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Chairman Mao Tse-tung

Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung

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

— *On New Democracy*

Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art

May 1942

INTRODUCTION

May 2, 1942

Comrades! You have been invited to this forum today to exchange ideas and examine the relationship between work in the literary and artistic fields and revolutionary work in general. Our aim is to ensure that revolutionary literature and art follow the correct path of development and provide better help to other revolutionary work in facilitating the overthrow of our national enemy and the accomplishment of the task of national liberation.

In our struggle for the liberation of the Chinese people there are various fronts, among which there are the fronts of the pen and of the gun, the cultural and the military fronts. To defeat the enemy we must rely primarily on the army with guns. But this army alone is not enough; we must also have a cultural army, which is absolutely indispensable for uniting our own ranks and defeating the enemy. Since the May 4th Movement such a cultural army has taken shape in China, and it has helped the Chinese revolution, gradually reduced the domain of China's feudal culture and of the comprador culture which serves imperialist aggression, and weakened their influence. To oppose the new culture the Chinese reactionaries can now only "pit quantity against quality." In other words, reactionaries have money, and though they can produce nothing good, they can go all out and produce in quantity. Literature and art have been an important and successful part of the cultural front since the May 4th Movement. During the ten years' civil war, the revolutionary literature and art movement grew greatly. That movement and the revolutionary war both headed in the same general direction, but these two fraternal armies were not linked together in their practical work because the reactionaries had cut them off from each other. It is very good that since the outbreak of the War of Resistance Against Japan, more and more revolutionary writers and artists have been coming to Yen-an and our other anti-Japanese base areas. But it does not necessarily follow that, having come to the base areas, they have already integrated themselves completely with the masses of the people here. The two must be completely integrated if we are to push ahead with our revolutionary work. The purpose of our meeting today is precisely to ensure that literature and art fit well into the whole revolutionary machine as a component part, that they operate as powerful weapons for uniting and educating the people and for attacking and destroying the enemy, and that they help the people fight the

enemy with one heart and one mind. What are the problems that must be solved to achieve this objective? I think they are the problems of the class stand of the writers and artists, their attitude, their audience, their work and their study.

The problem of class stand. Our stand is that of the proletariat and of the masses. For members of the Communist Party, this means keeping to the stand of the Party, keeping to Party spirit and Party policy. Are there any of our literary and art workers who are still mistaken or not clear in their understanding of this problem? I think there are. Many of our comrades have frequently departed from the correct stand.

The problem of attitude. From one's stand there follow specific attitudes towards specific matters. For instance, is one to extol or to expose? This is a question of attitude. Which attitude is wanted? I would say both. The question is, whom are you dealing with? There are three kinds of persons, the enemy, our allies in the united front and our own people; the last are the masses and their vanguard. We need to adopt a different attitude towards each of the three. With regard to the enemy, that is, Japanese imperialism and all the other enemies of the people, the task of revolutionary writers and artists is to expose their duplicity and cruelty and at the same time to point out the inevitability of their defeat, so as to encourage the anti-Japanese army and people to fight staunchly with one heart and one mind for their overthrow. With regard to our different allies in the united front, our attitude should be one of both alliance and criticism, and there should be different kinds of alliance and different kinds of criticism. We support them in their resistance to Japan and praise them for any achievement. But if they are not active in the War of Resistance, we should criticize them. If anyone opposes the Communist Party and the people and keeps moving down the path of reaction, we will firmly oppose him. As for the masses of the people, their toil and their

struggle, their army and their Party, we should certainly praise them. The people, too, have their shortcomings. Among the proletariat many retain petty-bourgeois ideas, while both the peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie have backward ideas; these are burdens hampering them in their struggle. We should be patient and spend a long time in educating them and helping them to get these loads off their backs and combat their own shortcomings and errors, so that they can advance with great strides. They have remoulded themselves in struggle or are doing so, and our literature and art should depict this process. As long as they do not persist in their errors, we should not dwell on their negative side and consequently make the mistake of ridiculing them or, worse still, of being hostile to them. Our writings should help them to unite, to make progress, to press ahead with one heart and one mind, to discard what is backward and develop what is revolutionary, and should certainly not do the opposite.

The problem of audience, *i.e.*, the people for whom our works of literature and art are produced. In the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region and the anti-Japanese base areas of northern and central China, this problem differs from that in the Kuomintang areas, and differs still more from that in Shanghai before the War of Resistance. In the Shanghai period, the audience for works of revolutionary literature and art consisted mainly of a section of the students, office workers and shop assistants. After the outbreak of the War of Resistance the audience in the Kuomintang areas became somewhat wider, but it still consisted mainly of the same kind of people because the government there prevented the workers, peasants and soldiers from having access to revolutionary literature and art. In our base areas the situation is entirely different. Here the audience for works of literature and art consists of workers, peasants, soldiers and revolutionary cadres. There are students in the base areas, too, but they are different from students of the old type; they are either former or future

cadres. The cadres of all types, fighters in the army, workers in the factories and peasants in the villages all want to read books and newspapers once they become literate, and those who are illiterate want to see plays and operas, look at drawings and paintings, sing songs and hear music; they are the audience for our works of literature and art. Take the cadres alone. Do not think they are few; they far outnumber the readers of any book published in the Kuomintang areas. There, an edition usually runs to only 2,000 copies, and even three editions add up to only 6,000; but as for the cadres in the base areas, in Yen-an alone there are more than 10,000 who read books. Many of them, moreover, are tempered revolutionaries of long standing, who have come from all parts of the country and will go out to work in different places, so it is very important to do educational work among them. Our literary and art workers must do a good job in this respect.

Since the audience for our literature and art consists of workers, peasants and soldiers and of their cadres, the problem arises of understanding them and knowing them well. A great deal of work has to be done in order to understand them and know them well, to understand and know well all the different kinds of people and phenomena in the Party and government organizations, in the villages and factories and in the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies. Our writers and artists have their literary and art work to do, but their primary task is to understand people and know them well. In this regard, how have matters stood with our writers and artists? I would say they have been lacking in knowledge and understanding; they have been like "a hero with no place to display his prowess." What does lacking in knowledge mean? Not knowing people well. The writers and artists do not have a good knowledge either of those whom they describe or of their audience; indeed they may hardly know them at all. They do not know the workers or peasants or soldiers well, and do not know the cadres well either. What does

lacking in understanding mean? Not understanding the language, that is, not being familiar with the rich, lively language of the masses. Since many writers and artists stand aloof from the masses and lead empty lives, naturally they are unfamiliar with the language of the people. Accordingly, their works are not only insipid in language but often contain nondescript expressions of their own coining which run counter to popular usage. Many comrades like to talk about "a mass style." But what does it really mean? It means that the thoughts and feelings of our writers and artists should be fused with those of the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers. To achieve this fusion, they should conscientiously learn the language of the masses. How can you talk of literary and artistic creation if you find the very language of the masses largely incomprehensible? By "a hero with no place to display his prowess," we mean that your collection of great truths is not appreciated by the masses. The more you put on the airs of a veteran before the masses and play the "hero," the more you try to peddle such stuff to the masses, the less likely they are to accept it. If you want the masses to understand you, if you want to be one with the masses, you must make up your mind to undergo a long and even painful process of tempering. Here I might mention the experience of how my own feelings changed. I began life as a student and at school acquired the ways of a student; I then used to feel it undignified to do even a little manual labour, such as carrying my own luggage in the presence of my fellow students, who were incapable of carrying anything, either on their shoulders or in their hands. At that time I felt that intellectuals were the only clean people in the world, while in comparison workers and peasants were dirty. I did not mind wearing the clothes of other intellectuals, believing them clean, but I would not put on clothes belonging to a worker or peasant, believing them dirty. But after I became a revolutionary and lived with workers and peasants and with soldiers of the revolu-

tionary army, I gradually came to know them well, and they gradually came to know me well too. It was then, and only then, that I fundamentally changed the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois feelings implanted in me in the bourgeois schools. I came to feel that compared with the workers and peasants the unremoulded intellectuals were not clean and that, in the last analysis, the workers and peasants were the cleanest people and, even though their hands were soiled and their feet smeared with cow-dung, they were really cleaner than the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois intellectuals. That is what is meant by a change in feelings, a change from one class to another. If our writers and artists who come from the intelligentsia want their works to be well received by the masses, they must change and remould their thinking and their feelings. Without such a change, without such remoulding, they can do nothing well and will be misfits.

The last problem is study, by which I mean the study of Marxism-Leninism and of society. Anyone who considers himself a revolutionary Marxist writer, and especially any writer who is a member of the Communist Party, must have a knowledge of Marxism-Leninism. At present, however, some comrades are lacking in the basic concepts of Marxism. For instance, it is a basic Marxist concept that being determines consciousness, that the objective realities of class struggle and national struggle determine our thoughts and feelings. But some of our comrades turn this upside down and maintain that everything ought to start from "love." Now as for love, in a class society there can be only class love; but these comrades are seeking a love transcending classes, love in the abstract and also freedom in the abstract, truth in the abstract, human nature in the abstract, etc. This shows that they have been very deeply influenced by the bourgeoisie. They should thoroughly rid themselves of this influence and modestly study Marxism-Leninism. It is right for writers and artists to study literary and artistic creation, but the science of Marxism-

Leninism must be studied by all revolutionaries, writers and artists not excepted. Writers and artists should study society, that is to say, should study the various classes in society, their mutual relations and respective conditions, their physiognomy and their psychology. Only when we grasp all this clearly can we have a literature and art that is rich in content and correct in orientation.

I am merely raising these problems today by way of introduction; I hope all of you will express your views on these and other relevant problems.

CONCLUSION

May 23, 1942

Comrades! Our forum has had three meetings this month. In the pursuit of truth we have carried on spirited debates in which scores of Party and non-Party comrades have spoken, laying bare the issues and making them more concrete. This, I believe, will very much benefit the whole literary and artistic movement.

In discussing a problem, we should start from reality and not from definitions. We would be following a wrong method if we first looked up definitions of literature and art in text-books and then used them to determine the guiding principles for the present-day literary and artistic movement and to judge the different opinions and controversies that arise today. We are Marxists, and Marxism teaches that in our approach to a problem we should start from objective facts, not from abstract definitions, and that we should derive our guiding principles, policies and measures from an analysis of these

facts. We should do the same in our present discussion of literary and artistic work.

What are the facts at present? The facts are: the War of Resistance Against Japan which China has been fighting for five years; the world-wide anti-fascist war; the vacillations of China's big landlord class and big bourgeoisie in the War of Resistance and their policy of high-handed oppression of the people; the revolutionary movement in literature and art since the May 4th Movement — its great contributions to the revolution during the last twenty-three years and its many shortcomings; the anti-Japanese democratic base areas of the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies and the integration of large numbers of writers and artists with these armies and with the workers and peasants in these areas; the difference in both environment and tasks between the writers and artists in the base areas and those in the Kuomintang areas; and the controversial issues concerning literature and art which have arisen in Yen-an and the other anti-Japanese base areas. These are the actual, undeniable facts in the light of which we have to consider our problems.

What then is the crux of the matter? In my opinion, it consists fundamentally of the problems of working for the masses and how to work for the masses. Unless these two problems are solved, or solved properly, our writers and artists will be ill-adapted to their environment and their tasks and will come up against a series of difficulties from without and within. My concluding remarks will centre on these two problems and also touch upon some related ones.

I

The first problem is: literature and art for whom?

This problem was solved long ago by Marxists, especially by Lenin. As far back as 1905 Lenin pointed out emphatically

that our literature and art should "serve. . . the millions and tens of millions of working people."¹ For comrades engaged in literary and artistic work in the anti-Japanese base areas it might seem that this problem is already solved and needs no further discussion. Actually, that is not the case. Many comrades have not found a clear solution. Consequently their sentiments, their works, their actions and their views on the guiding principles for literature and art have inevitably been more or less at variance with the needs of the masses and of the practical struggle. Of course, among the numerous men of culture, writers, artists and other literary and artistic workers engaged in the great struggle for liberation together with the Communist Party and the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies, a few may be careerists who are with us only temporarily, but the overwhelming majority are working energetically for the common cause. By relying on these comrades, we have achieved a great deal in our literature, drama, music and fine arts. Many of these writers and artists have begun their work since the outbreak of the War of Resistance; many others did much revolutionary work before the war, endured many hardships and influenced broad masses of the people by their activities and works. Why do we say, then, that even among these comrades there are some who have not reached a clear solution of the problem of whom literature and art are for? Is it conceivable that there are still some who maintain that revolutionary literature and art are not for the masses of the people but for the exploiters and oppressors?

Indeed literature and art exist which are for the exploiters and oppressors. Literature and art for the landlord class are feudal literature and art. Such were the literature and art of the ruling class in China's feudal era. To this day such literature and art still have considerable influence in China. Literature and art for the bourgeoisie are bourgeois literature and art. People like Liang Shih-chiu,² whom Lu Hsun crit-

icized, talk about literature and art as transcending classes, but in fact they uphold bourgeois literature and art and oppose proletarian literature and art. Then literature and art exist which serve the imperialists—for example, the works of Chou Tso-jen, Chang Tzu-ping³ and their like—which we call traitor literature and art. With us, literature and art are for the people, not for any of the above groups. We have said that China's new culture at the present stage is an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal culture of the masses of the people under the leadership of the proletariat. Today, anything that is truly of the masses must necessarily be led by the proletariat. Whatever is under the leadership of the bourgeoisie cannot possibly be of the masses. Naturally, the same applies to the new literature and art which are part of the new culture. We should take over the rich legacy and the good traditions in literature and art that have been handed down from past ages in China and foreign countries, but the aim must still be to serve the masses of the people. Nor do we refuse to utilize the literary and artistic forms of the past, but in our hands these old forms, remoulded and infused with new content, also become something revolutionary in the service of the people.

Who, then, are the masses of the people? The broadest sections of the people, constituting more than 90 per cent of our total population, are the workers, peasants, soldiers and urban petty bourgeoisie. Therefore, our literature and art are first for the workers, the class that leads the revolution. Secondly, they are for the peasants, the most numerous and most steadfast of our allies in the revolution. Thirdly, they are for the armed workers and peasants, namely, the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies and the other armed units of the people, which are the main forces of the revolutionary war. Fourthly, they are for the labouring masses of the urban petty bourgeoisie and for the petty-bourgeois intellectuals, both of whom are also our allies in the revolution and capable of long-term co-operation with us. These four kinds

of people constitute the overwhelming majority of the Chinese nation, the broadest masses of the people.

Our literature and art should be for the four kinds of people we have enumerated. To serve them, we must take the class stand of the proletariat and not that of the petty bourgeoisie. Today, writers who cling to an individualist, petty-bourgeois stand cannot truly serve the masses of revolutionary workers, peasants and soldiers. Their interest is mainly focused on the small number of petty-bourgeois intellectuals. This is the crucial reason why some of our comrades cannot correctly solve the problem of "for whom?" In saying this I am not referring to theory. In theory, or in words, no one in our ranks regards the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers as less important than the petty bourgeois intellectuals. I am referring to practice, to action. In practice, in action, do they regard petty-bourgeois intellectuals as more important than workers, peasants and soldiers? I think they do. Many comrades concern themselves with studying the petty-bourgeois intellectuals and analysing their psychology, and they concentrate on portraying these intellectuals and excusing or defending their shortcomings, instead of guiding the intellectuals to join with them in getting closer to the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, taking part in the practical struggles of the masses, portraying and educating the masses. Coming from the petty bourgeoisie and being themselves intellectuals, many comrades seek friends only among intellectuals and concentrate on studying and describing them. Such study and description are proper if done from a proletarian position. But that is not what they do, or not what they do fully. They take the petty-bourgeois stand and produce works that are the self-expression of the petty bourgeoisie, as can be seen in quite a number of literary and artistic products. Often they show heartfelt sympathy for intellectuals of petty-bourgeois origin, to the extent of sympathizing with or even praising their shortcomings. On the other hand,

these comrades seldom come into contact with the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, do not understand or study them, do not have intimate friends among them and are not good at portraying them; when they do depict them, the clothes are the clothes of working people but the faces are those of petty-bourgeois intellectuals. In certain respects they are fond of the workers, peasants and soldiers and the cadres stemming from them; but there are times when they do not like them and there are some respects in which they do not like them: they do not like their feelings or their manner or their nascent literature and art (the wall newspapers, murals, folk songs, folk tales, etc.). At times they are fond of these things too, but that is when they are hunting for novelty, for something with which to embellish their own works, or even for certain backward features. At other times they openly despise these things and are partial to what belongs to the petty-bourgeois intellectuals or even to the bourgeoisie. These comrades have their feet planted on the side of the petty-bourgeois intellectuals; or, to put it more elegantly, their innermost soul is still a kingdom of the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia. Thus they have not yet solved, or not yet clearly solved, the problem of "for whom?" This applies not only to newcomers to Yen-an; even among comrades who have been to the front and worked for a number of years in our base areas and in the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies, many have not completely solved this problem. It requires a long period of time, at least eight or ten years, to solve it thoroughly. But however long it takes, solve it we must and solve it unequivocally and thoroughly. Our literary and art workers must accomplish this task and shift their stand; they must gradually move their feet over to the side of the workers, peasants and soldiers, to the side of the proletariat, through the process of going into their very midst and into the thick of practical struggles and through the process of studying Marxism and society. Only in this way can we have

a literature and art that are truly for the workers, peasants and soldiers, a truly proletarian literature and art.

This question of "for whom?" is fundamental; it is a question of principle. The controversies and divergences, the opposition and disunity arising among some comrades in the past were not on this fundamental question of principle but on secondary questions, or even on issues involving no principle. On this question of principle, however, there has been hardly any divergence between the two contending sides and they have shown almost complete agreement; to some extent, both tend to look down upon the workers, peasants and soldiers and divorce themselves from the masses. I say "to some extent" because, generally speaking, these comrades do not look down upon the workers, peasants and soldiers or divorce themselves from the masses in the same way as the Kuomintang does. Nevertheless, the tendency is there. Unless this fundamental problem is solved, many other problems will not be easy to solve. Take, for instance, the sectarianism in literary and art circles. This too is a question of principle, but sectarianism can only be eradicated by putting forward and faithfully applying the slogans, "For the workers and peasants!", "For the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies!" and "Go among the masses!" Otherwise the problem of sectarianism can never be solved. Lu Hsun once said:

A common aim is the prerequisite for a united front.... The fact that our front is not united shows that we have not been able to unify our aims, and that some people are working only for small groups or indeed only for themselves. If we all aim at serving the masses of workers and peasants, our front will of course be united.⁴

The problem existed then in Shanghai; now it exists in Chungking too. In such places the problem can hardly be solved thoroughly, because the rulers oppress the revolutionary writers and artists and deny them the freedom to go out among the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers. Here with us the situation is entirely different. We encourage revolutionary

writers and artists to be active in forming intimate contacts with the workers, peasants and soldiers, giving them complete freedom to go among the masses and to create a genuinely revolutionary literature and art. Therefore, here among us the problem is nearing solution. But nearing solution is not the same as a complete and thorough solution. We must study Marxism and study society, as we have been saying, precisely in order to achieve a complete and thorough solution. By Marxism we mean living Marxism which plays an effective role in the life and struggle of the masses, not Marxism in words. With Marxism in words transformed into Marxism in real life, there will be no more sectarianism. Not only will the problem of sectarianism be solved, but many other problems as well.

II

Having settled the problem of whom to serve, we come to the next problem, how to serve. To put it in the words of some of our comrades: should we devote ourselves to raising standards, or should we devote ourselves to popularization?

In the past, some comrades, to a certain or even a serious extent, belittled and neglected popularization and laid undue stress on raising standards. Stress should be laid on raising standards, but to do so one-sidedly and exclusively, to do so excessively, is a mistake. The lack of a clear solution to the problem of "for whom?", which I referred to earlier, also manifests itself in this connection. As these comrades are not clear on the problem of "for whom?", they have no correct criteria for the "raising of standards" and the "popularization" they speak of, and are naturally still less able to find the correct relationship between the two. Since our literature and art are basically for the workers, peasants and soldiers, "popularization" means to popularize among the workers, peasants and

soldiers, and "raising standards" means to advance from their present level. What should we popularize among them? Popularize what is needed and can be readily accepted by the feudal landlord class? Popularize what is needed and can be readily accepted by the bourgeoisie? Popularize what is needed and can be readily accepted by the petty-bourgeois intellectuals? No, none of these will do. We must popularize only what is needed and can be readily accepted by the workers, peasants and soldiers themselves. Consequently, prior to the task of educating the workers, peasants and soldiers, there is the task of learning from them. This is even more true of raising standards. There must be a basis from which to raise. Take a bucket of water, for instance; where is it to be raised from if not from the ground? From mid-air? From what basis, then, are literature and art to be raised? From the basis of the feudal classes? From the basis of the bourgeoisie? From the basis of the petty-bourgeois intellectuals? No, not from any of these; only from the basis of the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers. Nor does this mean raising the workers, peasants and soldiers to the "heights" of the feudal classes, the bourgeoisie or the petty-bourgeois intellectuals; it means raising the level of literature and art in the direction in which the workers, peasants and soldiers are themselves advancing, in the direction in which the proletariat is advancing. Here again the task of learning from the workers, peasants and soldiers comes in. Only by starting from the workers, peasants and soldiers can we have a correct understanding of popularization and of the raising of standards and find the proper relationship between the two.

In the last analysis, what is the source of all literature and art? Works of literature and art, as ideological forms, are products of the reflection in the human brain of the life of a given society. Revolutionary literature and art are the products of the reflection of the life of the people in the brains of revolutionary writers and artists. The life of the people is

always a mine of the raw materials for literature and art, materials in their natural form, materials that are crude, but most vital, rich and fundamental; they make all literature and art seem pallid by comparison; they provide literature and art with an inexhaustible source, their only source. They are the only source, for there can be no other. Some may ask, is there not another source in books, in the literature and art of ancient times and of foreign countries? In fact, the literary and artistic works of the past are not a source but a stream; they were created by our predecessors and the foreigners out of the literary and artistic raw materials they found in the life of the people of their time and place. We must take over all the fine things in our literary and artistic heritage, critically assimilate whatever is beneficial, and use them as examples when we create works out of the literary and artistic raw materials in the life of the people of our own time and place. It makes a difference whether or not we have such examples, the difference between crudeness and refinement, between roughness and polish, between a low and a high level, and between slower and faster work. Therefore, we must on no account reject the legacies of the ancients and the foreigners or refuse to learn from them, even though they are the works of the feudal or bourgeois classes. But taking over legacies and using them as examples must never replace our own creative work; nothing can do that. Uncritical transplantation or copying from the ancients and the foreigners is the most sterile and harmful dogmatism in literature and art. China's revolutionary writers and artists, writers and artists of promise, must go among the masses; they must for a long period of time unreservedly and whole-heartedly go among the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, go into the heat of the struggle, go to the only source, the broadest and richest source, in order to observe, experience, study and analyse all the different kinds of people, all the classes, all the masses, all the vivid patterns of life and struggle, all the raw

materials of literature and art. Only then can they proceed to creative work. Otherwise, you will have nothing to work with and you will be nothing but a phoney writer or artist, the kind that Lu Hsun in his will so earnestly cautioned his son never to become.⁵

Although man's social life is the only source of literature and art and is incomparably livelier and richer in content, the people are not satisfied with life alone and demand literature and art as well. Why? Because, while both are beautiful, life as reflected in works of literature and art can and ought to be on a higher plane, more intense, more concentrated, more typical, nearer the ideal, and therefore more universal than actual everyday life. Revolutionary literature and art should create a variety of characters out of real life and help the masses to propel history forward. For example, there is suffering from hunger, cold and oppression on the one hand, and exploitation and oppression of man by man on the other. These facts exist everywhere and people look upon them as commonplace. Writers and artists concentrate such everyday phenomena, typify the contradictions and struggles within them and produce works which awaken the masses, fire them with enthusiasm and impel them to unite and struggle to transform their environment. Without such literature and art, this task could not be fulfilled, or at least not so effectively and speedily.

What is meant by popularizing and by raising standards in works of literature and art? What is the relationship between these two tasks? Popular works are simpler and plainer, and therefore more readily accepted by the broad masses of the people today. Works of a higher quality, being more polished, are more difficult to produce and in general do not circulate so easily and quickly among the masses at present. The problem facing the workers, peasants and soldiers is this: they are now engaged in a bitter and bloody struggle with the enemy but are illiterate and uneducated as a result of long years of

rule by the feudal and bourgeois classes, and therefore they are eagerly demanding enlightenment, education and works of literature and art which meet their urgent needs and which are easy to absorb, in order to heighten their enthusiasm in struggle and confidence in victory, strengthen their unity and fight the enemy with one heart and one mind. For them the prime need is not "more flowers on the brocade" but "fuel in snowy weather." In present conditions, therefore, popularization is the more pressing task. It is wrong to belittle or neglect popularization.

Nevertheless, no hard and fast line can be drawn between popularization and the raising of standards. Not only is it possible to popularize some works of higher quality even now, but the cultural level of the broad masses is steadily rising. If popularization remains at the same level for ever, with the same stuff being supplied month after month and year after year, always the same "Little Cowherd"⁶ and the same "man, hand, mouth, knife, cow, goat,"⁷ will not the educators and those being educated be six of one and half a dozen of the other? What would be the sense of such popularization? The people demand popularization and, following that, higher standards; they demand higher standards month by month and year by year. Here popularization means popularizing for the people and raising of standards means raising the level for the people. And such raising is not from mid-air, or behind closed doors, but is actually based on popularization. It is determined by and at the same time guides popularization. In China as a whole the development of the revolution and of revolutionary culture is uneven and their spread is gradual. While in one place there is popularization and then raising of standards on the basis of popularization, in other places popularization has not even begun. Hence good experience in popularization leading to higher standards in one locality can be applied in other localities and serve to guide popularization and the raising of standards there, saving many twists

and turns along the road. Internationally, the good experience of foreign countries, and especially Soviet experience, can also serve to guide us. With us, therefore, the raising of standards is based on popularization, while popularization is guided by the raising of standards. Precisely for this reason, so far from being an obstacle to the raising of standards, the work of popularization we are speaking of supplies the basis for the work of raising standards which we are now doing on a limited scale, and prepares the necessary conditions for us to raise standards in the future on a much broader scale.

Besides such raising of standards as meets the needs of the masses directly, there is the kind which meets their needs indirectly, that is, the kind which is needed by the cadres. The cadres are the advanced elements of the masses and generally have received more education; literature and art of a higher level are entirely necessary for them. To ignore this would be a mistake. Whatever is done for the cadres is also entirely for the masses, because it is only through the cadres that we can educate and guide the masses. If we go against this aim, if what we give the cadres cannot help them educate and guide the masses, our work of raising standards will be like shooting at random and will depart from the fundamental principle of serving the masses of the people.

To sum up: through the creative labour of revolutionary writers and artists, the raw materials found in the life of the people are shaped into the ideological form of literature and art serving the masses of the people. Included here are the more advanced literature and art as developed on the basis of elementary literature and art and as required by those sections of the masses whose level has been raised, or, more immediately, by the cadres among the masses. Also included here are elementary literature and art which, conversely, are guided by more advanced literature and art and are needed primarily by the overwhelming majority of the masses at present. Whether more advanced or elementary, all our

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

Now that we have settled the problem of the relationship between the raising of standards and popularization, that of the relationship between the specialists and the popularizers can also be settled. Our specialists are not only for the cadres, but also, and indeed chiefly, for the masses. Our specialists in literature should pay attention to the wall newspapers of the masses and to the reportage written in the army and the villages. Our specialists in drama should pay attention to the small troupes in the army and the villages. Our specialists in music should pay attention to the songs of the masses. Our specialists in the fine arts should pay attention to the fine arts of the masses. All these comrades should make close contact with comrades engaged in the work of popularizing literature and art among the masses. On the one hand, they should help and guide the popularizers, and on the other, they should learn from these comrades and, through them, draw nourishment from the masses to replenish and enrich themselves so that their specialities do not become "ivory towers," detached from the masses and from reality and devoid of content or life. We should esteem the specialists, for they are very valuable to our cause. But we should tell them that no revolutionary writer or artist can do any meaningful work unless he is closely linked with the masses, gives expression to their thoughts and feelings and serves them as a loyal spokesman. Only by speaking for the masses can he educate them and only by being their pupil can he be their teacher. If he regards himself as their master, as an aristocrat who lords it over the "lower orders," then, no matter how talented he may be, he will not be needed by the masses and his work will have no future.

Is this attitude of ours utilitarian? Materialists do not oppose utilitarianism in general but the utilitarianism of the feudal, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois classes; they oppose those hypocrites who attack utilitarianism in words but in deeds embrace the most selfish and short-sighted utilitarianism. There is no "ism" in the world that transcends utilitarian considerations; in class society there can be only the utilitarianism of this or that class. We are proletarian revolutionary utilitarians and take as our point of departure the unity of the present and future interests of the broadest masses, who constitute over 90 per cent of the population; hence we are revolutionary utilitarians aiming for the broadest and the most long-range objectives, not narrow utilitarians concerned only with the partial and the immediate. If, for instance, you reproach the masses for their utilitarianism and yet for your own utility, or that of a narrow clique, force on the market and propagandize among the masses a work which pleases only the few but is useless or even harmful to the majority, then you are not only insulting the masses but also revealing your own lack of self-knowledge. A thing is good only when it brings real benefit to the masses of the people. Your work may be as good as "The Spring Snow," but if for the time being it caters only to the few and the masses are still singing the "Song of the Rustic Poor,"⁸ you will get nowhere by simply scolding them instead of trying to raise their level. The question now is to bring about a unity between "The Spring Snow" and the "Song of the Rustic Poor," between higher standards and popularization. Without such a unity, the highest art of any expert cannot help being utilitarian in the narrowest sense; you may call this art "pure and lofty" but that is merely your own name for it which the masses will not endorse.

Once we have solved the problems of fundamental policy, of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers and of how to serve them, such other problems as whether to write about

the bright or the dark side of life and the problem of unity will also be solved. If everyone agrees on the fundamental policy, it should be adhered to by all our workers, all our schools, publications and organizations in the field of literature and art and in all our literary and artistic activities. It is wrong to depart from this policy and anything at variance with it must be duly corrected.

III

Since our literature and art are for the masses of the people, we can proceed to discuss a problem of inner-Party relations, *i.e.*, the relation between the Party's work in literature and art and the Party's work as a whole, and in addition a problem of the Party's external relations, *i.e.*, the relation between the Party's work in literature and art and the work of non-Party people in this field, a problem of the united front in literary and art circles.

Let us consider the first problem. In the world today all culture, all literature and art belong to definite classes and are geared to definite political lines. There is in fact no such thing as art for art's sake, art that stands above classes or art that is detached from or independent of politics. Proletarian literature and art are part of the whole proletarian revolutionary cause; they are, as Lenin said, cogs and wheels⁹ in the whole revolutionary machine. Therefore, Party work in literature and art occupies a definite and assigned position in Party revolutionary work as a whole and is subordinated to the revolutionary tasks set by the Party in a given revolutionary period. Opposition to this arrangement is certain to lead to dualism or pluralism, and in essence amounts to "politics — Marxist, art — bourgeois," as with Trotsky. We do not favour over-stressing the importance of literature and art, but neither do we favour underestimating their importance.

Literature and art are subordinate to politics, but in their turn exert a great influence on politics. Revolutionary literature and art are part of the whole revolutionary cause, they are cogs and wheels in it, and though in comparison with certain other and more important parts they may be less significant and less urgent and may occupy a secondary position, nevertheless, they are indispensable cogs and wheels in the whole machine, an indispensable part of the entire revolutionary cause. If we had no literature and art even in the broadest and most ordinary sense, we could not carry on the revolutionary movement and win victory. Failure to recognize this is wrong. Furthermore, when we say that literature and art are subordinate to politics, we mean class politics, the politics of the masses, not the politics of a few so-called statesmen. Politics, whether revolutionary or counter-revolutionary, is the struggle of class against class, not the activity of a few individuals. The revolutionary struggle on the ideological and artistic fronts must be subordinate to the political struggle because only through politics can the needs of the class and the masses find expression in concentrated form. Revolutionary statesmen, the political specialists who know the science or art of revolutionary politics, are simply the leaders of millions upon millions of statesmen — the masses. Their task is to collect the opinions of these mass statesmen, sift and refine them, and return them to the masses, who then take them and put them into practice. They are therefore not the kind of aristocratic “statesmen” who work behind closed doors and fancy they have a monopoly of wisdom. Herein lies the difference in principle between proletarian statesmen and decadent bourgeois statesmen. This is precisely why there can be complete unity between the political character of our literary and artistic works and their truthfulness. It would be wrong to fail to realize this and to debase the politics and the statesmen of the proletariat.

Let us consider next the question of the united front in the world of literature and art. Since literature and art are subordinate to politics and since the fundamental problem in China's politics today is resistance to Japan, our Party writers and artists must in the first place unite on this issue of resistance to Japan with all non-Party writers and artists (ranging from Party sympathizers and petty-bourgeois writers and artists to all those writers and artists of the bourgeois and landlord classes who are in favour of resistance to Japan). Secondly, we should unite with them on the issue of democracy. On this issue there is a section of anti-Japanese writers and artists who do not agree with us, so the range of unity will unavoidably be somewhat more limited. Thirdly, we should unite with them on issues peculiar to the literary and artistic world, questions of method and style in literature and art; here again, as we are for socialist realism and some people do not agree, the range of unity will be narrower still. While on one issue there is unity, on another there is struggle, there is criticism. The issues are at once separate and interrelated, so that even on the very ones which give rise to unity, such as resistance to Japan, there are at the same time struggle and criticism. In a united front, “all unity and no struggle” and “all struggle and no unity” are both wrong policies — as with the Right capitulationism and tailism, or the “Left” exclusivism and sectarianism, practised by some comrades in the past. This is as true in literature and art as in politics.

The petty-bourgeois writers and artists constitute an important force among the forces of the united front in literary and art circles in China. There are many shortcomings in both their thinking and their works, but, comparatively speaking, they are inclined towards the revolution and are close to the working people. Therefore, it is an especially important task to help them overcome their shortcomings and to win them over to the front which serves the working people.

IV

Literary and art criticism is one of the principal methods of struggle in the world of literature and art. It should be developed and, as comrades have rightly pointed out, our past work in this respect has been quite inadequate. Literary and art criticism is a complex question which requires a great deal of special study. Here I shall concentrate only on the basic problem of criteria in criticism. I shall also comment briefly on a few specific problems raised by some comrades and on certain incorrect views.

In literary and art criticism there are two criteria, the political and the artistic. According to the political criterion, everything is good that is helpful to unity and resistance to Japan, that encourages the masses to be of one heart and one mind, that opposes retrogression and promotes progress; on the other hand, everything is bad that is detrimental to unity and resistance to Japan, foments dissension and discord among the masses and opposes progress and drags people back. How can we tell the good from the bad — by the motive (the subjective intention) or by the effect (social practice)? Idealists stress motive and ignore effect, while mechanical materialists stress effect and ignore motive. In contradistinction to both, we dialectical materialists insist on the unity of motive and effect. The motive of serving the masses is inseparably linked with the effect of winning their approval; the two must be united. The motive of serving the individual or a small clique is not good, nor is it good to have the motive of serving the masses without the effect of winning their approval and benefiting them. In examining the subjective intention of a writer or artist, that is, whether his motive is correct and good, we do not judge by his declarations but by the effect of his actions (mainly his works) on the masses in society. The criterion for judging subjective intention or motive is social practice and its effect. We want no sectarianism in our literary and

art criticism and, subject to the general principle of unity for resistance to Japan, we should tolerate literary and art works with a variety of political attitudes. But at the same time, in our criticism we must adhere firmly to principle and severely criticize and repudiate all works of literature and art expressing views in opposition to the nation, to science, to the masses and to the Communist Party, because these so-called works of literature and art proceed from the motive and produce the effect of undermining unity for resistance to Japan. According to the artistic criterion, all works of a higher artistic quality are good or comparatively good, while those of a lower artistic quality are bad or comparatively bad. Here, too, of course, social effect must be taken into account. There is hardly a writer or artist who does not consider his own work beautiful, and our criticism ought to permit the free competition of all varieties of works of art; but it is also entirely necessary to subject these works to correct criticism according to the criteria of the science of aesthetics, so that art of a lower level can be gradually raised to a higher and art which does not meet the demands of the struggle of the broad masses can be transformed into art that does.

There is the political criterion and there is the artistic criterion; what is the relationship between the two? Politics cannot be equated with art, nor can a general world outlook be equated with a method of artistic creation and criticism. We deny not only that there is an abstract and absolutely unchangeable political criterion, but also that there is an abstract and absolutely unchangeable artistic criterion; each class in every class society has its own political and artistic criteria. But all classes in all class societies invariably put the political criterion first and the artistic criterion second. The bourgeoisie always shuts out proletarian literature and art, however great their artistic merit. The proletariat must similarly distinguish among the literary and art works of past ages and determine its attitude towards them only after

examining their attitude to the people and whether or not they had any progressive significance historically. Some works which politically are downright reactionary may have a certain artistic quality. The more reactionary their content and the higher their artistic quality, the more poisonous they are to the people, and the more necessary it is to reject them. A common characteristic of the literature and art of all exploiting classes in their period of decline is the contradiction between their reactionary political content and their artistic form. What we demand is the unity of politics and art, the unity of content and form, the unity of revolutionary political content and the highest possible perfection of artistic form. Works of art which lack artistic quality have no force, however progressive they are politically. Therefore, we oppose both the tendency to produce works of art with a wrong political viewpoint and the tendency towards the "poster and slogan style" which is correct in political viewpoint but lacking in artistic power. On questions of literature and art we must carry on a struggle on two fronts.

Both these tendencies can be found in the thinking of many comrades. A good number of comrades tend to neglect artistic technique; it is therefore necessary to give attention to the raising of artistic standards. But as I see it, the political side is more of a problem at present. Some comrades lack elementary political knowledge and consequently have all sorts of muddled ideas. Let me cite a few examples from Yenan.

"The theory of human nature." Is there such a thing as human nature? Of course there is. But there is only human nature in the concrete, no human nature in the abstract. In class society there is only human nature of a class character; there is no human nature above classes. We uphold the human nature of the proletariat and of the masses of the people, while the landlord and bourgeois classes uphold the human nature of their own classes, only they do not say so but make it out to

be the only human nature in existence. The human nature boosted by certain petty-bourgeois intellectuals is also divorced from or opposed to the masses; what they call human nature is in essence nothing but bourgeois individualism, and so, in their eyes, proletarian human nature is contrary to human nature. "The theory of human nature" which some people in Yenan advocate as the basis of their so-called theory of literature and art puts the matter in just this way and is wholly wrong.

"The fundamental point of departure for literature and art is love, love of humanity." Now love may serve as a point of departure, but there is a more basic one. Love as an idea is a product of objective practice. Fundamentally, we do not start from ideas but from objective practice. Our writers and artists who come from the ranks of the intellectuals love the proletariat because society has made them feel that they and the proletariat share a common fate. We hate Japanese imperialism because Japanese imperialism oppresses us. There is absolutely no such thing in the world as love or hatred without reason or cause. As for the so-called love of humanity, there has been no such all-inclusive love since humanity was divided into classes. All the ruling classes of the past were fond of advocating it, and so were many so-called sages and wise men, but nobody has ever really practised it, because it is impossible in class society. There will be genuine love of humanity — after classes are eliminated all over the world. Classes have split society into many antagonistic groupings; there will be love of all humanity when classes are eliminated, but not now. We cannot love enemies, we cannot love social evils, our aim is to destroy them. This is common sense; can it be that some of our writers and artists still do not understand this?

"Literary and artistic works have always laid equal stress on the bright and the dark, half and half." This statement

contains many muddled ideas. It is not true that literature and art have always done this. Many petty-bourgeois writers have never discovered the bright side. Their works only expose the dark and are known as the "literature of exposure." Some of their works simply specialize in preaching pessimism and world-weariness. On the other hand, Soviet literature in the period of socialist construction portrays mainly the bright. It, too, describes shortcomings in work and portrays negative characters, but this only serves as a contrast to bring out the brightness of the whole picture and is not on a so-called half-and-half basis. The writers and artists of the bourgeoisie in its period of reaction depict the revolutionary masses as mobs and themselves as saints, thus reversing the bright and the dark. Only truly revolutionary writers and artists can correctly solve the problem of whether to extol or to expose. All the dark forces harming the masses of the people must be exposed and all the revolutionary struggles of the masses of the people must be extolled; this is the fundamental task of revolutionary writers and artists.

"The task of literature and art has always been to expose." This assertion, like the previous one, arises from ignorance of the science of history. Literature and art, as we have shown, have never been devoted solely to exposure. For revolutionary writers and artists the targets for exposure can never be the masses, but only the aggressors, exploiters and oppressors and the evil influence they have on the people. The masses too have shortcomings, which should be overcome by criticism and self-criticism within the people's own ranks, and such criticism and self-criticism is also one of the most important tasks of literature and art. But this should not be regarded as any sort of "exposure of the people." As for the people, the question is basically one of education and of raising their level. Only counter-revolutionary writers and artists describe the people as "born fools" and the revolutionary masses as "tyrannical mobs."

"This is still the period of the satirical essay, and Lu Hsun's style of writing is still needed." Living under the rule of the dark forces and deprived of freedom of speech, Lu Hsun used burning satire and freezing irony, cast in the form of essays, to do battle; and he was entirely right. We, too, must hold up to sharp ridicule the fascists, the Chinese reactionaries and everything that harms the people; but in the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region and the anti-Japanese base areas behind the enemy lines, where democracy and freedom are granted in full to the revolutionary writers and artists and withheld only from the counter-revolutionaries, the style of the essay should not simply be like Lu Hsun's. Here we can shout at the top of our voices and have no need for veiled and roundabout expressions, which are hard for the people to understand. When dealing with the people and not with their enemies, Lu Hsun never ridiculed or attacked the revolutionary people and the revolutionary Party in his "satirical essay period," and these essays were entirely different in manner from those directed against the enemy. To criticize the people's shortcomings is necessary, as we have already said, but in doing so we must truly take the stand of the people and speak out of whole-hearted eagerness to protect and educate them. To treat comrades like enemies is to go over to the stand of the enemy. Are we then to abolish satire? No. Satire is always necessary. But there are several kinds of satire, each with a different attitude, satire to deal with our enemies, satire to deal with our allies and satire to deal with our own ranks. We are not opposed to satire in general; what we must abolish is the abuse of satire.

"I am not given to praise and eulogy. The works of people who eulogize what is bright are not necessarily great and the works of those who depict the dark are not necessarily paltry." If you are a bourgeois writer or artist, you will eulogize not the proletariat but the bourgeoisie, and if you are a proletarian writer or artist, you will eulogize not the bourgeoisie but the

proletariat and working people: it must be one or the other. The works of the eulogists of the bourgeoisie are not necessarily great, nor are the works of those who show that the bourgeoisie is dark necessarily paltry; the works of the eulogists of the proletariat are not necessarily not great, but the works of those who depict the so-called "darkness" of the proletariat are bound to be paltry — are these not facts of history as regards literature and art? Why should we not eulogize the people, the creators of the history of mankind? Why should we not eulogize the proletariat, the Communist Party, New Democracy and socialism? There is a type of person who has no enthusiasm for the people's cause and looks coldly from the side-lines at the struggles and victories of the proletariat and its vanguard; what he is interested in, and will never weary of eulogizing, is himself, plus perhaps a few figures in his small coterie. Of course, such petty-bourgeois individualists are unwilling to eulogize the deeds and virtues of the revolutionary people or heighten their courage in struggle and their confidence in victory. Persons of this type are merely termites in the revolutionary ranks; of course, the revolutionary people have no need for these "singers."

"It is not a question of stand; my class stand is correct, my intentions are good and I understand all right, but I am not good at expressing myself and so the effect turns out bad." I have already spoken about the dialectical materialist view of motive and effect. Now I want to ask, is not the question of effect one of stand? A person who acts solely by motive and does not inquire what effect his action will have is like a doctor who merely writes prescriptions but does not care how many patients die of them. Or take a political party which merely makes declarations but does not care whether they are carried out. It may well be asked, is this a correct stand? And is the intention here good? Of course, mistakes may occur even though the effect has been taken into account beforehand, but is the intention good when one continues in

the same old rut after facts have proved that the effect is bad? In judging a party or a doctor, we must look at practice, at the effect. The same applies in judging a writer. A person with truly good intentions must take the effect into account, sum up experience and study the methods or, in creative work, study the technique of expression. A person with truly good intentions must criticize the shortcomings and mistakes in his own work with the utmost candour and resolve to correct them. This is precisely why Communists employ the method of self-criticism. This alone is the correct stand. Only in this process of serious and responsible practice is it possible gradually to understand what the correct stand is and gradually obtain a good grasp of it. If one does not move in this direction in practice, if there is simply the complacent assertion that one "understands all right," then in fact one has not understood at all.

"To call on us to study Marxism is to repeat the mistake of the dialectical materialist creative method, which will harm the creative mood." To study Marxism means to apply the dialectical materialist and historical materialist viewpoint in our observation of the world, of society and of literature and art; it does not mean writing philosophical lectures into our works of literature and art. Marxism embraces but cannot replace realism in literary and artistic creation, just as it embraces but cannot replace the atomic and electronic theories in physics. Empty, dry dogmatic formulas do indeed destroy the creative mood; not only that, they first destroy Marxism. Dogmatic "Marxism" is not Marxism, it is anti-Marxism. Then does not Marxism destroy the creative mood? Yes, it does. It definitely destroys creative moods that are feudal, bourgeois, petty-bourgeois, liberalistic, individualist, nihilist, art-for-art's sake, aristocratic, decadent or pessimistic, and every other creative mood that is alien to the masses of the people and to the proletariat. So far as proletarian writers and artists are concerned, should not these kinds of creative

moods be destroyed? I think they should; they should be utterly destroyed. And while they are being destroyed, something new can be constructed.

V

The problems discussed here exist in our literary and art circles in Yen-an. What does that show? It shows that wrong styles of work still exist to a serious extent in our literary and art circles and that there are still many defects among our comrades, such as idealism, dogmatism, empty illusions, empty talk, contempt for practice and aloofness from the masses, all of which call for an effective and serious campaign of rectification.

We have many comrades who are still not very clear on the difference between the proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie. There are many Party members who have joined the Communist Party organizationally but have not yet joined the Party wholly or at all ideologically. Those who have not joined the Party ideologically still carry a great deal of the muck of the exploiting classes in their heads, and have no idea at all of what proletarian ideology, or communism, or the Party is. "Proletarian ideology?" they think. "The same old stuff!" Little do they know that it is no easy matter to acquire this stuff. Some will never have the slightest Communist flavour about them as long as they live and can only end up by leaving the Party. Therefore, though the majority in our Party and in our ranks are clean and honest, we must in all seriousness put things in order both ideologically and organizationally if we are to develop the revolutionary movement more effectively and bring it to speedier success. To put things in order organizationally requires our first doing so ideologically, our launching a struggle of proletarian ideology against non-proletarian ideology. An ideological struggle is already under way in

literary and art circles in Yen-an, and it is most necessary. Intellectuals of petty-bourgeois origin always stubbornly try in all sorts of ways, including literary and artistic ways, to project themselves and spread their views, and they want the Party and the world to be remoulded in their own image. In the circumstances it is our duty to jolt these "comrades" and tell them sharply, "That won't work! The proletariat cannot accommodate itself to you; to yield to you would actually be to yield to the big landlord class and the big bourgeoisie and to run the risk of undermining our Party and our country." Whom then must we yield to? We can mould the Party and the world only in the image of the proletarian vanguard. We hope our comrades in literary and art circles will realize the seriousness of this great debate and join actively in this struggle, so that every comrade may become sound and our entire ranks may become truly united and consolidated ideologically and organizationally.

Because of confusion in their thinking, many of our comrades are not quite able to draw a real distinction between our revolutionary base areas and the Kuomintang areas and they make many mistakes as a consequence. A good number of comrades have come here from the garrets of Shanghai, and in coming from those garrets to the revolutionary base areas, they have passed not only from one kind of place to another but from one historical epoch to another. One society is semi-feudal, semi-colonial, under the rule of the big landlords and big bourgeoisie, the other is a revolutionary new-democratic society under the leadership of the proletariat. To come to the revolutionary bases means to enter an epoch unprecedented in the thousands of years of Chinese history, an epoch in which the masses of the people wield state power. Here the people around us and the audience for our propaganda are totally different. The past epoch is gone, never to return. Therefore, we must integrate ourselves with the new masses without any hesitation. If, living among the new masses, some com-

rades, as I said before, are still "lacking in knowledge and understanding" and remain "heroes with no place to display their prowess," then difficulties will arise for them, and not only when they go out to the villages; right here in Yenan difficulties will arise for them. Some comrades may think, "Well, I had better continue writing for the readers in the Great Rear Area;¹⁰ it is a job I know well and has 'national significance.'" This idea is entirely wrong. The Great Rear Area is also changing. Readers there expect authors in the revolutionary base areas to tell about the new people and the new world and not to bore them with the same old tales. Therefore, the more a work is written for the masses in the revolutionary base areas, the more national significance will it have. Fadeyev in *The Debacle*¹¹ only told the story of a small guerrilla unit and had no intention of pandering to the palate of readers in the old world; yet the book has exerted world-wide influence. At any rate in China its influence is very great, as you know. China is moving forward, not back, and it is the revolutionary base areas, not any of the backward, retrogressive areas, that are leading China forward. This is a fundamental issue that, above all, comrades must come to understand in the rectification movement.

Since integration into the new epoch of the masses is essential, it is necessary thoroughly to solve the problem of the relationship between the individual and the masses. This couplet from a poem by Lu Hsun should be our motto:

*Fierce-browed, I coolly defy a thousand pointing fingers,
Head-bowed, like a willing ox I serve the children.*¹²

The "thousand pointing fingers" are our enemies, and we will never yield to them, no matter how ferocious. The "children" here symbolize the proletariat and the masses. All Communists, all revolutionaries, all revolutionary literary and art workers should learn from the example of Lu Hsun and be "oxen" for the proletariat and the masses, bending their backs

to the task until their dying day. Intellectuals who want to integrate themselves with the masses, who want to serve the masses, must go through a process in which they and the masses come to know each other well. This process may, and certainly will, involve much pain and friction, but if you have the determination, you will be able to fulfil these requirements.

Today I have discussed only some of the problems of fundamental orientation for our literature and art movement; many specific problems remain which will require further study. I am confident that comrades here are determined to move in the direction indicated. I believe that in the course of the rectification movement and in the long period of study and work to come, you will surely be able to bring about a transformation in yourselves and in your works, to create many fine works which will be warmly welcomed by the masses of the people, and to advance the literature and art movement in the revolutionary base areas and throughout China to a glorious new stage.

NOTES

1 See V. I. Lenin, "Party Organization and Party Literature," in which he described the characteristics of proletarian literature as follows:

It will be a free literature, because the idea of socialism and sympathy with the working people, and not greed or careerism, will bring ever new forces to its ranks. It will be a free literature, because it will serve, not some satiated heroine, not the bored "upper ten thousand" suffering from fatty degeneration, but the millions and tens of millions of working people — the flower of the country, its strength and its future. It will be a free literature, enriching the last word in the revolutionary thought of mankind with the ex-

perience and living work of the socialist proletariat, bringing about permanent interaction between the experience of the past (scientific socialism, the completion of the development of socialism from its primitive, utopian forms) and the experience of the present (the present struggle of the worker comrades). (*Collected Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1962, Vol. X, pp. 48-49.)

2 Liang Shih-chiu, a member of the counter-revolutionary National Socialist Party, for a long time propagated reactionary American bourgeois ideas on literature and art. He stubbornly opposed the revolution and reviled revolutionary literature and art.

3 Chou Tso-jen and Chang Tzu-ping capitulated to the Japanese aggressors after the Japanese occupied Peking and Shanghai in 1937.

4 Lu Hsun, "My View on the League of Left-Wing Writers" in the collection *Two Hearts*, *Complete Works*, Chin. ed., Vol. IV.

5 See Lu Hsun's essay, "Death," in the "Addenda," *The Last Collection of Essays Written in a Garret in the Quasi-Concession*, *Complete Works*, Chin. ed., Vol. VI.

6 The "Little Cowherd" is a popular Chinese folk operetta with only two people acting in it, a cowherd and a village girl, who sing a question and answer duet. In the early days of the War of Resistance Against Japan, this form was used, with new words, for anti-Japanese propaganda and for a time found great favour with the public.

7 The Chinese characters for these six words are written simply, with only a few strokes, and were usually included in the first lessons in old primers.

8 "The Spring Snow" and the "Song of the Rustic Poor" were songs of the Kingdom of Chu in the 3rd century B.C. The music of the first was on a higher level than that of the second. As the story is told in "Sung Yu's Reply to the King of Chu" in Prince Chao Ming's *Anthology of Prose and Poetry*, when someone sang "The Spring Snow" in the Chu capital, only a few dozen people joined in, but when the "Song of the Rustic Poor" was sung, thousands did so.

9 See V. I. Lenin, "Party Organization and Party Literature": "Literature must become *part* of the common cause of the proletariat, 'a cog and a screw' of one single great Social-Democratic mechanism set in motion by the entire politically-conscious vanguard of the entire working class." (*Collected Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1962, Vol. X, p. 45.)

10 The Great Rear Area was the name given during the War of Resistance to the vast areas under Kuomintang control in southwestern and northwestern China which were not occupied by the Japanese invaders, as distinguished from the "small rear area," the anti-Japanese base areas behind the enemy lines under the leadership of the Communist Party.

11 *The Debacle* by the famous Soviet writer Alexander Fadeyev was published in 1927 and translated into Chinese by Lu Hsun. The novel describes the struggle of a partisan detachment of workers, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals in Siberia against the counter-revolutionary brigands during the Soviet civil war.

12 This couplet is from Lu Hsun's "In Mockery of Myself" in *The Collection Outside the Collection*, *Complete Works*, Chin. ed., Vol. VII.

The Compass for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

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

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* was first published 24 years ago. With genius, Comrade Mao Tse-tung in this article creatively developed the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and the Marxist-Leninist theory on literature and art. This is an important, epoch-making document. It scientifically sums up not only the basic experience of the movement for revolutionary literature and art in China since the May 4th Movement,

This is the editorial note by the editorial department of the *Red Flag* (*Hongqi*), No. 9, 1966, on reprinting the *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*.

but also the basic experience of the movement for revolutionary literature and art of the international proletariat. It most completely, most comprehensively and most systematically sums up the struggle between the two lines on the cultural front. It offers, for the first time in the history of the proletarian revolution, the most complete, most thoroughgoing and most correct Marxist-Leninist line on literature and art.

The practice in struggle over the past 24 years has proved that the question of whether one supports or opposes Comrade Mao Tse-tung's line on literature and art establishes the line of demarcation between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism and between revolution and counter-revolution.

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

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

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

Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out in December 1963 that in all forms of art — drama, ballads, music, the fine arts, the dance, the cinema, poetry and literature, etc. — problems abounded; the people

engaged in them were numerous; and in many departments very little had been achieved so far in socialist transformation. The "dead" still dominated in many departments. Wasn't it absurd that many Communists showed enthusiasm in advancing feudal and capitalist art, but no zeal in promoting socialist art, Comrade Mao Tse-tung added.

In June, 1964, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out that in the past 15 years the literary and art circles for the most part (this did not apply to every individual) had not carried out the policies of the Party and had acted as high and mighty bureaucrats, had not gone to the workers, peasants and soldiers and had not reflected the socialist revolution and construction. In recent years, they had even slid to the verge of revisionism. If serious steps were not taken to remould them, they were bound at some future date to become groups like the Hungarian Petofi Club.

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

In the course of the past few months the great proletarian cultural revolution, launched and led by the Party's Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, has lifted the lid covering the dominance of the black line in literary and art circles during the 16 years since the founding of the Chinese People's Republic, has brought out into the open and exposed to the light of day one group of monsters after another, and has conducted a vast and powerful campaign of criticism and struggle against them. This great proletarian cultural revolution is a struggle in defence of Mao Tse-tung's thought concerning cardinal issues of right and wrong; it is an extremely intense, extremely sharp and extremely profound class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. It is an issue of prime importance which affects the destiny and future of our Party and country.

It is most important at this moment to make a new study of these talks of Comrade Mao Tse-tung. This is of immense practical and far-reaching significance.

The *Talks* are a compass which, in complex and acute class struggle, gives us guidance in finding our direction, and in distinguishing between fragrant flowers and poisonous weeds, between revolution and

counter-revolution and between true revolution and sham revolution.

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

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

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

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has elevated Marxism-Leninism to a completely new stage under the new conditions of the domestic and international class struggle, under the new conditions of the struggles being waged against imperialism and modern revisionism in the present era by the proletariat, the oppressed peoples in all countries and the oppressed nations. Mao Tse-tung's thought is the acme of Marxism-Leninism in the present era. Comrade Mao Tse-tung's four brilliant works — *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*, *On New Democracy*, *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* and *Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work* — are programmatic documents for the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Here we are reprinting this great work, *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*, so that it may be studied by a broad readership.

The Historical Background and Great Significance of the “Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art”

Historical Background

The *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* was published in May 1942. That was the most difficult period of the world-wide anti-fascist war, when for five years the Chinese people had been fighting the War of Resistance Against Japan. The Japanese imperialists had stepped up their large-scale “mopping-up” campaigns against the anti-Japanese bases, carrying out their cruel “three-all” policy of burn all, kill all, loot all. The Kuomintang reactionaries, induced by Japanese imperialism to capitulate, had carried further their policy of being passive in the War of Resistance but active in opposing the Communist Party. On the one hand they openly dispatched hundreds of thousands of troops to encircle and blockade the anti-Japanese bases in an attempt to besiege the army and people there; on the other hand

they secretly sent large forces to capitulate to the Japanese aggressors and, under their leadership, launch attacks on the anti-Japanese bases. This had put the Chinese Communist Party in a most difficult position. Within the Chinese Communist Party the “Left” opportunist line represented by Wang Ming and later the erroneous line of capitulationism in the beginning of the War of Resistance had seriously damaged and affected the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese revolution, and for a long period had not been thoroughly liquidated. To put things in order among its own ranks ideologically, politically and organizationally, to eliminate the dangerous influences of Wang Ming’s line, and to strengthen the Party’s solidarity and unity so as to defeat the enemy and win victory, the Chinese Communist Party launched an all-Party rectification movement. This was a struggle of proletarian ideology against non-proletarian ideology, a campaign to educate the whole Party with Marxism-Leninism.

The rectification of literature and art was a component part of the entire great rectification movement. In the few years preceding the publication of the *Talks*, many revolutionary literary and art workers had come to Yen-an and other anti-Japanese bases from enemy-occupied and Chiang Kai-shek-controlled areas. Since their world outlook was not well remoulded, they approached the new environment, new masses and the cause of revolutionary literature and art from the standpoint of the old world outlook, the old way of thinking and feeling. Bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology still existed to a serious extent among the ranks of our literary and art workers. One of the two crucial problems at issue among the literary and art workers in Yen-an and other resistance bases was the problem of whether or not to work for the masses. The other was the problem of how to work for the masses. Unless these two problems were satisfactorily solved, our writers and artists would lack a clear orientation and would be ill-adapted to their environment and tasks; they would come up against a series of difficulties from without and within; and it would be impossible for revolutionary literature and art to play their full militant role, for “uniting and educating the people and for attacking and destroying the enemy.”

Since the May 4th Movement in 1919, the militant Left-wing literary and art movement led by Lu Hsun (1881-1936) had made an important contribution to China's revolution. However, taken as a whole, this movement had not solved the basic problem of literature and art serving the workers, peasants and soldiers and writers and artists integrating themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers. As Chairman Mao pointed out, "Literature and art have been an important and successful part of the cultural front since the May 4th Movement. During the ten years' civil war, the revolutionary literature and art movement grew greatly. That movement and the revolutionary war both headed in the same general direction, but these two fraternal armies were not linked together in their practical work. . . ." The reason for this, objectively speaking, was due to the reign of white terror of the Kuomintang reactionaries in the Chiang Kai-shek-controlled areas, which hindered writers from going among the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers to understand them and get to know them well, and to reflect their lives and struggles. As far as the leadership was concerned, it was due to the influence of Wang Ming's erroneous line. At that time the Left-wing literary and art movement with Chou Yang as its representative followed Wang Ming's "Left" opportunist line politically; organizationally it practised closed-doorism and sectarianism; and its theory of literature and art was virtually that of such Russian bourgeois democrats as Belinsky and others, who had bourgeois not proletarian ideas. Towards the end of the 1930s, some Left-wing leaders influenced by Wang Ming's Right capitulationist line abandoned the Marxist-Leninist class standpoint and put forward the slogan of "a literature of national defence." That was a bourgeois slogan. It was Lu Hsun who put forward the proletarian slogan, "Literature of the masses for the national revolutionary war." Wang Ming's erroneous line seriously hampered the integration of literature and art with the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, and the ideological remoulding of writers and artists. As far as the literary and art workers themselves were concerned, it was because their world outlook had not yet been well remoulded. Though they too raised a great clamour about "a mass style," actually "to some extent, they tend to

look down upon the workers, peasants and soldiers and divorce themselves from the masses." Therefore the works they produced were divorced both in content and in form from the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers. When they portrayed the workers, peasants and soldiers, "the clothes are the clothes of working people but the faces are those of petty-bourgeois intellectuals."

The problems of whom to serve and how to serve are two basic problems for literary and art work. There has always been a sharp struggle between two lines on these problems. In 1941 and 1942, when Yen-an was facing very great difficulties, the struggle between bourgeois ideology and proletarian ideology as reflected on the literary and art front became sharper than ever. Some people in the name of opposing "utilitarianism" opposed Party leadership and the policy that literature and art should serve politics. They argued that "the task of literature and art has always been to expose"; they urged writers to use "Lu Hsun's style of writing" to attack the Party and "expose" the people's shortcomings; they spread the absurd "theory of human nature" and advocated the "love of humanity" to blur the people's class viewpoint. In a word, they stubbornly projected their own bourgeois and petty-bourgeois views, wanting to remould the Party and the world in their own image.

Chairman Mao published his *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* to make a systematic summary of the experience of the revolutionary literary and art movement since the May 4th Movement, to eradicate the influence of "the literature and art of the 1930s," to criticize the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois line on literature and art, to oppose the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideological trend among the ranks of revolutionary writers and artists, and to solve a series of basic problems in revolutionary literature and art by pointing out that literature and art must serve the workers, peasants and soldiers and that writers and artists must integrate themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers. Literary and art workers in Yen-an and other anti-Japanese bases, taking up this brilliant work as a weapon, launched a large-scale rectification campaign.

Great Significance

The *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* not only made a thorough theoretical refutation of the cultural line represented by Wang Ming and gave the most complete, most comprehensive and most systematic summary of the struggle between the two lines on the cultural front since the May 4th Movement, but also gave a scientific summary of the basic experience of the revolutionary literary and art movement of the international proletariat, creatively solving a series of basic problems in the Marxist-Leninist literary and art movement. This brilliant work has carried on and developed the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and theory of literature and art. It is the acme of the present-day Marxist-Leninist theory of literature and art, the most powerful weapon against modern revisionism and all sorts of bourgeois views on literature and art, the supreme guide in the work of proletarian culture and art.

During the War of Resistance Against Japan and the War of Liberation, literary and art workers in the revolutionary bases, carrying out Chairman Mao's directive that literature and art must serve the workers, peasants and soldiers and that writers and artists must integrate themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers, for a long period went unreservedly and whole-heartedly into the heat of the struggle, earnestly remoulding their thinking and integrating themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers. Thus they brought about a great change in the spirit of our revolutionary ranks of writers and artists and transformed our revolutionary literary and art work. They produced many fine works of literature and art which the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers welcomed, playing an active role in winning victory for the revolutionary war.

Facts during the ten years and more since the founding of new China fully testify that, in the socialist revolution and socialist construction, only by earnestly carrying out Chairman Mao's directives in his *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* can we achieve a correct orientation for our literary and art work; only so can our literature and art create something new and make constant headway.

Running counter to Chairman Mao's directives, our literary and art work will go astray, be stagnant, and revisionism will crop up.

In China's present great socialist cultural revolution, whether one supports or opposes the *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* is the yardstick to distinguish revolution from counter-revolution and true revolution from sham revolution. The bourgeoisie, modern revisionists and monsters of every kind so dread the great power of the *Talks* that they do all in their power to resist it, viciously attacking it, shamelessly distorting it, and even treacherously waving the banner of the *Talks* to oppose the *Talks*. All revolutionary literary and art workers and all revolutionary fighters, morally strengthened and armed by the *Talks* and using it as a powerful ideological weapon, have bravely and resolutely launched a counter-attack on the black anti-Party and anti-socialist line. The *Talks* is the great revolutionary banner guiding us forward, the fundamental guarantee that we shall defeat the enemy and win victory.

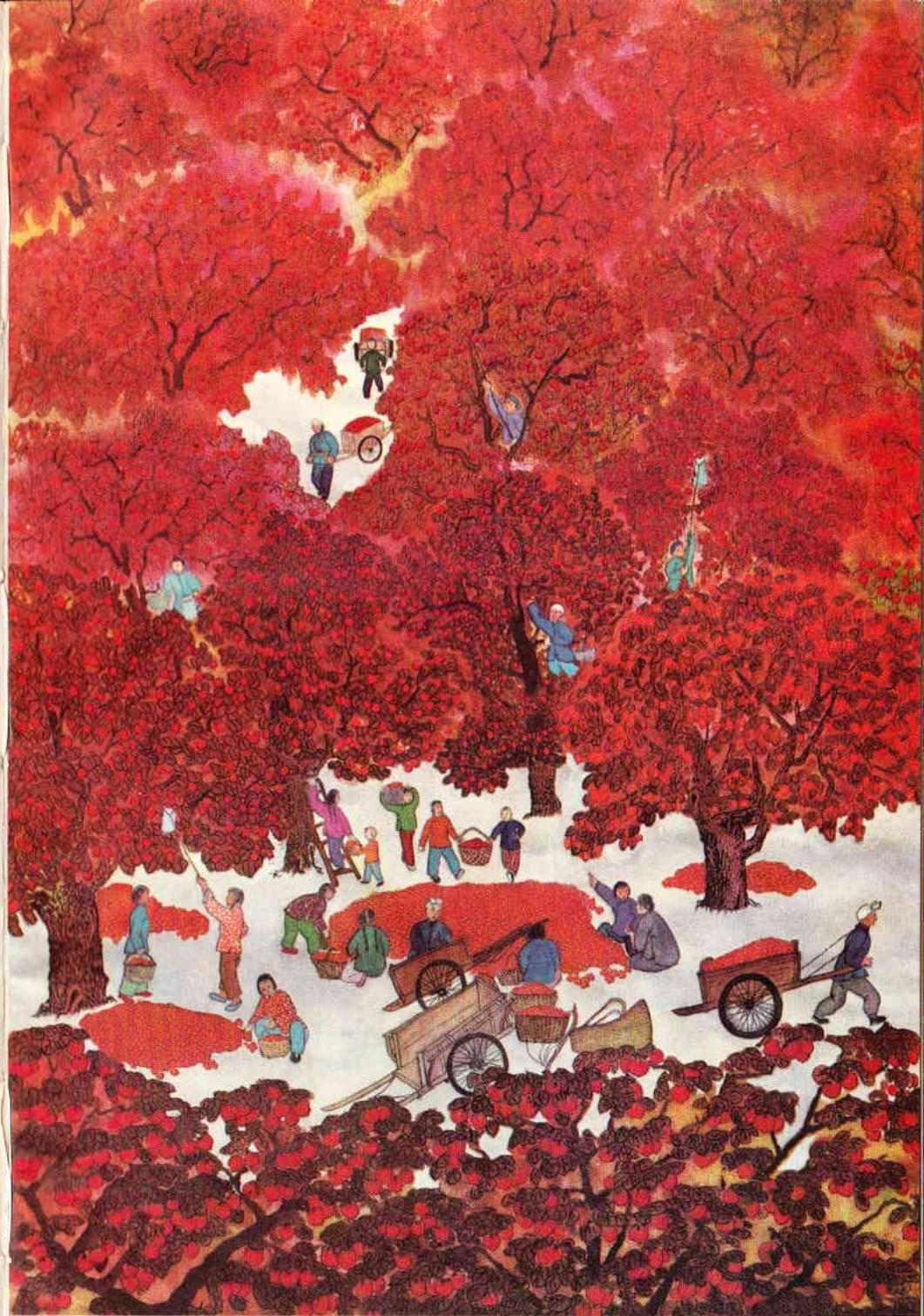
This brilliant work is not only our supreme guide in literary and art work, but also a supreme guide for every revolutionary fighter. It is a sharp weapon for thought remoulding and the successful accomplishment of all our tasks. It has a very important significance in guiding our struggle to eradicate the bourgeois and uphold the proletarian ideology and to establish a thoroughly revolutionary world outlook. Chairman Mao in this work has taught us to take a firm proletarian stand, to make it our aim to serve the workers, peasants and soldiers, to serve the people, to go among the masses, to integrate ourselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers, and to take an active part in fiery revolutionary struggles. All these are invaluable guiding rules for every one of our comrades. We must study this work well, grasp its essence and resolutely put its instructions into actions.

After China's revolution entered the socialist stage, Chairman Mao published two works, *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* and *Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work*, which are the most up-to-date summaries of the historical experience of the movements for proletarian revolutionary ideology and literature and art in China and other countries. They represent a new development of the Marxist-Leninist world out-

look and theory on literature and art. Chairman Mao's four works, *On New Democracy*, *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*, *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* and *Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work*, will serve to guide our proletariat for a long time to come.

A Commune's Persimmon Orchard ►
by Wen Chih-chiang

Wen Chih-chiang, born in 1947, is an agronomist in Chiangtsun Commune of Huh sien County, Shensi Province. He started to paint in his spare time in 1963. See the articles by peasant artists on pages 105 and 109.



Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

(Adopted on August 8, 1966)

I A NEW STAGE IN THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

The great proletarian cultural revolution now unfolding is a great revolution that touches people to their very souls and constitutes a new stage in the development of the socialist revolution in our country, a stage which is both broader and deeper.

At the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: To over-

throw a political power, it is always necessary first of all to create public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the revolutionary class as well as for the counter-revolutionary class. This thesis of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's has been proved entirely correct in practice.

Although the bourgeoisie has been overthrown, it is still trying to use the old ideas, culture, customs and habits of the exploiting classes to corrupt the masses, capture their minds and endeavour to stage a come-back. The proletariat must do the exact opposite: it must meet head-on every challenge of the bourgeoisie in the ideological field and use the new ideas, culture, customs and habits of the proletariat to change the mental outlook of the whole of society. At present, our objective is to struggle against and overthrow those persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road, to criticize and repudiate the reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities" and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and to transform education, literature and art and all other parts of the superstructure not in correspondence with the socialist economic base, so as to facilitate the consolidation and development of the socialist system.

2 THE MAIN CURRENT AND THE TWISTS AND TURNS

The masses of the workers, peasants, soldiers, revolutionary intellectuals and revolutionary cadres form the main force in this great cultural revolution. Large numbers of revolutionary young people, previously unknown, have become courageous and daring pathbreakers. They are vigorous in action and intelligent. Through the media of big-character posters and great debates, they argue things out, expose and criticize thoroughly, and launch resolute attacks on the open and hidden representatives of the bourgeoisie. In such a

great revolutionary movement, it is hardly avoidable that they should show shortcomings of one kind or another, however, their general revolutionary orientation has been correct from the beginning. This is the main current in the great proletarian cultural revolution. It is the general direction along which this revolution continues to advance.

Since the cultural revolution is a revolution, it inevitably meets with resistance. This resistance comes chiefly from those in authority who have wormed their way into the Party and are taking the capitalist road. It also comes from the force of habit from the old society. At present, this resistance is still fairly strong and stubborn. But after all, the great proletarian cultural revolution is an irresistible general trend. There is abundant evidence that such resistance will be quickly broken down once the masses become fully aroused.

Because the resistance is fairly strong, there will be reversals and even repeated reversals in this struggle. There is no harm in this. It tempers the proletariat and other working people, and especially the younger generation, teaches them lessons and gives them experience, and helps them to understand that the revolutionary road zigzags and does not run smoothly.

3 PUT DARING ABOVE EVERYTHING ELSE AND BOLDLY AROUSE THE MASSES

The outcome of this great cultural revolution will be determined by whether or not the Party leadership dares boldly to arouse the masses.

Currently, there are four different situations with regard to the leadership being given to the movement of cultural revolution by Party organizations at various levels:

(1) There is the situation in which the persons in charge of Party organizations stand in the van of the movement and

dare to arouse the masses boldly. They put daring above everything else, they are dauntless communist fighters and good pupils of Chairman Mao. They advocate the big-character posters and great debates. They encourage the masses to expose every kind of ghost and monster and also to criticize the shortcomings and errors in the work of the persons in charge. This correct kind of leadership is the result of putting proletarian politics in the forefront and Mao Tse-tung's thought in the lead.

(2) In many units, the persons in charge have a very poor understanding of the task of leadership in this great struggle, their leadership is far from being conscientious and effective, and they accordingly find themselves incompetent and in a weak position. They put fear above everything else, stick to out-moded ways and regulations, and are unwilling to break away from conventional practices and move ahead. They have been taken unawares by the new order of things, the revolutionary order of the masses, with the result that their leadership lags behind the situation, lags behind the masses.

(3) In some units, the persons in charge, who made mistakes of one kind or another in the past, are even more prone to put fear above everything else, being afraid that the masses will catch them out. Actually, if they make serious self-criticism and accept the criticism of the masses, the Party and the masses will make allowances for their mistakes. But if the persons in charge don't, they will continue to make mistakes and become obstacles to the mass movement.

(4) Some units are controlled by those who have wormed their way into the Party and are taking the capitalist road. Such persons in authority are extremely afraid of being exposed by the masses and therefore seek every possible pretext to suppress the mass movement. They resort to such tactics as shifting the targets for attack and turning black into white in an attempt to lead the movement astray. When they find themselves very isolated and no longer able to carry on as

before, they resort still more to intrigues, stabbing people in the back, spreading rumours, and blurring the distinction between revolution and counter-revolution as much as they can, all for the purpose of attacking the revolutionaries.

What the Central Committee of the Party demands of the Party committees at all levels is that they persevere in giving correct leadership, put daring above everything else, boldly arouse the masses, change the state of weakness and incompetence where it exists, encourage those comrades who have made mistakes but are willing to correct them to cast off their mental burdens and join in the struggle, and dismiss from their leading posts all those in authority who are taking the capitalist road and so make possible the recapture of the leadership for the proletarian revolutionaries.

4 LET THE MASSES EDUCATE THEMSELVES IN THE MOVEMENT

In the great proletarian cultural revolution, the only method is for the masses to liberate themselves, and any method of doing things in their stead must not be used.

Trust the masses, rely on them and respect their initiative. Cast out fear. Don't be afraid of disturbances. Chairman Mao has often told us that revolution cannot be so very refined, so gentle, so temperate, kind, courteous, restrained and magnanimous. Let the masses educate themselves in this great revolutionary movement and learn to distinguish between right and wrong and between correct and incorrect ways of doing things.

Make the fullest use of big-character posters and great debates to argue matters out, so that the masses can clarify the correct views, criticize the wrong views and expose all the ghosts and monsters. In this way the masses will be able to raise their political consciousness in the course of the struggle,

enhance their abilities and talents, distinguish right from wrong and draw a clear line between ourselves and the enemy.

5 FIRMLY APPLY THE CLASS LINE OF THE PARTY

Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of the first importance for the revolution and it is likewise a question of the first importance for the great cultural revolution.

Party leadership should be good at discovering the Left and developing and strengthening the ranks of the Left; it should firmly rely on the revolutionary Left. During the movement this is the only way to isolate the most reactionary Rightists thoroughly, win over the middle and unite with the great majority so that by the end of the movement we shall achieve the unity of more than 95 per cent of the cadres and more than 95 per cent of the masses.

Concentrate all forces to strike at the handful of ultra-reactionary bourgeois Rightists and counter-revolutionary revisionists, and expose and criticize to the full their crimes against the Party, against socialism and against Mao Tse-tung's thought so as to isolate them to the maximum.

The main target of the present movement is those within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road.

The strictest care should be taken to distinguish between the anti-Party, anti-socialist Rightists and those who support the Party and socialism but have said or done something wrong or have written some bad articles or other works.

The strictest care should be taken to distinguish between the reactionary bourgeois scholar despots and "authorities" on the one hand and people who have ordinary bourgeois academic ideas on the other.

6 CORRECT HANDLING OF CONTRADICTIONS AMONG THE PEOPLE

A strict distinction must be made between the two different types of contradictions: those among the people and those between ourselves and the enemy. Contradictions among the people must not be made into contradictions between ourselves and the enemy; nor must contradictions between ourselves and the enemy be regarded as contradictions among the people.

It is normal for the masses to hold different views. Contention between different views is unavoidable, necessary and beneficial. In the course of normal and full debate, the masses will affirm what is right, correct what is wrong and gradually reach unanimity.

The method to be used in debates is to present the facts, reason things out, and persuade through reasoning. Any method of forcing a minority holding different views to submit is impermissible. The minority should be protected, because sometimes the truth is with the minority. Even if the minority is wrong, they should still be allowed to argue their case and reserve their views.

When there is a debate, it should be conducted by reasoning, not by coercion or force.

In the course of debate, every revolutionary should be good at thinking things out for himself and should develop the communist spirit of daring to think, daring to speak and daring to act. On the premise that they have the same general orientation, revolutionary comrades should, for the sake of strengthening unity, avoid endless debate over side issues.

7 BE ON GUARD AGAINST THOSE WHO BRAND THE REVOLUTIONARY MASSES AS "COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARIES"

In certain schools, units, and work teams of the cultural revolution, some of the persons in charge have organized counter-attacks against the masses who put up big-character posters criticizing them. These people have even advanced such slogans as: opposition to the leaders of a unit or a work team means opposition to the Central Committee of the Party, means opposition to the Party and socialism, means counter-revolution. In this way it is inevitable that their blows will fall on some really revolutionary activists. This is an error on matters of orientation, an error of line, and is absolutely impermissible.

A number of persons who suffer from serious ideological errors, and particularly some of the anti-Party and anti-socialist Rightists, are taking advantage of certain shortcomings and mistakes in the mass movement to spread rumours and gossip, and engage in agitation, deliberately branding some of the masses as "counter-revolutionaries." It is necessary to beware of such "pick-pockets" and expose their tricks in good time.

In the course of the movement, with the exception of cases of active counter-revolutionaries where there is clear evidence of crimes such as murder, arson, poisoning, sabotage or theft of state secrets, which should be handled in accordance with the law, no measures should be taken against students at universities, colleges, middle schools and primary schools because of problems that arise in the movement. To prevent the struggle from being diverted from its main target, it is not allowed, under whatever pretext, to incite the masses or the students to struggle against each other. Even proven Rightists should be dealt with on the merits of each case at a later stage of the movement.

8 THE QUESTION OF CADRES

The cadres fall roughly into the following four categories:

- (1) good;
- (2) comparatively good;
- (3) those who have made serious mistakes but have not become anti-Party, anti-socialist Rightists;
- (4) the small number of anti-Party, anti-socialist Rightists.

In ordinary situations, the first two categories (good and comparatively good) are the great majority.

The anti-Party, anti-socialist Rightists must be fully exposed, refuted, overthrown and completely discredited and their influence eliminated. At the same time, they should be given a chance to turn over a new leaf.

9 CULTURAL REVOLUTIONARY GROUPS, COMMITTEES AND CONGRESSES

Many new things have begun to emerge in the great proletarian cultural revolution. The cultural revolutionary groups, committees and other organizational forms created by the masses in many schools and units are something new and of great historic importance.

These cultural revolutionary groups, committees and congresses are excellent new forms of organization whereby the masses educate themselves under the leadership of the Communist Party. They are an excellent bridge to keep our Party in close contact with the masses. They are organs of power of the proletarian cultural revolution.

The struggle of the proletariat against the old ideas, culture, customs and habits left over by all the exploiting classes over thousands of years will necessarily take a very, very long time. Therefore, the cultural revolutionary groups, committees and congresses should not be temporary organizations

but permanent, standing mass organization. They are suitable not only for colleges, schools and government and other organizations, but generally also for factories, mines, other enterprises, urban districts and villages.

It is necessary to institute a system of general elections, like that of the Paris Commune, for electing members to the cultural revolutionary groups and committees and delegates to the cultural revolutionary congresses. The lists of candidates should be put forward by the revolutionary masses after full discussion, and the elections should be held after the masses have discussed the lists over and over again.

The masses are entitled at any time to criticize members of the cultural revolutionary groups and committees and delegates elected to the cultural revolutionary congresses. If these members or delegates prove incompetent, they can be replaced through election or recalled by the masses after discussion.

The cultural revolutionary groups, committees and congresses in colleges and schools should consist mainly of representatives of the revolutionary students. At the same time, they should have a certain number of representatives of the revolutionary teaching and administrative staff and workers.

10 EDUCATIONAL REFORM

In the great proletarian cultural revolution a most important task is to transform the old educational system and the old principles and methods of teaching.

In this great cultural revolution, the phenomenon of our schools being dominated by bourgeois intellectuals must be completely changed.

In every kind of school we must apply thoroughly the policy advanced by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, of education serving proletarian politics and education being combined with productive labour, so as to enable those receiving an education

to develop morally, intellectually and physically and to become labourers with socialist consciousness and culture.

The period of schooling should be shortened. Courses should be fewer and better. The teaching material should be thoroughly transformed, in some cases beginning with simplifying complicated material. While their main task is to study, students should also learn other things. That is to say, in addition to their studies they should also learn industrial work, farming and military affairs, and take part in the struggles of the cultural revolution to criticize the bourgeoisie as these struggles occur.

11 THE QUESTION OF CRITICIZING BY NAME IN THE PRESS

In the course of the mass movement of the cultural revolution, the criticism of bourgeois and feudal ideology should be well combined with the dissemination of the proletarian world outlook and of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Criticism should be organized of typical bourgeois representatives who have wormed their way into the Party and typical reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities," and this should include criticism of various kinds of reactionary views in philosophy, history, political economy and education, in works and theories of literature and art, in theories of natural science, and in other fields.

Criticism of anyone by name in the press should be decided after discussion by the Party committee at the same level, and in some cases submitted to the Party committee at a higher level for approval.

12 POLICY TOWARDS SCIENTISTS, TECHNICIANS AND ORDINARY MEMBERS OF WORKING STAFFS

As regards scientists, technicians and ordinary members of working staffs, as long as they are patriotic, work energetically, are not against the Party and socialism, and maintain no illicit relations with any foreign country, we should in the present movement continue to apply the policy of "unity, criticism, unity." Special care should be taken of those scientists and scientific and technical personnel who have made contributions. Efforts should be made to help them gradually transform their world outlook and their style of work.

13 THE QUESTION OF ARRANGEMENTS FOR INTEGRATION WITH THE SOCIALIST EDUCATION MOVEMENT IN CITY AND COUNTRYSIDE

The cultural and educational units and leading organs of the Party and government in the large and medium cities are the points of concentration of the present proletarian cultural revolution.

The great cultural revolution has enriched the socialist education movement in both city and countryside and raised it to a higher level. Efforts should be made to conduct these two movements in close combination. Arrangements to this effect may be made by various regions and departments in the light of the specific conditions.

The socialist education movement now going on in the countryside and in enterprises in the cities should not be upset where the original arrangements are appropriate and the movement is going well, but should continue in accordance with the original arrangements. However, the questions that are arising in the present great proletarian cultural revolution should be put to the masses for discussion at the proper time,

so as to further foster vigorously proletarian ideology and eradicate bourgeois ideology.

In some places, the great proletarian cultural revolution is being used as the focus in order to add momentum to the socialist education movement and clean things up in the fields of politics, ideology, organization and economy. This may be done where the local Party committee thinks it appropriate.

14 TAKE FIRM HOLD OF THE REVOLUTION AND STIMULATE PRODUCTION

The aim of the great proletarian cultural revolution is to revolutionize people's ideology and as a consequence to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in all fields of work. If the masses are fully aroused and proper arrangements are made, it is possible to carry on both the cultural revolution and production without one hampering the other, while guaranteeing high quality in all our work.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is a powerful motive force for the development of the social productive forces in our country. Any idea of counterposing the great cultural revolution to the development of production is incorrect.

15 THE ARMED FORCES

In the armed forces, the cultural revolution and the socialist education movement should be carried out in accordance with the instructions of the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Party and the General Political Department of the People's Liberation Army.

16 MAO TSE-TUNG'S THOUGHT IS THE GUIDE
TO ACTION IN THE GREAT PROLETARIAN
CULTURAL REVOLUTION

In the great proletarian cultural revolution, it is imperative to hold aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and put proletarian politics in command. The movement for the creative study and application of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's works should be carried forward among the masses of the workers, peasants and soldiers, the cadres and the intellectuals, and Mao Tse-tung's thought should be taken as the guide to action in the cultural revolution.

In this complex great cultural revolution, Party committees at all levels must study and apply Chairman Mao's works all the more conscientiously and in a creative way. In particular, they must study over and over again Chairman Mao's writings on the cultural revolution and on the Party's methods of leadership, such as *On New Democracy*, *Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art*, *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, *Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work*, *Some Questions Concerning Methods of Leadership* and *Methods of Work of Party Committees*.

Party committees at all levels must abide by the directions given by Chairman Mao over the years, namely that they should thoroughly apply the mass line of "from the masses, to the masses" and that they should be pupils before they become teachers. They should try to avoid being one-sided or narrow. They should foster materialist dialectics and oppose metaphysics and scholasticism.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is bound to achieve brilliant victory under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

Songs in Praise of Chairman Mao

Chairman Mao's Radiance

(OWENKE)

What is wider than the vast blue sea?
Our pasturelands are wider than the sea.

What outnumbers the stars in the sky?
Our sheep outnumber the stars in the sky.

What is more splendid than the golden sunflower?
Our life is more splendid than the golden sunflower.

What overtops a soaring peak?
The Communist Party's goodness overtops a peak.

These are a selection of new folk songs widely popular among the various nationalities of China.

And what outshines the blazing sun?
Chairman Mao's radiance outshines the sun.

In Golden Peking

(TIBETAN)

In golden Peking
Has risen a golden sun,
Not the sun in the sky
But the red splendour of the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

In golden Peking
Sparkles a lake of gold,
These are not waves that glint
But the far-flung light of the works of Chairman Mao.

In golden Peking
The sky is shaken by a mighty bugle,
That is no bugle call
But the voice of Chairman Mao heard far and wide.

No Mountains or Seas Can Bar the Way

(YI)

The longest road
Is severed by a river;
The longest mountain range
Is sundered by the sea;
But no mountain can sunder,

No sea can halt
The great thought of Mao Tse-tung;
Each word, sparkling with light,
Crosses lakes, seas, rivers and mountains
To light up the hearts of the people of all nationalities.

The Banner-Bearer Is Chairman Mao

(HAN)

High floats the great red banner of revolution,
The banner-bearer — Chairman Mao;
All generations to come will follow the Party
Until the red banner floats out over all the world.

High floats the red banner, reddening the sky;
High floats the red banner, dyeing the earth red;
The old order has been overturned, the world has changed,
A heaven is to be built on earth.

Follow the Party, Follow Chairman Mao

(MONGOLIAN)

The River Hargat
Flows down mountain valleys;
My merry brothers,
Follow the Party, follow Chairman Mao.

The River Burgas
Flows through pasturelands;
My happy brothers,
Follow the Party, follow Chairman Mao.

The River Kungdlen
Flows towards the sun;
Dear brothers,
Follow the Party, follow Chairman Mao.

Fountain of Our Life

(UIGHUR)

From the Tarim's Gobi Desert
Gushes a great crystal fountain;
Clear it flows to the four corners of the land,
And waters the parched hearts of the Uighur people.

We bring song and dance to the fountain,
Singing the joys of work,
Singing the commune's good harvest,
Singing the praise of our motherland, rich and strong.

Ah, this clear crystal fountain
Is the radiance of Chairman Mao;
Chairman Mao, whom we love and honour with all our hearts,
Is the fountain of our life.

I Love Chairman Mao

(CHUANG)

I love Chairman Mao,
I love his writings too;
For reading them lights up my mind
And gives me strength for all I have to do.

Great and good is Chairman Mao
And all he writes is for the revolution,
Pointing out a broad, bright road
For later generations.

Come and study, one and all,
Make progress, everyone;
Thank Chairman Mao who has built happiness
For ages yet to come.

I love Chairman Mao
And I love all his writings;
Give heartfelt thanks to Chairman Mao
For happiness unceasing.

The Yi People Have Chairman Mao

(YI)

A fire in the hearth keeps us warm indoors,
The sound of a mill indoors carries out of doors;
Since Chairman Mao set us Yi people free
The sun and moon shine brighter than before.

The fragrance of red flowers in Peking
Carries deep into our mountains;
The radiance of the red flags in Peking
Is reflected over our mountains.

Great Chairman Mao lives in Peking,
Day and night the Yi people, young and old, think of him;
Now we Yi people have Chairman Mao
We are sure of happiness for all time to come.

Where There Are Flowers There Is Fragrance

(YAO)

Where there are flowers there is fragrance,
Where there is wind it is cool;
Where Chairman Mao's works are well studied
The red flag will always fly.

Boats need sails to scud with the wind,
Birds need wings to soar to the sky;
The Yao people have taken the road to happiness,
We shall for ever follow Mao Tse-tung.

Hold High Chairman Mao's Works

(KAZAKH)

When I give my whole mind to the works of Chairman Mao
I seem to be grasping him tightly by the hand,
And our road ahead is bathed in glorious radiance,
For Chairman Mao's works are like sunshine pouring down,
golden, from the sky.

When I raise Chairman Mao's works in both my hands
The hardest problems are solved and my mind is at peace,
My heart exults like a lark singing for joy,
For a mass of red blossom blazes before our eyes.

Chairman Mao's works help me to tell friend from foe,
They are revolutionary truths that have stood the test of time,
Precious writings we must study all our lives,
Leading us up the glorious road to communism.

When I have the works of Chairman Mao in my hands,
My neighbours crowd round to read them;
Every word there is like a bright light
Inspiring my heart and giving me strength.

A Gift for Chairman Mao

(NAHSI)

Pick the loveliest peony
That blooms in the garden;
Take the sweetest honey
From the hives on the cliff;
Choose the finest golden thread
Spun by white silkworms;
Polish the brightest
Gong of yellow brass.
In your left hand hold
The peony tied with gold thread;
In your right hand take
The honey-comb in its brass dish;
Give these finest, rarest gifts
To Chairman Mao.

Trees Grow Green All Over the Hills

(NU)

Trees grow green all over the hills,
Awakened by spring winds;
Bamboo-shoots fill all the valleys,
Nourished by rain;

Our life grows better from day to day,
Chairman Mao, you have given us light.

Our Beloved Leader Chairman Mao

(RUSSIAN)

Vast the bounds of our motherland,
Lovely its rivers and mountains;
Kunas grasslands which bore me,
I shall never leave you.

Dread cold, cutting to the bone,
Cannot cool my burning love for my motherland;
Stormy winds, raging wild,
Cannot shake my loyalty to Chairman Mao.

I shall never forget your teachings,
Great Chinese Communist Party;
I shall advance for ever towards the goal
You have shown me, dear Chairman Mao.

Autumn Harvest by Min Chien-hsing ►

Min Chien-hsing, born in 1942, is a commune member in Huhsien County. He started to paint in his spare time in 1962.



The Song of Ouyang Hai

The excerpts from this novel published in our previous three issues describe how Ouyang Hai, the hero of the novel, nurtured by Mao Tse-tung's thought, began to undergo a qualitative leap in his ideas and emotions after only a few years in the People's Liberation Army. When he joined the PLA he had his heart set on being a hero. In less than two years he had successively won three commendations for his outstanding contribution and heroic determination in construction work and other tasks. He felt very much elated the first two times, thinking that he could soon become "a combat hero." But the third time he felt he was not a hero at all. As a Communist Party member and a squad leader, he considered it his duty to do his work even better, so he avidly studied Chairman Mao's works. Guided by Mao Tse-tung's teachings, he helped the comrades in his squad to progress just as his political instructor, Tseng Wu-chun, had helped him.

In 1962 Hai was given leave to go home to visit his family whom he had not seen for several years. He found that his elder brother, due to the improvement in living conditions, had forgotten their sufferings of the past and had become more concerned with private gain than with the interest of the collective. Hai gathered his family members and made them recall the bitter past to contrast with the present happy life. Given this lesson, the elder brother realized his mistake and returned to the correct path.

At that time news came that the Chiang Kai-shek forces, backed by the U.S. imperialists, were planning to attack the mainland. Hai ended his leave and hurried back to his company. He was sent to work in a communications squad at battalion headquarters as the whole army prepared for war. The chapter published below starts from the time when Hai returned to his original company after an absence of six months.

CHAPTER EIGHT

A New Trial

The rows of eucalyptus trees around the barracks grew steadily. In only a few years they had shot up from being no higher than the horizontal bar on the playing field to topping the roofs. A snowfall had mantled their branches with white and from a distance they looked like masts with sails unfurled. Then a warm wind blew from the southeast and the trees shook off their white cover. From the branches where the snow had been, green tendrils sprouted, and the greater height of the trees became even more apparent.

Spring of 1963 had come and former leader of battalion's "Four Good" communications squad, "Five Good" soldier Ouyang Hai, who had extended his enlistment for the second time, was returning to Third Company after six months of training at battalion.

1963 was Hai's fifth year in the army. It probably would be his last. Ever since the Decision of the Enlarged Session of the Military Commission, the whole army began to study and apply the works of Chairman Mao in a creative way and the "Three Articles" * solved the fundamental problem of the cadres and men — their world outlook. As a result, there was a huge change in the army's entire spiritual aspect. The companies measured all their work by the "Four Good" standard. Under the correct leadership of the Military Commission and Comrade Lin Piao, and travelling in the direction pointed out by Chairman Mao, they were rapidly becoming proletarian and

**Serve the People, The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains and In Memory of Norman Bethune.*

militant to the utmost. While old revolutionary traditions were being respected, a new atmosphere was being born.

"As a member of the armed forces, have I made any progress these past few years?" Hai wondered. "Especially this last year, how thoroughly have I understood putting politics in command and stressing the Four Firsts? The communications squad was rated "Four Good" at the end of last year, and I was chosen to attend the Conference of "Four Good" companies and "Five Good" soldiers, but that doesn't prove much. The comrades in the communications squad were picked from among the best in each company, which gave me a very good crew to work with. Furthermore, the battalion leaders kept a close personal eye on us. So being rated "Four Good" wasn't necessarily because my own thinking and work were outstanding. To really show how well I grasp the Four Firsts and test what progress I've made these past few years, I ought to try myself in a more complicated situation. There are light loads and heavy, difficult jobs and easy. The key, when you come right down to it, is your attitude to the revolution. In that letter Political Instructor Tseng sent me not long ago, he says his wounds have healed but his right arm is useless and he can't remain in the army. When he was offered a choice of doing political work in the hospital or going to the countryside, he chose the countryside because they need people more there and conditions are harder. Although his arm is crippled he still wants to pick up the heavier load for the revolution. Now that I've been called back to Third Company I mustn't disappoint my leaders. I must also find a heavy load to carry."

Nobody was around outside the club except a young cadre of twenty-six or seven who was repairing the bulletin board. He had planed it smooth and buried the legs again firmly in the ground. Now he was busy painting it, not pausing to wipe the perspiration from his streaming face. He stepped back to admire the fruits of his morning's labour and said to himself:

"If we had cedar bark eaves over it, I guarantee we could protect the notice board from the rain." He discovered thinly painted spot near the top and climbed up on a stool and plied his brush.

As Hai was passing by, the young cadre hailed him: "Hey, comrade, hand me that can of paint, will you?"

Hai hurried over and did as he asked, then promptly joined in the work. When the cadre finished touching up the bulletin board, he saw that Hai's hands were smeared with paint.

"I'm sorry," he said. "I've made you get your hands all dirty."

"Never mind. A little soap and water will fix that." Now that he had a chance to look the cadre over, he saw that he was a tall young man with burning eyes. Between his brows there seemed to be a concentration of inexhaustible energy. You could see at a glance that he was open and straightforward. He was gazing at Hai curiously.

"Don't you rest on Sunday?" Hai asked, looking at his sweat-covered face.

"Rest?" The cadre pointed at the bulletin board with a paint-stained hand. "That's the best kind of rest. When it's time to play I play, when there's work I work. If I had to sit around with folded hands all day I'd go mad."

Hai nodded. He looked from the gleaming bulletin board to the vigorous young cadre. "I know how he feels," he thought. "Nothing is duller than just hanging around."

"Who do you want to see, young fellow?" the cadre asked.

"Who is he, anyway?" Hai wondered. "Can he be the new cadre the battalion political instructor said was assigned to our company?"

"I'm from Third Company originally," he explained. "I've just been transferred back today from battalion's communications squad."

"Oh, I don't have to ask. You're Ouyang Hai, I guarantee. Right? A few days ago I heard our commander say you were coming back. I've been waiting to see you," the cadre said warmly. He held out his hand. "Let's shake. Your hand is dirty anyway. My name is Hsueh Hsin-wen."

He led Hai to the company headquarters entrance and picked up a basin. "Sit down for a minute. I'll get some water and we can both wash."

Hai grabbed the basin from him. "I'll do it." He ran to the well and returned shortly with a basin of water which he placed down before Hsueh.

"You wash first."

"You're a queer one. Why should I?" Hsueh glared at him. "Come on. We'll wash together."

"Right you are," Hai retorted loudly.

They both laughed and plunged their hands into the water.

"The battalion political instructor mentioned yesterday that our company was getting a new cadre," said Hai. "Have you come to help lead us?"

"No. I've come to temper myself. The leadership decided to send me from the administration office to Third Company so that I could learn from a unit in training. I haven't been out of school very long and I lack practical experience. My main purpose is to learn. Your former assistant political instructor has been sent to take a course at the school for political cadres and regiment has appointed me to replace him temporarily." Hsueh paused. "Time certainly flies. I've been in Third Company more than twenty days already."

"Oh, so you're our assistant political instructor."

"I'm only acting as one. I'll probably be sent back to my original unit very soon."

"I've been up at army for the past month or more taking part in the conference of "Four Good" companies and "Five Good" soldiers. No wonder I haven't met you." Hai was anxious to know what his own duties would be. "Can you tell me which squad I'll be going to?" he asked.

"Company hasn't formally discussed it yet. We'll let you know as soon as it's decided."

"Right. I was only thinking — the sooner it's decided, the sooner I can start work."

"What's the hurry? It's Sunday. Take a rest."

"Didn't you just say when there's work you work, that you can't bear sitting around all day with your hands folded?"

"Hah, I know without asking. You're one of the best talkers in the company, I guarantee. All right. We'll discuss it immediately and give you a prompt answer."

They both laughed.

Hai was about to report to him on his recent activities when Hsueh jumped to his feet.

"I am the limit. I nearly forgot something very important."

"What?" Hai asked in surprise.

"Last Sunday I promised Big Liu of Squad One to wrestle with him this afternoon. If I don't show up he'll say I'm scared." Hsueh snatched up his tunic. "Come along and give me moral support."

"I was thinking of going back to the squad to see the comrades."

"Just as you like. As to your work, we'll discuss it in a little while."

Hsueh was off at a run before the words had hardly left his mouth.

Hai gazed after him. "That acting assistant political instructor is really a ball of fire," he thought.

That same day Hai learned from his comrades that Squad Seven did indeed have problems. Their discipline was lax and there wasn't enough verve in the way they did things. They had been without a regular squad leader right along and Wei, the assistant squad leader, couldn't cope by himself. And Liu who was a new soldier of two months, with his boisterousness and pranks, complicated matters still further. Over two weeks ago, Hsueh had come from the administration office to work in Squad Seven. The moment he entered the door, he found Yen-sheng with a stick of lighted incense in his hands, uttering a religious incantation. Hsueh didn't know he used the incense to mark the course of his grenade in night practice and thought he was up to some practical joke. Without checking up, he bawled out Wei, the assistant squad leader, for permitting such things. Yen-sheng felt that the criticism was actually directed at him and unjust. At roll call he argued about it with Hsueh. This made the situation in Squad Seven even more awkward. At a meeting of cadres Kuan said that Hsueh wasn't careful enough in his ideological work and that he didn't investigate sufficiently. Hsueh didn't entirely agree with this.

Hsueh was sitting alone, reading, in the company officers' quarters, when Hai hurried in.

"How did your wrestling match go this afternoon?" Hai asked. "Who won?"

"Big Liu used a smart trick and pinned me down. I'm having a return match with him next Sunday."

"Ah... did the cadres' meeting decide what squad I'm going to?"

"There wasn't any final decision." Hsueh put his book down. "You're going to be the leader of either Squad Four or Squad Seven. The company commander would like you to go to Seven. I think you'd be more suited to Four. What's your opinion?"

"I'll go wherever I'm sent. Either squad will do, but if it were up to me, I'd prefer Squad Seven."

"You're a queer one. Why pick Squad Seven?" Hsueh was testing him. "It's full of problems, and the most backward squad in the company. In ideology, working style and military training, it's behind all the others."

"Don't worry, assistant political instructor. I guarantee to do a good job. I've just been over to Squad Seven and got the general picture. They do have some problems — that's looking at the negative side of it. But they don't want to stay backward. Every one of them wants to catch up with the advanced squads — Squad One and Four. That's their main aspect. I think if we do our work correctly and convert their negative elements into positive elements, we can change the squad completely. What matters most is how we lead them. As our superiors say, all our soldiers are good soldiers; it's up to the cadres to lead them correctly. If the leadership approves, I guarantee, together with the comrades of Squad Seven, to do the job well."

Hsueh did not reply. "If he really could bring Squad Seven forward," he thought, "that of course would be fine. But Squad Four is a model training squad of the whole company. It needs a 'tiger' of a leader like him. With his energy, he'd probably be better in Squad Four. Squad Seven has special problems. It needs a steadier type for squad leader. He doesn't understand their situation; he hasn't given enough thought to their difficulties."

Hai could see that Hsueh was still hesitating. "You don't have to worry, assistant political instructor," he added. "If I don't succeed with Squad Seven, you can pull me out. I don't believe there's any job that can't be done well. Even if the problems are as big as the Taihang and Wangwu Mountains, under the leadership of the Party branch, our squad will remove them."

"How do you propose to go about it?"

"Concentrate on the Four Firsts. The men in Squad Seven are revolutionary fighters, the same as the soldiers in the other squads, and they're led by the same Party branch. If we really put the human factor in first place, there's no reason why Squad Seven can't do everything the other squads can do."

"That's so in theory, but have you considered how you're going to apply the Four Firsts to the squad's specific problems? I guarantee you haven't."

"You're right. I haven't had time to think it over in detail."

"You'd better think again," Hsueh urged Hai earnestly. "Underestimating difficulties is the beginning of defeat. Of course if you're really sure you can do what you say, I'll agree to your going to Squad Seven."

"Wonderful. I salute you." Hai joyously raced through the door, then halted, stuck his head in and shouted: "I promise to be worthy of our leaders' trust. You'll soon be hearing good news from Squad Seven." He ran back to the squad barracks.

Hsueh had wanted to give him a few words of advice about Yen-sheng but Hai was already gone. Again he shook his head and said to himself: "Full of enthusiasm but not very steady. Impetuous. He's only been back half a day. How can he know the situation and all the difficulties?"

Kuan came in with a chart in his hand. "The battalion commander has agreed to our training plan, Old Hsueh. Next week —" He stopped and listened. "Was Ouyang Hai just here?"

"Yes. How did you know?"

"You needn't guarantee this. Those footsteps, going like the wind — I'd know them anywhere. Of course he talked the ear off you, pleading to be assigned to Squad Seven. Right?"

Hsueh laughed. "Exactly. He was here a long time. I agree with you. We ought to let him have a go at it." He paused. "But don't you think he's a bit too sure of himself, Old Kuan? He's only just come back but he had an awful lot to say."

"No, no, no. You don't know Hai. He studies Chairman Mao's works well and he gets things done on the job. He's always been a solid, good, hard-working comrade. He only left because the battalion commander insisted on having him and we had no way of holding him. One of the main reasons I wanted him back was so that he could lead Squad Seven. I'm convinced he can do a good job. Don't you agree?"

Hsueh shook his head. "Well, he certainly has the energy for it. But we have to be careful that he doesn't create new problems."

"Of course we as company leaders have to help him, especially you. Platoon Three is your responsibility, according to our division of labour. You already know the situation in Squad Seven. You should keep a close eye on him." Kuan spread out the training plan. "Let's study this. The battalion commander agrees to it in full. The battalion political instructor has said several times that we should take advantage of the present excellent situation and put politics on command, come to grips with reality and do more investigation and research; we should pay particular attention to getting the opinions of the men about our work and not be subjective or one-sided..."

His eyes fixed on the training plan, Hsueh nodded thoughtfully. In the distance the bugle call sounded for lights out...

*

There wasn't a cloud in the sky and a scorching sun baked the earth. A breeze from the south fanned up a suffocating wave of heat. Grass wilted, leaves curled. In the afternoons everyone was overcome by lassitude as though they had just awakened from sleep. Birds in the trees gasped for air, lacking even the energy to search for food.

It was in this weather that the men of Third Company were practising on a hillside. They lay motionless on the burning ground, ignoring the sun, their eyes staring at the objective ahead. Beneath crowns of camouflage branches on their heads, sweat poured down

sunburnt faces. Though drops of it rolled into their eyes, none of them moved a hand to wipe it away. From afar, they looked like a small grove on the side of a hill. Suddenly an explosion burst thunderously on the summit — the sappers had set off a demolition blast. Immediately a bugle sounded the call to charge and the camouflaged soldiers jumped to their feet and raced up the hill, shouting and cheering.

Squad Seven reached the top first.

An appraisal was made of the company's performance. Kuan's sun-blackened face gleamed as though coated with oil. The hands and face of Hsueh, standing beside him, had been lacerated by brambles.

"I'll speak first, Old Hsueh," said the company commander. "Take a rest under a tree and let the medical orderly put a little something on those cuts."

"No need." Hsueh remained where he was.

"They might get infected."

"Just a few scratches. They don't amount to anything. Go ahead and speak. I have something to say when you're finished."

Kuan walked up to the men and looked them over, his eyes glowing. "Today—" he began. At the sound of his resonant voice the entire company snapped to attention.

"At ease," he said. "In today's exercise Squad Seven was best."

Every man in the squad stood taller at this praise from the commander. They were like iron pillars, absolutely erect, their eyes straight ahead, although they were soaked with sweat from head to toe. You could have wrung water even from their leather belts and rubber-soled shoes.

Kuan gave them a satisfied glance and went on: "They were quick, hard-hitting, fierce, and they kept well under cover. This is because they've been stressing political and ideological work and clearly understand the purpose of these exercises. It's also because they've been developing a high sense of organization and discipline. They've made a lot of progress in the past two months. The whole company can learn from them." He looked at Hai. "Who threw those three grenades in a row into the enemy's gun aperture?" he asked.

"Report. Liu Yen-sheng."

"Good. His recent progress has been particularly outstanding. He's understood that we practise with actual warfare in mind. Though he's only been in the army a little over two months, he's already one of the most accurate grenade throwers in the company. He's learned these things by hard study and practice and deserves to be commended," said Kuan. "Squad One and Four also did very well, and the comrades in Squad Eight and Five are catching up rapidly. Now the assistant political instructor wants to talk to you."

Hsueh stepped forward. "Comrades, there's only one thing I have to say. The battalion political instructor says that on the way here today some comrades in another company were careless and cut across a field. Battalion insists that we observe discipline with regard to the masses. Go through brambles or go the long way round, but don't damage the peasants' crops."

While they were resting Hsueh went to Hai and said:

"You mustn't let a commendation go to your head. Especially now, when the eyes of the whole company are on Squad Seven, watching to see how you take praise. I heard some comrades from the other squads talking a few minutes ago. They said that this is the high tide of the military training period and that they're determined to study and practise hard to overtake you. They'll be pressing you very hard. What about it? Whether you can continue to advance depends on how good you are in your thinking."

"We promise to go on trying, assistant political instructor."

"I'm not particularly worried about anybody else, only Yen-sheng. He's been in the army only two months and does not adhere to discipline very well. You've got to keep after him. If anything goes wrong, nine chances out of ten it will be on account of him. I guarantee it."

"He'll be all right. He's made a lot of progress lately. Even in discipline —"

"I don't mean to criticize you again," Hsueh interrupted, "but you can easily get into trouble with that kind of thinking. Yen-sheng is a good comrade and I'm very fond of him. But you mustn't be too

soft. You know what he's like. The minute you slacken up he's liable to get out of hand."

As Hsueh was saying this, the boy came running over, his face plastered with mud.

"So here you are, assistant political instructor. I've been looking all over for you."

Yen-sheng tossed him a glistening object which Hsueh hastily caught. It was a sweet potato.

"What's this for?"

"I've brought it for you to eat. It's perfectly clean. I washed it twice. Hey, this southern weather is certainly hot. If it were July or August all the sweet potatoes would be baked in the ground. That would save a lot of trouble."

Hsueh looked at the sweet potato in his hand and frowned.

"Where did you get it?" he asked suspiciously.

Yen-sheng laughed. "I happened to be passing that potato patch there —"

"What?" Hsueh jumped to his feet. "You're getting worse and worse. Battalion has just reminded us not to trample the peasants' crops, but you go even further — you dig their sweet potatoes right out of the ground."

"You... you..." The boy was nonplussed. "Who told you I dig their potatoes out of the ground?"

"Nobody has to tell me — I know. I guarantee that's what happened." Hsueh pointed at the potato patch, which was not far off. "When I saw you messing about over there a while ago, I was sure you were up to no good. It's my fault for not having warned you fellows about such things, but anyhow you shouldn't have —"

"Look, comrade, when you don't know the facts —"

Hai pulled his arm before he could say anything rude. It was plain the boy was losing his temper.

"He has no right to blame me," Yen-sheng muttered.

"See how brash the imp is. I can't cast principle aside because you give me a sweet potato. If you've no sense of discipline, I can't ignore it."

"No sense of discipline? Me?" Tears sprang to the boy's eyes and he walked away in fury.

"You see, you see? It's just as I told you. He's got into trouble. I warned you — keep after him, keep a tight check on him. But you didn't think it was important. This thing can't be put off any longer. Call a meeting of your squad today and really bawl him out."

"But —"

"Hold the meeting as soon as possible. Give it to him hard. No nonsense about it." Hsueh thrust the potato into Hai's hand and started to leave.

"Where are you going, assistant political instructor?"

"To criticize myself," Hsueh responded angrily. "The battalion political instructor asked me whether our company had any instances of damaging the peasants' crops and I said, 'Not Third Company, I guarantee it.' Now one of our men digs up sweet potatoes. Great. I've got to go up to battalion and admit that I didn't know what I was talking about." He was already well on his way as he said these last words.

Hai remained looking thoughtfully at the sweet potato he was holding, then at the boy who was brooding a short distance away. Digging up sweet potatoes and being impolite to the assistant political instructor — of course that should be severely criticized. But it didn't seem the kind of thing Yen-sheng would do. He remembered the boy telling him that when he was three years old his mother taught him to sing *The Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention*.^{*} Surely a child reared in a revolutionary family would know our fine tradition of never taking so much as a needle or thread from the people. Besides, from Yen-sheng's manner, he evidently

^{*}These are the rules of discipline of the Chinese People's Liberation Army laid down by Chairman Mao Tse-tung. The Three Main Rules of Discipline are: (1) Obey orders in all your actions. (2) Don't take a single needle or piece of thread from the masses. (3) Turn in everything captured. The Eight Points for Attention are: (1) Speak politely. (2) Pay fairly for what you buy. (3) Return everything you borrow. (4) Pay for everything you damage. (5) Don't hit or swear at people. (6) Don't damage crops. (7) Don't take liberties with women. (8) Don't ill-treat captives.

had some reason for doing what he did. Otherwise he wouldn't have taken that attitude towards Hsueh.

"I ought to trust him," Hai thought. "I must get the story straight before I do anything about it."

The exercise ended for the day. At supper Yen-sheng ate very little and returned to the barracks in a sullen mood. Hai decided that under the circumstances neither a meeting nor criticism would do the boy any good. He asked him where he got the sweet potatoes, but Yen-sheng refused to speak. Hai talked it over with Wei, the assistant squad leader. They agreed not to call a meeting for the time being, and Hai set out to have a look around for himself.

There were several large potato patches on the slope where the exercise had been held. Hai had intended to ask some of the peasants about it, but they had all gone home. He was in a dilemma. How could he help Yen-sheng if he didn't get at the facts?

Quite by chance, he happened to notice a small stick shaped like an arrow lying on a raised walk. He followed in the direction it pointed till he came to another similar arrow a short distance away. Strange, he thought, and continued along the path it indicated. Finally, at the edge of a sweet-potato patch he saw a piece of paper folded like an envelope and held down by a clod of earth. Hai picked up the envelope and opened it. Inside were twenty cents and a note, which read:

Dear Peasant Comrade,

Practising to defend our country is only our duty. We can't accept any special rewards. Enclosed please find twenty cents for the sweet potatoes. It's our revolutionary tradition.

Revolutionary greetings,

A Young Red Army Fighter

Hai had only to look at the scrawl to recognize it as Yen-sheng's. Even though he still didn't have all the facts, he knew at last why the boy felt wronged and why he had no appetite at supper. He put the money and the note in his pocket and flew back to camp.

Yen-sheng was sitting by the side of the drill field, brooding, when Hai came up to him.

"How did you get these sweet potatoes — really, how?"

The boy looked at him but did not reply.

"Would you say your attitude was good today?"

"I've been thinking a lot about that. I don't see anything wrong with it."

"Suppose I tell you a story. Would you like to hear one?"

"No."

"It's about Comrade Lei Feng."

The boy raised his head and looked at his squad leader.

"Comrade Lei Feng was very economical. Once he took part in an athletic meet. It was a warm day and, after one of the events, everybody was hot and thirsty, and many people bought cold soda water. He was about to buy a bottle when free drinking water was delivered. So he put his money away and had that instead. A new soldier said Lei Feng was stingy; he wouldn't even pay the price of a bottle of soda. When Lei Feng heard this he scowled and was very upset. He couldn't eat his supper that night."

"What are you talking about?" Yen-sheng demanded. "That's impossible. Comrade Lei Feng wouldn't act that way."

"He felt he'd been wronged." Hai kept a straight face. "He had already sent to a people's commune two hundred yuan which had taken him years to save. So naturally he felt wronged when the new soldier said he was stingy."

"I don't believe it. Comrade Lei Feng would never behave like that. He would have explained to the new soldier. You're just making it up."

"Right. At least the last part I made up. Comrade Lei Feng did explain, and he gave many good reasons why we should economize. But," Hai's voice grew stern, "when the assistant political instructor criticized you, why did you walk away in a huff? If he didn't have the facts right why didn't you set him straight pleasantly instead of getting so mad you couldn't eat? Didn't you say you want to learn from Comrade Lei Feng?"

"That's not the same thing at all. Some peasants wanted to give me a couple of sweet potatoes. I wouldn't take them but they insisted. They said that I was very hot from our manoeuvre and they would quench my thirst. They said: 'This comes right from the

heart of us commune members. How can you refuse?' I had to take them, but when I offered them money they wouldn't have it. So I started back for camp. After I had gone a few steps I thought: 'This is wrong.' I remembered my pa telling me that when he was in the guerrillas and the peasants gave them things and wouldn't take money, they —"

"Wrapped it up and left it with a note, right?" Hai interrupted.

"Right. What was wrong with that? Shouldn't I have learned from the old Red Army?"

"You were right about the sweet potatoes, just as Lei Feng was right about not buying the soda water. But he didn't behave like you did afterwards. What was your attitude to the assistant political instructor? Was it worth getting so angry over a little thing that you couldn't eat your supper? The company commander praised you today. You ought to start using a higher standard to measure yourself by."

Yen-sheng lowered his head.

"We should take criticism in the spirit our leaders recommend. If there's anything that needs explaining we should do it calmly. What good is your way? We're always saying we want to learn from Comrade Lei Feng. Why can't you model yourself after him when you run into a specific problem? How do you think he would have acted if he were in your place today? We'll really have to work at it if we're to learn his attitude to being criticized."

The boy gazed at Hai in a shamefaced manner and nodded.

"And another thing. It was wrong of you not to eat your supper properly. A soldier should be ready for any emergency. Suppose we were ordered to march tonight? How far would those two mouthfuls of rice take you? Could you carry out the assignment? Eating isn't only a personal matter. It also shows whether a soldier has a clear understanding of his responsibilities. You ought to be able to see from this that your sense of organization and discipline isn't strong enough."

Yen-sheng looked Hai straight in the eye. "I was wrong," he said. "I admit my mistake."

Hai handed him the money and the note he had left. The boy took them in surprise, then stared at his squad leader. "How does he know everything?" he mused. "No wonder when he criticizes you, you can't think of a single come-back."

"What are you looking at me for?" Hai demanded. "Let's go and deliver that money to the commune."

"Right," the boy shouted. His round face broke into a smile.

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The moonlight cast a well-defined shadow of Hai as he entered the door of company headquarters. Hsueh came quickly towards him.

"Where've you been? I've been looking all over for you." Hsueh asked Hai to sit down, then went on: "I've been trying for days to find time to have a chat with you. We were just getting started this afternoon when that business of Yen-sheng interrupted us. Squad Seven has been making big progress lately. To have come so far in only two months is quite an achievement. You mustn't let success go to your heads. Company is going to organize a military training match among the squads, with Squad Seven as the model to be caught up with and surpassed."

Hai was puzzled. He didn't know what to say.

Hsueh pulled some papers out of a drawer. "Take a look at these. This is Squad One's challenge to you fellows, these are the terms Squad Four proposes for a competition. And here's one from Squad Eight, and others from Squad Five and Six in Platoon Two... Enthusiasm in our company is high. That's very good. Comrades in the other squads are rolling up their sleeves to take Squad Seven on. But what do you do? Like the hare in the race with the tortoise you lie down and go to sleep when you're only halfway there. A fine thing."

"But we haven't gone to sleep, assistant political instructor."

"Haven't you? Yen-sheng digs up the peasants' sweet potatoes and refuses to admit that he's breached discipline. I tell you to hold a squad meeting about it and you put it off. The way you fellows are behaving, can you blame your leaders for being worried?"

Even before he heard it all, Hai wanted to laugh. Comrade Hsueh was really concerned about Squad Seven, but he certainly didn't understand it.

"Don't get angry if I say this, assistant political instructor, but I think it is as you put it yourself this afternoon — you don't altogether know what you're talking about."

"No jokes, please. I've asked you here to discuss things because I'm worried about your squad."

"I've been meaning to ask you. Do we really have to call a meeting?" Hai handed him the note Yen-sheng had written and related the whole story of the sweet potatoes in detail. In conclusion he said:

"... He didn't want to spoil our good relations with the masses, so he did what the old Red Army used to. I think in this respect he was right. Afterwards, he admitted that his attitude towards you was wrong. Since the aim of the squad meeting would have been to get him to recognize that, I don't see any purpose now in calling it."

Hsueh thought over carefully what Hai had told him. "I was a bit hasty," he admitted. "But he shouldn't be such a baby. A soldier shouldn't be afraid of a bit of rough and tumble. He ought to be able to face a bayonet point at the tip of his nose without blinking. How is he going to toughen up if you can't even touch him?"

Hai didn't agree with Hsueh's point of view. A soldier's courage and resolution should be built up on a foundation of class consciousness. Courage is a manifestation of a people's fighter's complete devotion to the cause of the Party. But Hai knew that although Hsueh was genuinely concerned he wouldn't be able to change his opinion right away. He didn't argue with him, therefore, but only repeated:

"What do you say, assistant political instructor? Do we really have to call a meeting about Yen-sheng?"

"It doesn't matter much whether you do or not. The main thing is to be a bit tougher with him. The young fellow has many good points and he's made a lot of progress lately, but he's too mischievous." Hsueh paused. "Naturally, I was at fault in this thing too. Explain to him when you get back. Tell him not to brood over it."

"Right. I'll be going then."

Hai saluted and left.

"Better send Yen-sheng to me," Hsueh called after him. "I'll explain to him myself. We don't want him unable to push hard because he's feeling low."

Lights out had sounded some time before, but Yen-sheng's bed was still empty. "Why isn't he back yet?" Hai wondered. "Is he talking with the assistant political instructor, or has he slipped out to practise grenade throwing?" Hai went out and circled the field, but the boy wasn't there. He sat down in the doorway and waited, thinking he would have a talk with him when he returned. "The assistant political instructor is right," he thought. "This is the time to stir up the enthusiasm of the whole squad. We must develop our fighting skill in the course of challenging and meeting challenges."

"Not sleeping yet?" Wei the assistant squad leader came up to him and said. "It's late."

"I'm waiting for Yen-sheng. We must have a squad meeting tomorrow and see how we measure up to the guarantees we've given the Party branch. The assistant instructor was just telling me that we must definitely not slacken or become conceited. We have to put our ideological work in first place — the leadership is concerned about how we're handling this. What problems does our squad, and I as an individual, have in this respect? Think it over. We'll get our squad Party group together before the meeting and discuss it first. The main thing now is not to slacken, not to get conceited."

"Yes. And we ought to stress organization and discipline again," said Wei. "What's keeping Yen-sheng? Could anything have gone wrong?"

"He's probably still talking with the assistant political instructor." Hai stood up. "But it's late. He ought to let the company leaders go to bed. I'll go get him."

Even while he was a good distance from Hsueh's quarters, Hai heard loud and argumentative voices. He stopped to listen.

"... Chairman Mao says, 'No investigation, no right to speak.' But what about you? 'I know without asking.' 'I guarantee it.' ... Of course you criticize people wrongly." The voice sounded like Yen-sheng's.

"A person ought to examine himself in the spirit of the criticism offered. But what about you fellows? The moment you get a little praise, you can't bear the slightest poke. Comrade, that attitude's all wrong."

"It depends on how you poke. If it's correct, and in the right place, we can accept it no matter how hard it is. Take our squad leader, for instance. Now there's a good man. He always gets the facts first, then he points out exactly where you're wrong and why. If you still can't see it, he finds a story or some other way to straighten you out. When he criticizes you, you're convinced. That's what I call ideological work, that's dealing with living ideas. That kind of criticism helps you, educates you. You accept it gladly."

"It's just that sort of thing that worries me, comrade. Your squad leader's coaxing and coddling has spoiled you. I've been against that approach right along. I've criticized him for it, but he hasn't paid any attention. That's spoiling you, harming you. It's irresponsible."

Hearing this, Hai was stunned.

"Squad Seven has become prouder and pampers its men more than any other squad — that's very evident," Hsueh went on. "If you fellows don't do something about it quick, you'll soon make an error of principle. I guarantee it."

Hai forcibly roused himself. "How can I stand here listening behind people's backs?" He turned and hastened away.

But after a few steps he halted again and pondered. He had never been in such a predicament. "The moment you get a little praise, you can't bear the slightest poke." "It's irresponsible." "Your squad leader's coaxing and coddling has spoiled you." The words roared in his ears. They seemed all mixed up with those two sweet potatoes. He couldn't sort them out. He wanted to think calmly about what had happened that day, but his brain was numb. He wanted to review his own actions to see whether he had done anything wrong, but he could remember nothing. Dazed, he asked himself:

"Could I have been mistaken today? Was my approach wrong? No. I believed in Yen-sheng and my investigations proved that I was right. The results were good too. I didn't spoil him. Since

he hadn't done anything wrong about the sweet potatoes, our disposition of the matter was correct. But why isn't the assistant instructor satisfied? I dealt specifically with specific questions. Surely that isn't coaxing and coddling?..."

Hai rubbed the back of his head and thought.

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For the past few days Hai had been reviewing in his mind the problems he had encountered since coming to Squad Seven, especially with regard to his methods in helping Yen-sheng. He thought hard, but he couldn't see what was wrong with it.

Kao, who was always observant, discovered that something was troubling Hai and said to himself: "Our squad leader is like a tightly wound clock. He never rests, he never seems to tire. All the thought he's put into doing a good job in Squad Seven. When we are working he never picks up a ninety-catty load if there's a hundred-catty load around. Whenever he has a chance he chats with this comrade or that, asking for opinions about the work in the squad. When we rest, he studies the works of Chairman Mao or goes over his notes. He'll even snatch away our dirty clothes and wash them for us if we're not careful. On Sundays, when everyone else goes out, he stays in the kitchen and helps the cook. He's stimulated our whole squad which is now a model for the company. What can he be thinking about now? I do hope he doesn't wear himself out."

Even blithe young Yen-sheng noticed that his squad leader was preoccupied. He saw Hai with a book in his hand sitting motionless for more than half an hour on the edge of the drill field, gazing into the distance.

"Our squad leader must have an iron backside," the boy said jestingly to Wei. "I'll bet he's thinking about some new problem."

"If it's a problem, nine chances out of ten it involves you."

"Impossible. How could it have anything to do with me?"

But what Hai was pondering did concern Yen-sheng.

They had held a squad meeting at noon that day to investigate their weak points and discuss in what ways they were inferior to Squad One and Four. Hai, while criticizing Yen-sheng for his cheekiness, also

criticized himself for not helping him enough or making strict demands on him. Yen-sheng accepted this, and made a relatively thorough self-criticism. But when Hai suggested to him after the meeting that he shouldn't have talked back to the assistant political instructor, he was surprised to see the boy get angry.

"You're a little weak on principle if you say that, squad leader," Yen-sheng stood up to reply. "That wasn't talking back. We were arguing a question."

"Arguing a question?"

"Of course. A question of sweet potatoes — and two different methods of handling it with two different results. You mean to say we shouldn't have tried to clear up which way was right?"

"It wasn't wrong for the assistant instructor to criticize you. You should have taken it in the spirit in which it was given."

"That's true. But we still had to get straight on the question of right and wrong."

"We shouldn't always be picking flaws in the methods of the leadership. Besides, the way you were arguing can't solve any questions. It only hurts unity. You ought to go to the assistant instructor and explain."

"I've nothing to explain. I think it was right for me to have argued. He handled the question of the sweet potatoes badly. Why should I explain? If you think an explanation's necessary, you make it. From now on I'm not going to criticize or argue about anything."

"That's not being very considerate."

"I must reject that criticism even more, squad leader. What do you mean by considerate? His work has shortcomings, but you won't let me criticize. He didn't examine his methods, but you won't let me argue. He's the one who's got the facts wrong, but you want me to explain. I refuse to go — on principle. That's really being considerate. Your reasoning doesn't convince me, squad leader."

Yen-sheng had angrily walked away. After a few steps he came back and said: "You know very well he's wrong, but you don't go and criticize him. That isn't being considerate. That's liberalism."

This difference between consideration and liberalism was what Hai was now trying to distinguish. "I'm right not to let the leadership's

criticism of me rankle. But if I stop there, is that being considerate? It's correct not to boast of your own merits, but when you see the shortcomings of a comrade and say nothing about them, isn't that liberalism?"

The boy's words had given Hai quite a shock. Hai decided to study Chairman Mao's article *Combat Liberalism* carefully again from beginning to end. He sat reading it again and again on the edge of the drill field. He felt as if every sentence, every word, were directed at the heart of his problem. At the very beginning of the article Chairman Mao said:

We stand for active ideological struggle because it is the weapon for ensuring unity within the Party and the revolutionary organizations in the interest of our fight. Every Communist and revolutionary should take up this weapon.

Chairman Mao was specific enough. Both he and Hsueh were Communists. Why couldn't they exchange views and argue as one Party member to another? The article criticized people who heard incorrect views without rebutting them but instead took them calmly as if nothing had happened.

"That's a criticism of me," Hai sighed. "Yen-sheng is simple and honest, as you'd expect a boy raised in a revolutionary family to be. He's direct, practical. When he's wrong he corrects himself. He makes a clear distinction between right and wrong, and always acts according to his understanding of the situation. When he sees a shortcoming in the leadership he takes it very much to heart. He simply has to argue and struggle against it. That's really putting the interests of the revolution first. I have too many reservations about this sort of thing. It's a reflection of my low ideological level. It shows that I still haven't entirely got rid of my peasant mentality, my individualism — that's how I ought to see it."

Hai made up his mind to go to the assistant political instructor and frankly express his views.

For the past two days, whether during working hours or when he was resting, Hsueh had been giving a lot of thought to Hai and Squad Seven. It seemed to him that since the squad had been commended, it was right to make higher demands on it. Hai had always

been a good soldier. He had won merits, been commended, became a Communist fairly soon after joining the army, and his recent work had been excellent. So of him even more could be expected. But the situation in Squad Seven wasn't all good. They were becoming proud and rather soft.

"He's a fine comrade. How can we help him to progress a bit faster, now that he's made some achievements?" Hsueh mused. "The revolutionary road is long; there's no limit to what can be accomplished. Squad Seven ought to be full of enthusiasm and charging forward."

Saturday evening after supper the men all went to the club to rehearse a show they were putting on. Hai took this opportunity to call on the assistant political instructor.

Hsueh poured Hai a drink of water and had him sit down by the table. He supposed that after he criticized Squad Seven the other night, Hai had gone into the question of their cockiness and had come now to talk about it. Of course a comrade who had been decorated several times got a political point very quickly. When Hai didn't speak for a few minutes, he asked:

"Why take so long to get started? Tell me what's on your mind."

"It's Yen-sheng. I have some different ideas. You and I are in the same Party branch. I'd like to discuss the matter with you as a Communist."

"What else is there to say? It's not all that complicated."

"I think some questions of principle are involved. The more I've thought about it, the more I feel I must talk to you."

Hsueh was surprised. "Oh," he said. "Then start talking. I'm all ears."

Hai told him how he had inadvertently overheard what Hsueh had said to the boy two nights before and what Yen-sheng himself had related about the conversation.

"It seems to me that it all boils down to two questions: how to criticize others correctly and how to criticize yourself. I think you're weak in both respects. When criticizing others you're rather subjective; you don't investigate enough first. Chairman Mao warns us

not to be subjective and absolute in our criticism. But you were quite subjective both times you criticized Yen-sheng."

"It was only once," Hsueh protested.

"The first time was when he took an incense stick to practise grenade throwing at night," Hai reminded him. "He had gone to a lot of trouble to figure out this method; it was clever. But instead of commending him, you criticized him for fooling around. The second time was when he took those sweet potatoes. Some commune members saw that he was young and all in a sweat from our manoeuvres. They offered him two little sweet potatoes and wouldn't let him refuse. So as not to hurt our reputation he left some money as payment in the field, the way the old Red Army used to. He was absolutely right in this, but you criticized him for breaching discipline in relations with the masses. In both of these matters you could easily have got the facts straight with a little investigation. But you were in such a rush that first you blasted him unjustly and made him cry, then you ran to the battalion instructor and berated yourself in an unnecessary self-criticism for being lax. Although in both instances your motives were good, the results were just the opposite because you hadn't investigated and you weren't able to help the boy."

"We're busy, and short-handed too. We can't wait till we've investigated each and every problem before disposing of it."

"That leads me to my second point. You don't investigate enough before dealing with problems. You don't even see how necessary it is. When comrades point this out to you, you ought to think it over, but you don't. It shows you're not very modest. The other night when you were talking to Yen-sheng, he told you your criticism was unjust — a remarkable thing for a boy who's been in the army less than three months to do. He dared to speak directly because of his love and concern for the leadership. We ought to consider the things people say about us. Chairman Mao says, 'Be modest, and you'll progress.' How can we reject a comrade's criticism the moment it comes out of his mouth?"

"I thought it was unreasonable. . . . Of course you're entitled to your own opinion. Do you think a soldier should do nothing but find fault with the leadership's methods?"

"But Yen-sheng's criticism wasn't unreasonable. Chairman Mao teaches us that 'everyone engaged in practical work must investigate conditions at the lower level.' What's wrong with Yen-sheng asking you to investigate more, in keeping with Chairman Mao's instructions? The Military Commission calls on us to read the works of Mao Tse-tung. We ought to act according to Chairman Mao's teachings of our own volition. You say Yen-sheng is finding fault with method, that he's become so spoiled no one can touch him. I think the shoe is on the other foot. It's you who won't let him say a word against you. Chairman Mao tells us: 'If we have shortcomings, we are not afraid to have them pointed out and criticized.... Anyone, no matter who, may point out our shortcomings.' During the War of Resistance Against Japan a peasant in one of our border regions criticized the commander of a sub-region. Chairman Mao said this showed a remarkable change, that the peasant had a very good political awareness, that it was a splendid thing when a peasant dared to criticize a general. That's how our great leader appraises people who offer criticism. How can we accuse a comrade of being spoiled just because he criticizes us? I would say you're the one who's spoiled."

Hai's recital and analysis were hard for Hsueh to take. Although he admired the young squad leader and could see no way to rebut him, he couldn't bring himself to admit that he had been wrong. He poured some water in a cup and drank it slowly to give himself time to regain his composure. After a moment he asked:

"Is that all?"

"No. I feel that your attitude towards criticism and self-criticism — it doesn't matter whether we call it subjective and arbitrary or just plain immodest — stems from having too high an opinion of yourself. You think you're always right, so you make snap judgments. You think you're always right, so you get hot the moment anyone disagrees with you. This conceit, plus an underestimation of the men's positive factors, are probably the main reasons why you don't bother much with investigation or care to listen to ideas from the masses."

Hsueh had been in the army nearly seven years. Because he was competent and not afraid of hardship, he had heard more praise than criticism. He had suffered a few bumps because he wasn't thorough enough in his methods, but on the whole, things had gone quite smoothly. Today a soldier, Ouyang Hai, in order to help him do his job well, had given him a sincere and detailed criticism, sticking strictly to the facts and analysing with complete reasonableness. Hsueh was extremely moved.

But at the same time he couldn't help wondering whether a young fellow who was so fond of theoretical discussion might not be conceited himself. Even if there was only a bit of conceit in Hai, could he, as a cadre and one who had been in the army a few years longer, fail to comment on it? No. That would be shirking his responsibility. He should call it to his attention at once.

"Have you finished?" he asked Hai.

"That's about all. You joined the army earlier than me and you've been educated longer by the Party. My analysis isn't necessarily correct. I only offer these ideas for your consideration."

Hsueh got up and walked to the side of the room, where he stood with lowered head. He was having a battle in his mind. Although Hai's words had been strong, he knew they were right, in which case he should accept them and give them serious thought. The problem now was: Should he state at this time the question about Hai that was troubling him? Wouldn't it seem as if he wasn't concerned enough about his own shortcomings?

"We're all so busy. It isn't often we have a chance to talk like this," he thought. "If Ouyang Hai can openly tell me his views of me, it's my duty to him and our work to do the same about him. I'd be guilty of liberalism if I didn't." The assistant instructor turned around.

"Thank you for your criticism," he said. "To tell you the truth, I've never had such a stiff one in all my years in the army. Some of your points I can't see yet, but I'll certainly think them over carefully." Hsueh hesitated. "I'd also like to talk a little about you today."

"That's fine, of course. I'm here both to offer criticism and to receive it."

"What I'm asking," Hsueh said, "is what you thought after Squad Seven was commended. Surely you had some reaction these past two days?"

"Of course I did. I talked it over with Wei and this morning we called a squad meeting. We used Yen-sheng and the sweet potatoes as a starting point and discussed discipline in our organization and with regard to the masses. We're going to have another meeting tomorrow before breakfast."

Hsueh waved his hand to stop him. He could see that Hai was unwilling to talk about his own "weak points."

"You're just the way I was at first — too self-confident to see your own failings. It's all very clear. So far as I'm concerned, I should do more checking up and listen modestly to the ideas of the men. So far as you and your squad are concerned, you've done some good work, but after you were commended you slacked off on your squad meetings and relaxed your demands on your men. What could you have been thinking? Let's say I didn't go into the question of Yen-sheng and the sweet potatoes thoroughly enough. You still could have held a meeting about his attitude and alerted everybody against that kind of thing, but you didn't. Don't you think that shows a touch of conceit, an inability to accept criticism?"

Hai opened his mouth but didn't speak. "I've put the question to the assistant instructor of how he should feel about criticism and self-criticism," he thought, "and now he puts the same question to me. What should I do?"

"I'll pay attention to that from now on," Hai finally said. "I want to think the whole thing over."

"It's only because I'm concerned about you. I don't want to see you and Squad Seven have your heads turned by a bit of praise. I also must warn you — when a man is too sure of himself he's always super-critical of the methods of the leadership. He can't see that he's suffering from pride; he feels it's only right to criticize. That's a very dangerous tendency. I'm warning you — if you fellows

don't do something about it, your squad is sure to get into trouble, and soon. I guarantee it."

"He's right," Hai thought. "We mustn't become proud. But it's obvious that he doesn't entirely get the point or see the danger of being subjective. I must try and talk to him again about this when the time is right. He's bound to understand some day."

(To be continued)

Translated by Sidney Shapiro

Revolutionary Paintings by Peasants

A great proletarian cultural revolution on a mass scale is now sweeping China with tremendous vigour. The broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, raising high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and as masters of the country, have proudly taken the stage of socialist culture. Following the instructions of Chairman Mao to use revolutionary literature and art as "Powerful weapons for uniting and educating the people and for attacking and destroying the enemy," they have created many works eulogizing our great Party and our great leader Chairman Mao, our socialist cause and our heroes. The paintings by peasants of Huhsien County in Shensi Province which we are presenting in this issue embody the thought of Mao Tse-tung and give prominence to politics and the class struggle. In our view these are excellent paintings.

The peasants of Huhsien County have for many years taken the thought of Mao Tse-tung as their guide and closely linked their work with the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the production struggle and scientific experiment. Studying and working while taking part in actual struggles, they have produced a group of spare-time artists who make a good showing both in farm work and in creative art. They have acted on Chairman Mao's teaching: "All our literature and art are for the masses of the people, and in the first place for the workers, peasants and soldiers; they are created for the workers, peasants

and soldiers and are for their use." They have adapted themselves to local conditions, using such art forms as wall-paintings, blackboard newspapers and lantern-slides to present the exemplary people and deeds around them, as well as real examples of the class oppression they suffered from in the old society and scientific knowledge to aid production. These graphic means of educating the commune members in class struggle and production have done much to arouse the labour enthusiasm of the commune members, helping them to develop their farming and construction projects.

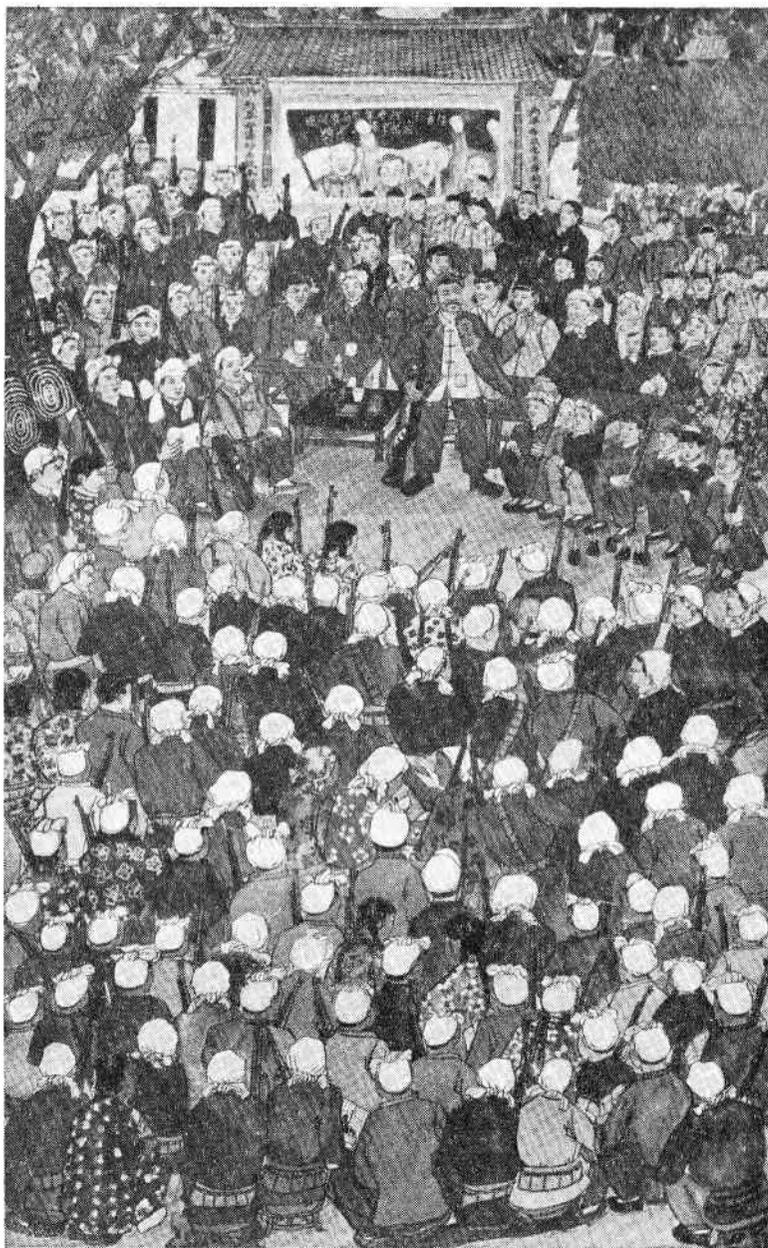
Since these paintings are all the work of commune members taking a direct part in production, they are based on life and strongly realistic, fully conveying the rich and natural feelings of labourers. The composition is governed by the central idea, not restricted by formal conventions, and this results in a high degree of originality. From the reproductions and articles by the artists in this issue, we can see that once the workers, peasants and soldiers have grasped the thought of Mao Tse-tung there is no end to their wisdom and creative talent. They are indeed the main force in our great proletarian cultural revolution, and they will undoubtedly go from strength to strength.

Tu Chih-lien

My Brush Is a Weapon

I belong to the North Panchuyuan Production Brigade of Yuchan Commune in Huhsien, Shensi Province. My family were poor peasants who worked for several generations as hired hands for landlords. I was a hired hand for two years myself. But after liberation we became our own masters. So thinking back to the bad old days brings home to me just how good our new society is.

Tu Chih-lien, aged 34, is now vice-head of his brigade and a platoon leader of the local militia.



Guns in hand, the militia safeguard the motherland

by Tu Chih-lien

I loved pictures as a child. But how could a poor kid who hadn't even a pair of pants in the old society ever think of taking up painting? I never dreamed that after liberation I'd have a chance to learn to handle a brush. I owe it all to the Party. In 1961, the County Cultural Centre started an art class in our village, and the Party secretary told me to enrol. I was too happy to sleep that night. I thought: In the old society I'd never have had a chance to paint, but in the new society the Party wants me to learn. All right, I must study hard and master painting too!

Chairman Mao says that revolutionary literature and art should be "powerful weapons for uniting and educating the people and for attacking and destroying the enemy." When we paint, we shouldn't do it for painting's sake but should use our brushes as weapons to defend this grand country of ours, to defend the seals of office we poor and lower-middle peasants have taken into our own hands. In our village there's an ex-landlord called Yang Chien-chang who does some painting too. In 1962, when the Chiang Kai-shek gangsters supported by U.S. imperialism yelled that they were going to fight back to the mainland, he painted two door-gods propagating feudal superstition on his gate and two pictures for his room: one of "Chungkuei chasing ghosts" to show that evil would be chased away, and one of the "unicorn sending a child" as a sign of good luck to come. When I saw these I knew that the black-hearted swine meant them as a challenge to us. I reported him to the Party branch of our brigade. The Party secretary said: "Our class enemy has done paintings propagating reactionary ideas. This is no laughing matter. We must show up his dirty trick and find some way to strengthen the position of socialist ideology in our villages." So I painted *A Bumper Harvest* and *The People's Communes Are Good* and pasted these on the gates of some poor and lower-middle peasants directly opposite the landlord's house. The villagers at once praised my paintings because they felt they'd outdone those by the landlord and boosted the morale of us poor and lower-middle peasants.

Chairman Mao has told us that literature and art should serve the workers, peasants and soldiers and be used by them. All my paintings are based on real events in our village. In 1963, when the Party

encouraged us to paint family histories, I did a series of pictures of the life of an old poor-peasant woman, Hsia Tsai-hua. And when they were put on show, she stood there with tears running down her cheeks to tell how she had begged for food in the old days— that was a very good lesson for all of us. Then I made a painting in my spare time of some girls in one of the teams in our village who work very hard and are quick at transplanting paddy. I posted it on the blackboard to give them a boost. When people saw it they said, “These lasses do work well; they deserve praise.” Since then they’ve done even better and gone all out.

Since I started painting in my spare time, I haven’t let it interfere with my work in the fields. In the daytime I work on the land; and I paint at home in the evenings. I have never been late for work on account of painting. The year before last when our village held an exhibition about Lei Feng, I was asked to draw a series of pictures and told I could stop work to do it. But I didn’t want to let painting affect production; so every day I got up early to go to the fields, and by working harder than usual managed to finish a day’s work in little more than half a day. Then, my field work done, I would go home and paint until late at night. The brigade leader wanted to give me some extra work-points, but I refused. “I’m doing it for propaganda, not for the sake of work-points,” I explained. “When we paint Lei Feng we should learn from Lei Feng. Painting, too, is working for the revolution.”

My experience of painting in my spare time has taught me that to make pictures which are truly weapons for the struggle we must be true revolutionaries ourselves. In order to revolutionize myself as fast as possible, I keep studying Chairman Mao’s works and always try to remember what he has taught us. And I have written these four lines to put by my desk:

Chairman Mao’s works are our beacon light,
Art must serve politics — let’s get that right;
Art has a big part to play in teaching people,
And painting is a weapon in our fight.

Painting Serves Politics

After finishing junior middle school I came home to work on the land. I had been very fond of art at school, so back in our village I drew portraits for the fun of it whenever I had time and put them up on the wall. When our brigade leader discovered that I could draw he asked me to paint some serial pictures of our village history, including the history of my own family. When I drew my father being hounded out of the village by the landlord and forced to take to the mountains, I fairly burned with hatred for the landlord and the old society. So I took great pains over these pictures, and the villagers liked them. After that we set up an art team in our village, and under the leadership of the Party branch we studied Chairman Mao’s *Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art*, besides discussing what we’d learned from making these serial pictures of our village history. That helped me to see more clearly the purpose of painting — it must serve proletarian politics, serve the socialist revolution and socialist construction.

Liu Chih-kuei, a 20-year-old member of Pangkuang Commune in Huhsien, is an accountant in his production brigade.

Then our village art team started quite a variety of activities to fit in with different political movements and our main production tasks. During the busy harvesting season in summer we ran a *Harvest Pictorial*; we showed the commune members lantern-slides of good people and good deeds in our village and elsewhere; we also wrote poems and illustrated them on the blackboard newspaper to criticize or praise certain happenings in our village. These forms proved very popular with the commune members.

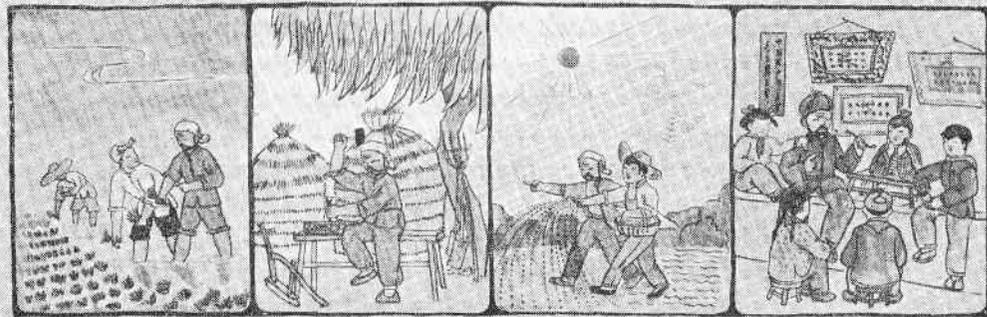
Last autumn some children picked maize stalks in our brigade's fields to eat like sugar-cane. Then I painted a picture called *Don't Eat Sweet Stalks* and wrote under it:

A naughty kid from some family
Eats maize stalks and grins gleefully;
He's spoilt a lot of good grain, see,
Yet he's as pleased as pleased can be.
Who should take the blame for this? Not he,
But his mum and dad — don't you agree?

As soon as this painting and verse went up, the commune members voiced their approval. And after that the boys and girls in our village pretty well stopped picking maize stalks. During the harvest last

An old poor peasant in our brigade

by Liu Chih-kuei



He advises the brigade leader

He cares for commune property

He teaches the younger generation

He is the propagandist of class struggle

summer, the fifth team in our village was so keen to help build up the country that, the same evening that they finished reaping and sunning the first lot of wheat, they delivered their quota of grain to the state. I painted a picture in praise of this for our *Harvest Pictorial*. And thanks to the fifth team's example, the whole village finished delivering grain to the state three days ahead of schedule. I commended the fourth team too in our pictorial for their good cultivation of cotton. As a result, they worked even better and their yield rose considerably.

Apart from pictures of this sort, we make lantern-slides of the good deeds done by our commune members, and show them as propaganda material. Our commune's Huachung Brigade is in a village by the hills and, as most of their land is up in the hills, in the past whenever there was heavy rain their crops were washed away. Last year, led by the Party branch, this village followed the example of Tachai, making terraced fields on the hills and building dams and reservoirs to prevent flooding. They went all out and quite a few labour heroes appeared among them. So I made the fifteen lantern-slides *Heroes Who Tamed the Hills* to show the other commune members what they had achieved. This was a tremendous encouragement to the Huachung Brigade. They said, "Now that the commune has praised us like this, we must go all out and do even more."

The Party branch helps us to make a regular study of Chairman Mao's works and keeps urging us to take the lead in farm work. I am our team's accountant and I work in the fields too, using the evenings for painting. Last year when we put out our *Harvest Pictorial*, I would spend the day harvesting wheat with the commune members and not settle down to painting until after I'd made up the accounts in the evening. My mother kept urging me to turn in, but I just couldn't sleep. I was so stirred by the gripping events of the day that I felt I owed it to my work-mates to paint them. And though I sat up two nights in a row to do this, my heart was lighter than if I'd slept for three days. From my own experience in the last couple of years I've reached this conclusion: The greater the rush of work, the more I find to paint, and the better I understand the significance of my painting.

Wu Chi-yen

Repudiate Chou Yang's Revisionist Programme for Literature and Art

Chou Yang, a representative of the bourgeoisie who wormed his way into the Party, was the ringleader of the black line against the Party, socialism and Mao Tse-tung's thought in literary and art circles. This black line dated back a long time; it ran from the 1930s into the 1960s. For a long time before liberation, Chou Yang had been the most faithful and most resolute executor of Wang Ming's "Left" opportunist and Right capitulationist lines. He was the representative of Wang Ming's line on the literary and art front. After the nationwide victory, Chou Yang mustered a group of old anti-Party hands in literary and art circles, such as Tien Han (former chairman of the Chinese Dramatists' Union), Hsia Yen (former vice-minister of Culture), Yang Han-sheng (former secretary-general of the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles), Lin Mo-han

(former vice-director of the Propaganda Department of the Chinese Communist Party's Central Committee) and Shao Chuan-lin (former vice-chairman of the Union of Chinese Writers). They entrenched themselves in literary and art circles, and frantically engaged in criminal activities against the Party, socialism and Mao Tse-tung's thought. Politically, they represented the overthrown landlord and bourgeois classes, neo-bourgeois elements and degenerated elements; ideologically, they represented a hotchpotch of feudalism, capitalism and modern revisionism; and organizationally, they formed a counter-revolutionary revisionist clique whose nucleus was the representatives of the capitulationist literary and art line of the 1930s. It was this clique that advocated in the 1930s the so-called "a literature of national defence" and attacked Lu Hsun, the great standard-bearer of the proletarian Left-wing literary and art movement; during the periods of the War of Resistance Against Japan and the War of Liberation, it was this clique that set up a rival stage in opposition to Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art*, and, after the founding of the People's Republic of China, it was the same clique which exercised dictatorial rule over our proletarian literary and art circles for more than a decade. This clique had a comprehensive and systematic counter-revolutionary, revisionist programme for literature and art. For over a decade, by using their usurped leading positions in literary and art circles, they stubbornly pushed this programme to counter Mao Tse-tung's thinking on literature and art, controlling and corrupting those circles. We must use Mao Tse-tung's thought as the weapon to thoroughly expose and repudiate the counter-revolutionary, revisionist programme for literature and art of Chou Yang and company. Only by doing so is it possible to see through the ugly features of Chou Yang and company, to do away with the black line in literary and art circles, to overthrow Chou Yang, the ringleader of the black line, and to wipe out completely the evil influence exerted by this black line in literary and art circles, so that Mao Tse-tung's thought occupies all positions in literature and art.

Chou Yang's counter-revolutionary, revisionist programme for literature and art is repudiated in the following eight aspects:

1. Chou Yang Opposed the Spread of Mao Tse-tung's Thought, in the Vain Attempt to Remove the Soul of Proletarian Literature and Art

Chairman Mao teaches us:

... to ensure that literature and art fit well into the whole revolutionary machine as a component part, that they operate as powerful weapons for uniting and educating the people and for attacking and destroying the enemy, and that they help the people fight the enemy with one heart and one mind.¹

What is the common ideological foundation of the unity and the revolution of the people of the whole country? It is Mao Tse-tung's thought. What is the source of strength that inspires the people of the whole country in their triumphant advance? It is Mao Tse-tung's thought. What is our sharpest weapon in attacking and destroying the enemy? It is Mao Tse-tung's thought. Mao Tse-tung's thought is the acme of Marxism-Leninism in the present era, living Marxism-Leninism at its highest, the truth that is universally applicable, and the red sun in the hearts of the Chinese people and the revolutionary people of the whole world. Chairman Mao is the greatest Marxist-Leninist of the present era. Chairman Mao's works are the supreme directive for all our work. Mao Tse-tung's thought is the soul of our socialist literature and art. Singing the praise of the Party and Chairman Mao, and propagating Mao Tse-tung's thought and the heroes among the workers, peasants and soldiers of the Mao Tse-tung era is the most glorious and lofty fighting task of our socialist literature and art.

Led by his reactionary class instinct, Chou Yang used extremely venomous language to vilify our dissemination of Mao Tse-tung's thought as "the cult of the individual" and "strangling people's initiative." He also talked such rubbish as "talking about Chairman Mao every day does not mean Chairman Mao's thought."

The attitude one takes towards Mao Tse-tung's thought, whether one supports it or opposes it, is the watershed between a genuine and a sham revolutionary, between a revolutionary and a counter-

revolutionary, and between a Marxist-Leninist and a revisionist — and the touchstone distinguishing one from the other.

The sole political criterion that distinguishes proletarian literature and art from bourgeois literature and art is whether it does or does not propagate Mao Tse-tung's thought. China's hundreds of millions of workers, peasants and soldiers, and revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals have boundless confidence in and veneration and love for Chairman Mao and Mao Tse-tung's thought. They ardently want our literature and art to be an instrument for propagating Mao Tse-tung's thought in a popular and graphic way so that every book one reads, every play and every film one sees, every song one sings and every broadcast one listens to will enable one to draw educational benefit and inspiration from Mao Tse-tung's thought. But Chou Yang stubbornly opposed our propagation of Mao Tse-tung's thought in the vain attempt to remove the soul of socialist literature and art, and to alter the political orientation for proletarian literature and art. This fully shows Chou Yang to be a sham revolutionary, a counter-revolutionary and an out-and-out revisionist.

The propagation of Mao Tse-tung's thought involves a sharp class struggle. The more Chou Yang and company are opposed to this, the more we must propagate it, do this work consciously, and become life-long propagators of Mao Tse-tung's thought. In order to defend and propagate Mao Tse-tung's thought, we are ready to climb a mountain of swords or plunge into a sea of flames; we are not afraid if it costs our heads or the shedding of our blood, and we will not flinch even if we are threatened with utter destruction.

2. Chou Yang Flagrantly Opposed the Orientation for Literature and Art — to Serve the Workers, Peasants and Soldiers — as Formulated by Chairman Mao, and Advocated Revisionist "Literature and Art of the Whole People"

The question of "for whom" is a fundamental one for literature and art; it is a question of principle. The orientation for literature and

art — to serve the workers, peasants and soldiers — as formulated by Chairman Mao thoroughly solved, for the first time in the history of the development of proletarian literature and art, this fundamental question, this question of principle in literature and art. It is the most complete, most thoroughgoing and most revolutionary proletarian line for literature and art; it is a creative development, with genius, of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and theory on literature and art.

Chairman Mao teaches us that literature and art are part of the superstructure and the ideological reflection of the politics and economy of a given society and serve the politics and economy of a given society. Literature and art that serve the landlord class are feudal literature and art; literature and art that serve the bourgeoisie are bourgeois literature and art. Proletarian literature and art are for the workers, peasants and soldiers; they are created for the workers, peasants and soldiers and are for their use. They are a powerful weapon for the proletariat in carrying out revolutionary struggle. Prior to the revolution, proletarian literature and art make the ideological preparations for the revolution. In the course of the revolution, they are a requisite and important sector on the overall revolutionary battlefield. After the proletariat wins state power, they are an instrument for carrying out the struggle to foster what is proletarian and eradicate what is bourgeois in the sphere of ideology; they serve to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and prepare people's minds for bringing about the transition from socialism to communism.

Openly proposing the slogan of a "literature and art of the whole people," Chou Yang unscrupulously opposed the orientation for literature and art — of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers — formulated by Chairman Mao. He spread the nonsense that this had "already become outdated," that "the object of service is the people of the whole country; in this respect, it is different from what it was at the time of the Yen'an Forum on Literature and Art, it is wider than at that time," and that therefore, today's "literature and

art should be acceptable to all kinds of people." He described revolutionary literature and art as a tool for communicating the ideas and feelings of different classes. He said: "An echo has nothing much to do with class character. The art of any class is definitely not to be appreciated merely by that class itself. It is to be appreciated by all classes and arouses an echo in all people." He also said: "Some works reflect both class interests and the interests of the whole people."

Chairman Mao says:

In the world today all culture, all literature and art belong to definite classes and are geared to definite political lines. There is in fact no such thing as art for art's sake, art that stands above classes or art that is detached from or independent of politics.³

The "literature and art of the whole people" advocated by Chou Yang, just as the so-called "state of the whole people" publicized by Khrushchov, were nothing but bourgeois and revisionist rubbish designed to deceive the people. Khrushchov used the slogan of a "state of the whole people" to eliminate the most fundamental thing in the proletarian revolution — the dictatorship of the proletariat; Chou Yang, on his part, used the slogan of "literature and art of the whole people" to eliminate the most fundamental thing in proletarian literature and art — serving the workers, peasants and soldiers. A socialist country that eliminates the dictatorship of the proletariat is bound to degenerate into a capitalist country; proletarian literature and art that depart from the orientation of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers are bound to turn into bourgeois literature and art. There is absolutely no such thing as literature and art that are acceptable to all classes and are able to evoke an echo in all classes. The true purpose of Chou Yang's agitation for "literature and art of the whole people" was to transform proletarian literature and art into bourgeois literature and art and so open the path for the bourgeoisie to stage a come-back.

3. Chou Yang Distorted the Party's Policy of "Let a Hundred Flowers Blossom and a Hundred Schools of Thought Contend," and Energetically Worked for Bourgeois Liberalization

The Party's policy of "let a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" is an extremely firm class policy of the proletariat. The policy is put forward on the basis of the fact that classes and class struggle still exist in socialist society. It is a policy that serves to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country through class struggle in the ideological sphere — the struggle to foster what is proletarian and eradicate what is bourgeois. It is a policy that facilitates the development of Marxism-Leninism in the struggle against all kinds of bourgeois ideas. It is a policy that helps the socialist culture of our country to grow and thrive. The implementation of this policy greatly strengthens the leading position of Marxism-Leninism, of Mao Tse-tung's thought in the sphere of ideology and culture.

Taking up a position entirely on the bourgeois, reactionary side and proceeding from the class needs of the bourgeoisie, Chou Yang purposely obliterated the class content of these two slogans — "let a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" — and presented them in a distorted fashion as a policy opposing the "monopoly of ideology," opposing "dogmatism," opposing "administrative method," opposing "let one single flower blossom and only one school of thought speak out." By opposing the "monopoly of ideology," he actually meant opposing the leading position of Marxism-Leninism, of Mao Tse-tung's thought. The "dogmatism" which he opposed was precisely the most fundamental thing in Mao Tse-tung's thought on literature and art, that is: literature and art must serve the workers, peasants and soldiers and serve socialism. The "administrative method" which he objected was exactly the Party's leadership in literature and art. When he raised a clamour against "let one single flower blossom and only one school of thought speak out," it was to prevent us from developing socialist literature and art. The purpose of Chou Yang's deliberate distortion of the Party's policy of "let a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools

of thought contend" was to promote a bourgeois liberalization in a big way and let all ghosts and monsters come out and "open wide." This meant he would allow only the bourgeoisie to "open wide" but prohibit the proletariat from doing so, and he vainly attempted to choke the fragrant flowers of the proletariat by cultivating poisonous weeds of the landlord and bourgeois classes. At the same time, Chou Yang also set himself up as the guardian angel of the bourgeoisie to protect the poisonous weeds. If the proletariat wanted to root out the poisonous weeds, then this was encroaching upon the "liberty" of Chou Yang and company and flouting their prohibitions, and they would charge you with "violating the policy of 'let a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend'" and they would use the big stick on you.

Bourgeois liberalization is one of the black flags of modern revisionism. This was the flag hoisted by the Petofi Club in Hungary, by the revisionist elements of Soviet literary and art circles, and also by Chou Yang. In 1956, after the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U., Chou Yang turned into a parrot for Khrushchov, openly praising the Congress as "having the great advantage that it has emancipated the mind and broken down the ideological monopoly which existed in the past." In 1957, Chou Yang came out as the spokesman of the bourgeois Rightists, when he said with rapturous joy: "The severe cold of the past is now thawing." But he was still not satisfied with that. So he clamoured: "Though there has been a thaw, dogmatism and sectarianism are still rampant. The present situation can be described as 'the cool of spring,' the period of real spring warmth and blossom time has not yet come." What kind of "period of spring warmth and blossom time" did Chou Yang persistently dream of? It was a period of the restoration of capitalism, of full "liberalization" for Chou Yang and company, when poisonous weeds would sprout everywhere and ghosts and monsters would be free to do whatever they like.

Chairman Mao has said:

All erroneous ideas, all poisonous weeds, all ghosts and monsters, must be subjected to criticism; in no circumstance should they be allowed to spread unchecked.³

We must adhere to the teachings of Chairman Mao, uproot Chou Yang's black flag of bourgeois liberalization, knock Chou Yang off his perch as the guardian angel of the bourgeoisie, and let the sunlight of Mao Tse-tung's thought shine over the good earth and let the socialist hundred flowers bloom all over the world.

4. Chou Yang Peddled a Wide Range of Bourgeois, Reactionary Viewpoints on Literature and Art and Opposed the Marxist Viewpoints on Literature and Art

The various bourgeois viewpoints on literature and art which were criticized by Chairman Mao in his *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*, and the various bourgeois and revisionist viewpoints on literature and art which have been criticized since the founding of the People's Republic of China and are still being criticized — such as “the theory of human nature,” “the theory of thinking in terms of images,” “the theory of emotionalism,” “the theory of the broad path of realism,” “the theory of truthful writing,” “the theory of portraying middle characters,” “the theory of broad subject-matter,” “the theory of indirect co-ordination,” etc. — were all goods displayed in Chou Yang's black market, stamped with the “Chou Family Brand” and disposed of by him through wholesale and retail outlets.

Chou Yang peddled the bourgeois “theory of human nature” and opposed the Marxist theory of classes.

Chairman Mao has said:

In class society everyone lives as a member of a particular class, and every kind of thinking, without exception, is stamped with the brand of a class.⁴

But Chou Yang said that to take men as the “personification of classes and with only class character” was “class labellism.” He vociferously advocated that works of literature and art should express human nature and not class nature. He advocated “hunting for a kind of true man who is comparatively more human,” “expressing the innocent mind of a child,” “writing about true people and true hearts” and writing about “the brotherhood of men.” Marxists hold

that in class society there is only human nature of a class character, that there is absolutely no human nature above classes. What Chou Yang calls human nature above classes — like his so-called “the innocent mind of a child,” “true hearts” and “the brotherhood of men” — is in essence bourgeois human nature and bourgeois individualism.

Chou Yang peddled the “theory of thinking in terms of images” and opposed the Marxist theories of knowledge and reflection. He said that “thinking in terms of images” was the particular law of art and that “the thinking in terms of images and the thinking of logic are two different things.” The “thinking in terms of images” advertised by Chou Yang was, according to him, a kind of pure perceptual activity ruling out reason; a kind of activity of pure images excluding logical thinking; a kind of activity leading from perception to perception and from image to image. This mystical “thinking in terms of images” was a fiction; it simply does not exist in fact.

Chairman Mao has said:

Fully to reflect a thing in its totality, to reflect its essence, to reflect its inherent laws, it is necessary through the exercise of thought to reconstruct the rich data of sense perception, discarding the dross and selecting the essential, eliminating the false and retaining the true, proceeding from the one to the other and from the outside to the inside, in order to form a system of concepts and theories — it is necessary to make a leap from perceptual to rational knowledge.⁵

This is a universal truth. Only by going through this process of cognition can writers and artists gain a knowledge of the world and engage in creating works of literature and art. The so-called “theory of thinking in terms of images” advocated by Chou Yang is anti-Marxist. Its aim is to radically oppose the application of the viewpoints of dialectical materialism and historical materialism by writers and artists in their observation of the world, of society and of literature and art; its aim is to deny completely the guiding role exercised by the world outlook of writers and artists over their creative work in literature and art. Chou Yang spoke of writers and artists as if they were an extraordinary type of people and of creative work in literature and art as an extraordinary kind of activity over which nobody can exercise control. He fabricated a theoretical

basis for opposing the Party's leadership in literature and art and for opposing the communist world outlook.

Chou Yang peddled bourgeois realism and blew the trumpet for the "theory of truthful writing." He was a most fanatical worshipper of European bourgeois realism of the 18th and 19th centuries. The essence of bourgeois realism is "truthful writing." The so-called "truthful writing" means exposure. From the armoury of bourgeois literature and art, Chou Yang picked out this "talisman" of bourgeois realism in order to oppose the method of creative work put forward by Chairman Mao, in which revolutionary realism and revolutionary romanticism are combined, in order to dissuade writers and artists from eulogizing socialism and encourage them to expose the so-called "seamy side" of socialism. Chou Yang said that in works of literature and art "the theme can only be the conclusion drawn from the observation of life," and when a writer's "viewpoint is removed from that of the Party, he should be faithful to life, faithful to truth and faithful to objective things." "If he only searches for rosy things, that is not truth." He frantically clamoured that we "should expose our defects, should expose the seamy side of the socialist system."

Chairman Mao has pointed out:

If you are a bourgeois writer or artist, you will eulogize not the proletariat but the bourgeoisie, and if you are a proletarian writer or artist, you will eulogize not the bourgeoisie but the proletariat and working people: it must be one or the other.⁶

Chou Yang is precisely the former. Like all landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists, Chou Yang loved what the working people hated and hated what the working people loved, and was full to the marrow of class hatred for the Party, for socialism and for the working people. He put on counter-revolutionary coloured spectacles to search only for the so-called "seamy side" of the radiant socialist reality. For more than a decade he shouted himself hoarse for "truthful writing" for the sake of instigating writers and artists to attack the socialist system and to caricature the working people.

Chou Yang peddled the "theory of portraying middle characters" and opposed the portrayal of worker, peasant and soldier heroes.

To portray worker, peasant and soldier heroes is a fundamental task of proletarian literature and art. In our era the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie on the literary and art front is focused on the question of which class' heroes should be portrayed and which class' characters should be allowed to hold the centre of the stage in works of literature and art. This is the boundary line which separates the literature and art of one class from the other. We have always advocated that revolutionary writers and artists should enthusiastically portray worker, peasant and soldier heroes armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought. Yet on this question Chou Yang took an attitude completely antagonistic to ours. Under the pretext of examining everybody in the light of the concept of "one divides into two," he said that in life there was no "perfect person without a single defect" and opposed the creation of ideal proletarian characters in our literary and art works. He advocated writing about "the inherent flaws in the character" of poor peasants, workers and Party members and the "wounded feelings" of the working people; in fact he aimed at encouraging the portrayal of "middle characters," namely, the backward people. On the one hand, Chou Yang exerted the utmost efforts to oppose our portrayal of worker, peasant and soldier heroes; on the other he advocated the eulogizing of the representatives of the landlord and bourgeois classes. He spread the nonsense that "any class, any clique has its progressive aspect," that "there is also a progressive aspect in the circles of bourgeois industrialists and businessmen," that "there are also good emperors," and that "there are also some relatively sober-minded people among the feudal rulers." Truly as the sayings go: "A special kind of melon comes from a special kind of vine; the people of a particular class have their own particular kind of talk." There is no mistaking here what Chou Yang loved and what he hated.

Chou Yang canvassed the "theory of broad subject-matter" and opposed writing on significant themes. The question of subject-matter in creating works of literature and art is a very important one. In selecting subject-matter for creative work, writers and artists must subordinate their choice to the requirements of classes and class struggle. We advocate that all revolutionary writers and

artists should strive to depict the great Mao Tse-tung era, the great socialist revolution and socialist construction, the great people's war, heroes armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought and their heroic exploits, and so on. These are the significant themes of our era. On the pretext of opposing the "theory of subject-matter as the decisive factor," Chou Yang opposed writing about important subject-matter. He said that "not depicting our times" and "not necessarily meeting the needs of the people's struggles completely" can also serve socialism. He sounded the trumpet for the "theory of broad subject-matter," advocated that subject-matter should be "varied," and shouted that writers and artists should have "full freedom" in choosing their subject-matter and that "those familiar with ancient times should write about ancient times and those familiar with modern times should write about modern times." He laid special stress on producing things that he called "harmless," "piquant," and "able to raise the level of appreciation and taste," in a vain attempt to lead the writers and artists on to the wrong track so that they would divorce themselves from proletarian politics and from the reality of class struggle.

Chou Yang canvassed the "theory of indirect co-ordination" and opposed the view that literature and art should serve proletarian politics.

Chairman Mao has said:

Party work in literature and art occupies a definite and assigned position in Party revolutionary work as a whole and is subordinated to the revolutionary tasks set by the Party in a given revolutionary period.⁷

Proletarian literature and art must become an obedient instrument of the Party, serve the revolutionary tasks set by the Party in a given period, serve giving prominence to politics and the promotion of the revolutionization of man's ideology, and help the people fight the enemy with one heart and one mind. To stray from this standpoint is to betray the fundamental task of proletarian literature and art. However, Chou Yang arrogantly asserted: "There is something not quite right about the idea of serving; at most one can speak of direct co-ordination or indirect co-ordination." Here Chou Yang put forward the "theory of indirect co-ordination" to effect a radical

change in the subordinate position of literature and art in relation to politics. He considered that the relationship between literature and art and politics should be that of "placing an order for goods," of state and private joint ownership. He considered that writers and artists "may accept" or "may refuse" tasks assigned them by the Party; he scoffed at us for subordinating literature and art to political tasks, saying that it is outdated "art troupe experience"; he abused us for "writing about, performing, and painting the central task," describing it as "narrow, improper." What is Chou Yang's so-called "indirect co-ordination"? "Without political content," he said, "(literature and art) can also serve politics." In essence what he wanted was not serving proletarian politics, but serving bourgeois politics.

For more than ten years Chou Yang, this big dealer in contraband, put up the signboard of revolution behind which he actually peddled counter-revolution. Under the signboards of "authority," "specialist" and "supreme master" he sold the black merchandise of the bourgeois, reactionary viewpoints on literature and art, and defrauded and poisoned many people. The question of what outlook each writer or artist adopts on literature and art is one that is related to his soul. If Chou Yang's whole bourgeois, reactionary outlook on literature and art is not completely repudiated and discredited, it will be impossible to recognize clearly the essence of his counter-revolutionary revisionist programme for literature and art, and it will also be impossible to eradicate the poisonous effects of his bourgeois outlook on literature and art from literary and art circles.

5. Chou Yang Frantically Advocated the Worship of What Is Foreign and the Restoration of What Is Ancient, Obstinate Resisted Socialist Transformation of Literature and Art

The proletarian cultural revolution is a great revolution which touches the people to their very souls. It is to eliminate thoroughly the old ideas and old culture, old customs and old habits which were fostered by all the exploiting classes for thousands of years to poison

the minds of the people. It is to create and form among the broad masses of the people entirely new ideas, new culture, new customs and new habits of the proletariat.

For the last decade and more, Chou Yang consistently and obstinately resisted the socialist transformation of literature and art and fanatically promoted feudal and capitalist literature and art. He was all servility before "foreigners" and was a pious scion of the ancients. He was a diehard royalist in the matter of feudal and capitalist literature and art.

Chou Yang lauded European bourgeois culture of the 18th and 19th centuries as "the summit of human culture in the world"; he praised the Russian bourgeois literary critic Chernyshevsky as the founder of the Marxist theory on literature and art and as a Karl Marx who had "transformed literature." Chou Yang opposed with all his might our criticism of the bourgeois masters of literature and art, arguing, for example, that Stanislavski was "a very important -ski" and "a very big -ski"; that "he had very important achievements to his credit" and "he must not and could not be overthrown." He advocated "the continuous introduction" into China of the bourgeois literature and art of other countries. He wanted the theatre and opera to present such pieces as *La Traviata*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Othello*, *King Lear*, so that these works would be "quickly popularized in China." He also wanted us to learn from the "nouvelle vague" (new wave) and "modernist" literature and art, which are the most reactionary and most decadent of the contemporary bourgeois schools of literature and art. Chou Yang held that "without this condition, there can be no upsurge of (socialist) culture."

Chou Yang said: "To exploit legacy is of decisive importance to the development of socialist literature and art and to the creation of a national character." He added: "In my view, it is unfilial to recognize only a part of the works created after liberation and to label the old works as feudal and those produced after the May 4th Movement as bourgeois." He even had the effrontery to call the literature and art of the period following the May 4th Movement the "father" and the literature and art of the feudal period the "grandfather," adding, "without them, how could you have come into being?"

Whether you like it or not, you cannot deny your grandfather and father." Therefore, he advocated publishing en masse traditional theatrical pieces so as to let various theatrical troupes perform them and "popularize among the masses" such feudal stuff so that they would "glitter with sparkling radiance till the communist era." While energetically promoting feudal literature and art, Chou Yang advocated "the theory of inheriting old ethical values" and made the absurd assertion that "although the political philosophy, ethics, the principles governing the relations between emperor and minister and between father and son, etc., which the Chinese people accumulated in the prolonged feudal society, are feudal things, we still can learn something from them," and his attempt was to "systematically preserve the ideology of the old times in today's literature and art."

As early as 1944, Chairman Mao pointed out that history was created by the people. But in the old theatre (and in all old literature and art which were divorced from the people), the people were portrayed as riffraff while the lords and ladies and their sons and daughters dominated the stage. This distortion of history had to be put right, so as to restore the true historical fact. In 1950, Chairman Mao put forward the policy of "let a hundred flowers blossom and weed through the old to let the new emerge." In 1963, he pointed out that in all forms of art — drama, ballads, music, the fine arts, the dance, the cinema, poetry and literature, etc., — problems abounded; the people engaged in them were numerous; and in many departments very little had been achieved so far in socialist transformation. The "dead" still dominated in many departments. Wasn't it absurd that many Communists showed enthusiasm in advancing feudal and capitalist art, but no zeal in promoting socialist art, Chairman Mao added. Being a pious scion of feudal literature and art, Chou Yang persistently and stubbornly resisted Chairman Mao's instructions, opposed the reform of the traditional operatic art and opposed the staging of dramas on contemporary, revolutionary themes. He disparaged the reform of the traditional operatic art as "crude," and advocated that "we should not strain" to carry out the reform "lest the result should be a monstrosity like nothing on earth." Indeed,

Chou Yang was loyal and filial to the hilt to the emperors, kings, generals, ministers, scholars and beauties. In his eyes, whoever was in favour of reform was virtually desecrating the graves of his ancestors and leaving his family without posterity. Chou Yang, however, did not entirely refrain from talking about reform. But his so-called reform amounted to weeding through the old to let the old emerge, or even weeding through the new to let the old emerge, instead of weeding through the old to let the new emerge. He required the theatre of the modern drama, which originally mainly presented plays on revolutionary themes, to perform such things as *Lord Chiao Steps into a Bride's Sedan Chair*, *A Frustrated Scholar's Tragedy*, *Generals of the Yang Family* and *Golden Beach*. This was regressive, reactionary and counter-revolutionary "reform."

Chou Yang showed tremendous zeal in promoting feudal and capitalist literature and art, with the purpose of squeezing out proletarian literature and art and calling forth a flood of landlord and bourgeois literature and art and bringing about a general restoration of feudalism and capitalism.

Marxists never refuse to accept and learn from both Chinese and foreign literary and art legacies.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung has said:

As for foreign culture, it would be a wrong policy to shut it out, rather we should as far as possible draw on what is progressive in it for use in the development of China's new culture; it would also be wrong to copy it blindly, rather we should draw on it critically to meet the actual needs of the Chinese people. . . . Similarly, ancient Chinese culture should neither be totally rejected nor blindly copied, but should be accepted discriminatingly so as to help the progress of China's new culture.⁸

Obviously, it is a Marxist policy to accept discriminatingly both Chinese and foreign literary and art legacies; it is a policy conducive to the development of new socialist literature and art. Chou Yang's total and uncritical acceptance of Chinese and foreign literary and art legacies is a policy running counter to Marxism, a policy designed to undermine new socialist literature and art; it is a counter-revolutionary, revisionist policy. Revolutionary literary and art workers must abide by the only correct policy formulated by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, integrate themselves with the broad masses of the workers,

peasants and soldiers and be critics of the old culture and creators of the new culture.

6. Chou Yang Opposed Proletarian Literary and Art Criticism and Attacked the Struggle on the Literary and Art Front to Foster Proletarian Ideology and Eradicate Bourgeois Ideology

Proletarian literary and art criticism is an important aspect of the struggle to foster proletarian ideology and eradicate bourgeois ideology on the ideological and cultural front; it is an important means by which the Party gives leadership in literary and art work, and an important factor which helps socialist literary and artistic creation to thrive. There are two criteria in literary and art criticism — the political and the artistic.

Chairman Mao has said:

Each class in every class society has its own political and artistic criteria. But all classes in all class societies invariably put the political criterion first and the artistic criterion second.⁹

Chou Yang, however, opposed this brilliant thesis of Chairman Mao's with the nonsense that "only when a high artistic level is reached can politics come first." For films, he laid down the four criteria of "good plot, good shots, good cast and good music," deliberately leaving out good politics. Like all reactionary bourgeois literary and art critics, Chou Yang's absurd thesis about placing the artistic criterion first was simply designed to oppose proletarian politics and peddle bourgeois politics under an "art comes first" cover. On the pretext of "do not vulgarize the political criterion," Chou Yang flagrantly tampered with Chairman Mao's six political criteria for distinguishing fragrant flowers from poisonous weeds; he divided literary and art work into "beneficial, harmless and harmful categories," and devised the "theory of harmless and beneficial," — meaning politically "harmless" and somewhat "beneficial" to life — in order to open the door wide to trash about emperors and kings, generals and prime ministers, scholars and beauties, flowers and birds, fish and insects, prodigies and ancient lovers, etc.

Chairman Mao has taught us that there is no construction without destruction, no flowing without damming and no motion without rest. Destruction here means criticism, means revolution. Destruction comes first, and, in the course of it, there is construction. But Chou Yang loudly sang an opposing tune, setting out the absurd theory that "construction must come before destruction" and that "destruction is easy while construction is difficult." He said: "Destruction is comparatively easy but construction is more difficult. Not all destruction equates with construction." In opposing destruction, Chou Yang intended to prevent the proletariat from uprooting poisonous weeds, from making revolution. To this end, he laid down many taboos to restrict the proletarian Left, such as they must not "use such methods as the movements employed in repudiating Hu Shih, and Hu Feng, and in criticizing Yu Ping-po in the past, but should use comparatively mild methods," they must not slap on "political labels," they must "strictly distinguish academic question from political question," they must "argue entirely on academic grounds," and so on. He vainly attempted to bind the proletarian Left hand and foot with these and eliminate proletarian literary and art criticism.

Chou Yang aired grievances on behalf of the ghosts and monsters who had been criticized in the various major struggles on the literary and art front since liberation and campaigned widely to have the judgments on them reversed. He viciously attacked the proletariat for the struggle against the bourgeois Rightists and the criticism of the various poisonous weeds; he said it was a "big chopping off and cutting down," "the riffraff mounting an offensive to the beating of drums" and "impossible for scholars to reason with soldiers." He maligned past political movements as creating "abysses"; "a Rightist abyss, an anti-Party abyss, a Right opportunist abyss, a revisionist abyss. There are too many abysses and if one falls into one of them there is no hope of getting out." The tree may prefer calm but the wind does not subside. Class struggle is independent of man's will. All reactionaries create abysses for themselves and jump into them of their own free will. Chou Yang's slander that we create "abysses" was simply a futile effort to counter-attack in revenge. The struggle

between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is a life-and-death struggle — if the proletariat does not exercise dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, the bourgeoisie will exercise dictatorship over the proletariat. However much Chou Yang and his ilk attack or abuse us, the proletariat will not even for a moment stop or relax the struggle against you representatives of the bourgeoisie and all the other ghosts and monsters, who are against the Party, socialism and Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Revolutionary literary and art criticism is one of the chief weapons of the proletariat in its struggle against the bourgeoisie. We must advocate revolutionary, militant, mass literary and art criticism, place the weapon of literary and art criticism in the hands of the broad masses of the workers, peasants and soldiers, and ensure that the professional critics are integrated with the amateur critics from among the masses. In the great proletarian cultural revolution, all the 700 million people are critics. Taking the great thought of Mao Tse-tung as their weapon, they are valiantly engaged in fierce battles with the ghosts and monsters and are showing a clear and firm class stand and a fearless revolutionary spirit. Is not "the offensive launched to the beating of drums" by the proletarian Left and the revolutionary masses what Chou Yang fears most? We will indeed beat the drums of battle and rush forward in a mass offensive against you ghosts and monsters.

7. Chou Yang Disseminated the Fallacy That Class Struggle Had Died Down, Advocated the "Three-Famous" Principle and the "Three-Highs" Policy, Scheming to Bring About a "Peaceful Evolution" Throughout the Ranks of the Literary and Art Workers

In 1957, in his *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, Chairman Mao Tse-tung pointed out:

In China, although in the main socialist transformation has been completed with respect to the system of ownership, and although the large-scale and turbulent class struggles of the masses characteristic of the previous

revolutionary periods have in the main come to an end, there are still remnants of the overthrown landlord and comprador classes, there is still a bourgeoisie, and the remoulding of the petty bourgeoisie has only just started. The class struggle is by no means over. The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between the different political forces, and the class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will continue to be long and tortuous and at times will even become very acute. The proletariat seeks to transform the world according to its own world outlook, and so does the bourgeoisie. In this respect, the question of which will win out, socialism or capitalism, is still not really settled.¹⁰

Soon after Chairman Mao gave this important instruction, Chou Yang openly declared: "We have carried out the peaceful remoulding of the bourgeoisie. The present questions are all questions of contradictions among the people and the method of class struggle is no longer applicable."

In 1961, when the domestic and international class struggle was very sharp and the ghosts and monsters in literary and art circles became very active, launching wild attacks on the Party and on socialism, Chou Yang came out with this statement: "As I see it, our ranks in literature and art belong to the revolutionary class, the proletariat, and not to the bourgeoisie," and "our literary and art circles, our intellectual circles, are a very lovable contingent." Referring to the bourgeois elements in literary and art circles who had been "subject to criticism and struggle," Chou Yang also said: "They are good comrades." In his opinion, classes and class struggle no longer existed in our literary and art ranks, and the class struggle had once and for all been extinguished.

Did Chou Yang really believe the theory that class struggle had come to an end? No. Here he was engaging in a great conspiracy: He wanted to stamp out the class struggle which the proletariat waged against the bourgeoisie; but at the same time he wanted to incite the latter to wage class struggle against the former. Behind the smokescreen of this theory, Chou Yang rabidly attacked our literary and art ranks without let-up throughout the last decade and more.

In these attacks, he resorted mainly to two methods:

One was to actively expand the skeleton force of his counter-revolutionary gangster inn by recruiting deserters and enlisting renegades and by forming cliques pursuing their own selfish interests. Chou Yang tried in every possible way to help the Rightists reverse the earlier correct decision on them. He made the preposterous assertion that "some people became Rightists because they muddle-headedly joined in kicking up a fuss." He said: "There are some very intelligent people among them" and "we should help them remove the label (of Rightists)." He added: "In this way, our ranks will grow and will not remain narrow in scope." Chou Yang attacked the Party's policy concerning cadres and abused the socialist system, alleging that it is "no less severe" in "ignoring" persons of talent. Having an axe to grind, he declared: "The trouble is not the lack of good horses that can gallop a thousand *li* a day, but the absence of Po Yueh, who can pick them out." Obviously regarding himself as Po Yueh, Chou Yang dragged in a number of bourgeois ultra-individualists and raked together the scum of society—Rightists, renegades, traitors, reactionary bourgeois men of letters and survivals of the past—and formed a diehard counter-revolutionary revisionist gang.

The other method Chou Yang used was ideological corrosion and peaceful evolution, by which he plotted to make the ranks of the revolutionary literary and art workers change colour. He opposed the study of Chairman Mao's works and slanderously described the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works by literary and art workers as "over-simplification and vulgarization." He advocated that literary and art workers should read more works by foreign authors of the 18th and 19th centuries, "even reactionary books," and that the brains of young people should be made "a little complicated" and that "the spirit of Hai Jui as shown in forwarding his memorial to the throne" should be cultivated among the youths. Chou Yang was against going deep into life and ideological remoulding. To young people, he said: "It is impossible to draw experience from life by going to villages or factories" and "so it is not necessary to go there." To older people, he said: "Stay a week in the village and then spend another week in the county town

to solve the problems of taking baths and gratifying your appetite.” In a word, what he advocated was that people should lock themselves up in their studies and “strive to improve their skill” in seclusion. He was against giving prominence to politics and pursued the policy of the “three-highs” — high salaries, high royalties and high awards. He said: “Payment should be made according to the kind of stuff produced. The painters can sell their paintings. The film director who makes a film will get paid, if he does not, he won’t. This is also applicable to writers. If they produce, they will be paid fees and get royalties.” Chou Yang opposed the Party’s cultivation of the younger generation. He preached a kind of “three-famous” principle — famous writers, famous directors and famous actors. In his opinion, “it is necessary to rely on the old experts to train young writers” and it depends on “one’s personal endeavour to become a famous specialist.” He urged young people to try and become “actors with a great power of attraction” or “representatives of dramatic art in one of its forms.” This, he said, was as necessary as “a leader is to a political party.”

We must tell Chou Yang sharply: That kind of thing won’t work. Your scheming was doomed to failure.

The question of what kind of an army of literary and art workers is to be built is the key issue which determines whether proletarian literature and art will flourish or be extinguished. Unless there is an army of proletarian literary and art workers, there can be no proletarian literature and art. We understand this, and so does the enemy. This is why the enemy always tries in every way to corrode and disrupt the ranks of our literary and art workers. All along there has been a sharp and complicated class struggle in our literary and art ranks ever since the birth of proletarian literature and art in China. It is not at all surprising that Chou Yang racked his brains to change the colour of our literary and art ranks. Our revolutionary literary and art workers must go through storm and stress and remould their ideology in the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment, and in the heat of struggle and life of the workers, peasants and soldiers. They must temper themselves to become red fighters in

literature and art who do not work for fame or fortune but are ready to defy hardship and death and serve the people whole-heartedly, so that the ranks of our literary and art workers will be turned into a highly proletarian and highly militant army which is infinitely loyal to the proletariat and the working people, to the cause of the Party, and to Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung’s thought.

8. Chou Yang Opposed Party Leadership in the Work of Literature and Art in a Vain Attempt to Usurp Party Leadership, Seize Power, and Bring About the Restoration of Capitalism

Chairman Mao has said:

The force at the very core that leads our cause is the Communist Party of China.¹¹

Only with this core, can the cause of socialism and communism succeed. Only with this core, can socialist literature and art thrive and develop. So long as this core exists, no anti-Party and anti-socialist schemes for a counter-revolutionary restoration can succeed.

With his reactionary class stand, Chou Yang was well aware that Party leadership was the biggest barrier to the carrying through of his counter-revolutionary revisionist programme for literature and art, the most formidable opponent of his futile efforts to usurp Party leadership, seize power and bring about a capitalist restoration. That was why over the years in his various campaigns against one thing or another, Chou Yang invariably directed the spearhead of all his attacks against Party leadership. He vilified Party leadership as “monopoly of everything by a single party” and insidiously remarked that “old ideas sometimes appear in other forms, that is, old content in new form. The old content — feudal-patriarchal rule; the new form — the secretary of the Party committee in command.” He abused the Party’s political and ideological work, saying that it “occupied all and replaced everything.” He called Party-member cadres “rulers” and “enslavers.” Chou Yang clamoured that leadership in the Party’s literature and art be handed over to “the specialists inside and outside the Party,” to a “joint

leadership" "with persons outside the Party," exercising leadership in "social ways," and "through an arts committee." He advocated that the associations of writers and artists should be their "own organizations and not become appendages of the government." He incited workers in literature and art not to follow the Party's instructions, asserting that "the saying 'to follow the Party's leadership unconditionally' needs consideration," and he declared that "the Party should not give orders regarding literature and art. The peony will blossom just the same in Loyang if it is exiled there."

From this complete repertory of scurrilous abuse by Chou Yang, we can see more clearly what deep hatred he harboured for our great, glorious and correct Party, and what a black-hearted, hideous character he is. In fact, it was none other than this same self-styled "supreme master," Chou Yang, who exercised feudal patriarchal rule over literary and art circles. The terms "rulers" and "enslavers" exactly fit Chou Yang, the lord of hell in literary and art circles, and his gang of ghosts and monsters. His sole purpose in vilifying Party leadership was to get the Party to give up its position of leadership and hand it over. This is now obvious to everybody. His own statements and admissions make his ambition to usurp Party leadership and seize power as clear as day.

The black line in literature and art of which Chou Yang was the ringleader, and its counter-revolutionary, revisionist programme for literature and art, have played havoc in literary and art circles in China and have had grave consequences. In their capacity as leaders in literary and art circles, and under the signboards of old Party members, veteran "Left-wingers" and well-qualified veterans, they distorted Mao Tse-tung's thought on literature and art just as they pleased, did everything they could to prevent any implementing of Mao Tse-tung's thought and the Party's line and policy on literature and art and used their counter-revolutionary revisionist programme for literature and art to rule literary and art circles. They controlled the great majority of the leading organizations in literary and art circles, turned them into instruments of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat, abused their positions and powers, issued orders and instructions, attacked the proletarian Left, shielded

the bourgeois Rightists, suppressed socialist literature and art and gave the green light to and granted licences for the spreading of poisonous weeds. They controlled many positions in literature and art such as literary and art periodicals, publishing houses, arts organizations, film studios and broadcasting stations. They produced a great many poisonous weeds and widely disseminated their poison among the masses of the people. They turned most of the literary and art associations into bodies of the Hungarian Petofi Club type and huge dyeing vats of revisionism, thus corrupting many literary and art workers. They transformed many art colleges and schools into workshops fostering successors to bourgeois literature and art and poisoned the minds of many young people.

In short, they were a pack of vicious wolves in sheep's clothing, serpents disguised as beauties. They waved "red flags" to oppose the red flag. They put up the signboard of proletarian literature and art to peddle bourgeois, revisionist literature and art. They carried the signboard of Communist Party member and yet they insidiously worked against the Communists and the people. They were an important field army of the recently exposed counter-revolutionary clique that opposed the Party, socialism and Mao Tse-tung's thought. They were a most dangerous time-bomb hidden inside our Party and literary and art circles.

Our struggle against the black line in literature and art, of which Chou Yang was the ringleader, is a sharp class struggle to foster what is proletarian and eradicate what is bourgeois on the ideological and cultural front, a struggle to defend Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, and to oppose bourgeois, revisionist ideology; it is a great life-and-death class struggle between the bourgeoisie scheming to restore capitalism and the proletariat determined to prevent it.

Chairman Mao has said:

... We recognize that in the general development of history the material determines the mental and social being determines social consciousness, we also — and indeed must — recognize the reaction of mental on material things, of social consciousness on social being and of the superstructure on the economic base.¹²

The Central Committee of the Party and Chairman Mao have always paid great attention to getting a grip on the class struggle in the sphere of ideology, on the superstructure, as a means of consolidating and developing the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system. Chou Yang and company, together with various other counter-revolutionary cliques, such as "the three-family village" and "the four-family inn," too, have always made desperate efforts to get a grip on the class struggle in the sphere of ideology and on the superstructure, in order to prepare the people's minds for a bourgeois restoration.

Over the last decade and more, every major struggle initiated and led personally by Chairman Mao in literary and art circles has been a class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, with the line on literature and art of Marxism-Leninism, of Mao Tse-tung's thought on the one side, and the black line on literature and art represented by Chou Yang, on the other. As far as the majority of the people in literary and art circles and the people of the country as a whole are concerned, each of these struggles has heightened their political consciousness, carried Mao Tse-tung's thought deeper into the hearts of the people, pushed the proletarian cultural revolution a step forward, and brought further progress in socialist construction.

Chou Yang, that sly old-hand in opposing the revolution, put up an appearance of being on the "Left" and dressed himself up as a "positive character" who was "always correct" each time the proletariat launched a counter-attack to rebuff an attack by the bourgeoisie. But when the tide of the revolutionary movement subsided, he would again stretch out his claws. Thus there was a situation in which their attacks on the proletariat were sometimes furious and sometimes subdued, sometimes overt and sometimes covert. But whatever form they may take they always attacked the Party and socialism. Even as late as 1965 when the storm of the great socialist cultural revolution in China had already started, acting on the orders of the chieftain of the counter-revolutionary sinister gang, who was recently exposed, Chou Yang threw his weight about with the arrogance of "the lord of hell," and using such arguments as "everyone is equal before the truth" and "avoid one-sidedness" as clubs for striking at

the proletarian Left and the revolutionary masses, in the vain attempt to subdue the mighty tide of the great proletarian cultural revolution. Now that Chou Yang and his despicable crew have been exposed under the light of day, we have to hold on to them tightly, thoroughly denounce them and hold them up to shame so that they can never again spread poison and harm people.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is now surging forward in a mighty torrent, sweeping aside all ghosts and monsters that have entrenched themselves in various departments of culture, storming their "kingdom of hell," overthrowing the "lord of hell," thoroughly breaking the monopoly exerted in culture by a handful of bourgeois "specialists," "celebrities," "authorities," and "supreme masters" who opposed the Party, socialism and Mao Tse-tung's thought, and eradicating all the old ideas, old culture, old customs and old habits by which the exploiting classes poisoned the minds of the people, and thus opening up a completely new epoch. Ours is the great epoch of Mao Tse-tung, one in which hundreds of millions of workers, peasants and soldiers are mastering Mao Tse-tung's thought and science and culture, an epoch in which heroes are coming forward in multitudes; it is an epoch in which proletarian revolutionary literature and art will surely sparkle with great brilliance.

July 12, 1966

NOTES:

1 *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1965, Vol. III, p. 70.

2 *Ibid.*, P. 86.

3 Mao Tse-tung, *Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work* (March 12, 1957), Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1966, p. 27.

4 *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1964, Vol. I, p. 296.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 303.

6 *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1965, Vol. III, p. 92.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 86.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 305.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 89.

10 Mao Tse-tung, *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*.

11 Mao Tse-tung, "Opening Address at the First Session of the First National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China," *Renmin Ribao*, Sept. 16, 1954.

12 *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1964, Vol. I, p. 336.

On Sholokhov's Story "A Man's Lot"

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has told us, "Any given culture (as an ideological form) is a reflection of the politics and economics of a given society, and the former in turn has a tremendous influence and effect upon the latter." (*On New Democracy*) Again, "... while we recognize that in the general development of history the material determines the mental and social being determines social consciousness, we also — and indeed must — recognize the reaction of mental on material things, of social consciousness on social being and of the superstructure on the economic base." (*On Contradiction*) The facts have shown that whenever counter-revolutionaries plot to make a come-back, they first try to prepare public opinion for this in the realm of ideology, the superstructure, theory, academic work, literature and art. This is how the Khrushchov revisionist clique usurped the leadership of the C.P.S.U. And this is how the new leadership of the C.P.S.U. is trying to preserve its reactionary rule, to carry on the Khrushchov revisionist line without Khrushchov.

Today the revolutionary people of the whole world are engaged in a fierce struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys; this angry tide is rising steadily; and the struggle against the modern revisionists of the Soviet Union waged by the Marxist-Leninists of the world is progressing triumphantly. The new leadership of the C.P.S.U., in order to continue to carry out its revisionist general line and further its servile submission to U.S. imperialism, is using all available forms of propaganda in an attempt to deceive the Soviet people and the people of the world. Since Sholokhov, as a tool of revisionist politics posing as a "well-known proletarian writer," has deceived certain readers unable to see through him, it is necessary to tear off his mask before the people of the whole world. Let us therefore examine the vicious features of this revisionist serving the interests of the imperialists as they are revealed in his story *A Man's Lot*.

A Man's Lot, told through the mouth of a narrator, describes the life of a man, laying special emphasis on his bitter "lot" during the war to defend the Soviet Union against the fascists.

As we all know, more than twenty years ago, when the Nazis swept across Europe and unleashed a sudden all-out attack on the Soviet Union, the C.P.S.U. headed by Stalin led the people and armed forces of this young nation just realizing its socialist industrialization to fight with unprecedented heroism so that eventually they won a great victory against fascism. This victory of the Soviet people not only dealt a heavy blow at international imperialism and greatly consolidated and developed their own socialist motherland, but also cleared the way to liberation for the people of Eastern Europe who had suffered under Hitler's yoke, and set the stage for new revolutionary struggles by the oppressed people and oppressed nations of the world.

What magnificent revolutionary paeans should have been written about such a mighty revolutionary war! But Sholokhov, through his descriptions of Andrei Sokolov, the hero of his story, has shamelessly distorted the historical facts and slandered the revolutionary war, presenting it as a huge catastrophe, a dire calamity, a war which ruthlessly destroyed men's lives and engulfed millions of people in suffering.

"Well, I had a good bellyful of trouble out there too, brother, more than enough of it." These are Sokolov's first words when he starts his story. This is how the writer opens his denunciation of the revolutionary war.

In keeping with this, the writer paints a vicious picture of the gloom and sorrow caused by the war against fascism when he shows us Sokolov and his son tramping wearily down a muddy track to a rotten, leaky boat. According to Sholokhov, this boat and this track epitomize the Soviet Union after the revolutionary war, epitomize the painful existence of Sokolov and the fate of all mankind.

Sokolov was born in 1900, during those stormy years when the Russian people were undergoing the tests of stern class struggles. After the October Revolution he joined the Red Army and fought during the civil war to defend the Soviet power; in 1922 he started to work "like an ox for the kulaks" and so managed to survive, although his parents and sister died of starvation. His wife was an orphan who "had known what real trouble was since she was a kid."

Such is the grim sketch given of this hero's historical background and the hardships brought to the Soviet people by the great October Revolution. Sokolov worked like a robot, got drunk, saved money, married a wife who was "anxious to please, and smart"; had three children who "did well at school"; "... had a roof over our heads, clothes on our backs..." This picture of a "happy" family and the home comforts Sokolov set such store by show us what a selfish, despicable creature he was. Although he was once in the Red Army he had none of the revolutionary spirit of a Red Army man; although he was a worker he had not the least proletarian class character, to say nothing of noble ideals and public spirit. He was through and through a vulgar petty-bourgeois philistine. But in Sholokhov's eyes, a man with such a home has attained all the happiness life has to offer.

Such is the writer's philistine philosophy of life and extremely individualistic view of happiness.

No sooner were Sokolov's private affairs in good shape than the war against fascism broke out and he had to go to the front. So Sholokhov presents the Great Patriotic War as a tragedy for Sokolov destroying his happy family life.

Soon after Sokolov went to the front he was captured. Then a whole series of heavy blows and inhuman sufferings combined to crush him. In the war prisoners' camp he was cruelly tortured and humiliated by the enemy. As soon as he succeeded in escaping back to his own side and thought he was in for a spell of better luck, he heard the news of the death of his wife and daughters; and just as he found out the whereabouts of his only son, the young man was killed by a German sniper on the very morning of Victory Day. This was the end of his "last joy and hope."

At the end of the war Sokolov had no home to return to and stayed for a time in Uryupinsk before drifting off to Kashari and elsewhere. In the picture painted by Sholokhov, although the Soviet people had won the great anti-fascist war this brought them neither the joy of victory, social progress nor a big advance in their history — nothing but spiritual wounds, the destruction of happiness, bloodshed, ruin and tears. . . . The writer completely conceals the fundamental difference between just and unjust wars, clamouring that peace is paramount, as if it was not the German fascists but the revolutionary war against aggression which had caused the people such suffering, implying that the Soviet people should not hate the German fascists but the war, hate war itself.

In this way Sholokhov maliciously accused first the October Revolution led by Lenin, then the anti-fascist war led by Stalin. When we read this story, we seem to hear ringing in our ears that series of counter-revolutionary slogans — "War spells calamity," "War means death," "War is destruction," "War is bound to end in a holocaust of humanity" — which Khrushchov and his successors have been shouting to the world until their voices are hoarse.

This opposition to all wars, with no differentiation between just and unjust wars, actually springs from fear of war and fear of revolution. Its spokesmen do not want revolution and do not allow others to make revolution; they do not allow the oppressed people and oppressed nations to carry on their struggles for liberation. Today when the struggles against U.S. imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism by the people of the world, especially those of Asia, Africa and Latin America, are steadily gaining strength, the dissemination of

such views plays a directly reactionary role, sabotaging the revolution in a way the imperialists cannot. Actually this reactionary idea of the Khrushchov revisionists was expressed by the old revisionist Kautsky as far back as 1914: "In present-day conditions, there is no such thing as a war which is not a misfortune for nations in general and for the proletariat in particular. What we discussed was the means by which we could prevent a threatening war, and not which wars are useful and which harmful." Khrushchov more than fifty years later said: "War cannot bring anything except tears, destruction and the annihilation of precious wealth created by men's labour." So here Sholokhov's cursing of revolutionary war is only a clumsy illustration of the malicious lies spread by Kautsky, Khrushchov and their sort.

The attitude of Marxist-Leninists towards war has always been very clear. Comrade Mao Tse-tung tells us: "History knows only two kinds of war, just and unjust. We support just wars and oppose unjust wars. All counter-revolutionary wars are unjust, all revolutionary wars are just." (*Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War*) This is why we always oppose the criminal aggressive wars unleashed by imperialism and all reactionaries, and whole-heartedly support the revolutionary wars of the peoples of different countries and eulogize revolutionary wars. As Lenin has said about such revolutionary wars, "Of all the wars known in history it is the only lawful, rightful, just, and truly great war," for this "war has given history momentum and it is now flying with locomotive speed."

Here we must ask: If Stalin had not led the Soviet people to wage the great anti-fascist patriotic war, if they had not won this victory, how could they have "preserved peace"? How could their nation have survived and their motherland have been liberated? What would have happened in the rest of Europe and the whole world in that case?

Why does Sholokhov slander and denounce this revolutionary war if not to betray the Soviet people, besmirching their honour and their glorious history?

This whole story is pervaded by an atmosphere of gloom and despair. Instead of depicting the revolutionary heroism and revolutionary optimism of the Soviet soldiers who fought so hard and advanced so

fearlessly on the battlefields of the Great Patriotic War, he exaggerated the cruelty and horrors of war: the screech of shells at the front, and the torture and death of many prisoners. Instead of describing the Soviet people's joy in victory at the end of the war and the enthusiasm with which they set about reconstructing their country, he centred his attention on broken fences and a dirty, uncombed orphan boy. . . . More than that, he deliberately and maliciously piled on the agony of his characters. Sokolov's eyes, he said, seemed "as if they've been sprinkled with ash, eyes filled with such inextinguishable yearning and sadness that it is hard to look into them," while his heart "got a knock in it somewhere, ought to have a piston changed." He had the habit of standing hunched up, as if expecting a blow, especially when he spoke of those two fearful years when practically every night he had "been talking to the dead." Even after he left the army at the end of the war he went on fearing the war, and "my grief won't let me stay in one place for long." This war had apparently made him lose his reason and become a mental case. "Ah, life, life, why should you torment me like this? Why am I punished like this?" he would cry hysterically at night when he lay awake with open eyes; and when he woke up, his whole pillow would be "wet through with tears." In this blatant way the writer preaches the horrors of war by dwelling on the morbid mentality of this renegade and his so-called spiritual wounds which nothing could heal.

Sokolov is not the only character whom Sholokhov depicts as a victim, one who was so tormented by the anti-fascist war that he has become less than human; all the other characters in this revolutionary war are presented as unfortunate too, even Vanya the orphan boy of five or six whom Sokolov looks after — "such a little fellow and he'd already learned to sigh."

Why should the writer preach the horrors of war so frenziedly and elaborate at such length on the fearful physical and mental cruelty caused by this anti-fascist war? His purpose is very clear. It is to frighten people into thinking that war can destroy humanity, so as to undermine their revolutionary militancy ideologically and spiritually, and disarm the people to serve the needs of the policy of aggression and war of U.S. imperialism. The C.P.S.U. leadership has long advo-

cated "peaceful co-existence," "peaceful competition" and "peaceful transition." They clamoured that "any small 'local war' might spark off the conflagration of a world war," thus, "we will destroy our Noah's Ark — the globe." They set up the cry that, since the appearance of nuclear weapons, oppressed peoples and oppressed nations must give up the revolution and stop waging just people's revolutionary wars and wars of national liberation, for otherwise mankind will be destroyed. These revisionist arguments are entirely in keeping with the needs of the U.S. imperialists' "global strategy." It was for this political purpose that Sholokhov used Sokolov to intimidate the people of the world. He claims that we must not oppose the aggressive forces of the imperialists; all wars, whatever their nature, are bad; if the enemy comes, the only way out is unconditional surrender; for in this way we can avoid the pain of separation and death and the destruction of mankind. It is absolutely contemptible to spread such gross lies. Can we really stop wars and preserve peace in this way? If we bow to the enemy and shamelessly beg for mercy, will this move the hearts of the imperialists to give up their policy of aggression and war? The facts show that the opposite is true. The more frightened we are, the more reckless the enemy and the further they will go. Only by waging tit-for-tat struggles can we smash their offensive. Recently, especially in the last year or so, the people of southern Vietnam have resolutely carried on a revolutionary armed struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, engulfing the enemy in the ocean of a people's war and thoroughly defeating this paper tiger, U.S.-imperialism, reducing it to panic. This fully proves this truth. Innumerable historical facts have proved and will continue to prove that the more resolute the struggle against imperialism, in face of imperialist aggression and threats, the better we can preserve world peace. Conversely, if we adopt a policy of capitulation to the imperialists and always yield to them, far from achieving genuine peace this increases their aggressive ambitions and the danger of world war.

Marxism-Leninism and the thought of Mao Tse-tung have taught us again and again that as long as imperialism exists, as long as man continues to exploit man, that will provide the soil of war. The imperialists' policy and their moribund social system are the roots of

war. The revolutionary aim of Marxist-Leninists is to eliminate all classes, eliminate the exploitation of man by man and of nation by nation, so that there is no further possibility of war. In other words, the elimination of war has always been our ideal. But how are we to achieve this? Comrade Mao Tse-tung has taught us regarding war that "there is only one way to eliminate it and that is to oppose war with war, to oppose counter-revolutionary war with revolutionary war, to oppose national counter-revolutionary war with national revolutionary war, and to oppose counter-revolutionary class war with revolutionary class war." (*Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War*) In order to defeat the reactionary rule of imperialism, our present task is to mobilize more than ninety per cent of the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America and of the whole world — all but the imperialists and reactionaries of different countries — to unite together in the broadest possible united front against U.S. imperialism, and to inflict crushing defeats on the policy of aggression and war of U.S. imperialism until it is completely destroyed.

We have always been revolutionary optimists with complete faith in the revolution. The Chinese people have suffered under several thousand years of feudal rule and more than a century of imperialist oppression. No one knows better than we do that the only way for a people to win liberation is by taking the glorious road of revolutionary war. So if the imperialists insist on unleashing a war of aggression against us, we shall have no choice but to fight resolutely to the end. War is costly, and its cost may be very heavy; but temporary destruction and partial loss will help to win lasting liberation for the whole world. We are convinced that on the ruins of extinct imperialism the victorious people will go forward very quickly to build a new world free from imperialism, capitalism and exploitation.

In September 1961, during an interview with a reporter, Sholokhov aired his views on the question of West Germany and war. "No!" he cried fervently. "We are born to live, and we should live now and through the years to come." This blunt expression of Sholokhov's philosophy of survival at all costs was overtly embodied in the character of Sokolov.

Sokolov, the character created by Sholokhov to serve the needs of revisionist politics, is a selfish philistine in time of peace and a coward who dreads death in time of war, whose whole life centres around the concept of "survival." To live, he is willing to put up with any insult, to betray his people and his country, to slave for the enemy. "Self-preservation" is his highest guide to action, the whole purpose and meaning of his life. Survival is victory, survival is all.

Let us look at Sokolov's means of self-preservation before the outbreak of the Great Patriotic War.

After Lenin's death in 1924, amid intense class struggles at home and abroad, the Soviet people united around Stalin and worked hard to carry out socialist construction. Particularly in the decade following 1928, they triumphantly fulfilled their First and Second Five-Year Plans, completing unprecedented industrial projects, collectivizing agriculture throughout the country and launching a nation-wide socialist emulation campaign. How did Sholokhov make Sokolov live during these stirring years? This former Red Army man shamelessly went to "work like an ox for the kulaks." A year later he became a carpenter; then he married; and very often he got drunk. His life "was like a dream." However, in the ten years after 1929, he "earned good money" and started doing pretty well for himself. He built a cottage, bought goats. "There was milk for the children's porridge, we had . . . clothes on our backs, shoes on our feet, so everything was all right. . . . And that was when I broke away from my mates." Quite obviously, he took no interest in building socialism and had no working-class revolutionary ideals, caring for nothing but his personal comfort. "What more did we want?" His only regret was, "I didn't choose a very good place to build. They allotted me a patch of land not far from an aircraft factory" — in other words, too close to the dangers of war. He had always been afraid of dying and later, sure enough, a heavy bomb fell plumb on his cottage, putting an end to his "happiness."

His philosophy of survival is depicted with particular clarity in the sections dealing with his capture on the battle-front and his imprisonment.

He had not been a year at the front when the lorry he was driving overturned and, although only suffering from a disjointed arm, he fainted from panic. "How I stayed alive, I don't know." When he came to, "my legs just caved in under me and I felt as if I'd been pole-axed." When a German approached, "Well, I thought, this is the end of me. . . . I just looked at him and thought: It's going to be a short burst, I wonder where he'll aim? At my head or across my chest?" But instead of shooting him, the German signed to him to take off his boots, and having handed them over meekly he held out his foot-rags too. Then he "stepped out westward — a prisoner." This is how the "hero" was captured as described by Sholokhov.

Later, sent to dig graves for some other prisoners, he ran away. When the Germans gave chase, their dogs "dragged me about . . . just did what they liked with me." So without putting up the least resistance he let himself be captured again. But "I managed to keep alive!"

After that he knuckled under and served the enemy faithfully. "I covered half of Germany." When a German fascist in one of the prison camps cursed them in Russian, Sokolov commented, "If he'd known his cursing and swearing gave us pleasure, I reckon he wouldn't have done it in Russian. . . . You see, the words sounded like our own." When the drunken German commandant called him out for interrogation, "I said goodbye to my pals . . . and I thought to myself: Well, you've had your full dose of torture. . . ." With this in mind, "I stood to attention, snapped my broken-down heels together, and reported in a loud voice like this: 'Prisoner-of-war Andrei Sokolov at your service, Herr Kommandant.'" The despicable renegade! While the enemy taunted him, he ate their bread, drank their schnapps and "wiped my lips politely with my hand and said: 'Thank you for your hospitality. . . .'" The fascist told him, "Today our gallant armies have reached the Volga and taken complete possession of Stalingrad. That is a great joy for us, and therefore I graciously grant you your life." The German gave him a loaf of bread and a lump of bacon fat. Then "I gripped that bread to my chest tight as I could, and picked up the fat in my left hand." Lurching back to his hut, he at once fell unconscious, more from fright than from intoxica-

tion. When he came to he shared out the bread with the others. "Not a crumb was wasted." All the prisoners greased their lips with the fat.

So Sholokhov's "hero" had lost the minimum idea of distinction between the enemy and ourselves, cared nothing for national dignity and working-class spirit. He asked nothing more than to be able to live.

Afterwards he went further to prove his loyalty to the Germans, selling his country outright by serving as driver for a German major of the engineers. Since here he could take an occasional swig of brandy and sometimes the major would cut up some sausage and "toss me a scrap like a dog," he shamelessly declared, "There was no comparing it to the camp." How low he had sunk politically and morally! Yet when at last he got back to the Soviet lines, had a bath and put on a Soviet uniform again he had the nerve to say that now he felt "clean in body and soul."

Although the author makes Sokolov do some "brave deeds" such as running away from the prisoners' camp and capturing the German major, we cannot help asking: Could such a shameless renegade and coward really show such courage? No, it is out of the question. The author has invented these episodes to pass the traitor off as a real "hero" and render him acceptable to the readers ideologically and in sentiments. He has to give him this fine disguise in order to fool his readers and the masses. But if we look carefully into Sokolov's motives and his underlying idea, it is quite plain that he runs away because he cannot stand inhuman cruelty, to escape from torture and death. And he kidnaps the German major solely in the interest of self-preservation, so that he can cross the enemy's front line. In a word, it is all done to "save his own skin." There is no indication — how could there be? — in the story that these "brave actions" spring from a soldier's class consciousness.

At the end of the war Sokolov goes back to the rear and is driven by loneliness to adopt a little boy, to perpetuate his family and give some new meaning to his life. Children of martyrs should have been taught to understand how their motherland had been invaded by the fascists, to love the Soviet people, the Soviet social system and their socialist

motherland which had defeated the enemy and to hate imperialism and all reactionaries at home or abroad so that they would grow up strong and straight in the tempest of class struggle. But Sokolov teaches the child his own contemptible way of life, feeding and clothing him well, and pretending to be his own father. "The main thing is to be able to turn away in time. The really important thing is not to wound a child's heart, not to let him see that dry, burning tear on the cheek of a man." In other words, conceal the past from them, conceal from them the crimes of the fascist invaders. And on no account teach them to join in revolutionary struggles to wipe out imperialism, the source of war.

Since Sokolov is such an individualist in time of peace, it follows logically that on the battlefield he turns renegade. Such a coward does not understand the meaning of patriotism or internationalism.

Sholokhov has depicted this "hero" on the basis of his own revisionist outlook, doing all in his power to present him as an admirable, exemplary figure.

Obviously, Sokolov's philosophy of survival and his whole mental outlook are a true reflection of the modern revisionist clique and the lords of the privileged stratum in the Soviet Union today. For the last ten years these scoundrels have lorded it over the Soviet people, enjoying high position and special comforts and doing as they pleased. They are completely deaf to the cries of the oppressed peoples all over the world. They are blind to the existence of the oppressed. The war policy and nuclear blackmail of the imperialists have so unnerved them that they are terrified of revolution, terrified that war may destroy their vested interests and ruling positions. So they turn their backs on revolutionary principles and ideals, the proletariat, socialism, the Soviet people and the people of the world. They will sell anything, abandon anything, to save their own skins. As *Pravda* bluntly puts it: "What is the use of principles if one's head is chopped off?"

Sokolov's outlook on life is Sholokhov's own and that of the Soviet reactionary privileged stratum. This outlook on life is the foundation of modern revisionism in the Soviet Union.

Marxist-Leninists have always linked a man's lot with that of the whole people, the whole working class. In Comrade Mao Tse-tung's celebrated work *Serve the People* he wrote: "All men must die, but death can vary in its significance. To die for the people is heavier than Mount Tai, but to work for the fascists and die for the exploiters and oppressors is lighter than a feather." Again, "Wherever there is struggle there is sacrifice, and death is a common occurrence. But we have the interests of the people and the sufferings of the great majority at heart, and when we die for the people it is a worthy death." In those years when the fascists launched their frenzied attack on the Soviet Union, the Soviet people advanced fearlessly in their millions to wipe out the enemy, confident that the victory would be theirs. Shouting, "For the motherland! For Stalin!" they charged the fascists, thoroughly destroying the myth of the "superiority of the German air force and tanks" as well as Goebbels' boast that the "German army was invincible." What gave them the strength to do this? They relied on the awakened people and armed forces led by the political party of the proletariat and taught by Lenin and Stalin. This tremendous moral strength of theirs made it impossible for any enemy, however formidable, to defeat them. Zoya, Matrosov and the heroes of the Young Guard were their glorious representatives. That is why we remember with the utmost respect these martyrs who fearlessly gave their lives in the revolutionary struggle for the collective, for the people, for socialism, for the cause of communism. Their great revolutionary spirit will always teach and inspire us to struggle to the death for the revolution. But of course this is something that the Soviet revisionist leading clique and men like Sholokhov will never be able to understand.

The so-called literary critics among the Soviet revisionists have chorused their praise of Sokolov, lauding his "rich, complex mental world," and asserting that he is a "true representative of the people and of the nation," "a model of staunchness, comradeship and loyalty to the motherland," "a stern, brave, kindly man with the highest qualities," "a great and fine Soviet man in capital letters." But however fulsome the praise heaped upon Sokolov by these hired

hacks, nothing can give a more accurate picture of his character than his own actions.

There are a number of reasons for the victory of the Soviet Union's patriotic war against fascism. But its fundamental guarantee was the tremendous might, political, ideological and moral, of the Soviet people and the heroic Red Army — a people and army with the glorious tradition of the October Revolution, led by the C.P.S.U. headed by Stalin, raising high the fighting banner of Leninism. And therefore works about this great historic war should above all bring out fully their high class consciousness, revolutionary determination, revolutionary heroism, fearlessness in the face of death and revolutionary optimism. But by presenting Sokolov as typical of the Soviet people and the Red Army, the author has seriously distorted history and vilified the heroic image of the great Soviet people and the Soviet soldiers of that period.

In the scene at the little station where men are being seen off to join the army, the whole atmosphere is terror-stricken and tense. The eyes of the five members of Sokolov's family show not the least hatred for the German aggressors. His two daughters "couldn't keep back a tear or two," his son "just shivered a bit as if he was cold." As for his wife, "her lips were all swollen with tears, her hair was poking out from under her kerchief, and her eyes were dull and staring like someone who's out of his mind." She "flung herself on my chest, and clasped her hands round my neck, and she was shaking all over, like a tree that's being chopped down. . . . And this is what she said, with a sob between every word: 'Andrei, my darling, we'll never see each other again in this world.'" What a harrowing scene of parting! As if the Soviet people had no love for their country and were not eager to go off and fight to wipe out the fascists and defend their motherland.

At the time of Sokolov's capture, the author shows us the enemy closing in and the Soviet army at a complete disadvantage, giving a detailed, wildly exaggerated picture of the frenzy of the German invaders and the demoralization of the Soviet troops. Confronted by the vast German war machine, the Red Army had no ammunition at the front, no help from the rear, and Soviet infantrymen fled in

a wild rout with shells bursting all round them while their position was captured by the fascists.

Not a single character in this story shows revolutionary heroism. The author presents all Red Army men as cowards with no idea of what they were fighting for, "slobbering types that wrote to their wives and kids every day for no reason at all, just to rub their snot over the paper — oh, it's such a hard life, oh, I might get killed!" He describes these soldiers after their capture as slaves with not a spark of revolt between them. This is particularly glaring in the scene where they are driven into the church. Among the two hundred prisoners were junior officers who "had taken off their tunics so they couldn't be told from the rank and file." And some of the men were "half-naked." A platoon leader begged a renegade, "Don't give me away." And the baiting of a Christian, who was finally shot because he wanted to go out to relieve himself, "cheered us all up." Of the prisoners, "nearly half of us were Communists, and there were a lot of officers, too, and commissars." But interrogated by the enemy, not one dared to resist, and finally the Russians who "were all dark and had curly hair" landed in trouble — "They shot those poor fellows." And so it goes on. The author could hardly have done more to vilify and slander Soviet Communists and soldiers during the Great Patriotic War. Naturally we look in vain for the Communist morality and proletarian class feeling of the Soviet people educated by Lenin and Stalin; there is not even a trace of comradeship among them. They are described as a demoralized rabble, cowards whose only aim is to escape death. There is no indication either of the broad masses' attitude towards the war, the struggle of the people in the occupied area, the support of the rear for the front. It makes one wonder on what basis the Soviet people won through those difficult years to gain the complete victory!

Similarly, in the rehabilitation after victory is won, nothing is done to find work for demobilized soldiers or homes for the orphans of those killed in the fighting. Sokolov has to find work through friends, while Vanya is a hungry ragamuffin with nowhere to go. These two orphans who have lost their dear ones are "two grains of sand swept into strange parts by the tremendous hurricane of war."

Here is another vicious, slanderous attack on Soviet socialist society under Stalin's leadership.

It is evident from the above that the story *A Man's Lot* politically opposes revolutionary war, preaches the horrors of war, and thus directly helps the U.S. imperialists, colonialists and neo-colonialists in their plot to sabotage the national liberation movements of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and to bring about "peaceful evolution" in the socialist countries; ideologically, it strongly advocates reactionary bourgeois pacifism, humanism and the philosophy of survival to undermine the people's fighting spirit, make them give up the revolution, and thus clear the way for the imperialists' policies.

A Man's Lot is a blatant political tool of the reactionary rule of the Soviet modern revisionists, a poison to contaminate the revolutionary people of the world, a pernicious work to serve imperialist policies.

Modern revisionist critics in the Soviet Union have gone all out to boost this poisonous weed to the peoples of the world, extolling it as "a new departure" and "a new stage" in literature. What sort of "new departure" and "new stage"? Whereas in the past these bourgeois revisionist writers in the Soviet Union at least paid lip-service to "creating a socialist literature," today, when modern revisionism has descended to acting as the accomplice of imperialism, they have torn off their last fig-leaf and are openly writing renegade works advocating capitulation.

It is not strange that such works should appear in the Soviet Union, permeated as it is by modern revisionist ideology. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has told us: "In the world today all culture, all literature and art belong to definite classes and are geared to definite political lines. There is in fact no such thing as art for art's sake, art that stands above classes or art that is detached from or independent of politics." (*Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*) *A Man's Lot* is an expression of revisionist politics in literature and art, completely geared to the political line of modern revisionism and loyal to it.

Everyone will remember the tremendous ideological confusion caused in the international communist movement by the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. Revisionist ideas spread far and wide, seriously injuring the struggles of the people of various countries for world peace, national liberation, people's democracy and socialism. The publication of *A Man's Lot* served to whip up this reactionary political tide. It played the part of a vanguard in promoting Khrushchov's revisionist line, and was a specimen of literature openly peddling the bourgeois ideas of the West and Khrushchov's bell-wether in promoting the revisionist line in Soviet literary and art circles. After its publication, modern revisionist writers fell over each other in their eagerness to imitate it. Before long a spate of vicious works had appeared attacking the Soviet Union, the Party and the people, works such as *The Living and the Dead*, *An Inch of Soil*, *Gerken on a Tour of the Lower World*, *A Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*. These were aimed at protecting the Soviet revisionist ruling clique and preparing public opinion and paving the way for the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union.

A Man's Lot has fully expressed Sholokhov's renegade features in serving imperialist policies. That is why this story has won high praise from the Soviet revisionist clique and from the Western imperialists and bourgeoisie. In 1965, following the example of his "hero" Sokolov who was glad to pick up a bone thrown him by the Nazi officer, Sholokhov gratefully accepted the Nobel prize for literature formerly denounced by the Soviet people as a "tool of the West." History is pitiless, however. The Soviet people and the people of the whole world are clear-sighted enough to see through these infamous writings which are designed to deceive and poison the people. The shameless plots of the modern revisionists can only arouse greater indignation among the people and heighten their political consciousness. The time will come when in the broad light of day they will thoroughly clear out the Soviet modern revisionists who have betrayed them, together with these renegades' political line and all their tools. They will overthrow them, smash them and throw them on to the rubbish heap of history.

**The Nation Acclaims the Reprinting of Chairman Mao's
"Talks at the Yen'an Forum on Literature and Art"**

Since Chairman Mao Tse-tung's *Talks at the Yen'an Forum on Literature and Art* was reprinted by the magazine *Hongqi* No. 9 on July 1 this year, the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, and revolutionary literary and art workers throughout the country have held forums and written articles enthusiastically hailing the new edition of this splendid work. They unanimously agree that this work of Chairman Mao develops creatively and with genius the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and theory of literature and art and is an epoch-making document. It puts forward, for the first time in the history of the proletarian revolution, the most complete, most thoroughgoing and most correct Marxist-Leninist line on literature and art. At the same time it is the compass for the current great proletarian cultural revolution in China. They resolutely declare that they will study this brilliant work of Chairman Mao and apply it creatively in the great proletarian cultural revolution, taking it as the supreme guide for proletarian literature and art, to thoroughly liquidate the revisionist black line on literature and art represented by Chou Yang the anti-Party element and former vice-director of the propaganda department of the Chinese Communist Party's Central

Committee, to carry through to the end this great proletarian cultural revolution which is unprecedented in history.

Yin Cheng-lei, a worker in the Peking Printing and Dyeing Factory, said at a forum: "With the *Talks* as our sharpest weapon, we are clear-minded, discerning and full of drive, able to distinguish fragrant flowers from poisonous weeds and friends from enemies, able to see through the ugly features of the bourgeois 'lords' and 'authorities' and thoroughly overthrow all monsters and demons."

Lu Hsiao-chuan and Wang Yung-hsien, members of Hungchiao People's Commune near Shanghai, wrote in an article: "The reprinting of the *Talks* greatly encourages us poor and lower-middle peasants and confounds all monsters and demons. The *Talks*, like a beacon tower illumining our road forward, inspires us to wage a yet braver and more resolute struggle against the black gang in literary and art circles."

Cheng Shun-yi, activist in the study of Chairman Mao's works and a distinguished combat hero of the armed forces in Shenyang, said: "The reprinting of Chairman Mao's *Talks* deals a head-on blow at the bourgeois 'authorities' who are putting up a last-ditch fight, demolishing the den of the anti-Party, anti-socialist black gang. The broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers possessing this powerful spiritual weapon become more resolute, clear-sighted and fearless. They will smash every reactionary bastion, however stubborn a resistance it puts up."

Since the reprinting of the *Talks*, many art workers and performers in well-known cultural organizations, such as the Shanghai Dance School which produced the revolutionary modern ballet *The White-Haired Girl*, the Hupeh Experimental Opera Theatre, the first detachment of the Ulan Muchir of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region and the Kwangchow Sea-borne Cultural Troupe, have also held forums to discuss the great significance of the reprinting of this brilliant work of Chairman Mao, dwelling on their own experiences and listing many facts to refute the slander and vilification of Chairman Mao's thought on literature and art by the revisionist black gang in literary and art circles headed by Chou Yang.

Workers, Peasants and Soldiers Denounce Chou Yang, Head of the Anti-revolutionary Revisionist Clique in Literary and Art Circles

In the ten years and more since the establishment of the People's Republic of China, there has been an anti-Party, anti-socialist black line in our literary and art circles running counter to the great thought of Mao Tse-tung. This black line was promoted and carried out by an anti-revolutionary revisionist clique. It is now clear from many facts which have come to light that the ringleader of this clique was no other than Chou Yang, the "authority" who for long usurped the leading position in China's literary and art circles.

On July 1 this year the magazine *Hongqi* No.9 published two articles: *The Sinister Arrow Which Chou Yang Let Fly in Order to Reverse History — A Comment on a Note in "The Complete Works of Lu Hsun," Vol. VI* by Yuan Ming and Yuan Jo-ying and "*A Literature of National Defence*" Was a Slogan of Wang Ming's Right Opportunist Line by Mu Hsin. The former revealed how Chou Yang and his confederates, in order to gloss over their criminal attack in the thirties on Lu Hsun, the great standard-bearer of the Left-wing literary and art movement, and to oppose the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, blatantly distorted history in the fifties when *The Complete Works of Lu Hsun* were edited and published. The latter gave a profound analysis of the reactionary nature of the slogan of "a literature of national defence" put forward by Chou Yang in the 1930s, pointing out that his slogan was a reflection in literature and art of the Right opportunist line in the Party, an out-and-out reactionary slogan of class capitulation which gave up the proletarian class stand and abolished the leadership of the proletariat in the revolutionary literary and art movement. *Renmin Ribao* followed up these exposures with an article by Wu Chi-yen entitled *Repudiate Chou Yang's Revisionist Programme for Literature and Art*. (See page 112 of this issue.)

Since the publication of these articles, many others as well as big-character posters and records of discussions by workers, peasants, soldiers and revolutionary cadres have appeared in newspapers, periodicals and literary magazines in Peking and elsewhere. Some denounce Chou Yang's criminal utilization of his position to prevent the publication of Chairman Mao's works; others expose

his malicious plot to attack the Party's Central Committee and slander the socialist system by publishing the reactionary Peking opera *Hai Jui Appeals to the Emperor*. Some reveal the underhand way in which he spread poisonous feudal, bourgeois and revisionist ideology among the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers through films, periodicals and teaching materials; others repudiate the reactionary slanderous attacks which he has made openly or covertly for years at meetings or on other occasions against the Party, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the great thought of Mao Tse-tung.

In their articles or talks the workers, peasants, soldiers and revolutionary cadres unanimously pledge themselves to hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought to smash the anti-Party, anti-socialist clique headed by Chou Yang in the field of literature and art and to liquidate its poisonous influence once and for all.

Grand Performances Throughout China

In the days shortly before and after July 1, the 45th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese Communist Party, the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers throughout China staged large-scale performances warmly eulogizing the great Chinese Communist Party, our great leader Chairman Mao and the great proletarian cultural revolution which is unprecedented in history.

Workers in Shanghai on the eve of July 1 held a singing and poetry contest to celebrate the great Chinese Communist Party's 45th anniversary. More than 400 workers who are spare-time writers and singers recited their new poems and sang many songs. One of the songs runs: "All rivers flow east to the great sea; all sun-flowers turn to the sun; the hearts of the revolutionary people turn to the Party; the red banner, held high, will be passed on for ever." Another: "China has Mao Tse-tung, our country is strong and will remain red for ten thousand years; the world has Mao Tse-tung, the sun rising from the east reddens the whole world." One after another these songs and verses coming from the depth of the workers' hearts voiced

the infinite love and respect felt by our working class for the Party and for Chairman Mao.

The evening of July 1 saw the grand opening of the second "Shenyang Music Week," a big recital of revolutionary music. More than 3,000 workers, peasants and soldiers, filled with revolutionary enthusiasm, loudly sang many revolutionary songs including *The East Is Red*, *Sailing the Seas Depends on the Helmsman*, *Without the Communist Party There Would Have Been No New China* and *Chairman Mao Is Dearer to Us Than Our Own Parents*. Many model workers and activists in the study of Chairman Mao's works including Wang Chung-lun, Li Su-wen, Cheng Tai-yu and Shen Su-chuan also mounted the stage and took part in the performances. The "Music Week" also presented a special performance of more than 20 of Chairman Mao's poems in various forms.

In Changsha 100,000 workers, peasants, soldiers, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals took part in a series of unprecedentedly large evening gatherings held in parks or different organizations. At one of these in the Palace of Youth and Children, Liu Hsiu-ying, telephone operator in the Changsha Telegraph Office and a model student of Chairman Mao's works on the industrial and communications front in Hunan Province, recited a poem entitled *Chairman Mao Is the Red Sun in Our Hearts*. The poem says:

Chairman Mao, oh, Chairman Mao,
With the magic treasure you give me,
I dare to sweep away all monsters and demons.
With your magic mirror
All demons and ghosts are detected clearly;
With your microscope
No foe can escape, however sly he may be;
With your telescope
I stand high and see far,
Making no mistake between what is right and wrong.

Her moving recital presented with genuine feeling won enthusiastic applause from the broad audience. Thousands of poor and lower-middle peasants from the outskirts of Changsha also came to the city to take part in the performances. The dance-drama *The Power of Mao Tse-tung's Thought Is Boundless* written and produced by the members of

the Lushan Brigade of Luyueh Commune described in simple, natural language how the peasants, armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, are changing earth and heaven. The amateur art troupe in the First Normal School of Hunan, where Chairman Mao studied during his young days, put on a group recital, *The Radiance of Mao Tse-tung's Thought Shines Far and Wide*. The verses, expressing infinite love and esteem for our great leader, voiced the common feeling of the 37 million people of Hunan, Chairman Mao's native province, as well as the common feeling of the Chinese people and the revolutionary people of the world.

In Nanning in the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region, Putien in Fukien Province, Tsinan in Shantung Province, Sian in Shensi Province, Tientsin, Kwangchow and other places, the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers also staged big performances on the same theme.

Afro-Asian Writers in China

During their stay in China, the Afro-Asian writers and observers who came to Peking for the Afro-Asian Writers' Emergency Meeting were received with warm and friendly hospitality by the Chinese people. During the meeting and after its victorious conclusion, they enjoyed a programme of interesting activities in Peking and other parts of China. From July 3 to 12, the writers saw *War Drums on the Equator*, a play in seven scenes depicting the Congo (L) people's struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression and for freedom and independence; *The Red Detachment of Women*, a large-scale modern ballet drama expressing the revolutionary spirit of Chinese women; *The Red Lantern*, a Peking opera on a contemporary theme reflecting the sublime revolutionary spirit of the worker Li Yu-ho and his mother and daughter; and the group of clay sculptures, *Compound Where Rent Was Collected*, portraying the tragic life of Chinese peasants in the old society and their revolt against their oppression and exploitation by landlords. These revolutionary art works with their strong militant spirit were enthusiastically acclaimed by the Afro-Asian writers. They also saw special performances by the Ulan Muchir of Inner

Mongolia, a troupe honoured with the title of Red Cultural Work Team, and by the Kwangchow Sea-borne Cultural Troupe which people praise as the Propaganda Team of Mao Tse-tung's Thought. They visited factories, rural people's communes, schools, museums, scenic spots and places of historical interest in Peking as well as the section of the Great Wall in the northwest outskirts of the capital.

After the meeting, the Afro-Asian writers toured China. Some of them visited Yen-an, the Mecca of the Chinese revolution, some visited Shaoshan in Hunan Province, the birth-place of Chairman Mao, great revolutionary leader of the Chinese people. Still others went to Shenyang, famous industrial city of China, or to Shanghai, Hangchow, Nanking, Loyang, Sian, Nanchang, Wuhan and other cities. While visiting Wuhan, the Afro-Asian writers watched with admiration as Chairman Mao Tse-tung swam the Yangtse and more than five thousand contestants took part in the 11th swimming competition across this great river. In the course of these tours, our Afro-Asian friends saw for themselves the magnificent spirit and drive with which the 700 million Chinese people are taking part in the socialist revolution and socialist construction under the brilliant light of Mao Tse-tung's thought. The contrast between the prosperity and vigour of New China and the poverty and backwardness of the old China gave the Afro-Asian writers a better understanding of the mighty power of Mao Tse-tung's thought and so they came to have boundless esteem and love for Chairman Mao and Mao Tse-tung's thought. After visiting the Yen-an Revolutionary Memorial Hall in Yen-an, Dacruz, a delegate from Angola, said that his visit to this hall helped him to understand more fully the great victory won through armed struggle by the Chinese people led by Chairman Mao. He said that Mao Tse-tung's thought is a reflection of the will of the Chinese people. A writer of Mozambique, with boundless respect and admiration for Chairman Mao, told a correspondent after his visit to Chairman Mao's old home in Shaoshan: "Now that I have seen the place where he worked, I feel that Chairman Mao has never been divorced from the peasants. He is a genuine Marxist. He is the leader not only of the Chinese people but of the people

the world over. The people of the whole world pin their hope on Mao Tse-tung's thought."

During their tour, the Afro-Asian writers also had cordial get-togethers and discussions with local activists in the study of Chairman Mao's works in Changsha and Wuhan.

Documentary "Long Live Revolutionary Friendship"

Long Live Revolutionary Friendship, a large-scale documentary in colour produced by the Central Newsreel and Documentary Film Studio to record the visit of the Albanian Party and Government Delegation headed by Chairman Shehu, has recently been released in Peking and other parts of China.

With a series of well-chosen shots, the documentary first introduces the birth of heroic Albania and the glorious history of its growth to maturity amidst the flames of long-term revolutionary struggles. Next it highlights the important measures adopted by the Albanian Party of Labour to revolutionize the people's ideology and working style, and succeeds in portraying the vigorous revolutionary atmosphere throughout Albania.

Then the documentary presents the Chinese people's heart-warming reception of these emissaries from their brother country. From the south to the north, in cities, factories and rural people's communes, in the capital Peking and other parts of the country, wherever the honoured guests from Albania went, they were met by thousands of rejoicing people singing and dancing to the accompaniment of drums and gongs. Shouts of "Long Live Chairman Mao!" "Long Live Comrade Enver Hoxha!" and "Long Live Sino-Albanian Friendship!" resounded to the clouds. This enthusiastic welcome fully demonstrates the deep-rooted and unbreakable revolutionary friendship between the Chinese and Albanian people.

The documentary also showed the great leader of the Chinese people Comrade Mao Tse-tung receiving Comrade Shehu and other Albanian comrades as well as the most cordial and friendly talks between the leaders of the Chinese Party and government and the

leaders of the Albanian Party and government, Mehmet Shehu, Hysni Kapo and others.

The film showed the honoured guests from Albania visiting the Shashihiu Brigade of Yuehkojuang Commune in Tsunhua County, Hopei Province, where they had dinner with peasants in their homes; celebrating May 1, International Labour Day, with the people of Peking; and visiting Shanghai, Hangchow and other places.

More Pernicious Films Criticized

Recently, another batch of bad films has been released for the revolutionary masses to criticize. This follows the stern repudiation by the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers of such reactionary films as *The Siege*, *Sisters on the Stage*, *The Press-Gang* and *Red Sun*. (See the Chronicle of *Chinese Literature* No. 8, 1966) These newly released films are *A Thousand Li Against the Wind*; *Big Li*, *Young Li* and *Old Li* and *The Peach-Blossom Fan*.

A Thousand Li Against the Wind describes a detachment of the Chinese People's Liberation Army at the end of 1946, during the War of Liberation in northeast China, when it is ordered to escort some captured Kuomintang high-ranking officers. The script-writer and director of this film, taking a reactionary class stand, presented the captured enemy officers as unflinching, cool-headed and intelligent "heroes" with a strong "spirit of revolt," while the men and officers of the PLA were vilified as an unorganized useless "mob" with low morale, who abase themselves before the enemy and give their captives whatever they demand.

Big Li, *Young Li* and *Old Li* is a story about the spare-time physical training of the staff and workers of a meat processing plant in Shanghai. The main characters, Big Li, Young Li and Old Li, are workers of different ages in this plant, but under the pretext of showing their different attitudes to physical training the film includes many vulgar jokes and scenes in the worst of taste, grossly distorting the truth about the working class and the socialist system.

The Peach-Blossom Fan, adapted from the historical play of the same name, describes the inner contradictions and struggle of the ruling

class at the end of the Ming dynasty (1368-1644). Using past events to satirize the present, this film viciously attacked and slandered the socialist system by idealizing and praising the "opposition" within the feudal ruling class of that time. It tried blatantly to incite the overthrown reactionary ruling class to rise up again in a counter-revolutionary come-back.

The broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers were unable to repress their indignation when they saw these films. They wrote articles to express their views, ruthlessly exposing the reactionary nature of these bad films as well as the counter-revolutionary plot of the low, vicious script-writers and directors. Many articles and speeches pointed out that these three films were all made in or about 1962, at a time when the reactionaries within and without the country were viciously attacking the revolutionary Chinese people. This was no coincidence. The films were inevitable outcomes of the frenzied counter-attack of reactionaries abroad and the overthrown reactionary classes within the country against the revolutionary people. They were the tools of the class enemy in its attempt to restore capitalism. The masses of workers, peasants and soldiers with one voice expressed their determination to redouble their revolutionary vigilance, arm their minds with Mao Tse-tung's thought and completely uproot all poisonous weeds opposed to the Party and to socialism.

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