DIRECTIVE OF THE CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE ON ADOPTION OF METHOD OF ACHIEVING LITERACY WITH THE AID OF PHONETIC ALPHABET

April 22, 1960

The experience gained by Wanjung *hsien* in Shansi in enabling its people to achieve literacy with the help of phonetic alphabets is a major creative success in the cultural relations of our country. This method should be widely adopted throughout our country.

The experience of Wanjung *hsien* in Shansi in eliminating illiteracy among its youths and adults in two months has brought a solution to two major problems in the campaign for the elimination of illiteracy: (1) It prevents those who have attained literacy from relapsing into illiteracy again in large numbers, and (2) It enables the peasants who have developed a vocabulary of more than 1,000 words to read without a teacher's help large numbers of periodicals and books which have phonetic alphabets attached to the words, and to continually increase their vocabulary in the course of self-study. This method will greatly facilitate and speed up the progress of spare-time education. In addition, it will promote the development of a reading habit in rural areas, thus truly representing an upsurge in the development of culture in the rural areas. The elimination of illiteracy among the youths and adults ahead of schedule is a key point in the pre-scheduled fulfillment of the 40-Article National Program for Agricultural Development. For this reason, the adoption of the experience of Wanjung *hsien* in eliminating illiteracy with greater, faster, better, and more economical results should be considered an important task. The CCP Committee of Shansi has now decided to adopt widely this experience in the whole province, and

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Source: NCNA — English, Peking, May 10, 1960.

make an effort to reach the goal of turning Shansi into a province completely void of illiteracy very much ahead of schedule. The overwhelming majority of provinces and regions in the country (with the exception of a number of national minority areas and areas with their own dialects) can and should adopt this experience in the same way. If the CCP committees of the various provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions seize the opportunity and make the resolve before this autumn to experiment on this experience, to train teachers, to prepare teaching and reading materials which have phonetic alphabets alongside regular words, they may adopt this method on a large scale after autumn. In this way, they will be able to eliminate illiteracy at a speed similar to that achieved by Shansi.

Meanwhile, it is necessary vigorously to popularize Mandarin (*pu-tung-hua*) among students, teachers, young workers, peasants, shopkeepers, office workers, and officers and men in the armed forces to promote the habit of speaking Mandarin. Furthermore, to speed up the elimination of illiteracy and to lighten the curricular burden of the students, it is necessary to simplify another group of Chinese characters now in use. An effort should be made to reduce the number of strokes needed in writing each of these Chinese characters to ten or less strokes. Plain and simple rules should be formulated gradually to abolish the words which are hard to write and read or which are easily wrongly written or identified. The masses should be relied on in carrying out this task, because they are most concerned and able in carrying out this task.

The CCP committees of all provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions are requested to direct their related organizations to come forward shortly with a group of new words to be simplified, to be forwarded to the Central Written Language Reform Committee for centralized study. After that, these words should be submitted to the Party Center and the State Council for examination and confirmation.

The Central Committee of the
Communist Party of China,
April 22, 1960

COMRADE LU TING-YI EXTENDS CONGRATULATIONS TO THE NATIONAL CONGRESS OF ADVANCED UNITS AND WORKERS IN CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL FIELDS

June 1, 1960

Delegates and Comrades,

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the State Council of the People's Republic of China, I hereby extend warm congratulations to the National Congress of Advanced Workers and Units in Socialist Construction in the Educational, Cultural, Public Health, Physical Culture, and Journalistic Fields. I also extend warm congratulations through you to all the more than 7,000,000 professional cultural and educational workers and more than 30,000,000 amateur cultural and educational workers in the nation.

The emergence of large numbers of advanced units and workers on the cultural and educational front is indicative of the fact that huge successes are being won in cultural revolution in our country and that an army of cultural and educational cadres, of which the proletarian intellectuals are the hard cores, is being built. The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the State Council of the People's Republic of China are of the opinion that a meeting should be held just as it is being held to commend the advanced, to exchange experience, to strengthen unity, to encourage hard work, to evoke a new upsurge of cultural revolution in our country in keeping with the big leaps forward in industrial and agricultural production in our country, in keeping with the rural and urban people's commune movements, and in keeping with the

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Source: NCNA — English, Peking, June 1, 1960.

movement for technical innovation and technical revolution, and thus greatly to promote socialist construction in our country.

The first characteristic of the cultural and educational work of the new China is that it is anti-imperialist and is irreconcilable with the so-called "civilization" of the imperialists. As we all know, it was no other than the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism that rendered our great motherland, which has a long cultural history and a population equal to one-fourth of the world population, into a "poor and blank" and culturally and educationally very backward country. The imperialists are doing their utmost to propagate their so-called "civilization", so-called "Western culture", so-called "liberty, equality, and fraternity", and so-called "democratic individualism". In doing so, their purpose is no other than to render the laboring people in their countries insensitive to their own conditions and to make them rest contented with the status quo, suffer exploitation submissively, and refrain from revolution; no other than to render the people in all the colonial and semi-colonial countries in the world insensitive to their own conditions and to make them rest contented with being backward, endure aggression patiently, and refrain from overthrowing the rule of imperialism and colonialism. To the oppressed peoples in the world and the laboring people at large, the things which the imperialists are trying to propagate are mean and shameless deceptions and endless calamities. The imperialists and their jackals have committed capital crimes against the people of our country. Instead of admitting their crimes, they have disparaged us by calling us "an inferior race" and "the sick man of East Asia". They say that we should patiently endure brutal and inhuman deprivation and exploitation and should not rise to oppose them or to carry out any revolution. It was after they had suffered a full measure of tribulation from the so-called "civilization" of the imperialists that the people of our country accepted Marxist-Leninist ideas and, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, overthrew the all-evil rule of the imperialists and their jackals and founded the People's Republic of China based on an alliance between the workers and the peasants. Revolution, and only revolution, could have enabled the people of our country to roll over from the bottom to the top politically, economically, and culturally.

Our experience tells all the people in our country, all the cultural and educational workers in our country, and all the oppressed peoples in the world and the intellectuals among them that the contradictions

between the oppressed peoples and the imperialists are contradictions between a defender of life and a taker of life, and that between the oppressed peoples and the imperialists there will never be any relations of "Live and let live" "positive coexistence", or "friendly cooperation". The Yugoslav revisionist bloc headed by Tito whitewashed the imperialists, especially the U.S. imperialists and their chief Eisenhower, and said that, by doing so, it was "creatively developing Marxism-Leninism", and that not doing so would have amounted to "rigid dogmatism". This is complete nonsense and an utterly shameless disparagement of Marxism-Leninism. The "theory" of Tito's revisionist bloc is very similar to the view held by the comprador bourgeois class of our country. It is the "theory" of imperialist jackals.

Another characteristic of the cultural and educational work of the new China is that it is led by the proletariat, not the bourgeoisie. Historical facts show that even in a socialist country it may happen that the power of leadership in the cultural and educational fields is held by bourgeois intellectuals: in such a case, the bourgeois intellectuals holding such power will apply the bourgeois theories on education, literature, and the arts, without modification but camouflaged by socialist trade marks, and, with them, deceive the people, especially the younger generation, obstruct the socialist revolution and the building of socialism, and pave the way for the comeback of capitalism. It is the hope of the imperialists headed by the United States that, in the socialist countries, following the cultural improvement of the people, bourgeois ideas will become widespread. Apart from using all their means of propaganda to spread the reactionary imperialist culture to the socialist countries, the imperialists also hope that we shall disseminate bourgeois pacifism through literary writings, motion pictures, and other works of art and publications for propaganda purposes; for, if we do so, we shall render the people at large insensitive to the war policies and aggressive policies of the U.S. imperialists, make them slacken their mass struggle for peace, and cause them to be spiritually unprepared and therefore liable to be caught off guard in the event of a war started by the imperialists, with the result that the imperialists will be able to make a successful surprise attack. The imperialists also hope that we shall discard the Marxist-Leninist method of class analysis, disseminate the absurd ideas of bourgeois humanitarianism, spread the wrong impression that bourgeois culture is something perfect and unapproachable, and thus make our people adore bourgeois "civilization" on bended

knees, rest contented with being backward culturally, and allow their revolutionary vigor to ebb away. Our cultural and educational workers must pay serious attention to the great imperialist plot aimed at breaking our people's spirit and effecting the "peaceful evolution" from the socialist society to the capitalist society. To shatter such a plot by the imperialists headed by the United States, it is necessary to set up, consolidate, and increase the leadership of the Party in the cultural and educational fields. The process of development of the cultural and educational work of our country during the past eleven years was just a process of struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie for the power of leadership. Such a struggle finds expression in the educational field, the cultural field, the journalistic field, and even the public health field and the physical culture field. The struggle against bourgeois rightists in 1957 and the struggle against right opportunism inside the Communist Party in 1959 were two intense class struggles on the political front and the ideological front. It was only because our Party and people, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao, shattered the frantic attacks launched by the bourgeois rightists and the inner-Party right opportunists, that there appeared in our country the big leaps forward in industrial and agricultural production, the rural and urban people's communes, the movement for technical innovation and technical revolution, and the big leaps forward in the cultural and educational fields.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung told us in 1957 that after the virtual consummation of the socialist revolution on the economic front, "it will still take a considerable length of time before the issue of the ideological struggle between socialism and capitalism will become clear; this is so because the influence of the bourgeoisie and the intellectuals from the old society will continue to exist in our country for a long time and will, as a class ideology, continue to exist in our country for a long time." Cultural revolution in our country has just started. Cultural revolution has no bounds. It will be carried out continuously as long as the human society lasts. Before the building of the communist society has been completed, the principal program for cultural revolution will be the struggle between socialism and capitalism to see which side will win and which side will lose in the ideological field.

The realization of communism entails an extreme abundance of products in society and also entailed a huge heightening of the communist ideological consciousness and morality of all the people and

the universalization of education and an improvement of universal education. To effect a huge heightening of the communist ideological consciousness and morality of all the people, it is necessary to wipe out completely the bourgeois political influence and ideological influence among them. To effect the universalization of education and an improvement of universal education, it is necessary not only to wipe out illiteracy and universalize secondary and primary education, but also to universalize higher education. To all of us cultural and educational workers, this represents an extremely arduous and extremely glorious task. We must exert persevering, serious, and unrelenting efforts under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party in order to fulfill this glorious task.

Cultural revolution means the conversion of the masses of workers and peasants into intellectuals and the conversion of the intellectuals into laborers. It is incomplete and therefore wrong to think that cultural revolution means only the conversion of the masses of workers and peasants into intellectuals and that there is no need to convert the intellectuals into laborers. Only two or three years have passed since we first put into execution the directive that cultural and art workers should engage in labor and that education should be combined with productive labor. But new signs have already appeared everywhere in the cultural and educational fields. Of the many people who were once skeptical, the greater part have now been convinced by facts. In future, we should continue to enforce this directive. All of us cultural and educational workers must know that no social wealth can be created without man's physical labor. This has been so, is so, and will remain so. The exploiting classes look down upon physical labor and physical laborers. We must regard physical labor as the first essential to life for human beings. We must turn all the people in the nation into laborers with socialist consciousness and education.

All of us cultural and educational workers must exert efforts to study Marxism-Leninism, study Comrade Mao Tse-tung's writings, and carry out ideological reform continuously. In the nation at present, the movement for studying Comrade Mao Tse-tung's writings and dialectical materialism is becoming widespread. It is a great communist movement on the ideological front and has extremely far-reaching significance. We must actively support and continue to unfold it.

In China under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, an army of cultural and educational workers, of which the proletarian

intellectuals are the hard cores, is being built, and an upsurge of cultural revolution has come. Our advanced workers have the duty of rallying together all those people who can be rallied together, and evoking a new upsurge of socialist revolution. We must wage a firm struggle against the imperialists and their jackals including the modern revisionists. As for the contradictions among the people, they should be handled correctly in accordance with the "unity-criticism-unity" practice and the practice of furnishing positive help [to those who need it]. In the cultural, art, and academic fields, we must insist on enforcing the policy of "letting one hundred flowers blossom together and letting one hundred schools of thought contend". While exerting our utmost efforts and pressing ahead consistently, we must pay attention of the principle of having both labor and rest. While daring to think, speak, and act, we must pay attention to making experiments first in doing all things. We must form big ambitions and also pay attention to the practical work style.

All the cultural and educational workers in the nation, rally together around the flag of the thought of Mao Tse-tung!

Long live cultural revolution!

LU TING-YI'S SPEECH AT THE 3RD NATIONAL CONGRESS OF WRITERS AND ARTISTS

July 22, 1960

On behalf of the CCP Central Committee and the State Council, I extend warm greetings to all delegates attending the 3rd National Congress of Writers and Artists, and all delegates and council members attending the expanded council meeting of the Chinese Association of Writers, the congress of the Chinese Association of Theatrical Artists, the congress of the Chinese Association of Musicians, the congress of the Chinese Association of Fine Artists, the congress of the Chinese Federation of Motion Picture Workers, the expanded council meeting of the Chinese Association of Folk Music Workers, the congress of the Chinese Society of Dancing Arts, the expanded council meeting of the Chinese Society of Folk Literature, and the congress of the Chinese Society of Photography; and through you, to all the professional and amateur workers of literature and arts throughout the country.

The revolutionary literature and art of our country have steadily advanced in the correct direction of literature and art serving the workers, peasants, and soldiers since Comrade Mao Tse-tung's Talk at the Yenan Forum on Art and Literature. During the last 11 years since the founding of the People's Republic of China, we have persisted in carrying out the Party's principles in literary and art work, conducted a series of struggles against bourgeois ideas on literature and art, and cleared the way for the development of socialist literature and art. We adopted the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend", put into practice the system of having literary and art workers take part in productive labor, advocated the artistic method of combining

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Source: NCNA — English, Peking, July 22, 1960.

revolutionary realism and revolutionary romanticism, applied the policy of critically inheriting and absorbing the legacy of Chinese and foreign literature and art by absorbing the best essence, discarding the dross and developing the new out of the old; and thus enabled our literary and art work to contribute greatly to the socialist revolution and socialist construction of our country. A powerful force engaged in literature and art with working class literary and art workers as the backbone, has grown up.

Under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and the banner of Marxism-Leninism and the Moscow Declaration, this revolutionary force in literature and art stands firmly at the forefront of the struggle against imperialism, modern revisionism, and all bourgeois thinking; goes into the midst of the masses of workers, peasants, and soldiers; and has produced many outstanding works of high ideological and artistic levels which the Chinese people like. The literature and art of our country have already become a mass cause of the working people. Millions of workers and peasants are using the weapon of literature and art to carry out struggles, develop production, and reform society. All this illustrates the great victory of Marxist-Leninist thought on literature and art, and the great victory of the thought of Mao Tse-tung on literature and art.

Literature and art belong to the category of ideology, and are a part of the superstructure of society. The theory of historical materialism has told us: the possibility for the development of social productivity is inexhaustible, the relationship of production should conform to the need of development of productivity, and the superstructure to that of the economic base. During the past 11 years, the socialist revolution and socialist construction of our country have made very great achievements. At the 2nd session of the 8th National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party in 1958, the Central Committee of the Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung proposed the general line for socialist construction of going all-out, pressing forward, and striving for greater, faster, better and more economic achievements, including a series of principles for simultaneous promotion. This general line is a product of combining the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and the concrete reality of the socialist revolution and socialist construction of our country.

The Chinese people created a great leap forward tempo in their socialist construction and the organization form of the people's commune. Stimulated by the three red flags of the general line, the great leap forward, and the people's communes, the mass of the

people throughout the country have made a continual great leap forward in industrial and agricultural production with high revolutionary fervor and labor enthusiasm. With the great victory in economic construction achieved by the people of our country, and the formation and consolidation of the rural and urban people's communes, a high tide of technical revolution and cultural revolution has come into being. The great Chinese people, full of vitality and in a highly militant spirit, are transforming their motherland's backward state of poverty and blankness. The great victory of our literature and art has been achieved on this basis. The cause of socialist revolution and socialist construction undertaken by the people of our country, like the newly rising sun, has a future of boundless brightness. The cause of our socialist literature and art also has a future of boundless brightness.

In spite of the great victories already achieved, the people of our country should not in the least be self-satisfied. In order to carry out our socialist revolution to the end on the economic, political, ideological and cultural fronts and win complete victory, in order to build our country into a powerful socialist nation with modern industry, agriculture, science and culture and prepare the material and spiritual conditions for future entry into communist society, we must still carry on long-term, tremendous and difficult struggles. Our literary and art workers must play their important role in the struggle to accomplish these tasks.

The primary task of our literary and art workers is to use the weapon of literature and art to enhance greatly the socialist and communist consciousness of all the people and raise their communist morality. In order to achieve this aim, long-term and persistent struggle against bourgeois ideology must be carried out. After the victory of the socialist revolution was virtually achieved on the economic front, our country also gained a decisive victory for the socialist revolution on the political and ideological front through the 1957 struggle against bourgeois rightists and the 1959 struggle against rightward opportunists within the Party.

However, we must not take it for granted that the tasks of waging political and ideological struggle against the bourgeoisie have been fulfilled. Since our country is still economically and culturally backward, remnants of the bourgeois influence will inevitably exist for a long time to come. The imperialists, reactionaries of every kind, and modern revisionists are trying their utmost to spread poisonous reactionary ideas. The bourgeois world outlook, the political

and ideological influences of the bourgeoisie and bourgeois intellectuals, and the influence of bourgeois and petty bourgeois habits will continue to exist for a long time and will tenaciously find expression in all spheres to poison the minds of the masses and the young people. The harmful effects of poisonous bourgeois ideas will be smaller if they are met with resistance and given blows. Otherwise their poisonous effects on the cause of socialism and communism can be very great. They could befuddle the masses, particularly the younger generation, and hamper the advance of socialist society or even cause socialist society to degenerate into capitalism.

In a socialist society, accordingly, the political and ideological struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will continue for a long period, with ups and downs, until the political and ideological influences of the bourgeoisie are completely extinct. In a socialist society many new people imbued with communist consciousness and morality will certainly be cultivated. But it would be quite erroneous to presume that all those who grow up in a socialist society are, as a matter of course, imbued with socialist and communist thought. Such an idea would be tantamount to advocating the abolition of the socialist revolution in the political and ideological spheres, and is therefore a pernicious idea.

The abolition or slacking off of the socialist revolution in the political and ideological spheres in a socialist society is precisely what the imperialists hope for. U.S. imperialist reactionary ringleader Dulles, before his death, made three speeches — a speech on Far Eastern Policy at the California State Chamber of Commerce on December 4, 1958; his testimony at a secret session of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives on January 28, 1959; and his speech on the role of law in the cause of peace at the New York State Bar Association award dinner on January 31, 1959.

In these speeches, Dulles elucidated U.S. imperialism's sinister designs against the socialist countries. Dulles expressed his fear regarding the situation of the East Wind prevailing over the West Wind and the fact that the world situation was daily growing more unfavorable for imperialism with the shift in the balance of forces. Nevertheless, he declared that the United States had not the slightest intention of giving up its policy of strength in armament expansion and war preparations. Furthermore, as an adjunct to the policy of strength, the United States "hopes to encourage" an "evolution within" the socialist camp and in the socialist countries in an effort to bring about a "peaceful change" of the socialist countries to capi-

talism and attain its wild ambition of preserving capitalism and eliminating socialism.

As our comrades are aware, U.S. imperialism is now carrying out this policy left behind by Dulles while the modern revisionists, with Tito as their representative, are charting their domestic and foreign policies to suit the needs of imperialism. This proves that modern revisionism is a product of imperialist policies. In order to suit the imperialist policies, the modern revisionists declare that Lenin's conclusions about imperialism and his principles on proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship are outmoded.

We have always advocated peaceful co-existence among countries of different social systems. We firmly advocate the strengthening of the struggle of all peoples to safeguard world peace, and we have also made the greatest efforts in this connection. Under the signboard of the so-called "active co-existence", the modern revisionists are trying to confuse the masses with bourgeois pacificism and the hypocritical ideas of bourgeois "humanism", using individualism to oppose collectivism and the bourgeois theory of "human nature" to oppose the Marxist-Leninist theory of class struggle, proletarian revolution, and proletarian dictatorship. They attempt to use these preposterous conceptions to emasculate the revolutionary will and paralyze the revolutionary struggles of the people of all countries, to obscure the differences between revolution and counterrevolution, between socialism and capitalism, and between just wars and unjust wars, and to spread illusions about imperialism among the people, in a vain attempt to get the people to abandon their struggle against imperialism and all reactionaries with a view to eliminating the revolution.

It is quite clear that should the revisionists succeed in their attempts, tremendous losses would be inflicted on people all over the world and the cause of the world revolution. All those who are loyal to Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary cause should unite closely to hold aloft the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary banner of the Moscow Declaration and thoroughly expose and smash the schemes of the imperialists and modern revisionists. In this important and arduous struggle, the writers and artists throughout the country can and should contribute their strength.

We must strengthen the unity of the countries in the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union and concern ourselves earnestly with the just struggle of the masses throughout the world to win national liberation, democratic freedom, social progress, and world

peace. We must support the anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist struggles of the people in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, support the revolutionary struggles of the workers, peasants, and progressive intellectuals in the imperialist countries, support the struggle of all people throughout the world to safeguard peace, and strive to establish a broad united front against the imperialist camp headed by U.S. imperialism.

Our revolutionary literature and art have always closely served politics and have always faithfully served the people's revolutionary cause. We must continue to uphold and carry forward this glorious tradition. In order that literature and art may still better serve the socialist revolution and socialist construction of our country and the struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism, the workers in literature and art should raise their Marxist-Leninist standard still higher, earnestly study Marxism-Leninism and Comrade Mao Tse-tung's works, and go deep among the workers, peasants, and soldiers, and take part in productive labor and the actual struggle to transform unceasingly their thought and constantly heighten their communist consciousness and morality, establish a firm proletarian world outlook and constantly to rid themselves of bourgeois political and ideological influences.

Our policy of "letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend" is not only completely correct in theory, but has also proved completely correct in practical work. This policy is the best one to develop the sciences and literature and art in our country, as laid down by Comrade Mao Tse-tung in accordance with the actual conditions of our country.

After it was put forward, this policy was immediately opposed by the doctrinaires and distorted by the imperialists, reactionaries, and modern revisionists. Some persons said that to let a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend was bourgeois "liberalization", to give the bourgeois representatives the freedom to disseminate their views widely, to let the bourgeois ideas blossom freely, and to co-exist with bourgeois ideas. After the bourgeois rightists ran into obstacles and got bruised in 1957, the imperialists, reactionaries, and modern revisionists alleged that we had "given up" or "revised" the policy of letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend. The imperialists, reactionaries, and modern revisionists have interpreted our policy this way or that way. That is their affair.

Our revolutionary writers and artists have always had a correct understanding of the Party's policies. We said from the very begin-

ning that there is a political criterion for letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend, that is, the political criterion of socialism and communism. What is harmful if the policy of letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend is carried out under the political criterion of socialism and communism?

Only those who reject multiplicity in the world, and a multiplicity of forms, subject matter, and styles in literature and art, and reject the fact that the development of science is multifarious and inexhaustible would oppose the policy of letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend. Both the proletarian ideology of the majority of people and the bourgeois ideology of some others are objective realities in a socialist society. It is impossible to ban bourgeois ideology by an administrative decree. Only through protracted and repeated struggle will it be possible to eradicate, step by step, bourgeois political and ideological influences. When we adhere to the policy of letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend within the ranks of the people, bourgeois ideology will take the opportunity to crop up. Hence, thorough criticism and refutation of reactionary bourgeois ideology helps temper and educate the mass of intellectuals and increases their political acumen. This will be more beneficial to the ideological transformation of the bourgeois intellectuals.

So the weed is plowed up and turned into fertilizer for the flowers which, in turn, will grow still more luxuriantly. What is there to fear? This policy will facilitate the self-remolding of the bourgeois intellectuals. What are the disadvantages, even to the bourgeois intellectuals? To let a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend is in essence the mass line in the fields of art, literature, and science.

Under the socialist system, it is the mass line, not the line relying exclusively and one-sidedly on experts, that should be followed in art, literature, and science. It is wrong and incorrect to do otherwise. It will be clearly seen that adherence to this policy has led to a multiplicity of form, subject matter, and style in socialist art and literature, to the emergence of a whole new generation of writers and artists, to the constant decline of the market for bourgeois ideology and bourgeois art and literature, and to the substitution of the new system of democratic management whereby the masses and experts are integrated under the leadership of the Party committee for the systems of arbitrary management by bourgeois experts which

impedes the smooth progress of artistic and literary work.

We shall persist in the policy of letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend in the future. This is an unswerving class policy of our Party. It will insure the constant rise of the consciousness of all our people and the smooth progress of art, literature, and science. It will insure that our thinking does not become rigid and sink into errors of doctrinairism and revisionism.

It is unimaginable that literary and art workers who want to portray the workers, peasants and soldiers and serve the workers, peasants, and soldiers can do so without the rich experience of the life of the workers, peasants, and soldiers. Experience has proved that only by going into factories, villages, and army companies, living the life of ordinary laborers, taking part in physical labor and practical work, and sharing the same fate, joys and sorrows as the masses of workers, peasants, and soldiers, can writers and artists fundamentally remold their world outlook, establish a firm proletarian world outlook, find rich and colorful raw materials for literature and art, be familiar with the language of the working people, and create fine revolutionary works of literature and art. Some persons with bourgeois ideas called this correct method of training proletarian writers and artists "spoiling artistic talent". They are quite wrong. Our literary and art workers must continue to abide by the directives of the CCP Central Committee and Chairman Mao Tse-tung and go wholeheartedly among the workers, peasants, and soldiers and into ardent struggle — the sole, the broadest, and the richest source of creative work — to extol enthusiastically the new things and heroes and to present the struggles of the new in the revolution against the old — which hampers the advance of the revolution — and thereby serve the great cause of socialism and communism.

Under the revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism and the brilliant leadership of the Central Committee of the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, let the literary and art workers of our country unite closely to strive to develop and elevate further the literature and art of our country! Let the socialist literature and art of our country further develop and thrive! Long live revolutionary literature and art!

VIEWS ON THE CURRENT LITERARY AND ART WORK (REVISED DRAFT)

1961

Wen-hsueh Chan-pao Editor's Note: This big poisonous weed, briefly called "Ten Points on Literature and Art", was concocted in 1961 by the Court of the King of Hades of the former Central Propaganda Department, under the instruction of the black headquarters of Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping. It was a counterrevolutionary revisionist program for literature and art, which viciously opposed Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art and prepared public opinion for the restoration of capitalism. Its poison was widespread, causing great harm.

It is specially carried here in this paper as an appendix for the thorough criticism and repudiation of all our readers.

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As an important phase of the entire ideological and cultural fronts, the literary and art work of our country has played an active role in democratic revolution, socialist revolution and socialist construction. Its success and impact are tremendous. The contributions made by our literary and art workers to the fatherland have been fully assessed by the Party and the people.

At the third congress of the nation's literary and art workers held last year, the road to the development of our socialist literature and art has been further defined on the basis of experience gained over the past ten years in our literary and art work. Under the orientation of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers as well as

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Source: *Wen-hsueh Chan-pao (Literary Combat News)*, Peking, Nos. 17-18 (Combined Issue), June 30, 1967; English version in *Union Research Service*, Hongkong, Vol. 57, Nos. 1 & 2, October 3 & 7, 1969.

socialism, the policy of letting all flowers bloom and all schools of thought contend and weeding through the old to bring out the new has been put into practice. This is the most correct, the broadest and the most creative road ever defined for our socialist literature and art.

Looking back at the process of development of our literature and art, we realize that our road of advance has not been strewn with roses. We have met with difficulties and obstacles. Our literary and art workers have made arduous efforts in every way possible, in order to close their ties with the laboring people, to remold and raise their own thinking, and to lift the ideological and art level of their own works. We have waged continuous struggles against all kinds of bourgeois thinking and modern revisionism which blocked our way of advance and against tendencies which run counter to the Party's literary and art line. These struggles have swept clean the road to the development of our socialist literature and art. Many excellent works welcomed by the masses have appeared. The essence of our literary and art legacies and their excellent tradition have been inherited and developed on the foundation of new ideology. A fundamental change has taken place in the features of the literary and art ranks. A new force has grown up rapidly. The Party's leadership over the literary and art work has been further consolidated.

However, in the course of development of our literature and art there still exist many shortcomings and problems. The ideological and art level of creative works has not yet reached what the people expect. The habit of free competition in creative writing and active free academic discussions has not yet been well formed. This can be attributed mainly to the fact that the "blooming and contending" policy has not been sufficiently implemented. Many comrades do not understand that this policy is intended to promote the development of socialist culture and mistake it for a means to carry out struggle against the bourgeois thinking. Their way of leading the literary and art work is often estranged from the masses and the reality, with no regard for the law of art. They adopt inadequate, simple methods, even to the extent of giving wrong instructions, with the result that there exists a curt, rude attitude in literary criticism and academic discussions. If not overcome, these shortcomings will hinder the healthy development of socialist literature and art, will block the path to creation, and will make it impossible for the literary and art workers to bring out their activism and creativity,

so that literary and art creation will sink into monotony, poverty and inferior quality, extremely detrimental to the development of the cause of literature and art in our country.

Along with the development of the base of socialist economy and the elevation of the people's political consciousness and cultural level, their demand on literature and art has been greatly heightened. In the struggle between the socialist world and the capitalist world, literature and art has always occupied the advance post. And as the fighting task for socialist literature and art becomes heavier, literature and art plays an even more important role in the cultural life of the broad masses of the people. This would require us to create more works of quality, and through the vivid form of art and the beauty of art, they can reflect the living and struggle of the people, can educate them in socialism and communism, arouse their labor ardor and revolutionary enthusiasm, enrich their cultural life, and satisfy their needs of all kinds. For this reason, we must conscientiously sum up our experience, bring out the success, overcome shortcomings and improve our work. We should carry out all the better the general line for socialist construction and the literary and art policy formulated by the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, further close the ties between the literary and art workers and the broad masses of workers and peasants, increase the unity between the Party and non-Party member writers and artists, and fully mobilize all active factors in a bid to develop and elevate the level of our literature and art.

In view of the above, we suggest below ten points as our views to improve the work:

I. CORRECTLY UNDERSTAND THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POLITICS AND LITERATURE AND ART

Revolutionary literature and art should serve revolutionary politics. Subordinate to politics, literature and art can exert great effects on politics. We have always opposed any tendency of neglecting and estranging from politics. The revolutionary spirit and fighting spirit are the outstanding characteristics of our literature and art, and also are the excellent tradition we must preserve and promote. However, concerning the question of how politics is to be served by literature and art there has existed a narrow, unilateral, incorrect understanding. That is, failure to see the general role literature and art plays in serving politics, and failure to see the

different needs of the people's spiritual life. Instead, literature and art to serve politics has been simplistically regarded as a central task for a given place at a given time and as a concrete policy of propaganda in individual cases, to the neglect of the special characteristics of art, and put politics and art on an equal footing. This hampers the varied and creative role which literature and art can play, prevents the elevation of the ideological and art level of literary and art works, gives rise to the tendency of generalization and formulation, causes the revolutionary literature and art to alienate from the masses, which neither benefits the development of literature and art, nor helps the goal of making literature and art serve politics. For this reason, to correctly understand the relationship between politics and literature and art is an extremely important question in the literary and art work.

1. Literature and art to serve politics means to serve the fundamental interests of the proletariat and the laboring people and to serve the cause of socialism and communism. The people demand literature and art to give expression to the socialist era, to the life and ideal of the new society, and to help nurture socialist new men and builders of socialism with a high degree of consciousness and culture. This is the most fundamental political task of us literary and art workers today. For this reason, our literature and art should, on the one hand, cultivate in the people the socialist and communist thinking and morality and help eliminate all kinds of old thinking and habit which have been left over from the old society and which are incompatible with the new society. On the other, it should widen the people's scope of knowledge, increase their wisdom of life, satisfy their just demand for appreciation of art, enrich and raise their esthetic sense, and help them change the state of cultural poverty. Any work which can satisfy any of the demands described above can be considered as serving politics.

In order to give play to the above-mentioned roles of literature and art, it is necessary not only to create more and better new works but also to allow the people to enjoy the excellent literary and art works created by their predecessors. Not only is it necessary for literature and art to depict the current life and struggle of our people, but it is essential to describe the revolutionary struggle of our people of the recent century, particularly the past 40 years, to describe the arduous pioneering work done by our ancestors of all nationalities and the history of their valiant struggles, so that the people may have a grasp of the past, the present and the future. We should express

in our literature and art not only strong political content but also such content which is not political but gives people wisdom of life and enjoyment of esthetics. If literature and art is to serve politics, we should let one hundred flowers bloom, not just let one flower bloom; it should be a road which is the broadest, not the narrowest.

2. The scope of literature and art to serve politics is very wide. It should not be narrowed down to something which coordinates with only the current political struggle. A revolutionary writer or artist should not only remain highly sensitive politically and be full of political zeal, taking an active part in the current political struggle, but also employ adequate literary and art form to reflect in time and speedily the current struggle and to coordinate with it. But it is not proper to make the literary and art workers follow such slogans as "writing, performing, singing and painting only what is central." Because this would limit the wide scope of literature and art to serve politics, restrict the versatility of literary and art works, lead creative works to start, not from life, but from the general idea of a policy, and thus lower the ideological and artistic quality of the creative work.

3. Literary and art works should have a correct political content but at the same time their adequate art forms. Literature and art serves politics according to its own characteristics; it reflects life through forms; it helps people see and then transform the world. Literary and art works must have the strength to move people's souls and temper their characters; they do not just use political slogans to teach people; they must seek the unity of politics and realities — the unity of a revolutionary political content and a perfect form of art. It will not do to substitute art with politics and vice versa. It would be formulation if one seeks only the form of art with no regard for political content, and must be opposed. But if we neglect the technique of art and only seek to be politically correct — the so-called "to seek no merit in art but seek to be politically faultless" — we show the lack of mass viewpoint, the lack of a serious attitude toward creative works. This is a pessimistic mistaken idea and should also be opposed.

4. A writer or artist should have a correct political stand and strive to establish a revolutionary communist world outlook. The possession of a correct political stand and a revolutionary world outlook helps a writer or artist more deeply understand and reflect the reality. It is wrong to belittle the role the world outlook plays toward creative works. However, to summarize all problems in

creative works as a matter of world outlook and even regard them as a question of political stand, putting politics and art, world outlook and creative methods on an equal footing and despising the experience, talent and technique of the writers and artists in creative works, would also be incorrect. Therefore, while we encourage a writer or artist to go deep into life and elevate this thinking, we should also urge him to raise his literary and art cultivation, further his art practice and have a better grasp of his technique. The slogan "opposing the viewpoint of pure technique" is liable to lead people to belittle technique, which is incorrect toward either science or literature and art. The Party has long ago discarded this slogan but its negative influence still remains and must be thoroughly wiped out, so that the writers and artists will actively study techniques and improve upon them. It should be recognized that correct ideological stand, rich experience of life, and highly proficient technique are the three conditions necessary for creating excellent works.

II. A GREATER VARIETY OF THEMES AND STYLES TO BE ENCOURAGED

In the recent several years, the themes, forms, and styles for literature and art have been more varied than those in the past, but in terms of the demand of the masses and the needs for development of the art, they are still narrow and monotonous. Due to simplified methods of leadership and harsh criticism, there have existed a host of misgivings on the part of writers and artists concerning this question. Certain themes they hesitate to write on and certain forms and styles they would not try out, with the result that they cannot fully bring out their activism and creativeness. This problem of vital importance must be solved with all seriousness.

1. Attention must be directed to the variety of themes, forms, and styles. The question of diversification of creative works is a question whether or not the rich life of the people can be reflected, a question whether the varied demands of the masses can be satisfied or not, and a question whether the creativeness and creative talents of a writer or artist can be given play or not. In a nutshell, it is a question whether literature and art can better serve politics or not. Negation or neglect of the diversification of literature and art will not only hamper the development of literature and art but also alienate itself from the broad masses of the people.

2. No restriction whatsoever should be imposed on the choice

of themes. The leader of literary and art workers may point out to them the aspects of life to be particularly reflected. He can also furnish clues to the theme to be treated but he must leave to the writers or artists what themes they are to choose. While we promote the depiction of revolutionary struggles as important themes, we should also lead the writers to contact and acquaint themselves with such themes. However, to promote does not mean to enforce a hard and fast rule. If a writer is not familiar with the theme he is expected to write about, it will be rather difficult for him to produce anything successful. While the choice of theme is important, the success or failure of a piece of work created and its educational value does not all depend on the theme chosen. What is more important is how deep and broad is the thought expressed and the life depicted, and how great is the effect of the art. Some works, while dealing with unimportant or even trivial everyday life, can be rich in ideology and highly educational if they are handled with depth. For this reason, it is unimportant whether the theme is weighty or not. Whatever interests the people and benefits them can be adopted for writing, and a well written work is always well received by the masses.

3. The forms and styles of literature and art should be as varied as possible. Each form or style has a merit and characteristics of its own and, at the same time, its limitations. Long novels, historic films and symphony do not play the same roles as dispatches, feature articles, documentary films and popular songs. Paintings of landscape and birds and flowers play a different role than the revolutionary historical pictures and propaganda pictures. Art forms and styles of all kinds should supplement one another and coordinate with one another, and exert different roles as their different characteristics may play, and no similar roles should be demanded of them. Otherwise, it is bound to restrict the variation of forms and styles. Still worse, it may even cause certain forms and styles to fade completely.

4. Uniformity and mediocrity must be avoided in literature and art and individuality encouraged. Variations in styles must be promoted, and different schools of art developed. The writers and artists in their creative works must be encouraged to bring out the realism and the romanticism and combine the two. However, as one's personality, experience and cultivation vary, we cannot demand all people of the same thing. So long as their political orientation is correct, they should be allowed to each use his own method to

create. The special style of an artist or a writer and the different schools of art are formed only after long periods of arduous practice and application and must be treasured. The writers and artists of different schools should respect and learn from one another. There should be no discrimination and exclusion among themselves. The traditional form of expression of art and characterization of different schools loved by the masses should be given study by a group of people specially detailed for the purpose, so they can be inherited and developed.

5. Diversification of styles must be promoted. Individual efforts and collective efforts for creative work should be correctly handled. Individual labor is a special characteristic of creative work, and must form the main part in such work. Individual efforts for creative work must not be confused with individualism and individual desires for fame and gains. Nor should they be placed in opposition to collectivism. A writer or artist should have collective spirit, but whether his world outlook is collective or individualist and whether his way of creation is collective or individualist are entirely two different things. Collective efforts at writing is a practicable and effective way of creative writing but they must be made of writers' free will rather than by force, besides that they must be based on studies conducted by individuals.

III. FURTHER IMPROVE THE QUALITY OF WRITING AND POPULARIZE LITERATURE AND ART

In order to satisfy the daily increasing demand of the broad masses, there must be more and better literary and art works made available to them. Our level of literary and art works has been markedly improved compared with the past. Along with the big leap forward, there has been speedy advance and development of our literary and art work. However, excellent works which can really move the soul of the broad masses of readers are still too few. Besides, literature and art has not been as popularized as they should. Therefore, how to further raise the quality of our work and to lift it to a higher level, at the same time correctly unfolding the popularization work, is an important task currently before us.

1. To raise the quality of writing, we must improve the ideological and artistic level of our work. That is to say, the ideological side should be better combined with the artistic side. Our people need urgently not only to popularize literature and art but to im-

prove its quality. One good piece goes a much longer way than a number of ordinary or mediocre pieces combined. Naturally, our demand to improve the quality follows the orientation of making literature and art serve the people. We oppose following the bourgeois line and standard to raise the quality of our works. But, at the same time, we must also oppose such a tendency: hesitation to use and absorb the cultural legacies created by the bourgeoisie, lack of confidence in workers being able to transform the old culture, and fear to raise the quality of our work, mistaking the demand for higher quality for manifestation of bourgeois thinking. We must continue to pay attention to popularization and also stress improvement of our work. Our people are rich in struggle experience and cultural tradition; they are good at learning other people's good points, they work hard, and they can surely produce more works which break the old level. Of course, the raising of quality cannot be accomplished overnight but must go through a course of arduous struggle.

2. The key to improvement of literary and art quality lies in the fact that the literary and art workers familiarize themselves with life, elevate their own ideological and art level, and step up their practice of art. Literary and art workers must, through all forms, maintain close ties with the laboring people, take an active part in labor and struggle together with the masses, constantly remain observant about the life around them, get themselves acquainted with workers, peasants and soldiers, with the cadres, and with people of all strata, of all works of life and of all traits, understand their psychology, mentality and feelings, and learn and grasp the language of the masses. A writer must have his own base of life which is comparatively settled, but he must also travel to other places to make wide contact with life and to broaden his own views.

A writer or an artist must study hard Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought. He must learn culture, acquire a knowledge of history, learn the art experience of his predecessors, heighten his technical training, temper himself arduously, acquire the habit of constant practice, and make himself an expert conversant with his own line.

3. A writer or an artist must keep up his practice in creation and leave himself sufficient time for his creative work. When organizing collective writing or creation, it is necessary to see to it that such is conducted of one's free will, and the method of simply fixing a certain topic, for a certain period of time, by a certain number of people must not be adopted. Nor should the literary and

art workers be given any "shock task". The method adopted by certain art troupes and movie studios for people to "write, rehearse, and change" all at the same time tends to waste money and energy and lower the quality of art, and it must be changed.

No uniform demand should be dictated to different writers or artists for their output and speed of output. The scale of a product varies just as the personality of a writer and his habit of writing differ. "Writing a thousand words leaning on a horse" is of course good, but "fine work from a slow process" is also commendable. Quality must be stressed for brain work and must not be sacrificed or lowered for the sake of speed. The writers and artists should be encouraged to make arduous efforts at study and to give meticulous attention to processing. The work style of producing coarse stuff within a short period of time must be opposed and discouraged.

The literary and art workers must be allowed to sum up in time their experiences and given opportunities to exchange their experiences and hold academic discussions from time to time. Among members of art groups there should be promoted mutual studies and the practice of learning from one another. New techniques, skills and findings should be sought and created. As to experiments in art reforms, so long as the orientation is correct, they must not be discouraged, even if they are not mature.

4. While we raise the quality of our literature and art, we must also direct our attention to its popularization. The writers and artists should watch all the time for the demands and love of the broad masses of workers and peasants, and endeavor to produce what works they love and welcome. The cultural organs and art groups should resort to all ways and means to spread, plannedly and gradually, the fine works among the masses of workers and peasants to satisfy their demands.

5. Sparetime writing and sparetime cultural and art activities should be actively promoted among the masses. The ranks of professional and amateur writers and artists should be combined into a large strong column for the nation's socialist literature and art. The creative work and cultural and art activities conducted at the sparetime by the masses are an important form of the masses for self-education and recreation. Besides, the masses' talent for creative work is given expression in this way. This is of great significance to meeting the cultural needs of the masses and enriching their literary and art activities. However, the promotion of such sparetime writing and cultural activities must be done as dictated by

the needs, free will and possibility of the masses. No target should be set, besides that the principle of sparetime activities must be firmly followed, so that they will not be divorced from and hamper production.

6. Professional literary and art workers and groups should lend active assistance in promoting sparetime writing and cultural activities. On the one hand, they should learn from the masses; on the other, they should help the masses gradually to elevate their level, with attention paid to discovering and nurturing the talented from among the masses but without making them estrange too early from productive labor.

Apart from the above, cooperation between professional writers and sparetime writers should be promoted further, so that they can write memoirs on the revolution, histories of factories and communes, and other such works.

IV. TO BETTER INHERIT CHINA'S CULTURAL LEGACY AND ABSORB THE CULTURE OF FOREIGN COUNTRIES

To build up socialist literature and art requires critical inheritance of the nation's cultural legacies and critical absorption of the culture of foreign countries. Following the guideline of letting a hundred flowers bloom and weeding through the old to find the new, we have gone in a big way into digging up, sorting out and in what literary and art works we have had and succeeded in making great achievements. At the same time, a huge amount of fine literature and art of foreign countries has been introduced. Concerning the question of collating the legacies and inheriting the traditions, we oppose rashness and hastiness, encourage adequate reform of the law commensurate with the nation's traditional art, and combat conservatism. On the question of introducing the culture of foreign countries, we oppose both indiscriminate exclusion and acceptance *in toto*. But still, the main tendency currently is the rude attitude of inheriting the national and foreign legacies in a simplistic manner, which must be rectified.

1. It is essential to treasure the cultural legacies of the fatherland, seriously study and go deep into these legacies, search for and grasp their laws, inherit all the essence from the legacies, innovate and popularize them, so that they may be further developed for the appreciation and enjoyment of the broad masses of the people. This

is an important task in building up socialist literature and art. The good part of legacies can still play an active role today for our people; they can increase our patriotism and national pride; they can enable our people to absorb the fighting experience of their predecessors, learn from them their wisdom and excellent quality, increase their understanding of history, boost their knowledge, broaden their views; they can enrich the spiritual life of our people and meet their needs for appreciation of art. Excellent literary and art legacies furnish our literary and art workers with valuable art experience, which is of benefit to the nationalization and popularization of socialist literature and art.

2. Making overall planning and arrangements for the collection and collation of the literary and art legacies and the folk art of the various nationalities of our country is an urgent task before us, because much of the excellent legacies would be lost, if not collected and rescued. The leading cultural departments at all levels should, together with the various literary and art bodies, strive within the shortest possible time to gather together records of all kinds of literary and art legacies and folk art of all nationalities. Besides, the important literary legacies of the minority nationalities should be gradually translated into Chinese. Local dramas, songs, folklore, ballads, etc. should be compiled for publication. Folk music and dances of all nationalities should be recorded, tape-recorded and photographed for record purposes. Folk art, including sculpture and painting, should be properly preserved and, where possible, reproduced. The nation's classics, including works of literature and art, music and theories should all be collated and studied in a planned manner.

3. Much of the folk art legacies is preserved in the person of the veteran artists. Immediate efforts should be organized to learn from them, and as much as possible should be done to put them on record by photography, tape-recording and transcription. They should be encouraged to pass all their skill and experience on to the younger generation. The famous plays, the creative works and the stage experiences of veteran artists should be summed up, and proper care should be taken of their living.

4. The cultural achievements of foreign countries must be further critically absorbed. Ancient classics and modern literary and art works of high quality, as well as important theoretical works of world nations should be systematically translated for publication. Attention should also be paid, at the same time, to studying the re-

actionary schools and gathering negative materials. Importance should be attached to the art experience of the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist nations, and research of the culture and art of the various nations in Asia, Africa and Latin America should be stepped up. Repertoires of foreign countries should be brought onto the stage in a planned manner, so as to help our people understand the life and struggle of the people of different countries and thus boost their education in internationalism. Any forms of art of foreign countries, as long as they are good, should be studied, mastered, grasped well, thoroughly appreciated, and then gradually nationalized.

V. TO STEP UP THE PRACTICE OF ART, GUARANTEE ENOUGH TIME FOR CREATIVE WORK

To allow the literary and art workers sufficient time for creative work and to bolster up the practice of art is an essential condition for the development and elevation of the quality of such work.

At present, our writers and artists in general have too heavy a load of work, have too much social activities to attend, and do not find enough time to do creative work and for the practice of art. Therefore, it is imperative that proper arrangements are made to allow them time for creation, performance and making advanced studies, as required by their professions, and that a necessary system is instituted.

1. The creative writers and artists must be assured of sufficient time to go deep among the masses for the greater part of each year to study and create works. Where a piece of work is of a comparatively large scale, it is necessary to give them ample time so that they can concentrate themselves on the work. The different art troupes should draw up a program for the whole year as to what they are going to perform during the year, and also guarantee that the performers or artists can have regular opportunities to appear on the stage to meet their audiences.

2. Those writers and artists who are charged with the responsibility of administration, teaching or compilation work, where necessary, should be allowed a vacation in which to devote themselves to creative work by temporarily leaving their work posts. As to the sparetime literary and art workers, who are on other posts doing work other than literature and art, assistance should be given them to solve the question of time for creative work, if they have a reliable program for such upon examination.

3. The literary and art workers should take a proper part in physical labor and primary-level work, so that through such activities they can appreciate more deeply the mentality and feelings of the worker-peasant masses. As to the form of labor and time for labor, different arrangements may be made as different circumstances may require, and no uniform measure should be applied to all. In some cases, the work itself already demands strong physical exertion (such as dancing, acrobatics, variety show, large-type sculpture, etc.), and care must be taken to preserve strength. Artists of this type may take a minor part in productive labor or be completely exempted from it. Some type of art requires the artists to practice for long periods of time to acquire the necessary skill, and does not allow them to undertake too much physical labor or improper manual work. Proper arrangements should be made as conditions may dictate. The aged, the sick or those in poor health may be exempted from manual labor.

4. The literary and art workers should take part in certain, but not too many, social activities. Where necessary, some should be allowed not to take part in any social activities for a specific period of time.

5. Attention should be directed to arrangements to be made for work and rest for the literary and art workers. Rigidity and intensity should be combined with liveliness and ease. When arrangements are made for creative work, it is important to see that the task is not too heavy, the standard is set not too high, and that after a task is fulfilled, some time is allowed for rest. The various cultural and art troupes should establish a vacation or leave system as their respective specific conditions may require, or organize short excursions or visits.

VI. TO BOOST LITERARY AND ART CRITICISM

Literary and art criticism has played an active role in defending our line of socialist literature and art. Over the past several years, there have appeared some criticisms which are rich in content and also analytic. However, some criticisms empty in content, simplistic and formulistic, have also been witnessed; they are rude and harsh, branding people's works indiscriminately and praising or attacking them incorrectly, detrimental to the development of creative work. The establishing of literary and art criticism in a scientific, militant and Marxist way is an urgent task at this juncture.

1. Literary and art criticism, to bring into realization the Party's guideline on literature and art, should promote the development and elevation of creative work, help the writers to sum up their creative experience, help the readers to better appreciate the works, and evoke the esthetic sense of our people. Literary and art criticism should both wage a relentless struggle against the trends of hostile and mistaken ideas and be good at discovering new works and daring to affirm new successes. To assess a piece of work we must examine its general orientation. We cannot negate it just because of its shortcomings of a part of the work. Between the critics and the writers and artists there should be established close comradely relations, mutual respect, mutual study, mutual criticism, and mutual cooperation. A writer or artist must take into serious consideration different views about his work. But criticism must allow counter-criticism, including counter-criticism by the author himself.

2. A literary or art critic should pay attention to the political trend and ideological content of one's work and at the same time he should make an analysis of the form of art and the technique of expression. Literary and art criticism talking only about politics but not the technique is a poor or at least an imperfect criticism. Some criticism finds too much fault with politics and does too little analysis of art, which helps the growth of formulation and the tendency of generalization. Criticism should establish a sound literary style and be accurate, clear and lively. Critics of literary theories should make a serious study of the rich experience of our creative work and make a scientific summing up.

3. The demarcation lines for what is a political question, an ideological question or a question of art must be correctly and meticulously drawn. In his article, "Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People," Comrade Mao Tse-tung named a six-point political criterion as the principle by which to determine the political content of a writing. Only when the creative work or criticism violates the criterion will it be considered as anti-people and anti-socialism. As to the ideological shortcoming or error in general, or the deviation in the understanding of a policy, it falls within the scope of the question of ideological knowledge and is a question of right or wrong among the people. It should be criticized but must not be magnified into a political question or a question between the enemy and ourselves.

A correct world outlook bears decisive significance to the crea-

tive work, for it can help a writer or an artist to see the political trend and correctly understand the times. However, thorough transformation of the bourgeois world outlook and the establishment of a bourgeois world outlook can be achieved only after long periods of arduous efforts, not within a short time. Besides, those whose world outlook is not correct are not necessarily anti-people and anti-socialism, politically. For this reason, we must not take the question of world outlook for a political question and handle it as such.

Controversies over creative writing and literary criticism in some cases are a reflection of divergent world outlooks and political views, and should be evaluated step by step through free discussions. In other cases, they do not come within the scope of world outlook, nor are they a question of political views. Here it is all the more necessary to allow free discussions and to allow individuals to reserve their own opinions. In discussions and criticisms, irrespective of political problems, ideological problems, or art problems, the down-to-earth attitude should be adopted, and a concrete analysis made, so as to convince people by truth. Toward ideological problems among the people, labels such as "revisionism", "anti-people and anti-socialism", etc., must not be attached indiscriminately. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out, "To deal with ideological problems among the people and to handle the problem of the spiritual world by simple methods would not only fail to bring results but would be rather harmful." This method of simplification must be opposed and overcome.

4. Criticism by professionals and criticism by the masses must be stepped up. Professional critics must be adept at concentrating and reflecting the opinions of the masses, and playing a guiding role in mass criticism. All cultural and art groups, newspapers and publications should see to it that the trend of simplified method of criticism is overcome, that free discussions, criticisms and counter-criticisms are developed, that a new force for literary criticism is nurtured in a planned manner, and concrete measures are taken to help the present literary critics to raise their ideological and professional levels and insure that enough time is allowed them to study, write and grasp life.

VII. ATTACHING IMPORTANCE TO THE TRAINING OF TALENTS

In recent years, there have emerged quite a large new force in

literary and art circles. They are growing under the nurture of the Party. However, there are some new talents not growing up fast enough, due to the neglect of the units concerned, as a result of which some are remaining at the level they originally reached. In some units, there has appeared the phenomenon where the new force is given no chance to emerge or even repressed. For this reason, the question of discovering, nurturing and cherishing the talents should merit the attention of all sides.

1. The trainees must turn out to be both Red and expert. The preliminary criterion of being Red is to actively support socialism, the Communist Party and the cause of socialism, and devote oneself to it. The establishing of communist world outlook is a higher demand. Help should be given them, as conditions may indicate, to gradually solve this question through study, living and professional practice. They can bring into play their special talent even though their world outlook has not been thoroughly transformed. At the same time, being Red and expert should be well integrated. It would be wrong if one becomes an expert without being Red and vice versa. The trend of divorcing oneself from politics and taking no interest in politics must be opposed. But the pursuance of profession must not be confused with the non-political trend. Nor should those devoting themselves to their profession be accused of "treading the path of White and expert". Politicians, literati and artists only in name are not welcomed by the people.

2. Universal training and keypoint training should be integrated. Literary and art work requires outstanding talents in all fields. They must have higher cultivation and attainment than the average. Innovation and elevation of art often comes from these people who also play a significant role in the training of the new force and in the forming of schools. For this reason, it is necessary to select, on the basis of universal training, the outstanding talents, with natural endowment, for advanced training. When it comes to the use of such talents, it is important to see that their talents are given full play. It should be admitted that different people have different talents and attainments. Therefore, training and use of each person should vary in each case. When there exists the tendency of egalitarianism in the training and use of talents, then keypoint training is mistakenly considered as making individuals outstanding. Jealousy of other people's talent, negating the difference in talent and attainment of different people, demanding equal treatment — such egalitarian concepts actually are aimed to cover individualism, to remain con-

tent with backwardness, to encourage backwardness, and have nothing in common with the revolutionary collectivism. Egalitarianism is harmful to the development of the cause of literature and art and must be overcome with firmness.

3. Toward persons of outstanding ability, it is particularly necessary to see that ideological education is given them, so as to guard them against arrogance and complacency when they achieve some measure of success. However, we must not cease to give them attention as to their training and use or just belittle them, simply because they have shortcomings in their style of thinking and living.

4. The various literary and art units should consider as their primary tasks the promoting and training of talents, which must also be taken as an important aspect when assessing the performance of each unit. Programs and measures should be drawn up, and long-term plans and concrete arrangements made, so that the art workers may have the opportunities of making studies and seeking advanced training.

VIII. GIVING MORAL SUPPORT AND MATERIAL REWARD TO CREATIVE WORK

It would benefit creative work to give writers and artists moral support and material reward for their labor, and the various units concerned should pay attention to this work.

1. In giving full play to the activism of literary and art workers, we should first raise their political consciousness, but must also provide them some material reward. A clear line must be drawn between necessary material incentives and the neglect of politics and pure material incentives.

2. The labor of writers and artists should be respected, their achievements in literary and art activities encouraged, and their fruit of labor cherished. Other people's fruit of labor must not be robbed by any means of power and position. Each writer should sign his own name to his writing. The names of all authors should be put down where it is a collective work. The opinions of the original author should be respected and his name indicated in case any correction is made.

3. Appraisal of all creative works and performances should be held in a planned and serious manner, and proper moral support or material reward given to excellent works and excellent performances and their producers.

4. As different categories of creative works may require, the remuneration standards should be set, and in no way should a remuneration be cancelled. The method of contributing the remuneration to the public should be altered.

5. Necessary material conditions must be provided the writers and artists for their creative work, and their welfare or amenities properly taken care of. Proper arrangements should be made for those experiencing difficulty of living. Literary and art bodies should run some kind of collective welfare work.

IX. STRENGTHEN UNITY, MOBILIZE ALL ACTIVE FACTORS

The Party's policy on intellectuals should be further implemented, the united front of literary and art circles enlarged and consolidated, all literary and art workers willing to tread the road of socialism more closely united and all active factors mobilized in common efforts to serve the cause of socialism. Moreover, under the banner of opposing imperialism, colonialism, and defending world peace to win the progress of mankind, we should, together with the literary and art workers of all nations of the world, build a united front which will be the broadest ever witnessed.

1. The literary and art work is one of broad social character and requires the long-term cooperation of Party and non-Party member writers and artists. All our patriotic literary and art workers supporting socialism should rally closely under the leadership of the Party. Party writers and artists should cooperate as much as possible with non-Party writers and artists, humbly learn their merits, mutually assist and mutually raise their own levels. The tendency of certain Party literary and art workers excluding and belittling non-Party member literary and art workers is still in evidence and such departmentalism must be overcome.

2. Literary and art associations and bodies, as a cord to link up the broad masses of literary and art workers, should actively do a good job in uniting the writers and artists both inside and outside the Party. As a common medium of all writers and artists both inside and outside the Party, literary and art publications should implement the policy of letting a hundred flowers bloom and all schools of thought contend. In troupes, movie studios and other art units, art committees should be set up and absorb all writers and artists, Party or non-Party, into the unit to fully bring out their

activism.

3. Literary and art units should, together with the Department of Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, draw up plans for cultural exchanges with foreign countries, actively develop work in this respect, and plannedly train talents for this purpose, with a view to strengthening friendship and unity with the people and the progressive literary and art workers of all countries.

X. THE LEADERSHIP METHOD AND STYLE TO BE IMPROVED

To strengthen Party leadership to the literary and art workers and to step up the Party's leadership role in the literary and art units is a fundamental guarantee for correctly and soundly developing the literary and art work. It would be wrong to consider that the Party cannot lead the literary and art work or for the Party to neglect or give up its leadership to this work. But neither is it correct to adopt the general administrative form to lead this work. In recent years, the tendency of subjectivism and commandism on the part of those leading the literary and art work is increasing, departmentalism is growing to a certain extent, and the rude and harsh work style on the part of the leaders is increasingly evident. In the absence of a democratic atmosphere, it will be difficult for a lively situation of a hundred flowers blooming and all schools of thought contending. If unchecked, such a phenomenon may kill writers and artists' activism and initiative for creative work, affect the unity of the ranks of literary and art workers, and bring ill consequences to the cause of literature and art. To this end, with our past experience summed up, we must conscientiously rectify our shortcomings and ardently improve our leadership method and leadership style.

1. In the literary and art department, the principal duty of the Party leadership lies in implementing the Party policy on literature and art, help the workers in this field to understand the Party policy and close their links with the masses, and create all possible conditions for giving full play to their activism and creativeness and elevating their ideological and professional level. The Party organization should not act for administrative organs to handle administrative affairs, so as not to weaken Party leadership, ideologically and politically. The role of a Party branch or Party group in the various departments of a literary and art unit is only to supervise their work, and not to give overall leadership.

2. To do the work well, the fundamental measure is to make further study. Responsible Party members leading the literary and art work must learn hard, raise their self-cultivation, make a thorough search into this line, and acquaint themselves with the basic law of the literary and art work, so that they may gradually turn themselves from a non-professional into a professional and become a competent leader for the work. The Party's propaganda and cultural departments should provide the literary and art work leading cadres an opportunity to study and improve themselves.

3. The Party organization in literary and art units should strictly practice democratic centralism, strengthen collective leadership and promote democratic style of work. Concerning important questions met in the course of work, full investigation, study and democratic discussion should be conducted before any decision can be made. In some cases, they should be reported to the upper level for instructions. Issuing orders at will by leading cadres and arbitration must be opposed. Questions concerning art should all the more be resolved through free discussion and mutual consultation and not by administrative orders or the measure of having the minority obey the majority. Responsible Party-member leaders should be humble and prudent, adopt the attitude of being a servant to the people, close his ties with the masses, establish comradely relations with Party and non-Party member writers and artists, listen to their opinions, and show concern about their work and living. Let all literary and art workers unite all the more closely under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung and devote themselves wholly to the development of socialist literature and art in the endeavor to fulfill the task of socialist construction and to bring communism into realization.