone squeeze it out; on the contrary, the only way is to give prominence to politics, strengthen the political work, do it before doing the professional work, and incorporate it thoroughly with the professional work. By so doing, politics can be employed to lead and carry forward any specialized work.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung says that politics "is the struggle of class against class." (note 4) To depart from class struggle is to depart from all politics. Within China, the struggle between socialism and capitalism, as to which will triumph, will go on for a very long period of history. In the world as a whole, a serious struggle is going on between the Marxist-Leninists and other revolutionary people on the one hand, and on the other the imperialists, headed by the United States, the reactionaries of various countries, and the modern revisionists, and this is the class struggle in the international arena.

In these circumstances, "prominence to politics" requires that we should maintain high vigilance all the time against the class enemy at home and abroad, and on all fronts maintain a firm grip on the class struggle, the struggle between the two roads of socialism and capitalism, and carry out the party's class line thoroughly. This is the only way to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and insure that our cause goes forward in the healthy way along the road of socialism and is forever unconquerable, and, moreover, to give ever more powerful support to the evolutionary struggles of the people all over the world.

Should we forget about class struggle, forget about the struggle between the two roads, we would lose our bearings in our work, and hence revisionism would emerge, capitalism would get the upper hand, and the color of our cause would change. Comrade Mao Tse-tung says: "politics means class politics, the politics of the masses." (note 5) To depart from mass struggle is to depart from all politics.

Our present fundamental task is to carry the socialist revolution through to the very end and to push ahead continuously with the building of socialism. If we are to accomplish this task, it is necessary to mobilize the masses and to rely on them. And for this purpose, the basic thing is to use Mao Tse-tung's thinking to arm the masses mentally, raise their political consciousness, mobilize their revolutionary initiative, let their wisdom and ingenuity blossom forth, and the role of man have full play.

The creative study and application of Mao Tse-tung's thinking helps a man to revolutionize himself ideologically and insures good results in work. As the worker and peasant masses aptly put it: "The man who is armed with Mao Tse-tung's thinking is socialist-minded, clear-sighted, lionhearted, and of high mettle," and "a man whose head contains Mao Tse-tung's thinking neither bows before difficulties nor bends at a blow." Mao Tse-tung's thinking is the best, the most powerful, political weapon. There is no greater fighting force than men armed with this weapon.

The Taching oilfield heroes and the heroes of the Tachai production brigade are men educated in Mao Tse-tung's ideas. The same is true of the many communist fighters, like Lei Feng and Wang Chieh, who have come forward on other fronts. Such people work hard, in the spirit of self-reliance, for the prosperity of the whole country. They fear neither hardship nor death. They are wholly devoted to the revolution and everything they do is for the revolution. Whatever their job, they always keep in mind the needs both of their motherland and of the world as a whole. They pay attention to the big things concerning the country, the party, the class, and the people, and the big international events. In other words, they pay the greatest attention to politics. They understand the political purpose and significance of their own work and are consciously able to serve the overall political task loyally, to link up any specific work with the entire revolutionary cause, and to link up ordinary everyday tasks with the great ideal of communism. This mental climate is a result

of the penetration of Mao Tse-tung's thinking deep into the hearts of the Chinese people.

Material things become things of the mind and vice versa. Man's mental outlook is decisive in every kind of work. Only those who have grasped Mao Tse-tung's thinking and put politics first can become really expert in production, technology, or other spheres of work. This cannot be otherwise as the facts prove. When Mao Tse-tung's thinking is grasped by the masses, it becomes a tremendous material force.

The modern revisionists oppose the placing of politics in command. They advocate "material incentives," "profit incentives," and "bonus incentives" which develop bourgeois egoism. Lenin said: "To pay and get paid -- such are the morals of the capitalist world." (note 6) The modern revisionists precisely pursue these morals.

Which should be taken as the supreme command, the very soul of our work: proletarian politics, or material incentives and personal fame and fortune? Herein are two diametrically opposed world outlooks, two diametrically opposed political lines. By giving prominence to politics and putting political work first, we are upholding the world outlook of the proletariat and opposing that of the bourgeoisie, upholding the Marxist-Leninist political line and opposing the revisionist political line.

China's third five-year plan is now beginning. In the new battles ahead, we are sure to win new and even greater successes provided we continue to give prominence to politics in all spheres of our work, put the creative study and application of Mao Tse-tung's thinking above everything else, and carry on the revolutionizing of mass thinking.

Notes:

1. Mao Tse-tung: "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People."
2. Note to the article "A Serious Lesson" of the book "Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside."
3. V. I. Lenin: "More on the Trade Unions, the Current Situation, and the Errors of Trotskiy and Bukharin."
4. Mao Tse-tung: "Yenan Forum on Literature and Art."
5. Ibid.
6. V. I. Lenin: "Report at Joint Meeting of the Central Executive Committee."

- END -

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