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No. 6, 1966

- Communist China -

No. 30

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RAISE HIGH THE GREAT RED BANNER OF MAO TSE-TUNG'S
THINKING, TAKE AN ACTIVE PART IN THE SOCIALIST
CULTURAL REVOLUTION

[Following is a translation of an editorial originally published in the Chieh-fang-chun Pao (Liberation Army Daily), 18 April 1966, and reprinted in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 6, 29 April 1966, pages 1-9. This completes the translation of Hung ch'i No 6, 1966.]

Chairman Mao has taught us that classes and class struggle still exist in socialist society. Chairman Mao said: "The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle among the political power of each group, and the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie on the ideological front in our country are protracted and tortuous, and sometimes they are very sharp."

The struggle on the cultural front to build up proletarian ideology and get rid of bourgeois ideology is an important aspect of the class struggle -- the struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie, between the socialist and capitalist roads and their ideologies. While proletariat wishes to transform the world according to its own world outlook, the bourgeoisie wishes to do the same. Socialist culture has the purpose of serving the workers, peasants, and soldiers, of serving proletarian politics, the consolidation and development of the socialist system, and the gradual transition to communism. Bourgeois and revisionist culture serves the bourgeoisie, landlords, rich peasants, reactionaries, bad elements, and rightists, and paves the way for the restoration of capitalism.

Any position on the cultural front which is not occupied by the proletariat will necessarily be occupied by the bourgeoisie. Due to the fact that the remnant force of the bourgeoisie is still quite influential in our country, that there are still comparatively large numbers of bourgeois intellectuals, and that the

influence of bourgeois ideology is still relatively serious, their methods of struggle against us have become more and more insidious, cunning, tortuous, and covert. Should we pay less attention or slightly diminish our vigilance, it would not be easy for us to spot them. As a result, we may be hit by the sugar-coated shells of the bourgeoisie, or even lose our position.

In this aspect, the question of who will win in the struggle between socialism and capitalism has not yet been solved. The struggle is inevitable; should we fail to carry out the struggle, revisionism may emerge.

Our PLA is a people's army built and led by the CCP and Chairman Mao, a most obedient instrument of the party and the people, and an important pillar for the proletarian dictatorship. It has always played an important role in relation to the proletarian revolutionary cause and will also play an equally important role in the great socialist cultural revolution.

We must further understand the state of the class struggle in the realm of ideology with greater clarity and, together with all the other people throughout the country, we must hold aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking and carry forward the socialist cultural revolution firmly to the very end. We must make the army's work in literature and art play a tremendous role in placing politics in the forefront and promoting the revolutionization of the people.

There exists a sharp class struggle on the cultural front:

There has been a sharp class struggle on the cultural front over the past 16 years. In both the new democratic and socialist stages of China's revolution, the struggle on the cultural front has gone on between the two classes and the two roads, the struggle between: proletariat and bourgeoisie for leadership on the cultural front. In our party's history the struggle between the two roads on the cultural front was always included in the struggle against "leftist" and rightist-leaning opportunists.

The Wang Ming line was one of the bourgeois ideologies which once flooded our party. When the rectification campaign was first started in 1942 Chairman Mao theoretically discovered the political line, military line, and organizational line of Wang Ming and immediately put forward a thoroughgoing theoretical criticism of the cultural line headed by Wang Ming. Chairman Mao's writings "On New Democracy" and "Talks at the Yanan forum on Literature and Art" provide the most complete, comprehensive and systematic historical summing up of this struggle on

the cultural front; they inherit and develop the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and theory with regard to literature and art.

Since the Chinese revolution entered the socialist stage, the important struggles on the cultural front -- criticism of the movie "Life of Wu Hsun," criticism of "The Study of the Dream of the Red Chamber," the struggle against the counter-revolutionary clique of Hu Feng, the struggle against rightists, and the great socialist cultural revolution which has been carried out in the past three years -- all these have all been waged under the direct leadership of the CCP Central Committee and Chairman Mao.

His contributions "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" and "Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work" are the latest summation of experience in the movements for revolutionary ideology and literature and art in China and other countries, and represent a new development of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and theory with regard to literature and art.

These four brilliant works are an important part of the great thinking of Mao Tse-tung; they are the highest peak of development today of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and theory on literature and art, the supreme guide for our work of literature which is adequate for serving our proletariat over a long period of time.

Ever since the founding of new China, an antiparty line has existed in literary and art circles, a black antisocialist threat that runs counter to Mao Tse-tung's thinking. It is a conglomeration of bourgeois and modern revisionist conceptions of literature and art, and of what is presumed to have been the literature and art of the 1930's. Representing this point of view are concepts about "writing the truth," about "the broad road of realism," about the "deepening of realism," about opposing the "content as the decisive factor," about "the portrayal of middle characters," about opposing "the smell of gunpowder," and about "compounding the spirit of the times" and so on and so forth.

In general all this was criticized and rejected by Chairman Mao in his "Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art."

In movie circles, some people even raised the theory of "violating the law and betraying the cause," meaning violating the law of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thinking and betraying the cause of people's revolutionary struggle. For over 10 years because of the influence or control of a bourgeois and modern revisionist counter-current in the ideology of literature

and art, there are some, though not many, good, or basically good, pieces serving the workers, peasants, and the soldiers in addition to socialism by singing the praise of revolutionary heroes. This can be judged from some productions reflecting the people's struggle and portraying the PLA or other military topics. There are also quite a few that are rated as mediocre. Others are anti-party and antisocialist poisonous weeds. Still others distort historic facts, fail to represent the correct line, and purposely take the wrong line. Others depict heroes by violating the rules, or by creating a hero only to let him die, thus ending in a tragedy that is man-made. Others again fail to depict heroes; instead, they talk about middle characters -- which in fact are degrading characters and disparage workers, peasants, and soldiers. As to their treatment of the enemy, they not only fail to expose the bourgeois nature of exploitation and oppression, but also prettify it. Still others talk about love affairs or other vulgar topics, dealing with what they call "love" or "death" as the never-ending theme. All these belong to the bourgeoisie or the modern revisionists, and must be resolutely opposed.

The struggle between the two roads on the literary and art front in society in general is inevitably reflected within the army. For the army does not exist in a vacuum and is certainly no exception. Our army is one of the chief instruments of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Without a people's army led by the Communist Party, there would be no victorious revolution, no proletarian dictatorship, no socialism, and the people would have nothing. Therefore, by hook and by crook, the enemy must try to undermine our army in all respects and will certainly use the weapon of literature and art to corrupt it. We must maintain keen vigilance in this connection.

But, some people have a different view on this matter. They say that the question of how the literary and art work is oriented has been solved and the present question is only about how to raise the literary and art level. Such a viewpoint is both erroneous and extremely harmful and shows a lack of concrete analysis. As a matter of fact, some of the literary and art works in the armed forces are correctly oriented and are on a relatively higher literary and art level; other works, though correctly oriented, are on a lower literary and art level; still other works are both erroneous and are on unsatisfactory literary and art level and political orientation; and yet still other works are a sort of anti-party and antisocialist poisonous weed.

Over the last decade [illegible] tumultuous class struggle on the literary and art front many literary and art workers in the army failed to stand the test and committed slight or serious mistakes. This proves that in the army literary and

art workers have been influenced to different degrees by the antiparty and antisocialist black line.

We must follow the instructions of the CCP Central Committee and Chairman Mao and take an active part in the socialist revolution on the literary and art front, striving to remove the black line completely and wipe out the influence of the black line in the armed force units. After we have removed this black line, other black lines might emerge in the future and we will have to struggle against them again. This is a difficult, complicated, and protracted struggle and it may take scores and hundreds of years of serious effort. To unswervingly carry the socialist cultural revolution all the way to the end has a bearing on the revolutionary construction of the PLA as well as on the future of China's revolution and on the prospects of the world revolution.

A new situation has emerged in the great cultural revolution.

At the 10th plenum of the eighth Central Committee of the party held in September 1962, Chairman Mao Tse-tung called on all the party and people of China never to forget classes and class struggle. Since then, the struggle on the cultural front to develop proletarian ideology and get rid of bourgeois ideology has taken a stride forward.

In the last three years, a new situation has emerged in the great socialist cultural revolution. Its most prominent feature is the rise of revolutionary, contemporary Peking opera. Under the leadership of the party Central Committee and Chairman Mao, the literary and art workers engaged in the reform of Peking opera have launched heroic and tenacious offensives against feudal, bourgeois, and modern revisionist literature and art, using Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thinking as their weapon. Under these offensives the most stubborn bastion, Peking opera, has been revolutionized, from its ideological content to its form of artistic expression, and it has become the pacemaker of revolutionary change in the sphere of literature and art.

Such revolutionary contemporary Peking operas as "The Red Lantern," "Sha Chia Pang," "Capturing the Wihu Mountain" and "Raid on the White Tiger Regiment," the new ballet "The Red Detachment of Women," the symphony based on the Peking opera "Sha Chia Pang," and the clay sculptures "Rent Collecting Courtyard" depicting the landlords' cruelty in preliberation days have won the appreciation of the broad masses of workers, peasants, and soldiers and have drawn very favorable reactions from people of other countries. The creative works are historic and will have a far-reaching effect on the socialist revolution in culture. They provide con-

vincing proof that it is possible to breach even the most stubborn bastion, namely Peking opera, and revolutionize it, and that such imported classical forms of art as the ballet, symphonic music, and sculpture can be molded to serve our purposes. We must have more confidence in revolutionizing other arts. At the same time, these facts have proved that all forms of conservatism and the so-called theories on "box office value" and "foreign exchange value" and the theory that "revolutionary works cannot be exported" are all wrong.

Another outstanding feature of the great socialist cultural revolution in the last three years is the extent of the mass participation of the workers, peasants, and soldiers on the ideological and literary and art fronts. There has been a steady flow of excellent philosophical writings by workers, peasants, and soldiers, good examples of the elaboration of Mao Tse-tung's thinking on the basis of reality. They have also provided a steady flow of excellent works of literature and art in praise of the great victories in China's socialist revolution, of the great leap forward on the various fronts of socialist construction, of our new heroes, and of the brilliant leadership by our great party and our great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung. In particular, the many poems and songs written by workers, peasants and soldiers, carried in wall sheets and bulletin boards, open up an entirely new era in regard to both content and form.

A very favorable situation has also arisen in the army's work in literature and art in recent years. Ever since Comrade Lin Piao took charge of the Military Commission, he has maintained a tight grasp on army's work in literature and art and issued many important instructions in this regard. The "Resolution on strengthening the political and ideological work in the army," adopted by the enlarged session of the Military Commission of the CCP Central Committee in 1960, clearly stipulated that literary and art work in the army "should, closely coordinating with the tasks and the ideological state of the army, develop proletarian ideology, get rid of bourgeois ideology, and consolidate and improve combat strength." Most army workers in the fields of literature and art have put politics in the fore and creatively studied and applied Chairman Mao's works, have gone to live in company units, rural areas, or factories and by their integration with the workers, peasants, and soldiers have stepped up their ideological training, resolved their thinking, and raised their level of proletarian consciousness. The result has been a number of good plays such as "Sentinels Under the Neon Lights" and good novels such as "The Song of Ouyang Hai" and many fairly good works of literature, poems and songs in praise of soldier, music and dances and other works of fine art, and a contingent of promising writers and artists have come to the fore.

Of course, these have been the primary achievements of the socialist cultural revolution. These achievements constitute the first step in a long march. To safeguard and further expand these achievements and carry the socialist cultural revolution to the end, we have to make painstaking efforts for a long time to come. The literary and art workers of our army must strive to make further improvements and contributions.

Create new socialist patterns and new proletarian ideas and set good examples.

To create new socialist literature and art good examples must be set by leadership cadres themselves. With good examples and experiences accumulated from these fields we would be more persuasive and competent in strengthening our front.

We should have the courage to create new patterns and foster new ideas, that is, new socialist patterns and new proletarian ideas. The fundamental task of socialist art and literature is to strive to portray the heroes among the workers, peasants, and soldiers who are armed with Mao Tse-tung's thinking. 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 the working people -- it must be one or the other." Therefore, the question of which class to eulogize, the heroes of which class to be portrayed, and the people of which class are to be given prominence in works of literature and art is the focus of the class struggle on the literary and art front between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and is the line of demarcation between the literature and art of the two different classes.

The fine qualities of the workers, peasants, and soldiers heroes who have come forward, nurtured by Mao Tse-tung's thinking, are the concentrated expression of the character of the proletariat. We should be most eager to portray the heroes among the workers, peasants, and soldiers. In portraying typical characters, the writers should not confine themselves to real persons and real happenings. Chairman Mao says: "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." This requires that our writers and artists work to concentrate and generalize on the basis of experience of real life over a long period of time and create all kinds of typical characters.

Portraying heroes successfully calls for a method of creation that combine revolutionary realism and revolutionary romanticism. It is not allowed to use the method of bourgeois realism and bourgeois romanticism.

Army writers should take the presentation of revolutionary wars, the publicizing of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's ideas on people's war, the portrayal of the heroes in revolutionary wars as their own glorious tasks. When writing about revolutionary wars they should first make clear the nature of such wars: Our cause is just, and the enemy's is unjust.

Our hard struggle and heroic sacrifice must be portrayed in the works. But, revolutionary heroism and revolutionary optimism must be shown. In describing the bitterness of war, they should not overstress the trials and hardships. The bitterness of revolutionary war and revolutionary heroism, the arduousness of revolutionary struggle and revolutionary optimism, constitute a unity of opposites, but it is necessary to make clear which is the principal aspect of the contradiction. Otherwise, if the relationship is set out incorrectly, there will be a tendency toward bourgeois pacifism. In describing the people's revolutionary war, whether in the period when guerrilla warfare is more important than the mobile warfare or in the other period when mobile warfare is more emphasized than guerrilla warfare, it is necessary to show correctly the relationship between the regular forces, guerrillas, and militiamen under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and relationship between the armed masses and the unarmed masses.

It is not at all easy to set up a good example of proletarian literature and art. Strategically we must not think the task difficult; but, tactically we must take it into full account. The creation of a fine work is a strenuous process. Those leading such work must not act like a lord and must not be lacking in attentiveness. He must share the joys and hardships of the writer and devote really painstaking efforts to the task. He must collect the first-hand material, must not be taken aback if he fails or commits mistakes. He should give room for failures and mistakes but he must correct his mistakes. He must rely on the masses. He can get what he needs from the masses and give what he has to the masses. After a considerable length of time of repeated practice, he will be able to improve his work and achieve the combining of revolutionary content with the most perfected art form. Through practice he can sum up from time to time his experiences and gradually grasp the laws governing all forms of art. Without going through this process it is impossible for him to set good examples.

Many revolutionary themes of historical importance and realistic themes are in urgent need of our systematic step-by-step efforts to create. Through these creations we can nurture a genuine literary and the backbone of an art force of the proletariat.

Emancipate one's thinking, break with shibboleths.

In order to conduct the socialist cultural revolution and to create new, socialist art and literature, it is necessary to emancipate one's thinking and break with shibboleths.

Blind worship of the art and literature of the 1930's must be swept away. At that time, the leftist movement of art and literature politically followed the opportunist line of Wang Ming's "leftist" deviation. Organizationally it followed the line of closed-door sectarianism. In the theories of art and literature, it had the same ideas as such Russian bourgeois literary and art critics as Belinskiy, Chernyshevskiy, and Dobroliubov, who were bourgeois democrats of the Russian tsarist era. Their ideas were not Marxist, but the ideas of the bourgeoisie.

The bourgeois democratic revolution was the revolution of an exploiting class against another exploiting class. The proletarian socialist revolution alone is the revolution that eventually will wipe out all exploiting classes. It is therefore absolutely impermissible to take the ideas of any bourgeois revolutionary as the guiding principles for our proletarian ideological movement and our movement of art and literature. There is something good to be found in the 30's. It is the militant leftist movement of art and literature headed by Lu Hsun.

In the late 30's, some leftist leaders departed from the Marxist-Leninist class viewpoint and proposed the slogan "National Defense Literature." This was a slogan of the bourgeois class. Lu Hsun proposed a proletarian slogan: "The Popular Literature of National Revolutionary War." Some leftist literary and art workers, particularly Lu Hsun, also put forward slogans that literature and art serve workers and peasants and that workers and peasants create their own literature and art. However, they did not solve in a systematic manner the basic problem in integrating literature and art with workers, peasants, and soldiers for the overwhelming majority of them were bourgeois national democrats. Some of them did not know bourgeois national democrats. Some of them did not know the essence of democratic revolution while others had little knowledge of socialism.

We must clear away the blind worship of Chinese and foreign classical literature. Classical Chinese literature and art and classical European (including Russian) art and literature had a big influence on Chinese literary and art circles. Some people look on them as sacred and take an attitude of out-and-out acceptance. Chairman Mao has taught us: "Uncritical transplanting or copying from the ancients and foreigners is the most sterile and harmful dogmatism in literature and art." The works of the ancients and foreigners should be studied and it is wrong to

refuse to study them. But it is necessary to study them with a critical eye so that the ancient serves the modern and the foreign serves the national.

An attitude of analysis, and not of blind reverence, not to mention blind copying, should be taken toward a number of rather prominent Soviet revolutionary works of art and literature that appeared after the October revolution. Blind copying cannot lead to art. Art and literature can originate only from life; life is the only source for art and literature. The historical development of ancient and modern, Chinese and foreign, art and literature proves this.

Carry out democratic centralism, adopt the mass line.

In literary and artistic work, both writers and those leading such work should carry out democratic centralism, encouraging the opinions of the masses and opposing the dominance of one man's views. They should follow the mass line and hold fast to the position of putting politics in the forefront.

In the past, some people completed a work without listening to the masses and forced the leadership to give approval. This is a bad style indeed. In their attitude toward literary and artistic creation, those leading such work should always bear the following two points in mind: First, be good at listening to the opinions of the masses of people; second, be skillful at analyzing these opinions, assimilating those which are good, and rejecting those which are not good.

There is no such thing as faultless work. We point out and correct the defects and errors in any piece of work which is basically good. Any piece of work which is not good should not be locked up. It should be turned over to the masses for criticism. We need not be afraid of the masses; on the contrary, we should place firm trust in them, because they can give us many valuable opinions. These opinions will serve as a force to clear the mind of some people whose senses are vague.

Encourage revolutionary, militant, and popular literary and art criticism. To do so we must oppose the monopoly of literary and art criticism by a handful of so-called "literary and art critics" (those who have erroneous orientation and are weak). We should place the weapon of literary and art criticism in the hands of the vast number of workers, peasants, and soldiers, integrating professional criticism with critics from among the masses. Literary criticism should become more militant, and unprincipled vulgar flattery should be opposed.

The style of writing should be reformed by encouraging the writing of short popular essays and forging art and literary criticism into daggers and handgrenades. Of course, a certain number of longer, systematic articles of greater theoretical depth should be written. We must proceed from facts, be reasonable, and never use technical terms to scare others. Only by doing so can we disarm the so-called "literary and art critics."

In art and literary criticism, good or basically good works should receive warm support, while their defects are noted in a helpful way; principled criticism should be given to bad works.

We should carry out systematic, thorough criticism toward the representative errors in the theories of literature and art. We need not be afraid of being called villains by others. Some of our criticism are basically correct, however, they are not quite analytical, insufficient basis for criticism, and have little effect in persuasion. We must correct them.

Art and literary criticism should become regular work, should become an important method in conducting the struggle in the sphere of art and literature as well as an important means by which the party exercises leadership over literary and art work.

Without correct art and literary criticism, it would not be possible to carry through a correct direction in art and literature consistently, and there would be no possibility of stimulating the blossoming of creative writing.

Reeducate literary and art cadres with Mao Tse-tung's thinking, reorganize the literary and art force.

In order to carry out the socialist cultural revolution thoroughly, workers in art and literary departments should be reeducated and reorganized.

Way back in the period of the Chingkangshan struggle, the worker-peasant Red Army had built up a Red art and literary rank and file under the direct leadership of Chairman Mao and the brilliant light of the "Resolution of the Kutien conference."

During the period of the war of resistance against Japan, and with the development of political and military strength of our party and army, our art and literary and art rank and file too grew tremendously.

We had trained a considerable number of revolutionary art and literary workers in the revolutionary bases and among the troops. Following the publication of the "Talks at the Yen-an

Forum on Literature and Art, these revolutionary art and literary workers had upheld the correct orientation and followed closely the path of identifying themselves with the workers, peasants, and soldiers, playing a positive role in the course of the revolution.

The question is, after the nationwide liberation, some people in the big cities did not resist the corruption of bourgeois ideas thus dropping out of the rank and file. Art and literary workers who newly joined the troops had also brought along with them the influence of bourgeois literary and art ideas of all kinds.

There are still a few people who have not transformed in the least and are upholding the bourgeois stand.

Our art and literature is proletarian art and literature, and the party's art and literature. The principle of proletarian partisanship is the most outstanding symbol to distinguish classes. It should be noted that representatives of other classes to have their principles of partisanship and they are quite stubborn.

The ideas governing creative writing, the organizational line, and style of work, all require that we persist in the principle of proletarian partisanship and oppose the corruption of bourgeois ideas.

The line of demarcation with bourgeois ideas should be drawn clearly, since peaceful coexistence with them can never be tolerated. For most army art and literary workers the question is a deeper understanding, cultivation, and reaching a higher level.

We should take Chairman Mao's works as the supreme instruction. We must make serious efforts to study and grasp Chairman Mao's art and literary ideas and to apply them in practice, to study and apply them creatively, and associate them mentally and with actual conditions so as to truly master Mao Tse-tung's thinking.

We must follow Chairman Mao's teaching: "For a long period of time unreservedly and wholeheartedly go among the masses of workers, peasants, and soldiers, go into the heart of the struggle, go to the only source, the broadest and richest source," integrating ourselves with the workers, peasants, and soldiers, remolding our thinking, raising the level of our consciousness, working neither for fame nor wealth, fearing neither trials nor death, and wholeheartedly serving all the Chinese people and the people of the world. We should study Chairman Mao's works, work for the revolution, and remold our thinking throughout our lifetime.

As Comrade Lin Piao instructed: Think, hard, live hard, and train skills hard. Only in this way can our art and literary work be made better to serve the workers, peasants, and soldiers, serve socialism, and serve the consolidation and improvement of the combat strength of our army.

There has been an upsurge in the great socialist cultural revolution, and a mass movement is rising in this revolution. The great revolutionary waves will surely wash away the filth of the bourgeois trend in art and literature, and open a new epoch of socialist proletarian art and literature.

Facing such a splendid revolutionary situation, we should feel proud of being thoroughgoing revolutionaries. Our socialist revolution is the final revolution that will eliminate exploiting classes and the system of exploitation, and will root out the ideologies with which all exploiting classes poison the masses of people.

We should have the confidence and courage to dare to do what our predecessors never did. We must raise still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking, and under the leadership of the party Central Committee, Chairman Mao, and the Military Commission, actively participate in the great socialist cultural revolution, carry unswervingly the socialist cultural revolution through to the end, and create a socialist new culture worthy of our great country, our great party, and our great people, and our great army.

Notes

The Life of Wu Hsun: This is a bad movie slandering the revolutionary tradition of the Chinese people and spreading bourgeois reform-ism and surrender-ism. Wu Hsun, a slave of the landowner in the Ch'ing Dynasty, is described by the movie as a "great man" who did not hesitate to sacrifice himself in order to win the opportunity for the poor peasant children to receive an education. The editorial of the Jen-min Jih-pao, 20 May 1951, solemnly pointed out the reactionary quality of the movie and appealed for a nation-wide criticism. It was the first large scale criticism of the reactionary bourgeois thinking since the founding of the new China.

A Study of the "Dream of the Red Chamber:" Yu P'ing-po (0205 1627 0130), the author, discusses the Dream of the Red Chamber with the bourgeois idealist viewpoint and tedious textual criticism. In September 1954, a criticism of the book was launched in the whole nation. It was a struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the ideological realm, and a struggle against bourgeois idealism.

The Anti-Revolutionary Clique of Hu Feng: Hu Feng (5170 7364), a rebel, infiltrated the revolutionary ranks. After the liberation, he organized a "dark group" in the literary world to pursue anti-revolutionary activities. In 1954, he submitted to the Party Central a "Memo of Views" of over 300,000 words, viciously attacking the party's literature and art policy and Mao Tse-tung's literary thinking. In May and June 1955, the Jen-min Jih-pao published successively three groups of material concerning his anti-revolutionary clique, and thoroughly exposed and smashed its anti-revolutionary conspiracies.

The Theory of "Truthful Depiction:" "Truthful depiction" is the revisionist creative theory. Anti-revolutionary elements Hu Feng and Feng Hsueh-feng (7458 7185 1496) advocate "truthful depiction." Their purpose is to oppose the class and tendency qualities of the socialist literature and the education of the people with the socialist spirit under the banner of "truthful depiction." They wish to search for the dark corners and historical trash in the practical life of socialism. Their goal is to depict the bright socialist society as something pitch dark.

The Theory of "the Wide Path of Realism:" The anti-party and anti-socialist elements in the literary circle oppose Chairman Mao's "Talk at the Yen-an Literary Roundtable," on ground that it is out of date, and wish to open some other wide path. "The Wide Path of Realism," with Ch'in Chao-yang (4440 0340 7122) as the representative, is

this type of merchandise. Those advocating the theory find that serving the worker-farmer-soldier masses, which is the most accurate and widest path, is too narrow, and that it is an "inflexible dogma" and "an immutable little trail mapped out for the writers." They advocate that the writers should be permitted to write whatever they like "according to their individual life experience, cultivation, disposition, and artistic temperament," and to search for an "unlimited world of creation" away from the mass direction.

The Theory of the "Intensification of Realism:" When advocating "the depiction of intermediate figures," Shao Ch'uan-lin (6730 5425 7792) proposed the theory of the "intensification of realism." Under this theory, the writers are asked to express "the old matters" in the people and portray the complex image of the "intermediate figure" by generalizing the "spiritual burden of the individual peasants through thousands of years." They are urged to write about "very commonplace" things, in order "to see the big in the small" and "view the universe in a grain." To him, only literary works describing "intermediate figures" filled with inner conflicts, generalizing "the spiritual burden of the individual peasants through thousands of years," and expressing the "difficult process" undergone by them when changing from the individual, to the collective, economy are realistic, and constitute the "intensification" of realism. Meanwhile, extolling the revolutionary heroism of the people and depicting their heroic images are untruthful and unrealistic. The theory of "the intensification of realism" is a merchandise purchased directly from the bourgeois critical realism, and an extremely reactionary literary theory.

The Theory against "Subject Matter Determination:" This theory is an anti-socialist literary thinking. T'ien Han (3944 3352), Hsia Yen (1115 5888), etc. are its active proponents. When the proletarian writer selects a subject matter, he will first consider whether it will benefit the people. His selection and portrayal are for the purpose of promoting the proletarian and eliminating the bourgeois, and encouraging the people to follow the socialist path. Those advocating the theory against "subject matter determination" wish to "completely abolish" such principles on ground that they are too stereotyped. Under the excuse of expanding the subject matters, they urge deviation from the "revolutionary classics" and rebellion against the "warring ways." They say that we have too many movies about the revolution and the armed struggle, and that no new variation can be produced if we do not deviate from them. Some people advocate writing about "human interest," "human love," "small figures," "trivialities," etc. They attempt to take literature and art away from the track of serving the proletarian politics.

The Theory of "Intermediate Figures:" The main proponent of this fallacy is Shao Ch'uan-lin, who once served as the Vice Chairman of the China Writers' Association. Between the winter of 1960 and the summer of 1962, he repeated this fallacy many times. He slanders our poor and low-middle peasants by saying that the majority of them are in an "intermediate state," wavering between socialism and capitalism, and feels that the writers should portray more of such "intermediate figures." His purpose is to spread a feeling of doubt about socialism, and resist and oppose the depiction of heroes of the socialist era in our literature.

The Theory against "the Powder Smell:" The modern revisionist literature recklessly exaggerates the terrors of war, and advocates "the survival philosophy" and surrender-ism, in order to dissipate the people's fighting determination and serve imperialism. In recent years, there have also been some people in our country who repeatedly shout that the excessive smell of powder in our literature and the excessive number of guns on our stage have damaged art. They want the writers to deviate from the "revolutionary classics" and desert the "warring ways." The theory against "the powder smell" is, in essence, the reflection of the revisionist literary tendency in the literature of our country.

The Theory of "the Fusion of the Spirit of the Era:" This is the anti-Marxist-Leninist fallacy as represented by Chou Ku-ch'eng (0719 6253 1004). Chou Ku-ch'eng refuses to admit that the spirit of the era is the spirit which promotes the progress of the era, or that its representative is the advanced class promoting the progress of the era. According to him, only the "fusion of the different ideological consciousness of the different classes" constitutes the spirit of the era, and the "non-revolutionary, un-revolutionary, and even anti-revolutionary" spirit must be included. The theory of the "fusion of the spirit of the era" is typical class reconciliation theory, and thoroughly reactionary.

Pieh-lin-szu-chi (1811-1848): Russian democrat, literary critic, philosopher, and aesthete. Through his literary criticism, he opposed the tenant slavery and dictatorship of the Czarist era.

Ch'e-er-ni-hsueh-fu-szu-chi (1828-1889): Russian democrat, critic, and writer. He adhered firmly to the revolutionary democratic thinking, and resisted the Czar and tenant slavery.

Tu-po-lo-liu-po-fu (1836-1861): Russian democrat and literary critic. He engaged in activities against the Czarist system and tenant slavery.

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