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THE "TALKS AT THE YENAN FORUM ON LITERATURE AND ART" IS A
REVOLUTIONARY PROGRAM FOR CARRYING OUT GREAT
PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION

-- Speech by Yao Wen-yuan at Shanghai Commemoration Rally
Marking 25th Anniversary of Publication
of Chairman Mao's "Talks at Yen-an Forum on
Literature and Art" --

[Following is a translation of the text of a speech published in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No 9, 27 May 1967, pp 29-35.]

Comrades and comrades in arms: Today, when the revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation is in full swing, when the great proletarian cultural revolution is entering a stage of launching a general attack against and settling accounts with the handful of top party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, and when the shameless renegade action and theories of Soviet revisionism are facing bankruptcy throughout the world, we, the fighters of Shanghai's proletarian revolutionaries, are holding a solemn rally to commemorate the 25th anniversary of the publication of Chairman Mao's great works "Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art." It bears an important historical as well as realistic meaning.

"Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art" is a brilliant crystallization of Mao Tse-tung's thought, an immortal document of Marxism-Leninism, an epoch-making development on Marxist-Leninist world outlook and literary and art theories, a programmatic document for the great proletarian cultural revolution and against modern revisionism and all bourgeois reactionary ideas, and a militant clarion call which inspires all the oppressed peoples in the world to bravely attack imperialism and all reactionaries.

In the history of the world proletarian literary and art movement, the "Talks" for the first time most clearly, completely, and thoroughly put forward the fundamental orientation of serving workers, peasants, and

soldiers, systematically solved the questions of linking literary and art workers with workers, peasants, and soldiers, and settled a good many important and fundamental questions on the theories and practices for the development of proletarian literature and art.

The "Talks" extensively summed up the historical experience in the struggle between the two lines on the cultural front, thoroughly criticized and repudiated the bourgeois line on art and literature which had occupied a dominant position within the party for a long time, and in an all-round way formulated the proletarian line and various concrete policies on literature and art.

Holding high the great revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism of criticism and repudiation, the "Talks" dealt all kinds of reactionary ideas of the bourgeoisie and revisionism with destructive blows, and thoroughly exposed the reactionary features of the black line of the thirties on literature and art advocated by Chou Yang and his gang.

This criticism and repudiation are so profound, sharp, and forceful that they struck at the vital part of the bourgeois reactionary world outlook and theories on literature and art.

The reactionary trend of revisionist thought of all kinds, including the reactionary theories which the book "On Self-Cultivation" advocated to betray the dictatorship of the proletariat and to peddle class capitulationism, and including the bourgeois theory on human nature and humanitarianism which the Soviet modern revisionist had treasured, could not escape the boundless power of this monster-exposing mirror -- the "Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art" -- no matter how well they camouflaged themselves. Once this monster-exposing mirror is used their ugly features are immediately exposed. The path pointed out by the "Talks" that literary and art workers must identify themselves with workers, peasants, and soldiers, cope with the new mass era, and thoroughly remold themselves is the only path that should be taken by all intellectuals who are willing to make revolution so that they will become even more revolutionary and proletarian. It is the only path to develop proletarian culture and the fundamental guarantee to oppose and prevent revisionism. All revolutionary cadres and cultural workers found the broad path in the "Talks" for remolding their thought and identifying themselves with the masses.

In solving all kinds of complicated problems, the "Talks" applied and developed, with genius and creatively, the dialectics of Marxism. It is a brilliant example with which we can make use of dialectical materialism in the revolutionary practice. The "Talks" is the everlasting truth for the development of revolutionary culture, the invincible militant banner of proletarian literature and art, and the compass for carrying out the great revolution on the ideological and cultural fronts.

This great work of Chairman Mao's, along with his other works such as "On New Democracy," "Letter to the Yenan Peking Opera Theater After Seeing 'Driven to Join the Liangshan Mountain Rebels,'" and "Pay Attention to the Discussion of the Film 'Biography of Wu Hsun,'" "A Letter on the Question of Studying 'The Dream of the Red Chamber,'" and "Questions on Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," published during the period of socialist revolution; and "Talks at the National Propaganda Work Conference of the CCP" and many important instructions and documents issued since the beginning of the unprecedented great proletarian cultural revolution have developed Marxism-Leninism to a brand new stage and opened up an entirely new historic period in the development of proletarian art and literature and in the carrying out of the proletarian cultural revolution.

Over the past 25 years the "Talks" has greatly influenced China and the world, pointing out the direction of advance for all revolutionary art and literary workers and dealing telling blows to the reactionary bourgeois world outlook of all descriptions. The appraisal of the great historical role of the workers, peasants, and soldiers and the criticism and repudiation of the reactionary bourgeois world outlooks such as "the love of humanity" and "the theory of human nature" embodied in the "Talks" have helped the proletariat and the revolutionary people throughout the world understand the deceptive nature of the bourgeoisie and revisionism and encouraged them to struggle for their own liberation.

Of course, these 25 years have not passed without troubles. The history of the past 25 years has been one filled with violent class struggle and struggle between the two lines. Having controlled the former Propaganda Department of the CCP Central Committee, the former Ministry of Culture, the old Peking municipal party committee, and many other cultural departments throughout the country, Peng Chen, Lu Ting-i, Chou Yang, and other counterrevolutionary revisionists, and the top party person in authority taking the capitalist road who vigorously supported them, have frenziedly opposed and resisted the proletarian line on art and literature expounded in the "Talks" and in the series of Chairman Mao's important instructions on the question of culture, and frantically promoted a reactionary bourgeois line on art and literature (that is, the counterrevolutionary revisionist line on art and literature), so as to prepare public opinion for their evil cause of restoring capitalism on a nationwide scale.

In Shanghai a handful of persons in authority taking the capitalist road in the former municipal party committee also frenziedly opposed and resisted Chairman Mao's proletarian literary and art line and opposed and resisted his instructions on criticizing and repudiating the agents of the bourgeoisie who had sneaked into the party. They did their best to oppose and obstruct the struggle carried on by Comrade Ko Ching-shih for steadfastly adhering to Chairman Mao's literary and art line. Colluding with Lu Ting-i, Chou Yang, and company, they vainly attempted to use Shanghai as a base for developing the reactionary capitalist art

literature. Over the past 17 years, in league with those academic and literary and art "authorities" of the reactionary bourgeoisie, the handful of counterrevolutionary revisionists, who had sneaked into the party, government, army, and the various cultural spheres, usurped the leadership in the cultural sphere.

Using Peking and Shanghai as their major bases for conducting reactionary propaganda, they extended their evil hands to various parts of the country, exercised counterrevolutionary bourgeois dictatorship on the proletariat in the cultural field, and rampantly perpetrated "peaceful transition." They frenziedly praised the reactionary art and literature of imperialism, feudalism, capitalism, and revisionism; frenziedly supported a large group of antiparty, antisocialist big poisonous weeds to serve the political needs of the counterrevolutionary revisionist clique within the party and to serve the antisocialist needs of the bourgeoisie; frenziedly opposed Mao Tse-tung's thought; slandered the propaganda of Mao Tse-tung's thought as "oversimplified" and "Philistine"; and advocated the various bourgeois reactionary art and literary theories which had long been refuted by the "Talks." They frenziedly staged and prettified all the ugly symbols of the exploiting classes -- emperors, kings, generals, prime ministers, scholars, beauties, corpses, devils, young masters, and young mistresses. They also repudiated or distorted the symbols of the great workers, peasants, and soldiers. They frenziedly recruited the deserters and renegades in the art and literary circles; sheltered the bad elements; protected and developed the new nobilities of the bourgeoisie; put into important positions large numbers of renegades, traitors, special agents, and elements who maintained illicit relations with foreign countries, exploiting class elements, and degenerates; and perpetrated various unspeakable activities. They frenziedly hit at all "small persons" who dared to rebel against them and those who dared to adhere to Chairman Mao's art and literary line. So vehement was their hatred that they would deal them a fatal blow.

They repudiated, distorted, revised, blocked, or boycotted all instructions of Chairman Mao's; but, regarding the world of the handful of top party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and the "big" intellectuals of the bourgeoisie, they obeyed them as if they were the words of God. Over the past 17 years, the handful of counterrevolutionary revisionists have committed towering crimes and no end of evil. From lauding "The Inside Story of the Ching Court" to producing the drama "Hai Jui's Dismissal," it is a complete black history of their opposition to the "Talks," their opposition to Mao Tse-tung's art and literary line, and their activities for restoring capitalism.

Serving proletarian politics means that art and literature should serve the needs of consolidating the proletarian dictatorship and developing the socialist revolution in the period of socialist revolution, and

that art and literature should serve the needs of remolding the party and the world with the countenance of the proletariat. But the core of the counterrevolutionary revisionist line is to remold the party and the world with the countenance of the bourgeoisie, dreaming of converting the proletarian dictatorship into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, and to reduce China to an imperialist colony. As Chairman Mao correctly revealed: they intended to launch a counterrevolutionary coup in the fashion of the "Hungarian Petofi Club."

Chairman Mao personally led the numerous major art and literary struggles after liberation. Chairman Mao personally initiated and guided the criticism of "Hai Jui's Dismissal." Chairman Mao's theories on launching a great proletarian cultural revolution from the bottom to the top under the proletarian dictatorship, on proceeding from criticizing and repudiating the representatives of the bourgeoisie in the ideological and cultural realms to exposing and criticizing the handful of party persons in authority taking the capital road, to preventing capitalist restoration, and to consolidating the proletarian dictatorship, represent a creative development of the spirit of the "Talks," an epoch-making development of Marxism-Leninism and a great pioneering achievement in the international communist movement. Now, the ugly faces of this handful of counterrevolutionary revisionist elements have finally been exposed in the unprecedented great proletarian cultural revolution. Their plot has been crushed.

In opposition to the reactionary art and literary line of the bourgeoisie (that is the counterrevolutionary revisionist art and literary line) -- represented by Chou Yang, Hsia Yen, Lin Mo-han, and Chi Yen-ming -- Comrade Chiang Ching has steadfastly adhered to Chairman Mao's proletarian art and literary line as defined in the "Talks," carried out an unflinching struggle against the reactionary art and literary line of the bourgeoisie, and made vital contributions to the great proletarian cultural revolution. She has warmheartedly supported the newborn proletarian forces in the cultural circles who persist in the direction pointed out by the "Talks." She has dared to oppose each and every strict rule of those reactionary bourgeois authorities. The revolution of Peking opera and the revolution of other forms of theatrical art initiated and guided by her have destroyed the strongest citadel of the reactionary bourgeois and feudal art and literature, and created a number of brand new revolutionized Peking operas, ballets, and symphonies, establishing brilliant examples for the revolution of art and literature. These works are replete with revolutionary heroism of the proletariat, possess high degrees of revolutionary and artistic characteristics and a unique national style, provide good examples in developing the new by critical assimilation of the old, and are powerful ideological weapons and priceless cultural wealth of the proletariat.

On the stages in China and the world, these works have, through the heroic symbols typical of the workers, peasants, and soldiers, raised high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and dealt fatal blows at the monsters and demons of the exploiting classes.

"The minutes of the symposium of art and literary work among the units called by Comrade Chiang Ching at the request of Comrade Lin Piao" is an important document which has been amended many times by Chairman Mao. It has solved many major questions of the cultural revolution during the socialist period, crushed the foundation of the counterrevolutionary revisionist line on art and literature, and opened up a new road for the great proletarian cultural revolution in the art and literature fields.

We proletarian revolutionaries of Shanghai feel honored, for many major battles were fought in Shanghai. When the old Peking municipal party committee was controlled by the elements of Peng Chen's counterrevolutionary revisionist clique, Comrade Chiang Ching, acting on Chairman Mao's instructions, launched criticism and repudiation of Peng Chen's counterrevolutionary revisionist clique in Shanghai, kindling the raging flames of the great proletarian cultural revolution. We should carry forward such revolutionary traditions of the proletariat and forever wage an uncompromising struggle against all monsters and demons.

In commemorating the 25th anniversary of the publication of the "Talks," we must study in real earnest this great work of Chairman Mao's and his other great works on cultural revolution, and use them as our most important fighting weapons to thoroughly crush the positions occupied by the counterrevolutionary revisionist black line on art and literature politically, ideologically, theoretically, and organizationally, eliminate its poisonous influence, bring to the open all their underground activities, seize and put the leadership in the hands of the proletarian revolutionaries, and thoroughly discredit the behind-the-scenes general boss of the black line of art and literature, and the handful of top party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, so as to propel the revolutionary mass movement of criticism and repudiation to a new upsurge.

Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought are theories of revolution and criticism. They have always opened up the road of advance for themselves in the struggle against "left" and right opportunism and various trends of reactionary bourgeois ideas of all descriptions. Only through studying Mao Tse-tung's thought in struggle can we really master the revolutionary soul of Mao Tse-tung's thought. Only by mastering Mao Tse-tung's thought will it be possible to deal a fatal blow to the bourgeois reactionary line. In the final analysis, all our achievements in the great proletarian cultural revolution are victories of Mao Tse-tung's thought and the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao over the bourgeois reactionary ideology and line. Comrades of

Shanghai's proletarian revolutionaries, who are now in power, must place the study, mastery, and application of Mao Tse-tung's thought above everything else and before anything else, and attach greater importance to them than anything else. We must never forget and never stop and never let our day-to-day busy affairs take away our time for studying.

The ideological positions must be occupied by means of ideological weapons. It is impossible to destroy the bourgeois ideology by relying on fists and brutal force. Positions occupied by bourgeois ideology can only be recaptured by the proletariat using Mao Tse-tung's thought to criticize, repudiate, and fight. Only by using Mao Tse-tung's thought to conduct ideological education will it be possible for the masses poisoned and deceived by the bourgeois reactionary line to awake, consciously wipe out the erroneous thoughts in their minds, and return to the side of Chairman Mao's line. Whether the struggle can be carried out well on the ideological front is a matter which concerns the question whether we can carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

We should note that the bourgeois reactionary ideology and its representatives in the fields of ideology and culture are quite strong. The traditional influence and the force of inertia of the old society can only be gradually wiped out over a protracted period of time. The exposure of the representatives of the bourgeoisie is not tantamount to the elimination of their influence. Even after the old representatives of the bourgeoisie are uprooted, new ones may still emerge. Chairman Mao recently again reminded us: "The current great cultural revolution is only the first one, and there definitely will be many more in the future. The question of who will win or lose in the revolution can only be settled through a very long historical period. If we fail to do a good job, a capitalist restoration may happen any time, all party members and people throughout the country must not think that there will be peace and no worry after one or two, three, or four great cultural revolutions. We must be very alert and never lose vigilance." As for this emphatic and sincere instruction by Chairman Mao, comrades of our proletarian revolutionary organizations must think it over and over again, bear it in mind forever. We must never let the illusion of peace intoxicate us, render us careless, or cause us to slacken our revolutionary fighting spirit. We must not overlook the long-term nature of the struggle between the two classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and the two roads, socialism and capitalism. The history of the class struggle has told us: Art and literature are the most sensitive nerves of the classes; every round, every rise and fall, every turn of event in the political struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and the struggle between the two roads of socialism and capitalism, is always reflected first in art and literature. Was it not from the criticism and repudiation of "Hai Jui's Dismissal," "The Inside Story of the Ching Court," and other big poisonous weeds that Chairman Mao led us to expose the ugly faces of the handful of top party persons in authority taking the capitalist road?

The task of criticism and repudiation in the art and literary fields must continue and go deeper. First to be criticized and repudiated, and sterilized are such revisionist art and literary theories as "a literature and art of the whole people," "the theory of writing about the middle-of-the-road people," and "the theory of human nature," the big poisonous weeds praised, supported, nurtured, and used directly by the handful of top party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, and the major works by the ringleaders of Soviet modern revisionism. The criticism and struggle on the art and literary front should be linked closely with the overall situation of the political struggle in the great cultural revolution, and should serve the needs of the political struggle of the proletariat.

Shanghai was the old venue of the art and literature black line of the thirties, long under the control of imperialism and the Kuomintang reactionary clique. Shanghai was the place where the largest number of the bourgeoisie and its intellectuals converged; many bad plays, bad films, and bad books were produced in Shanghai; and many major struggles broke out in Shanghai. The success and failure of the extensive criticism and repudiation in Shanghai's art and literature front will affect the question of whether he can root out the black line on art and literature, and whether we can capture every position on the cultural and educational front for the proletariat in the current great cultural revolution.

We must not take this question lightly. On the ideological front, we must mobilize the broad masses of people, grasp the major issues, and fight one battle after another. In the meantime, we should thoroughly investigate the political countenance of the bad people hiding in the cultural field.

In commemorating the 25th anniversary of the publication of the "Talks," the army of the pen and the army of the gun should be linked together better.

Chairman Mao pointed out in his "Talks": "In our struggle for the liberation of the Chinese people there are various fronts, among which there are the fronts of the pen and of the gun, the cultural and the military fronts. To defeat the enemy we must rely primarily on the army with guns. But this army alone is not enough; we must also have a cultural army, which is absolutely indispensable for uniting our own ranks and defeating the enemy." Chairman Mao pointed out that these two armies should be "linked together." This is an extremely important strategic concept of Chairman Mao's; we must understand it thoroughly.

In the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution, in order to completely defeat the enemy, it is also necessary for us to depend on the good coordination and mutual support between the army of the pen and the army of the gun in their common struggle against the enemy. In other words, the meaning is to support the army and cherish

the people. We should resolutely respond to Chairman Mao's great call to support the army and cherish the people. When the army of the pen and the army of the gun are closely united under the leadership of our supreme commander Chairman Mao, we will be like a tiger who has been given wings and will be able to smash all the counterattacks of the class enemy and strive to win new and great victories.

In marking the 25th anniversary of the publication of the "Talks," we should persist in serving the workers, peasants, and soldiers as instructed by Chairman Mao and do well in the work of struggle-criticism-transformation in all spheres of literature and art. Workers of literary and art organizations should conscientiously carry out the "Decisions of the CCP Central Committee concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution in literary and art organizations." According to the current situation of the struggle, members of literary and art organizations should return to their own units and concentrate the forces to make revolution. They should at the same time carry out the struggle-criticism-transformation in their own units and create and perform modern, revolutionary literary and art works and dramas that serve the workers, peasants, and soldiers.

At present, there is still a long and arduous way to go as far as the completion of the task of struggle-criticism-transformation in the literary and art circles is concerned. The class struggle is still very acute and complicated. There will still be reversals.

The fundamental remolding in the sphere of literature and art lies in integration with the workers, peasants, and soldiers as pointed out in the "Talks." It is precisely as was pointed out by Chairman Mao: "China's revolutionary writers and artists, writers and artists of promise, must go among the masses; they must for a long period of time unreservedly and wholeheartedly go among the masses of workers, peasants, and soldiers, go into the heat of the struggle." "They must shift their stand; they must gradually move their feet over to the side of the workers, peasants, and soldiers, to the side of the proletariat, through the process of going into their very midst and into the thick of practical struggles and through the process of studying Marxism and society."

Our literary and art creations must serve the workers, peasants, and soldiers; our literary and art ranks must remold their own stand and their world outlook through the process of integrating themselves with the workers, peasants, and soldiers. At present, we suggest that writers and artists should return to their own units to carry out the task of struggle-criticism-transformation. It is for the reason that, unless the great cultural revolution in various units is properly carried out, unless the counterrevolutionary revisionist black line on literature and art and the bourgeoisie reactionary line are thoroughly exposed and criticized, unless the handful of people in authority taking the capitalist

road is completely criticized, repudiated, and overthrown, and unless the literary and art ranks are properly straightened out and "cleared up," there can be no clear-cut line between the fronts of classes, it will be impossible for us to build a proletarian literary and art rank, and the integration with the workers, peasants, and soldiers cannot be guaranteed.

It should be pointed out: Some writers and artists and revolutionary intellectuals have integrated themselves with the workers, peasants, and soldiers, served the workers, peasants, and soldiers, disseminated Mao Tse-tung's thought, propagated the great cultural revolution, become one with the workers, peasants, and soldiers, carried out the struggle together with local proletarian revolutionaries and achieved good results, and have been warmly welcomed by the workers, peasants, and soldiers. This is the main aspect. However, there are also a very small number of people who took advantage of "exchanging experience" to create confusion and incite struggle by force in factories and rural areas; they even tried to reverse the verdicts passed on landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad elements, and rightists. They failed to act according to Chairman Mao's "Talks" to sincerely learn from the proletarian revolutionaries among the workers and peasants and truly transform their nonproletarian thinking. On the contrary, they "regarded themselves as the masters of the masses," spread among the masses the thinking in antagonism to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, and desperately created a split in the revolutionary ranks.

Is it right to say that this handful of persons should not make efforts to study the "Talks" well and cleanse their thinking accordingly?

Literature and art are the weapons for class struggle. All literary and art works produced by the proletariat are the powerful weapons for uniting and educating the people and for attacking and annihilating the enemies in accordance with Mao Tse-tung's thought. The revolutionary writers and artists in Shanghai, under the leadership of Comrade Chiang Ching, have launched heroic attacks on the citadels held by the obstinate bourgeoisie and feudalists. They have created such brilliant and exemplary revolutionary operas as "Taking the Bandit Stronghold," "In the Docks," and "The White-Haired Girl," which are representative of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

The Mao Tse-tung's thought propaganda teams organized by the revolutionary literary and art workers and Red Guard fighters of Shanghai, as well as their literary and art detachments, while actively serving on the various fronts have created many outstanding short plays which show the fighting spirit. Because these plays reflect the struggle of the various stages of the present era, they are warmly acclaimed by the broad masses. You have done the right thing and have done it well!

From now on we shall make continued efforts to advance toward popularization and the raising of standards. We should have the revolutionary ambition to create more exemplary works reflecting the great proletarian cultural revolution, which is unprecedented in history, and produce more outstanding works to reflect the stormy January revolution of Shanghai! Our revolutionary musicians should produce songs and music that reflect the great revolutionary spirit of the proletarian revolutionaries! We should have our own "songs of the Red Guards"! Revolutionary writers must create the immortal images of the proletarian heroes who have emerged during the great cultural revolution! In the fields of literature and art, we should bring forth eulogies of victory that praise the victories of Mao Tse-tung's thought, and let these praises echo in the sky!

While marking the 25th anniversary of the publication of the "Talks," we must conscientiously implement the mass line in all fields, stepping up self-reformation and surmounting the various kinds of nonproletarian thinking among our ranks in accordance with the world outlook of the proletariat.

The two fundamental questions, whom to serve and how to serve, as pointed out in Chairman Mao's "Talks," have a universal meaning not only to the literary and art workers, but also to every comrade who is engaged in the work of revolution. In the great proletarian cultural revolution, the focus of the struggle between the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and the bourgeois reactionary line lies in the question of one's stand and attitude toward the masses.

Chairman Mao has repeatedly called on the revolutionary cadres to "go to the midst of the masses." Obviously, only by settling the question of stand and the question of attitude can we have a correct political orientation for our work, and only by settling the two questions can we prevent the capitalist "peaceful evolution" and the capitalist restoration. We proletarian revolutionaries definitely do not aim at serving the interests of a small organization. On the contrary, we serve the interests of the proletariat and the broad masses of revolutionaries. If a revolutionary mass organization's interests conflict with that of the proletariat and the broad masses of working people, then these partial interests should be placed in subordination to the collective interest, definitely not the other way around. All revolutionary cadres should humbly learn from the masses, enthusiastically support the initiative of the masses, wage resolute struggle against all kinds of bureaucratic practices that keep them apart from the masses, and make strenuous efforts to incessantly cleanse their minds of the dust that tarnishes their thinking and working style.

Chairman Mao teaches us in the "Talks": "All communists, all revolutionaries, all revolutionary literary and art workers should learn from the

example of Lu Hsun and be 'oxen' for the proletariat and the masses, bending their backs to the tasks until their dying day." We should use this as a criterion for self-inspection, develop the working style of hard struggle, and continuously and determinedly fight the ideas of "self-interest" so as to serve the people wholeheartedly.

In his "Talks" Chairman Mao repeatedly taught us that a clear distinction must be made between proletarian ideology and petty bourgeois ideology. He said: "There are many comrades who are still not clear what the difference is between the proletariat and the party bourgeoisie." "There is a need to launch an ideological struggle between the proletariat and the nonproletariat."

The "Talks" is a penetrating report on rectification. It is a mighty ideological weapon for the proletarianization of our thinking. Comrades of the revolutionary rebel groups in Shanghai must firmly grasp the general orientation of the struggle, consolidate and develop the revolutionary great alliance, make a conscious effort toward overcoming the pounding attacks of the petty bourgeois ideological tide, and conquer anarchism, small-group mentality, splittism, and other erroneous trends that obstruct the revolutionary great alliance. A proletarian revolutionary fighter must be expert at distinguishing the demarcation line between the proletarian world view and all sorts of bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideologies and other nonproletarian thinking. They must do careful and patient ideological work, lead the masses in overcoming the influence of bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideologies, and unite with them to march forward shoulder to shoulder.

Chairman Mao pointed out: Only by achieving unanimity on basic principles, and "also by setting forth the slogan of going into the masses for the workers, the Eighth Route Army, and the New Fourth Army, and thoroughly implementing it" can the objective of conquering sectarianism and uniting to face a common enemy be achieved.

In the "Talks" Chairman Mao quoted Lu Hsun: "The inability to achieve unification of our lines proves that our objective is not in accord. It is either for the individual or for the small group. If the objective is for the masses of workers and peasants, our lines will naturally be unified."

The directives of Chairman Mao have great educational significance not only for the literature and art circles, but also for the present strengthening of the alliance of proletarian revolutionaries.

We proletarian revolutionaries must aim the spearhead of struggle unwaveringly at the Khrushchev of China, the party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, and the bourgeois reactionary line represented by the top party person in authority taking the capitalist road, form an alliance under the common objective of the struggle, unite the broad

revolutionary masses, march courageously forward along the proletarian revolutionary line of Chairman Mao, and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end!

Long live the victory of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line! Carry the revolutionary mass criticism through to the end! Hold firm to the orientation of serving the workers, peasants, and soldiers! Long live the dictatorship of the proletariat! Long live the Chinese Communist Party! Long live the all-conquering Mao Tse-tung's thought! Long live our great leader Chairman Mao!

DOCKERS HAVE ASCENDED THE DRAMATIC STAGE

[Following is a translation of an article by the Revolutionary Rebel Detachment of the Workers of the 5th Loading and Unloading District, Shanghai Harbor Bureau, published in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No 9, 27 May 1967, pp 36-37.]

A mighty thunderclap opens up a new world, and a thousand leagues of east wind sweep away the scattered clouds. In the surging great proletarian cultural revolution and the great struggle for the criticism and repudiation of the top person in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party, On the Docks, a revolutionary Peking opera on modern theme, has appeared on the stage with brand-new features. This is a very fine model play created under the intimate guidance of Comrade Chiang Ch'ing and is a great victory for Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in literature and art. "The fragrance of the chrysanthemum is especially strong in the battlefield." We hail and applaud the Peking opera On the Docks. The opera is very good indeed!

Having seen the opera On the Docks, many of our dockers said that it never occurred to them even in their dreams that the dockers -- who were described as the "poor guys" and "stinking coolies" in the old society -- would appear on the dramatic stage.

Since we were liberated more than ten years ago, we have won our political emancipation, and the working people have become the masters of the country. However, we working people were never the masters on the dramatic stage. The top person in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party and the counterrevolutionary revisionists in literary and art circles frenziedly opposed Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in literature and art, and the dramatic stage was dominated by emperors and princes, generals and ministers, gifted scholars and beauties, foreigners, dead people, and monsters and demons to shape public opinion for capitalist restoration. We of the working class could never give assent to this, and we wanted to seize back all positions usurped and occupied by them.

It was Chairman Mao who led the Chinese people to make revolution and turned the working people into the masters of the country. It was the radiance of Mao Tse-tung's thought which shed light on the dramatic stage and brought about one good play after another that sang the praises of the heroic characters among the workers, peasants and soldiers. Let all kinds of historical rubbish be swept away from the stage. This is really an earth-shaking change.

After Chairman Mao saw Forced into Going Up Liangshan at the Yenan Peking Opera Theater twenty-three years ago, he had this to point out: "History is made by the people, but on the old stage (and in all kinds of old literature and art divorced from the people), the people became the dregs, and the stage was dominated by lords and ladies and their pampered sons and daughters. Now you have reversed such reversal of history and restored truthful history. Hence, this is worthy of congratulations." Old Chairman Mao has said what we working people want to say. Having seen the opera On the Docks, we dockers find this statement of Chairman Mao's especially complaisant, and we are able to understand it more profoundly.

How well the opera On the Docks is sung! It has brought out the warm love of us dockers for the Party and Chairman Mao. The dockers from the old society keep their scores in their hearts. Without the Communist Party there would not be the world of the working people, and but for Chairman Mao, the dockers would not be what they are today.

Hark! What Kao Chih-yang -- a "stinking coolie" in the old society but a good squad leader of the dockers today -- is singing is precisely the voice deep in our hearts: "Prior to liberation, the Stars and Stripes and the US ships committed outrages on the Yangtze River and left numerous blood stains and scars on the wharves! Fortunately the big guns of the Liberation Army dissipated the fog and brought out the sun."

We can never forget what our predecessors had said and how they shed blood when the dockers sought liberation and made preparations for battle. "We must wreak vengeance, seize over the wharves and become their masters!"

Under the leadership of the great leader Chairman Mao, we of the proletariat conquered the country. But now a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party want to make our socialist regime change political color, and we can never permit this. We dockers must use our big hands which once held carrying poles to lay a firm grip on the proletarian seal of authority. We shall closely follow Chairman Mao to make revolution. The seas may dry up and the rocks may decay, but our hearts will never change.

How well molded the images of the proletarian heroes are in the opera On the Docks!

Nursed with the thought of Mao Tse-tung, Fang Hai-chen, a coal digger in the old society and a person holding the seal in the new society -- is boundlessly loyal to and keeps a pair of sharp proletarian eyes on the revolutionary cause. She deeply understands that "one must not think that the wharf is free from storm because the port of Shanghai has always been a raging battlefield." She harbors a strong class affection for Han Hsiao-ch'iang, and through conducting class education, she helps him overcome the influence of bourgeois ideas and raise his class consciousness. Fang Hai-chen arms herself and the masses with the thought of Mao Tse-tung, and leads the dockers to ride on the wind and waves.

Fang Hai-chen is one of us dockers, and those she leads are also workers. There are many Fang Hai-chens among us dockers. They creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's writings, are able to detect all monsters and demons, and they can stand firm irrespective of how stormy it is.

At the end of last year, a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party raised the counterrevolutionary evil wind of economism in order to shift the general orientation of the struggle and undermine the great proletarian cultural revolution. These fellows thought they adopted the right tactics. But the dockers opportunely exposed their plot, waged a tit-for-tat struggle against them, and thoroughly smashed their counterattack. Following this, we proletarian revolutionaries seized back power from a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party.

Kao Chih-yang has manifested the heroic bearing of us dockers on the docks in keeping the world in our minds. He displays the revolutionary spirit of "holding up ten thousand piculs of grain with his left hand and one thousand tons of steel with his right hand." He is also so broad-minded that "he sends his profound affection to every corner."

When damaged bags of wheat were known to exist, he was full of anxiety, and he organized workers to work through the night to look for these damaged bags. Later he discovered that these damaged bags had been loaded on a rice lighter, and would soon be erroneously taken aboard a foreign vessel that carried aid to a fraternal country. Ignoring his fatigue after a day of work, he led other comrades and braved the thunder storm to pursue the lighter. They ignored "the billows which dashed against their chests and the strong wind and torrential rains which whipped at their backs," and finally caught the lighter and brought back the damaged bags.

We are workers of socialist China -- workers armed with the thought of Mao Tse-tung. Heart-stirring events occurred every day in our port of

Shanghai, and many foreign friends constantly raised their thumbs and said that the Chinese workers "are wonderful."

On one occasion, we were required to load material supplies in aid of a fraternal country, and it was originally planned that the job should take sixteen hours to complete. The workers said: "Every additional case loaded means one more shell for firing at US imperialism." We rubbed our hands and fists, made sky-rocketing effort, and took only a little more than four hours to fulfill the task ahead of schedule. A foreign friend nailed down an old squad leader and said with excitement: "The workers led by Mao Tse-tung do what they say. They are very good!"

The Peking opera On the Docks is well written and presented. When we saw the revolutionary writers and artists put the heroic deeds of our comrades-in-arms on the stage, we felt very excited and were inspired and educated. We cannot forget class misery. We think all the time of the oppressed people in the whole world and of making revolution for ever. Such a good play as On the Docks should be performed for all dockers and workers. We would not get tired of it even though we might have seen it ten times or a hundred times.

Thanks to the guidance of Comrade Chiang Ch'ing and the efforts of the revolutionary writers and artist, On the Docks, a revolutionary Peking opera with a contemporary theme, has been adapted for performance. How we hope that even more revolutionary writers and artists would come among us workers, peasants and soldiers, among us proletarian revolutionaries, and into the stormy class struggle to create a greater number of such work of literature and art as On the Docks, and mold even more heroic characters similar to Fang Hai-chen and Kao Chih-yang.

As taught by Chairman Mao, we should see to it that literature and art are really "created for the workers, peasants and soldiers and are for their use." In the great proletarian cultural revolution, in the stormy "January Revolution," how many earth-shaking heroic deeds have occurred in our port of Shanghai, and how we hope that the revolutionary writers and artists will portray them!

RAID ON THE WHITE TIGER REGIMENT IS A GOOD PLAY
MANIFESTING THE THOUGHT OF MAO TSE-TUNG

[Following is a translation of an article by Yang Yü-ts'ai (2799 5148 2088), First-Class Fighting Hero of the former Chinese People's Volunteers, published in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No 9, 27 May 1967, pp 38-40.]

When the 25th anniversary of the publication of Chairman Mao's illustrious article, "Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art" was celebrated, I saw once again the model play of revolutionary Peking opera, Raid on the White Tiger Regiment, and my heart was stirring with joy. The stage of Peking opera dominated by emperors and princes, generals and ministers, gifted scholars and beauties, has now been occupied by the lofty images of the workers, peasants and soldiers. This eloquently shows that the great thought of Mao Tse-tung is so invincible that nothing can stand in its way. The people armed with the thought of Mao Tse-tung are capable of thoroughly defeating US imperialism, the most ferocious enemy of the people of the whole world armed to the teeth, in the military theater of war. In the cultural theater of war they are capable of thoroughly breaching the most tenacious citadel of the old forces most strongly dominated by counterrevolutionary revisionism -- Peking opera. This is a great victory for Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in literature and art, a great victory for the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

Raid on the White Tiger Regiment has correctly portrayed Chairman Mao's thought on the people's war and graphically molded the heroic images of the revolutionary people armed with the thought of Mao Tse-tung. It has composed the triumphal hymn for the great victory of Mao Tse-tung's thought on the Peking opera stage.

Vice Chairman Lin Piao said: "As far as our armed forces are concerned, the best weapon is not the aircraft, the big gun, the tank or the atomic bomb, but the thought of Mao Tse-tung. The greatest fighting power comes from the people armed with the thought of Mao Tse-tung, bravery and defiance of death." This is the greatest truth. Today, regardless

of what artistic form is used to portray the heroic characters, only through revealing the nursing of Mao Tse-tung's thought and manifesting the great victory of Mao Tse-tung's thought can we mirror the true features of heroic characters and mold really striking heroic images.

When I was invited to see this play in 1965, they asked me to tell how the raid on the White Tiger Regiment was carried out. I told them that our 13 scouts depended upon the power of Mao Tse-tung's thought to win the battle. As a matter of fact, but for the wise leadership of Chairman Mao and the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, there could not have been the great internationalist action of the Volunteers, nor could the great victory be won in the Korean theater of war.

In the opera Raid on the White Tiger Regiment Yang Wei-ts'ai sings: "The Chinese and Korean people share their adversities together and their class and national animosities are unequalled. Chairman Mao leads us to make revolution and we have vowed to turn the old world upside down."

When US imperialism used the conspiracy of sham negotiation but real fighting, real war and sham peace, to hoodwink the people, Chairman Mao's viewpoint on class and class struggle enabled us to gain a basically clear understanding of the aggressive nature of US imperialism, and see clearly its counterrevolutionary double-faced tactics of war and "peace." Everybody had a clear picture of things and was full of fight. What Yang Wei-ts'ai sings in the play has truthfully expressed the determination of our Volunteers: "Although it plays the trick of sham negotiation and real fighting, yet a wolf in sheep's clothing is still a wolf. We harbor no illusions for the enemy, and we must heighten our vigilance, cling to the gun and defeat that ambitious wolf US imperialism!"

When the enemy burned down Anp'ing Lane and massacred the Korean class brothers and we were poised for the attack, it was precisely Chairman Mao's teaching -- serve the world people wholeheartedly, dare to fight and to win -- which enabled the thirteen of us to fight with one heart and concerted effort and thrust a sharp knife direct at the heart of the enemy. Because of Chairman Mao's teaching, Yang Wei-ts'ai was able to defy death when he stepped on an enemy mine, and was ready to sacrifice himself to shield his comrades-in-arms. Because of his teaching, we were able to cut our way through enemy troops several tens of times greater than our number and brought horror to the enemy. "Our army spreads the net to bag several ten thousand enemy troops." Such a miracle could only be performed by the revolutionary fighters armed with the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

Chairman Mao's thought on the people's war has shed light on the road of victory for revolutionary war. He said: "The revolutionary war is a war of the masses; it can be waged only by mobilizing the masses and relying on them." When portraying the revolutionary war, it is necessary

to manifest correctly this great thought of Chairman Mao's and give correct publicity to the relations between the army and the people.

We are pleased to see that this question is very well dealt with in the opera Raid on the White Tiger Regiment which portrays the relations between the army and the people as those between fish and water. In the Korean theater of war, our scouts were able to sneak into and move freely in the rear of the enemy not because we were able to walk on the roof and scale the wall, but because we were in close touch with the masses, depended on them for information, and were backed, shielded and assisted by them. The masses showed us the way, brought us ammunition and food grain, saved and shielded our wounded and sick personnel, and informed us of the movement of the enemy.

Old woman Ts'ui in the play is an epitome of the revolutionary people of Korea as a whole.

In the Korean battlefield, I once braved the heavy snow and went out to execute a task. After spending a day running about in the snow which was one meter deep, all my clothes were soaked through with snow and sweat and had frozen into a hard shell. Cold and hungry, when I came to a gully in a big mountain, I could walk no more. It was old woman Ts'ui who found me and brought me to her home. My cotton-padded coat and cotton-padded shoes were so hard frozen that they could not be removed from my body. Old woman Ts'ui thawed the shoe-laces with her hot breath and removed my shoes. She also thawed the frozen buttons in her mouth and removed my clothes. She saved me and escorted me back to my troops.

The husband, son and daughter-in-law of this old woman Ts'ui had all been ruthlessly slayed by US imperialism, and only she and her granddaughter were left. She regarded the Volunteers as her relatives and she risked her life to shield them. When she saw the enemy she was fired with anger. Should she come across an American devil in the gully, she would mercilessly hack him to death.

Old woman Ts'ui in the play also represents many old women Ts'ui among the revolutionary people of Korea who had contributed every ounce of their strength toward winning the war.

In the Korean theater of war, because Chairman Mao's thought on the people's war had taken root in the brains of the commanders and fighters of the Volunteers, they wholeheartedly fought for the Korean people, established flesh-and-blood class ties with them, and were supported and cherished by them. In the raid on the White Tiger Regiment, although we had only 13 scouts, yet there were numerous Korean people fighting with us. With the help of the masses of the people, we were like tigers with wings and fish in water. We could climb up perpendicular cliffs, jump across mountain streams, and descend on the enemy as though we were troops from Heaven, thus striking terror into the enemy.

The opposite was true with the enemies. Although they were armed to the teeth, yet because they were against the people, every tree of Korea was used as ammunition for wiping them out and every piece of land there was turned into a graveyard for them. They were deaf, blind and paralyzed, and they charged into the fire like the wild bulls and were buried in the vast sea of people's war.

Chairman Mao said: "The stage for the activities of strategists is built upon objective material conditions, but on this stage, the strategists can direct many colorful and striking, awe-inspiring and militant melodramas." Chairman Mao is the greatest commander and the wisest strategist in the world. Japanese imperialism was defeated by China, the eight million strong army of the Chiang Kai-shek gang of bandits was wiped out, and US imperialism said to be without an equal in the world was beaten in Korea. All these colorful, striking, awe-inspiring and militant scenes which startled the world were personally "directed" by Chairman Mao. The victory of every battle fought by the Volunteers in the Korean theater of war, every colorful and striking scene big or small, was won or created according to Chairman Mao's strategical and tactical thinking.

Raid on the White Tiger Regiment has correctly portrayed how the fighters of the Volunteers won one victory after another in fighting under the guidance of Chairman Mao's strategical and tactical thinking, and has sung the praises of the peerless greatness and brilliance of Chairman Mao's strategical and tactical thinking. What are portrayed in this play are all facts.

Prior to making our raid on the White Tiger Regiment, we studied in real earnest Chairman Mao's thought on slighting the enemy strategically and seriously dealing with him tactically, probing the weak spots of the enemy, taking him by surprise and catching him unprepared. Chairman Mao's teaching that only raiding the enemy by surprise could insure victory was taken as our guiding thought in this battle. As we thrust deep into the enemy rear, we encountered enemy troops a number of times, but we followed Chairman Mao's mobile and flexible strategy and tactics: "Stand and fight when you can win, and when there is no chance of winning, just slip away." In this way we were able to capture enemy soldiers to obtain information, dodge the artillery position of the enemy, sneak past the enemy sentry boxes, confuse the enemy reinforcements, penetrate through one barrier after another, and make a direct thrust at the heart of the enemy -- the regimental headquarters of the White Tiger Regiment.

At that time, since we had to deal with enemies more than ten times greater than our number, how should we fight? According to Chairman Mao's thought on fighting a battle of annihilation -- "It is better to cut one of his fingers than to hurt his ten fingers," and "Strive to make the annihilation complete without letting anybody slip away" -- we brought into

play the tactical principle of making a ferocious charge to fight a battle of quick decision. With the speed of lightning we charged into the regimental command post of the enemy, and after thirteen minutes of fierce fighting, we smashed the enemy command, killed the commander of the White Tiger Regiment, the commander of the Mechanized Armored Regiment and the US advisers, and wiped out all enemies, thus transforming the White Tiger Regiment -- so-called "corp d'elite" -- into a dead tiger regiment.

The successful performance of Raid on the White Tiger Regiment has retold on the stage how the Volunteers nursed with the thought of Mao Tse-tung grew to maturity in fighting in those years. It has sung the praises of the Volunteers who heroically destroyed the enemy and performed deeds of merit under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought. This is the greatest truth of history and is also the greatest achievement of the revolutionary Peking opera Raid on the White Tiger Regiment.

The victory of the revolution of Peking opera has smashed the pipe-dream of a handful of counterrevolutionary revisionists in literary and art circles and their backstage boss -- China's Khrushchev -- who vainly attempted to make use of the opera stage to carry out capitalist restoration. It has adjudged the counterrevolutionary revisionist line in literature and art bankrupt, and has opened up a new era for the development of new literature and art for the proletariat. Let us warmly hail the great victory of the revolution of Peking opera! Let the heroic characters of the workers, peasants and soldiers armed with the thought of Mao Tse-tung forever dominate our opera stage!

WORKERS, PEASANTS AND SOLDIERS MUST OCCUPY THE ART STAGE

[Following is a translation of an article by Lü Chia-ts'ai (0712 0857 2088), of the Red Rebel Liaison Center of the Peking Machine Tool Plant No. 1, published in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No 9, 27 May 1967, pp 40-41.]

With the great proletarian cultural revolution scoring a decisive victory today and at a time when the 25th anniversary of the publication of Chairman Mao's "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art" is warmly commemorated, five documents on literature and art written by our greatest leader Chairman Mao have been made public! These five documents have creatively developed the Marxist-Leninist theory on literature and art, and have penetratingly exposed, criticized and repudiated the counter-revolutionary revisionist black line in literature and art. They are program documents for the great proletarian cultural revolution as well as the most powerful weapons for overcoming modern revisionism and all kinds of bourgeois ideas in literature and art.

For a long period of time, there has all along been a hot and sharp struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines on the literary and art front.

As early as 1944, after seeing the opera Forced into Going Up Liangshan, Chairman Mao had this to point out in a letter to the Yanan Peking Opera Theater: "History is made by the people, but on the old stage (and in all kinds of old literature and art divorced from the people), the people became the dregs, and the stage was dominated by lords and ladies and their pampered sons and daughters. Now you have reversed such reversal of history and restored truthful history. Hence, this is worthy of congratulations. This beginning of yours will be an epoch-making beginning for the revolution of old opera. I am very pleased when I think of this, and I hope that you will write and perform more plays so as to create a vogue for promotion in the whole country!"

However, the top person in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party directed his loyal lackeys Lu Ting-i, Chou Yang, Lin

Mo-han, Ch'i Yen-ming, Hsia Yen and a handful of counterrevolutionary revisionists to lay hold of the literary and art circles, call in capitulationists and collect renegades, and form factions for selfish ends. They carried out a thick and long counterrevolutionary revisionist black line in literature and art, and frenziedly opposed and resisted Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in literature and art and his revolutionary guideline that literature and art must serve the workers, peasants and soldiers. They raised the bourgeois black banner advocating "literature and art of the whole people," vociferously promoted the reactionary and decadent culture of feudalism, capitalism and revisionism, brought into play in a big way "celebrities", "foreigners" and "ancient people," and gave the green light to big poisonous weeds opposed to the Party, socialism and the thought of Mao Tse-tung. They incited the monsters and demons to come out of hiding, placed the literary and art stage under the protracted domination of foreigners and dead persons, emperors and princes, generals and ministers, gifted scholars and beauties, and made a mess of the literary and art circles.

A handful of counterrevolutionary revisionists and the bourgeois reactionary "authorities" claimed that the workers, peasants and soldiers were not qualified for the stage. What are the qualifications they have in mind? Their so-called qualifications refer to the arrogance of emperors and princes, generals and ministers, and the romances of gifted scholars and beauties. These are the qualifications of the bourgeoisie and landlords, and the higher such qualifications are, the greater is the harm done to the people. By requiring us workers, peasants and soldiers to watch the low-class, depraved and disgusting awfulness of those lords and ladies and their pampered sons and daughters, how can we workers, peasants and soldiers -- who led the life of draft beasts in the old society but have now become the masters -- help from feeling indignant?

"The Golden Monkey wrathfully swung his massive cudgel, and the jade-like firmament was cleared of dust." Amidst the foul air of counterrevolutionary revisionism, Comrade Chiang Ch'ing -- the bravest fighter of the great proletarian cultural revolution whom we boundlessly revered and admired -- charged at the head and made the onslaught. With the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung as the weapon, she led the writers and artists to launch a violent attack against the decadent culture of the exploiting classes and the counterrevolutionary revisionist black line in literature and art. She stormed and breached the tenacious citadel which had for a long time been occupied by the counterrevolutionary revisionists, thus firing the first salvo of the great proletarian cultural revolution and creating a new era for proletarian literature and art in China.

Chiang the Bandits' Stronghold, On the Docks, Story of the Red Lantern, Sha Chia Pang, Raid on the White Tiger Regiment, Red Detachment of Women, White-haired Girl ... and other revolutionary plays on

contemporary themes were brought out one after another. Yang Tzu-jung, Fang Hai-chen, Li Yu-ho, Kuo Chien-kuang, Yang Wei-ts'ai, Wu Ch'ing-hua..., all heroic images of the workers, peasants and soldiers glittering with the radiance of Mao Tse-tung's thought, ascended the art stage in one leap, and history which was made by the people but had been transposed by a handful of counterrevolutionary revisionists was once again reversed. The season for a hundred flowers to come into full bloom in proletarian revolutionary literature and art had come!

Over a number of years, the class struggle in literary and art circles has been breathtaking, acute and complex! In the class struggle of literary and art circles, these five documents of Chairman Mao's serve as the compass. Like a red lantern, their unequalled radiance has lit up the brilliant prospects of the great cultural revolution. The five documents are magic mirrors, the strongest weapons for thoroughly exposing all counterrevolutionary revisionists and monsters and demons. In their presence, the poisonous weeds dressed as flowers and the wolves in sheep's clothing will reveal their true identity and have no way to hide themselves. The five documents are mobilization orders. They call on our broad masses of the workers, peasants and soldiers to occupy the art stage, and serve as the main force of the great proletarian cultural revolution and the masters of socialist literature and art!

"I ask the great earth and the boundless blue: Who are the masters of all nature?" We, the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, are! Putting literature and art in the service of the workers, peasants and soldiers is the basic policy of proletarian literature and art. The broadest road and most far-reaching outlook of our proletarian literature and art lie in the workers, peasants and soldiers writing about themselves and putting themselves on the stage. The onflow of the great proletarian cultural revolution has pushed us workers, peasants and soldiers onto the art stage. The era has entrusted us workers, peasants and soldiers with the great mission of destroying the counterrevolutionary revisionist black line in literature and art and founding a thoroughly red new literature and art glittering with the radiance of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Let us hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought in literature and art, firmly lay hold of Chairman Mao's powerful ideological weapons -- his "Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art" and the five documents recently published, and completely bury the counterrevolutionary revisionist line in literature and art. Let us strive to create a new revolutionary literature and art of the proletariat worthy of our great leader, great country, great people, great Party and great army. Let the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers forever be the masters of the literary and art front as they should and let the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought fly high and fly forever over the literary and art front.

Long live the victory for Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in literature and art!

LONG LIVE CHAIRMAN MAO'S BOUNDLESSLY BRILLIANT
REVOLUTIONARY LINE ON LITERATURE AND ART

[Following is a translation of an article by Tu Chin-fang (2629 6602 5364), published in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No 9, 27 May 1967, pp 42-47.]

At a time when splendid results have been achieved by the great proletarian cultural revolution initiated and led by our leader Chairman Mao, the reddest red sun in our hearts, to commemorate the 25th anniversary of the publication of a programmatic document of epoch-making world significance -- "Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art" -- is a big, joyful event not only to the Chinese revolutionary people but also to the revolutionary people of the whole world.

In the "Talks," Chairman Mao teaches us literary and art workers thus: "All our literature and art are for the masses of the people, and in the first place for the workers, peasants and soldiers; they are created for the workers, peasants and soldiers and are for their use."

All revolutionary workers in literature and art should carry out this highest directive without reservation, going all out to represent workers, peasants and soldiers, to sing praises of their heroic deeds and project their splendid images so as to consolidate the proletarian dictatorship and push our country's socialist revolution and construction to go on moving forward with success.

The Struggle Between Two Classes and Two Lines
in Peking Opera

As long as 1944 our great leader Chairman Mao pointed out: "History is made by the people, but on the old theatrical stage (in all old literature and arts divorced from the people) the people are treated as scum, and the stage is dominated by rich men and their wives as well as their sons and daughters. Such a reversal of history has been reversed by you, and the face of history has been restored. From now on the old opera has taken on a new face. This is cause for rejoicing."

However, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road directed P'eng Chen, the counter-revolutionary revisionist leader of the old Peking Municipal Party Committee and Lu Ting-i, Chou Yang, Lin Mo-han, Chi Yen-ming, Hsia Yen, and T'ien Han of the old Propaganda Department of the Central Committee and the old Ministry of Culture to recruit traitors and accept mutineers, form gangs to pursue private purposes, firmly hold all positions, big and small, in the circles of Peking opera, and thus consistently resist Chairman Mao's directives. Hoisting the signboards of "digging up traditions" and "inheriting traditional schools of thought," they let loose large numbers of bad plays praising kings, emperors, generals, prime ministers, scholars and beauties and preaching feudal morality and superstitions.

Actually, what is meant by "digging up traditions" is to dig up from the graves characters representative of the exploiting classes who had for long sat on the heads of the laboring people, to write their biographies, and use their ideology to rule the laboring people. What is meant by "inheriting the traditional schools of thought" is to laud to the skies those bourgeois reactionary "authorities and "grand masters," and to force the younger generation in socialist China to kneel at the feet of the "authorities" and "grand masters" and become bourgeois successors. By using these means, these persons reactionary to the core vainly attempt to reverse the wheels of history, dreaming that one morning new China of proletarian dictatorship could be dragged back to the semi-feudal, semi-colonial road before the liberation.

In 1956, "General Yang Visits His Mother" was again staged suddenly. This play which preaches the philosophy of the traitor and the philosophy of survival had been banned since the liberation. A handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists of the old Peking Municipal Party Committee and the old Ministry of Culture, in order to extend their influences, organized a large number of "famous actors and actresses" to stage the show at the biggest opera house in Peking at the time. Moreover, record tapes were produced to be broadcast over the radio in various places. Thus, a black wind of presenting "General Yang Visits His Mother" swept across the country. At an evening party in 1959, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road personally handed down a black directive asking us to present an obscene play "The Emperor and the Waitress" which had been banned for many years. He was full of praise for the performance and proposed to present the play on a larger scale.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "Just as there is no love without cause in the world, so there is no hatred without cause." The fact that the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road is so fond of "The Emperor and the Waitress" fully exposes his ugly soul.

Since 1959, imperialism, modern revisionists and reactionaries of all countries rigged up a frantic anti-China big chorus. At this time,

a small handful of counterrevolutionary revisionists in the country actively coordinated with each other and first presented the play "Chiu Chiang Kou," in which the hero Chang Ting-piem who was wrongly appointed a commanding general was eulogized, to cooperate with the attack by the Right opportunists against the Party. Then, they presented "Hsieh Yao-huan" written by Tien Han, an anti-Party "grand master" in the theatrical circles; this was a play which attacked by insinuation the general line, the people's commune and the great leap forward. In the meantime, Wu Han's "Hai Jui Dismissed from Office" and Meng Ch'ao's "Li Hui-niang" were successively staged.

Thus, instantly, devils were dancing wildly. The whole stage of Peking opera was engulfed by a suffocating, dirty atmosphere. It seemed as if "dark clouds are overhanging the city, and the city is crumbling."

Chairman Mao has taught us in these terms: "All reactionaries are paper tigers. They look very dreadful, but actually they do not have any great strength."

The reactionary forces entrenched in the position of Peking opera at the time, however ferocious they might appear, were, in fact, only a handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road and some reactionary "authorities" who were waving banners and shouting themselves hoarse there. The broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers had long ago discarded Peking opera and the broad masses of young students had basically shunned Peking opera. Peking opera art was faced with the danger of extinction. In reality, therefore, these people in authority taking the capitalist road and the reactionary "authorities" were never so isolated; they had no mass following around them, and their reactionary goods could find no market.

Under the rule of the counterrevolutionary revisionist black line on literature and art, we actors and actresses failed to see the essence of the problem. All we saw was that the box-office records were declining. This worried us all day long, but we did not know what to do.

Comrade Chiang Ch'ing -- the Most Courageous
Fighter Holding High the Great Red Banner of the Thought of
Mao Tse-tung on the Literary and Art Front

At a time when the struggle in the theatrical circles between the two classes and two lines assumed the most acute form and when the broad masses of Peking opera workers had lost their bearings and did not know where to go, Comrade Chiang Ch'ing, armed with Chairman Mao's highest directive and strong proletarian sentiments, came to us and personally led us to carry out a revolution in Peking opera. In an interview with us, I spoke to her about the fact that Peking opera had been shunned by theater-goers, and poured out to her our worries and anxieties. Comrade

Chiang Ch'ing intimately explained to us the policy of having literature and art serve the workers, peasants and soldiers, and analyzed for us the basic reason why Peking opera had been discarded by theater-goers. It was not that the theater-goers did not want to see you, but that you had not done your work in such a way as to be consistent with Chairman Mao's line on literature and art. That was why the theater-goers did not see your plays. Moreover, she pointed out that the only correct direction for the development of Peking opera in the future was to present plays on contemporary revolutionary themes. At the same time, she recommended to us the play "Red Lantern" which had been carefully selected, and suggested that we adapt it and present it on stage. That night, I was so excited that I could not sleep. This was the first time in my life that I heard such an instruction. What Comrade Chiang Ch'ing had given us was not merely a play "Red Lantern" but also a splendid red lantern sparkling with the thought of Mao Tse-tung, which illuminated the way of advance for the reform of Peking opera.

At this time, however, a handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road and some reactionary "authorities," relying on their reactionary smell, had already sensed that if Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art were implemented, it could imply the destruction of their dream for capitalist restoration. Breathing through the same nostrils, they put up a stubborn resistance. They prevented Comrade Chiang Ch'ing's directives and wishes from being known to the broad sections of the cadres and the revolutionary masses. They desperately clung to the decadent corpse of the traditional play, shouting again and again that "immediately after we have presented contemporary plays, let us present classical plays." Moreover, they framed plan for internal rehearsing one classical play every month with the aim of dispersing the energies of the masses and sapping their fighting will. In addition, hoisting red flags to oppose red flags, these reactionary "authorities" rehearsed another contemporary play which preaches class reconciliation - "The Daughter of a Commune Chairman." Actually, they vainly hoped to replace "Red Lantern" with this. With the date of the opera festival approaching, the reactionary essence of "The Daughters of a Commune Chairman" was discerned the moment it reared its head. These plots went bankrupt one after another, and it was under the pressure of the objective situation that "Red Lantern" was included in the repertoire.

Comrade Chiang Ch'ing not only selected a fine play for us. What is more, with a very high sense of responsibility and the greatest enthusiasm, she gave valuable instructions ranging from the structure of the play, the feelings of the characters, music, singing to artistic designs. To solve one problem, she often lay awake. She more than once emphasized that in the whole play we should first establish the lofty image of Li Yu-ho, a Communist Party member who fought the enemy heroically. Without revolutionary martyrs and without a revolutionary political party, how could we have revolutionary successors? It was inspired by the

revolutionary noble qualities of Li Yü-ho that T'ieh Mei had grown. It was no accident, therefore, that after the sacrifices of Li Yü-ho and his mother, T'ieh Mei was able to inherit the revolutionary will of her father and become a staunch successor to the proletarian revolutionary cause.

However, the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road and certain reactionary "authorities" opposed Comrade Chiang Ch'ing's directives in all possible ways and wilfully distorted the gist of "Red Lantern" in a vain attempt to emasculate this modern play of an revolutionary content. They deliberately placed Li Yü-ho in a secondary position, trying their might to depreciate and distort the heroic image of Li Yü-ho, a proletarian vanguard fighter.

Counterrevolutionary revisionist Lin Mo-han even went so far as to spread poison in the public. Maliciously on the excuse of telling a "story", he arbitrarily put the thought of a traitor into T'ieh Mei's mind, vainly trying to tarnish the image of proletarian heroes with the philosophy of the traitors. We know that a genuine Communist Party member will not yield before the enemy. How could the proletariat have come to power today without countless revolutionary martyrs who threw their heads and shed their blood for the interests of the people? Such malicious rumors and slanders of Lin Mo-han exactly expose his ugly features of a traitor.

Comrade Chiang Ch'ing holds high the great red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung and never forgets class struggle. She carries out an uncompromising struggle against a series of destructive activities by the counterrevolutionary revisionists. She led us to rehearse "Red Lantern" with success.

Our great leader Chairman Mao has all along warmly supported and fostered the growth of new products. He himself saw and affirmed our "Red Lantern." This is the greatest concern for us! The greatest support! The greatest encouragement! It gave everyone of us unlimited strength. We all expressed determination to devote our lives to Chairman Mao, to the thought of Mao Tse-tung, to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art, and to staging plays on revolutionary contemporary themes.

The success of "Red Lantern" was warmly cheered by the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and young students as never before. In one circuit performance tour, we had received more than 600 letters from the audience, which, filled with revolutionary passion and from different angles, lauded the success of "Red Lantern" and put forward constructive opinions. What was most unforgettable to me was that our respected and beloved Comrade Chiang Ch'ing, with a serious attitude of responsibility, asked us to arrange these letters and send them to her for perusal. She again and again instructed us that we must not rest content with the

achievements made, and that we should humbly listen to the opinions of the broad audience, continue to sum up experience, continue to refine our skills and continue to improve ourselves. Comrade Chiang Ch'ing most faithfully defends Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art. By her spirit of utterly serving the people, her humility and prudent attitude toward work, she is a typical example for creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works, an example we must emulate forever.

Chairman Mao has taught us: "The enemy will not vanish by himself. Neither the Chinese reactionaries nor the aggressive forces of American imperialism in China will withdraw from the stage of history of their own accords."

The handful of top Party people in authority taking the capitalist road will not take their defeat lying down. On the occasion of National Day 1964, after the national festival of plays of revolutionary contemporary themes, an upsurge in setting up samples of revolutionary plays on a large scale was stirred up throughout the country. However, the old Ministry of Culture asked us not to stage "Red Lantern" but to stage "Story of the White Snake" for our international friends. At a forum after the rehearsing of "Shachiapang" toward the end of 1964, P'eng Chen even ranted and raved, shouting: "Some one says 'General Yang Visits His Mother' is a paean to capitulationism. He sings their 'General Yang Visits His Mother,' but we are engaged in our socialist construction. We just love to hear that tune!" If we compare these remarks with the speech which he made on July 1 1964, when he hoisted red flags to oppose the red flag, it is difficult to believe that they came from the mouth of the same person. This fully exposes his treacherous and cunning features. Then on the eve of the great proletarian cultural revolution in 1966, in celebration of International Women's Day, the old Ministry of Culture arranged programs for the reception of foreign visitors. It still placed "Red Lantern" as a secondary item, to be sung only while placing "Stealing Magic Herbs" as the main item to be staged with the all prop necessary on the stage. These reactionaries always wanted to use the signboard of "receiving foreign visitors" to say the nonsensical remark that "foreign people can only enjoy the traditional plays." Actually, many international revolutionary friends had broken through numerous obstacles and travelled the sands of miles to China just for the purpose of seeing Chairman Mao - the reddest red sun in the people of the whole world - and studying the all-conquering thought of Mao Tse-tung. However, the handful of Party power holders taking the capitalist road did not let them see plays on revolutionary contemporary themes which preached the thought of Mao Tse-tung, but instead forced them to see those bad plays which praised feudal morality and preached superstitions in order to depreciate plays on revolutionary contemporary themes and oppose the thought of Mao Tse-tung. What a sinister mind they had.

Dark clouds cannot black out the sun. All desperate struggles by the counterrevolutionary revisionists cannot in the least save them from defeat. New forces will surely triumph over the decadent things. Such fine revolutionary sample plays as "Taking the Bandits' Stronghold," "Harbor," "Red Lantern," "Shachiapang" and "Surprise Raid on the White Tiger Regiment" were freed from the most stubborn fortress in the field of theatrical art - Peking opera. An end was put to the domination of the Peking opera stage by kings, emperors, generals, prime ministers, scholars and beauties. Positions for the propaganda of feudalism and capitalism were turned into positions for the propagation of the thought of Mao Tse-tung. This is a great victory for the brilliant thought of Mao Tse-tung, a great victory for Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art.

In the course of this sharp and complex struggle between two classes and two lines, our respected and beloved Comrade Chiang Ch'ing, with striking stamina, marched ahead, overcoming all obstacles standing in her way and performing distinguished meritorious services. At a time when the counterrevolutionary revisionists entrenched themselves in important positions, abused their authority, and viciously opposed Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art and when the broad masses of literary and art workers had lost their bearings, it was Comrade Chiang Ch'ing who, holding high the great red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, came into the midst of the masses. At a time when the devils were dancing wildly on the stage and ghosts and monsters were let loose, Comrade Chiang Ch'ing was the first to call for establishing contemporary revolutionary plays. At a time when the decadent reactionary forces were struggling desperately and were launching a frantic counter-attack from all directions, it was Comrade Chiang Ch'ing who, armed with the four volumes of inspirational revolutionary documents, stood erect and led the broad masses of revolutionary literary and art fighters to fight bravely in a blood bath, dispell the evil mist and black wind, conquer the most stubborn fortress in theatrical art, completely over throw the rule of kings, emperors, generals, prime ministers, scholars and beauties, consolidate the proletarian dictatorship, and establish on the socialist stage a revolutionary sample play sparkling with the thought of Mao Tse-tung. And at the crucial moment when the counterrevolutionary revisionists poisoned the minds of the young literary and art workers with their "three-famous" and "three-high" idea (Three-famous means: famous actors, famous directors, and famous playwrights; and three-high means: high salary, high remuneration for plays, and high prizes), it was again Comrade Chiang Ch'ing who taught everybody to creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's works, destroy self-interest and foster public interest, completely smash the bourgeois "star system" and feudal habit of forming guilds, who went deep among the workers, peasants and soldiers to become a true proletarian fighter in literature and art.

It should be said that in the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution without precedent in history today, it is Comrade Chiang

Ch'ing who is the toughest and most courageous fighter holding the great red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung on the literary and art front.

Presenting Revolutionary Plays and Being Revolutionary People

Chairman Mao has taught us: "We literary and art workers who are intellectuals have to change and reform our thoughts and sentiments if we are to make our works welcomed by the masses. Without this change and this reform, nothing can be accomplished." To present revolutionary plays, we must first be revolutionary people. In the past, the handful of Party power holders taking the capitalist road, in order to make us actors and actresses submit meekly to their orders, imposed on us the "On Self-Cultivation" of their general backstage boss. They wanted us to be their "docile tools." They opposed our study of Chairman Mao's works, racking their brains to make us leave proletarian politics. They wanted us to "cultivate" ourselves according to the method of cultivation employed by artists of the old society. Counterrevolutionary revisionist Chou Yang again and again declared: "Redness must be based on expertness. One who is only Red but not expert can be neither red nor expert." Wherever he went, T'ien Han encouraged "studying classical books, reading the poetry of T'ang and Sung Dynasties, and enjoying the great nature." Chi Yen-ming and a small band of power holders taking the capitalist road in the opera house said to me: "You must take the road of Mei Lan-fang. You must make yourself famous in several plays in your life."

They also ordered us not only to learn the skills of old artists but also to study their method of self-cultivation, devoting our spare times to classical poetry about wind, flowers, snow and moon and drawing flowers, birds, fish, and insects. As a result, apart from practicing skills in the daytime and giving performances in the evening, we had to work through half of the night playing music, reading poetry and drawing. We basically knew nothing about revolutionization of thinking and completely divorced ourselves from class struggle. The objective of our struggle was "three-famous" and "three-high."

Swayed by such thinking, I hated to act in plays which had been presented before. I thought that only thus would I not lose the position of "a famous actress." When "Red Lantern" was being rehearsed, I was abroad. When I returned home, it was already presented to the public. Should I cling to the name of "a famous actress"? Or should I put down airs, become a little pupil willingly and throw myself into the heat of struggle for reform of Peking opera? This to me was an acid test. With this question in mind, I studied the "Talks" in accordance with Comrade Chiang Ch'ing's instruction. Chairman Mao says there: "Our literary and art workers must accomplish this task and shift their stand; they must gradually move their feet over to the side of the workers, peasants and soldiers, to the side of the proletariat, through the process of going

into their very midst and into the thick of practical struggles and through the process of studying Marxism and society. Only in this way can we have a literature and art that are truly for the workers, peasants and soldiers, a truly proletarian literature and art." In the context of Chairman Mao's teachings, I analyzed my opposition to the A-B system. This was because I regarded skills as an instrument with which to hunt for personal fame and wealth. I regarded "opera" as private property. Aren't these the feelings and thoughts of the laboring people? No! They are the feelings and thoughts of the exploiting classes. This is a question of stand. I had not moved my feet over to the side of the workers, peasants and soldiers and the proletariat; I still stood on the side of the bourgeoisie. If I did not change and reform myself, did not move my feet over to the side of the workers, peasants and soldiers, but represented the heroic images of the workers, peasants and soldiers with the feelings and thoughts of the exploiting classes, it was certain that I would drop out from the ranks. I began to recognize that the principal problem about myself was one of world outlook. Thus, I decided to throw myself into the thick of struggle. I took the initiative to take on the B role of T'ieh Mei as the first step in moving my feet over to the side of the workers, peasants and soldiers.

But as for reform of world outlook, just as Chairman Mao points out, "this process may involve a great deal of pain and conflict." After the actors and actresses were divided into A and B groups, a series of problems arose. It was stated, for instance, that the A group had had enough practice and that the B group must rehearse more before it could meet the audience! For another instance, it was contended that the distribution of assignments was unfair because the B group had to stage many shows in the rural areas while the A group had more chances to appear on television and perform during evening parties!

All kinds of selfish ideas again entered my mind to seize power from the "public interest" which had only been established initially. At this time, I consulted Chairman Mao's works once more. As instructed by Comrade Chiang Ch'ing, I "should seriously study the 'Talks,' and creatively study and apply it in the context of one's ideas and profession The socialist opera house is a literary and art organization of the proletarian revolution. The only difference is the division of work. It is necessary resolutely to get rid of the capitalist 'star system' and the feudal habit of forming guilds. One must humbly learn from the masses and when confronted with difficult problems, seeks the answers from Chairman Mao's works."

An examination of my thoughts made me recognize that all kinds of work are the same, the only difference being in the division of work, and that I must establish the proletarian world outlook, wholeheartedly serve the workers, peasants and soldiers, be a revolutionary person all my life, and dedicate my life to revolutionary plays.

The process of playing a heroic character is also one of learning from the heroic character. To play a heroic character well on the stage, one must at the same time learn from the heroic characters off the stage. The heroic characters of three generations in "Red Lantern" have given me extremely profound education. Every time when I play T'ieh-Mei, I am profoundly moved by her proletarian revolutionary passion. When Li T'ien-mei was 17 years old, she was already able to withstand a severe test. Giving no thought to her life and death, she took over the red lantern and pledged to become a revolutionary successor. I had received Party education for so many years, yet there was a great distance between my ideological level and T'ien-mei's. In order to propagandize the thought of Mao Tse-tung well on the stage and truly play well in a revolutionary contemporary opera, I simply had to shorten the distance between myself and the proletarian heroic character in the play. The key to doing this lay with the study of Chairman Mao's works and the reform of my subjective world with the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung.

Today, when we are commemorating with deep emotions the 25th anniversary of the "Talks," we must constantly bear in mind Chairman Mao's teaching: "You must be concerned for the important affairs of the State and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end!" Armed with the sharp and powerful thought of Mao Tse-tung, we must strike down, discredit and repudiate the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and the counterrevolutionary revisionists, big and small. We must completely wipe out the poison spread by the counterrevolutionary revisionist line in the literary and art circles. In the course of this large-scale criticism, and according to Vice Chairman Lin Biao's directive, we must creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's works, take the "three constantly read articles" as the daily reminder, make exacting demands on us according to the standard set for the successor to the proletarian revolutionary cause, and devote ourselves and our lives to being Red propagandists for the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

A NEW VICTORY OF CHAIRMAN MAO'S REVOLUTIONARY LINE
FOR ART AND LITERATURE

[Following is a translation of an article by Hsin Ping (2450 0365), Shanghai Municipal School of Dancing, published in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No 9, 27 May 1967, pp 47-50.]

April 24, 1967 is the happiest and most unforgettable day in our life. On that day, the reddest, reddest sun in our minds, Chairman Mao, saw our performance of White-Haired Girl, a grand revolutionary ballet on a contemporary theme. After the performance, Chairman Mao mounted the stage, his face a-glow and his spirit high. He shook hands with us and had a picture taken together with us. That to us was the greatest concern, the greatest encouragement, and the greatest urge. O Chairman Mao, we were thinking of you day and night. Now we finally saw you. Our eyes were filled with hot tears. Our minds were infinitely excited. Time and again, we shouted aloud: Long live, long live, long long live Chairman Mao!

This year is the 25th anniversary of the publication of Chairman Mao's Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Art and Literature. This glorious writing by Chairman Mao was the work of a genius which creatively developed the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and theories on art and literature. It was a street lamp to revolutionary art and literary workers. We deeply appreciate that it is Chairman Mao's Talks which indicates to us the direction in which we should advance, enables us to overcome successive difficulties, and enables us to win a tremendous victory in the revolution of the ballet. It is a tremendous victory of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line for art and literature.

In the process of production of the ballet White-Haired Girl, there existed a life-and-death struggle between two classes -- the proletariat and the bourgeoisie -- and between two lines -- Chairman Mao's revolutionary line for art and literature and the counterrevolutionary revisionist black line for art and literature.

Who should be served? Should the proletariat and the broad masses of the laboring people be served, or should the bourgeoisie be served? This is the focus of the struggle between the two lines on the art and literary front. In his Talks, Chairman Mao taught us in these terms: "THE QUESTION 'FOR WHOM?' IS A BASIC QUESTION, A QUESTION OF PRINCIPLE." "OUR ART AND LITERATURE SERVE THE MASSES OF THE PEOPLE, ABOVE ALL THE WORKERS, PEASANTS, AND SERVICEMEN. THEY ARE CREATED FOR AND USED BY THE WORKERS, PEASANTS, AND SERVICEMEN."

The ballet of the past was a palace art of the Western bourgeoisie. It always was subordinated to bourgeois politics and served the bourgeoisie. It praised none but emperors and kings, generals and ministers, scholars and beauties, fairies and demons. It completely distorted and rendered ugly the images of the laboring people. The ballet had love and death as its so-called "eternal theme." The exploiting classes used it not only as amusement but also as a tool for corrupting the souls of the laboring people and maintaining their own ruling position. At present, the Western ballet has degenerated further and fallen lower. It has been reduced to a dying reactionary art.

The broad masses of the workers, peasants, and servicemen firmly oppose such a bourgeois art. Ballets like Swan Lake, Giselle, and Notre Dame of Paris are praised by bourgeois lords as "pinnacles of art" and "classic works." But our country's laboring people declare that they are "as ugly as skinned mice." They are strongly desirous of revolutionary reform of the ballet, and of the creation of brand new ballets which praise the fiery life of struggle of the workers, peasants, and servicemen and which unveil the appearance of our great era. Such is a new topic lying in front of the revolutionary art and literary workers.

In his Talks, Chairman Mao pointed out: "YES, WE SHALL INHERIT THE RICH LEGACIES OF ART AND LITERATURE LEFT BEHIND BY CHINA AND OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE PAST, AS WELL AS THE FINE TRADITIONS OF ART AND LITERATURE. BUT IN DOING SO OUR PURPOSE IS STILL TO SERVE THE MASSES OF THE PEOPLE." "IN ART AND LITERATURE, RIGID IMITATION OF ANCIENTS AND FOREIGNERS UNACCOMPANIED BY ANY CRITICISM IS THE MOST DISAPPOINTING AND MOST HARMFUL DOGMATISM." After the liberation of the whole nation, Chairman Mao further issued the combat calls: "LET ANCIENT THINGS SERVE CONTEMPORARY PURPOSES" and "LET FOREIGN THINGS SERVE CHINESE PURPOSES." Unless the contents and form of the art of ballet are thoroughly criticized and reformed, it cannot serve the workers, peasants, and servicemen or serve proletarian political ends.

Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line for art and literature, we began several years ago attempts at creating revolutionary ballets on contemporary themes. We rehearsed such programs as fragments from Fire Fighting by 3,000 Brave Men and White-Haired Girl. What is more, we left the school and went out to perform for the workers,

peasants, and servicemen. We were welcomed in open arms by the broad revolutionary masses.

But a small handful of intra-Party power holders who follow the capitalist road wanted to create public opinion for the comeback of capitalism in China. They stubbornly enforced the counter-revolutionary revisionist black line for art and literature and resisted Chairman Mao's revolutionary line for art and literature. They stretched their black hands into the field of ballet as well. Frantically praising the so-called "classical works" of the bourgeoisie, which were utterly corrupt and reactionary, they wanted us to "imitate" and "learn from" them. They opposed representation of workers, peasants, and servicemen. The No. 1 intra-Party power holder who follows the capitalist road said such things as, "One must not represent contemporary life willy-nilly. The ballet and foreign operas are not necessarily able to reflect it." He added, "It will be good if watching a show makes one relaxed and happy." He said, "Watching Swan Lake improves one's mood. Notre Dame of Paris, too, has a high artistic standard and can play an educational role." In this way, he tried vainly to resist the revolution of ballets. The counterrevolutionary revisionist element Lin Mo-han opposed our rehearsal of revolutionary ballets on contemporary themes. He wanted us to rehearse instead such as Liang Shan-po and Chu Ying-t'ai. A small handful of power holders in the old Shanghai Municipal Committee and in our school, who followed the capitalist road, desperately shouted, "It is by its performance of Swan Lake that the standard of a ballet company is to be judged." They tried to sabotage our revolutionary attempts. When we were rehearsing White-Haired Girl, they wanted us to rehearse Daughters of Spain instead. They sent people to learn the Dance of Four of a foreign ballet company. They plotted thus to nip the revolution of the ballet in the bud.

The proletarian revolutionaries represented by Comrade Chiang Ch'ing raised high the great red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, broke through successive barricades set up by a small handful of counter-revolutionary revisionist elements, and, in the spirit of cutting thorny plants in the way, followed a course which none had taken before, rebelling on a large scale against "famous, foreign, and ancient" [persons] and bravely attacking feudalism, capitalism, and revisionist art and literature.

Comrade Chiang Ch'ing firmly supported our rehearsal of White-Haired Girl. Comrade K'o Ch'ing-shih, too, sharply pointed out to certain responsible persons of our school, "If you perform Swan Lake, I just won't watch it. If you refrain further from rehearsing dramas on contemporary themes, what is the use of keeping this dance school of yours?"

After an intense struggle, we began rehearsing the grand ballet White-Haired Girl. But the small handful of counterrevolutionary revisionist elements were not happy at this. They did two things. They kept from the masses many important directives from Comrade Chou En-lai, Comrade

K'o Ch'ing-shih, Comrade Chiang Ch'ing, and other leadership comrades. At the same time, they tried their utmost to insert revisionist black goods into this revolutionary ballet. Thus, in a still more vicious way, they perpetrated the evil of opposing the red banner by hoisting a red banner.

In the process of creation and rehearsal of the ballet, Comrade Chang Ch'un-ch'iao promptly raised a revolutionary guiding principle: Give prominence to the red line of class struggle, give prominence to armed struggle, and give prominence to Party leadership. He also pointed out that, in order to stand our ground on this day of socialism, we must re-create this fine work of the period of the democratic revolution, and that Hsi-erh must not have the slightest servility; her resistance and struggle must be represented. But the small handful of counter-revolutionary revisionist elements was scared to death by, and utterly hated, the red line fulfilling the thought of Mao Tse-tung. They found fault with the newly rehearsed White-Haired Girl in a hundred ways. They said that "the 8th Route Army appears too often," that "the characters in White-Haired Girl are too advanced to conform with the realities of the time," and that Hsi-erh "couldn't have resisted like that." The counter-revolutionary revisionist element Lin Mo-han said even more explicitly that "the smell of gunpowder of this drama is too strong, and too much prominence is given to armed struggle," etc. They tried vainly to make the so-called love between Ta-ch'un and Hsi-erh the theme of White-Haired Girl, and thus to change our main political direction. They shouted, "If there is no love and no duet, it will be no ballet and it will be neither beautiful nor touching."

What is even more to be hated is that when, in Act VIII, in the dance to greet the sun, we could not help singing about our great leader Chairman Mao and shouting the slogan "Long live Chairman Mao!" the small handful of counterrevolutionary revisionist elements attacked us with extremely vicious language. To call a spade a spade, they did not permit us to sing the praise of Chairman Mao, the great savior of the laboring people, and did not permit us to sing the praise of the all-conquering thought of Mao Tse-tung. This fully exposed their ugly counterrevolutionary faces.

Chairman Mao said, "REVOLUTIONARY ART AND LITERATURE SHOULD CREATE ALL TYPES OF CHARACTERS ON THE BASIS OF REAL LIFE AND HELP THE MASSES PUSH HISTORY FORWARD." In the process of rewriting of dramas, we repeatedly studied Chairman Mao's Report on Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan and other glorious works. In accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching, we vigorously wrote about struggles of resistance whereby the laboring people pushed history forward, and molded heroic images of the proletariat and the laboring people. Comrade Chiang Ch'ing raised high the great red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, firmly executed Chairman Mao's revolutionary line for art and literature, and led revolutionary art and

literary workers to create a number of fine model revolutionary dramas. In such Peking operas as Storming of Weihu Mountain by Clever Tactics and Red Lantern, the towering heroic images of the proletariat gave us huge enlightenment and inexhaustible strength. Our direction became more clear, and our determination increased. From the original opera, we removed the negative scene about Yang Pai-lao and his daughter pleading tearfully with heaven and earth. We let Yang Pai-lao sacrifice himself in fights with Huang Shih-jen and Mu Jen-chih. We let Hsi-erh entertain deep hatred for the landlord class, raise high the big revolutionary banner "REBELLION IS JUSTIFIABLE," and struggle in a tit-for-tat manner against Huang Shih-jen and the landlady, so that she does not have the slightest trait of servility. In the aria in Act IV, the small handful of counter-revolutionary revisionist elements wrote these words: "I am suffering patiently . . . I am waiting for the chance. I mind not one day or one night or more. Oh, how I wait and hope!" These words smeared Hsi-erh who, persecuted by landlords, fled into the distant mountains. They represented her as a vulgar person who, so to speak, "patiently endured humiliation in order to discharge an important mission" and "suffered wrongs patiently in order to keep things intact." They openly opposed Chairman Mao's revolutionary appeal "WIN THE TIME OF ONE DAY OR ONE NIGHT." In accordance with Comrade Chang Ch'un-ch'iao's instructions, we changed the words of the aria to "I am impatient to avenge myself. Oh, how I wait and hope! I am waiting for the red sun to rise in the east." These words truthfully represented the spirit of revolutionary rebellion of the poor peasants and lower middle peasants.

We made class struggle, armed struggle, and Party leadership the red line running through the entire drama. We vigorously removed tedious descriptions of love and sad parting, thus raising the images of Ta-ch'un and Hsi-erh to an unprecedented level. The small handful of counter-revolutionary revisionist elements said such things as, "It is not natural for Ta-ch'un not to look for Hsi-erh after returning to the village. The first thing he does after returning to the village should be to look for Hsi-erh." They wanted Ta-ch'un, a cadre of the 8th Route Army, who had been in the army for more than three years, to look for Hsi-erh by making his way through the young women performing the dance of the dates. He is like the prince in Swan Lake, who is looking for the white swan. This is an unbridled distortion of the heroic image of the 8th Route Army. We revolutionary teachers and students firmly opposed it. As a result, their plot was thwarted. Toward the conclusion, they tried vainly to remove the portion about uninterrupted revolution by Ta-ch'un and Hsi-erh in the first draft of the scripts. They let Hsi-erh take part in production, and let Ta-ch'un get a discharge from the army and return to farm the land, thus publicizing the theory of extinction of class struggle. This, too, was firmly opposed by us. According to Comrade Chang Ch'un-ch'iao's instruction, we changed the ending in the following way. We let Hsi-erh make up her mind to follow Chairman Mao and the Communist Party for ever and join the army gloriously, and let Ta-ch'un and warriors

of the 8th Route Army continue to march forward. In this way, we represented better the spirit of uninterrupted revolution and the great truth that THE PROLETARIAT CAN FINALLY LIBERATE ITSELF ONLY BY LIBERATING THE WHOLE OF MANKIND FIRST.

Concerning artistic treatment, the small handful of counterrevolutionary revisionist elements wanted there to be duets and body raising in White-Haired Girl, arguing that the ballet would cease to be a ballet without these. They racked their brains in trying to make us learn the techniques of Swan Lake, Romeo and Juliet, and Red Shoe. They vainly tried to sabotage the revolutionary contents of White-Haired Girl by means of artistic methods, and to turn White-Haired Girl into another version of such as Swan Lake. We pierced the cover of their plot. While retaining certain basic characteristics of the ballet, we kicked off all harmful foreign dogma and foreign frameworks. We tried boldly to make the ballet assume a revolutionary character, a national character, and a popular character. For instance, in the dances, we added harvest dances, sword dances, and spear dances which our country's revolutionary people like to watch. We absorbed certain motions from the Peking opera and make them serve the purpose of representing revolutionary contents. In music, we smashed the old conventions. Not only did we introduce national musical instruments like pan hu, pan ku, ti tzu, and san hsuan, but we added choral singing in some places to make the revolutionary atmosphere of the ballet more intense and enable the audience to understand more easily the development of the story. In costume, we adopted national costume and discarded the costume of the foreign ballet. These revolutionary reforms were given a warm welcome by the broad masses of the workers, peasants, and servicemen.

The great proletarian cultural revolution has created a brand new political situation. The political level of the masses has been greatly raised. They have consequently set a higher standard for the ballet White-Haired Girl. We studied Chairman Mao's Talks anew and further revised White-Haired Girl to make it give more prominence to the red line of class struggle, to class struggle, to Party leadership, and to the great and all-conquering thought of Mao Tse-tung, and reflect the mentality of broad masses of the revolutionary people who infinitely love our most most beloved great leader Chairman Mao.

The birth of revolutionary ballets Red Women's Army and White-Haired Girl has dealt a heavy counter-blow at the No. 1 intra-Party power holder who follows the capitalist road. It has declared the bankruptcy of the plot of the counterrevolutionary revisionist black line for art and literature to oppose the revolution of the ballet, proclaimed the death sentence of the bourgeois ballet, and marked the beginning of workers, peasants, and servicemen becoming masters of the ballet stage. The revolutionary ballet White-Haired Girl is receiving warm welcome from the revolutionary people in China and abroad. It is a beautiful fragrant flower in the

garden of a hundred flowers of proletarian revolutionary art. We shout aloud: It is very good! It is very good!

The all-conquering thought of Mao Tse-tung has given new life to the old art of ballet. We will never prove unworthy of the great leader Chairman Mao's expectation. We will always listen to Chairman Mao's words, learn Comrade Chiang Ch'ing's revolutionary spirit of great fearlessness, struggle to the end against the counterrevolutionary revisionist black line for art and literature, and thoroughly expose and criticize the No. 1 intra-Party power holder who follows the capitalist road. We are determined to seek increasing perfection in the spirit of uninterrupted revolution, to continue overcoming the shortcomings still present in the revolutionary ballet White-Haired Girl, and to make it more perfect. We vow that we will, in the long process of going into the midst of the workers, peasants, and servicemen and uniting with them, create more and better revolutionary ballets, render better service to the workers, peasants, and servicemen, serve proletarian political ends, and march forward bravely in the direction indicated to us by Chairman Mao's Talks.

LONG LIVE THE ALL-CONQUERING THOUGHT OF MAO TSE-TUNG
ON ART AND LITERATURE

- In Praise of the Epoch-Making Historical Significance
of Model Revolutionary Dramas -

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ical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No 9, 27 May 1967, pp
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The Model Revolutionary Dramas Are Peals of Spring Thunder
for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

In commemoration of the 25th anniversary of the publication of our great leader Chairman Mao's glorious composition Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Art and Literature, the model revolutionary Peking operas on contemporary themes Storming of Weihou Mountain by Clever Tactics, The Harbor, The Red Lantern, Sha Chia Pin, and Surprise Attack on White Tiger Regiment; the model revolutionary ballets Red Women's Army and White-Haired Girl; and the model revolutionary symphony Sha Chia Pin are being staged in the capital. This is a big review with great historical significance. It unfurls a picture of prosperity, a real picture of fragrant flowers in full bloom on the proletarian artistic stage. The appearance of these eight model revolutionary dramas signifies a great victory of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line for art and literature.

The appearance of the eight model revolutionary dramas is the first peal of spring thunder for our country's great proletarian cultural revolution. They are creations by the hard struggle of revolutionary art and literary workers under Comrade Chiang Ch'ing's personal guidance and urge. They are the first fruits of the routing of the counterrevolutionary revisionist black line for art and literature by the great thought of Mao Tse-tung on art and literature.

During the past 17 years, under the frenzied propaganda and support of the biggest intra-Party power holders who follow the capitalist road, and under the rule of the counterrevolutionary revisionist black line for art and literature represented by Chou Yang, Hsia Yen, Lin Mo-han, and Ch'i Yen-ming, dramas about "famous," "foreign," and "ancient" [persons] were staged all the time, and our country's artistic stage was occupied by Chinese and foreign emperors and kings, generals and ministers, scholars and beauties. As Comrade Chiang Ch'ing has sharply pointed out, the entire art and literary circles "are pervaded by a foul atmosphere marked by better treatment for ancients than for contemporaries, adoration of foreigners and disparagement of Chinese, better treatment for the dead than for the living." During the three difficult years especially, among Peking operas which never reflect reality very sensitively, there appeared big poisonous weeds which, pretending to deal with ancients, criticized contemporaries -- Hai Jui Dismissed, Li Hui Niang, Hsieh Yao-huan, and Hai Jui's Petition. These frantically attacked the Party and socialism. The socialist artistic stage was turned into an advance post in the preparation of public opinion for the comeback of capitalism.

Under the personal command and initiative of the biggest intra-Party power holders who follow the capitalist road, the counterrevolutionary revisionist black line for art and literature, from main bastions which were the old Peking Municipal Committee, the old Propaganda Department of the Central Committee, and the old Ministry of Culture, stubbornly resisted the execution of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line for art and literature and disseminated large numbers of systematic absurdities opposed to the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

The biggest intra-Party power holder who follows the capitalist road played the role of an extremely shameless impatient vanguard.

It was he who overtly altered Chairman Mao's directive "LET A HUNDRED FLOWERS BLOSSOM TOGETHER; DEVELOP THE NEW FROM THE OLD," and explicitly shouted, "The reform of culture must be preceded by some exertion of effort. Don't 'give birth to children by sheer force.' Let a hundred flowers blossom together, and allow them to exist together," "Some old dramas have great educational significance. Don't alter them," "Don't succumb to the weakness of impatience. The reform must not be excessive," and, "The Peking opera is an art of a very high standard. Don't belittle it. Don't alter it at will."

It was he who, like a slave or a hand maid, fell on his knees before bourgeois, feudal art, and said fanatically, "Looking at Swan Lake improves one's mood. The artistic standard of Notre Dame of Paris is also very high, and it plays an educational role." He shamelessly praised Fourth Brother Visits Mother, which spread the philosophy of renegades, the philosophy of survival. He even praised as a "very successfully reformed opera" the opera Village of Ferocious Tigers, which whitewashed Wang T'ien-pa, a lackey of the feudal ruling class. He recommended

the extremely low-taste and obscene bad opera Mei Lung Chen, and wanted others to "enjoy" it.

It was he who consistently and frantically regarded revolutionary dramas on contemporary themes with hostility, and shouted loudly, "Contemporary life is not to be reflected willy-nilly. Ballets and foreign operas are not necessarily able to reflect it. If some dramas can, there are only a few of them." In 1963, Chairman Mao pointed out sharply, "MANY COMMUNISTS ARE ENTHUSIASTIC IN ADVOCATING FEUDALIST AND CAPITALIST ART BUT ARE NOT ENTHUSIASTIC IN ADVOCATING SOCIALIST ART. IS THIS NOT STRANGE?" Even after this, he continued to resist, saying, "Some people will be unhappy if none of historical dramas and foreign dramas is presented. Some may be presented. We oppose dogmatism in the field of art."

The biggest intra-Party power holder who follows the capitalist road is the biggest support and backing for the counterrevolutionary revisionist black line for art and literature. He is the chief culprit who turned on the green light for emperors and kings, generals and ministers, scholars and beauties. He is the general backer of those who oppose Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line for art and literature and stubbornly resist the socialist transformation of art and literature.

The counterrevolutionary revisionist element Chou Yang's pack energetically enforced his black directives in the art and literary circles. Chou Yang regarded the extensive staging of dramas about "famous," "foreign," and "ancient" [persons] as an important component part of his free market of "art and literature of the whole people." Chou Yang frantically talked about "retaining in today's art and literature as a systematic thing the ideology of past eras." He said, "Without such a condition, there cannot be any upsurge of culture." He frantically shouted, "We must not kill all ancients with one blow of the club." He said that feudal operas "have a kind of eternal beauty, a kind of eternal charm," and that not only are they already "suited to our era as it actually is" but they will remain "until Communism, until eternity." For this reason, they wanted to oppose the so-called "big slashing" of the heritage, and wanted to print in full the librettoes of all the more than 50,000 traditional dramas they had collected. Chou Yang spread words far and wide to the effect that, even though the masses do not accept them, things of the foreign bourgeoisie must be "moved in little by little, and the masses must be made to accept them gradually." He wanted to move such traditional dramas as Camelia to the Chinese stage, "popularizing them rapidly in China" and bringing about a "Chinese-Western confluence." He said nonsensically that such "confluence" is a "natural trend, certain trend."

Please look. How shamelessly these crazy persons adored the corpses of the bourgeoisie and feudalism! Is it not clear as to whom and what purpose they wanted the Chinese artistic stage to serve? That would be no

socialist artistic stage. It would be a counterrevolutionary fortress from which the bourgeoisie and feudalism attacked socialism.

In On New Democracy, our great leader Chairman Mao already pointed out clearly, "IMPERIALIST CULTURE AND SEMI-FEUDAL CULTURE ARE TWO BROTHERS VERY DEAR TO EACH OTHER. THEY FORM A CULTURAL REACTIONARY ALLIANCE AND OPPOSE THE NEW CULTURE OF CHINA. THIS TYPE OF REACTIONARY CULTURE SERVES IMPERIALISM AND THE FEUDAL CLASS. IT IS SOMETHING WHICH OUGHT TO BE OVERTHROWN. UNTIL SUCH A THING IS OVERTHROWN, NO NEW CULTURE CAN BE SET UP."

Whom the artistic stage should serve? Who is to occupy the artistic stage? This is the focus of the power struggle between the two classes and the two lines in the bastion of drama. Chairman Mao pointed this out sharply in 1944 in Letter to Peiping Opera House of Yanan After Seeing "Forced To Be Bandits." He said, "HISTORY IS CREATED BY THE PEOPLE. ON THE OLD DRAMATIC STAGE, HOWEVER (AS IN ALL OLD ART AND LITERATURE SEPARATED FROM THE PEOPLE), THE PEOPLE HAVE BECOME THE SCUM. IT IS THE SIRs AND MADAMS, MASTERS AND MISSES WHO ARE RULING THE STAGE. YOU HAVE NOW RE-INVERTED HISTORY AND RESTORED THE REAL FACE OF HISTORY. FROM NOW ON, OLD DRAMAS ARE GIVEN A NEW FACE. CONGRATULATIONS ARE CALLED FOR. THE BEGINNING YOU HAVE MADE IS A EPOCH-MAKING BEGINNING FOR THE REVOLUTION OF OLD DRAMAS. I AM VERY GLAD TO CONTEMPLATE THIS POINT. I HOPE THAT YOU WILL COMPOSE AND PRESENT MORE DRAMAS, MAKE THEM FASHIONABLE, AND SPREAD THEM TO THE WHOLE NATION!"

This letter by Chairman Mao is a component part of the whole which is the great thought of Mao Tse-tung on art and literature, a street lamp for the proletarian transformation of old art and literature. What warm expectations our great leader once entertained about such an "EPOCH-MAKING BEGINNING"! But the counterrevolutionary revisionist element Chou Yang's pack knew well the huge power contained in this letter by Chairman Mao for the promotion of the revolutionization of Peking operas. They knew well that, when the Peking opera workers mastered this irresistibly sharp ideological weapon, and when the situation of "[new dramas] MADE FASHIONABLE AND SPREAD TO THE WHOLE NATION" appeared, things would be turned completely upside down on the artistic stage, and then their underworld palace would be destroyed, and their beautiful dream of comeback of capitalism brought about by means of bourgeois, feudal art would be shattered. That was why they sealed off this glorious thought of Chairman Mao throughout the 17 years after the liberation.

The fog, no matter how thick, cannot obscure the dazzling red sun. Nor can the low clouds stop the peals of spring thunder resounding across the wide sky. New things will always defeat rotten things. In the unusual year of 1964, the forward march bugle of the great proletarian cultural revolution was sounded. Those Peking opera workers who wanted and desired reform eventually fought their way through successive barricades with the energetic support and under the guidance of Comrade Chiang Ch'ing, who

raised high the great red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung. Inverted history was re-inverted. The sirs and madams, the masters and misses, who had been occupying the Peking opera stage for hundreds of years, were driven away. The heroic images of workers, peasants, and servicemen, who were filled with revolutionary noble sentiment, began to mount the Peking opera stage.

In July, 1964, at the forum of persons taking part in the Festival of Peking Operas on Contemporary Themes, Comrade Chiang Ch'ing gave a talk entitled "A Talk on the Revolution of Peking Operas." In simple language, she concisely expounded the glorious thought of the letter Chairman Mao wrote to the Peiping Opera House of Yenan. She gave a profound discourse on the necessity of revolution of Peking operas.

Comrade Chiang Ch'ing solemnly pointed out, "On the socialist motherland's stage, it is inconceivable that the principal positions are held not by workers, peasants, or servicemen, not by these real creators of history, not by these real masters of the country."

Comrade Chiang Ch'ing sharply demanded to know: "Artists eat the food grown by peasants, wear clothes made by workers, and live in houses built by workers, and the People's Liberation Army is guarding the front line of national defense for us. But they are not represented. Ask yourselves. Which class' stand are the artists taking? Where is the 'conscience' of artists which you often talk about?"

Revolutionary art and literature must serve the workers, peasants, and servicemen. The socialist motherland's stage must be occupied by images of workers, peasants, and servicemen, who are masters of the time.

The revolution of Peking operas, with the force of a thunderstorm, cleansed the socialist artistic stage of all rubbish, and it promoted the revolution of other types of art, such as the revolution of the ballet, the revolution of the symphony, and the revolution of sculpture. The proletarian revolutionaries of the art and literary circles raise high the red magic book of Chairman Mao, and, by means creating model revolutionary dramas, they have launched a fierce offensive on the counter-revolutionary revisionist black line for art and literature.

The Model Revolutionary Dramas Are a Steel Dagger Piercing the Bowels of Black Line for Art and Literature

The revolution of the Peking opera, the revolution of the ballet, the revolution of the symphony -- are these merely a question of presentation of dramas on contemporary themes? Are they merely a question of change of dramas on the artistic stage? No, certainly not. They are a life-and-death power struggle between two classes and two lines in the ideological realm. Comrade Ch'en Po-ta put it well: "The history of art

and literature is full of intense conflicts. The conflicts between the new and the old, the conflicts between the contemporary and the ancient, are conflicts reflecting society's class struggle." Letting "famous," "foreign," and "ancient" [persons] continue to occupy the socialist artistic stage is precisely an insidious means by which the counterrevolutionary revisionist black line for art and literature struggles against the proletariat, sabotages the socialist economic base, and prepares public opinion for the comeback of capitalism.

For this reason, in order to build proletarian revolutionary art and literature, it is necessary to demolish bourgeois art and literature on a large scale. Without struggling firmly against bourgeois, revisionist art and literature, we cannot bring proletarian art and literature into being. "WITHOUT DEMOLITION, THERE IS NO CONSTRUCTION. WITHOUT CHOKING, THERE IS NO FLOWING. WITHOUT STOPPAGE, THERE IS NO WALKING." The great thought of Mao Tse-tung for art and literature is set up and continuously developed in the course of struggle for large-scale demolition of bourgeois, revisionist art and literature.

The creation of model revolutionary dramas and the seizure of power over the artistic stage constitute a grave class struggle. The enemies will certainly not be glad to be driven out of the stage. Even though they may prove to be insects which foolishly seek to stop a cart, they will play the part of historical clowns for once. We need only recall the acute and complex struggle during the 1964 Festival of Peking Operas on Contemporary Themes before we will understand how intense the life-and-death battle between the two lines is. In that life-and-death decisive battle, the pack of P'eng Chen, Chou Yang, and Lin Mo-han desperately tried to maintain their shaken rule. They colluded with one another, did one thing overtly and another thing covertly, used both force and guile, showed two faces, held three knives, resisted Chairman Mao's directive, and sabotaged the revolution of the Peking opera.

Example 1. During the festival of revolutionary dramas on contemporary themes, P'eng Chen, counterrevolutionary revisionist head of the old Peking Municipal Committee, made reports in day time, in which he talked all the time about revolutionary dramas on contemporary themes. At night, however, he returned to his "palace of ease" and let actors perform for them many old dramas about emperors and kings, generals and ministers, scholars and beauties, in a vain attempt to entice actors to return to the old road.

Example 2. Under the sole manipulation and conspiratorial scheming of Lin Mo-han, chieftain of the black line for art and literature, a frantic attack was launched in the press on Storming of Weihai Mountain by Clever Tactics, the first successful revolutionary opera on a contemporary theme. He tried in this way to mislead people and discredit it, strike against the proletarian revolutionaries in Shanghai, and thus achieve the criminal objective of sabotaging the revolution of Peking operas.

Example 3. As soon as the Festival had ended, they spread words around to the effect that traditional dramas would be rearranged and their presentation resumed. They even forbade students of schools of operas to rehearse Red Lantern and Sha Chia Pin. They thus tried vainly to demoralize advocates of the revolution of Peking operas.

An even more serious struggle took place in the process of creation and improvement of model revolutionary dramas.

The Peking opera, the ballet, and the symphony are the so-called "pinnacles of art" of the feudal or capitalist era. They have developmental histories of up to a hundred years or several hundred years, and they have all the time been praised for their unattainably high standards by revisionists who adore the West and want to restore ancient things. What is more, many individual dramas have histories of up to a hundred years. For this reason, their reform and conquest artistically require very care-demanding and very difficult efforts.

In order to wage this acute and complex battle for storming a fortress, Comrade Chiang Ch'ing did two things. She called on proletarian revolutionaries to belittle the enemy strategically. "Concerning the matter of presentation of revolutionary Peking operas on contemporary themes, our confidence must be firm." She also warned proletarian revolutionaries that they must give due recognition to the enemy tactically, be determined and dogged, and storm the bastion after prolonged, repeated practice.

Well then, what form was this battle for storming the fortress to assume? Comrade Chiang Ch'ing creatively applied the great thought of Mao Tse-tung on art and literature. She raised high the big banner of the model revolutionary drama and firmly occupied the bastion of art and literature by means of creating pace-setters.

Comrade Chiang Ch'ing was well aware that the struggle was an arduous one, one entailing the removal of many thorny plants. But as the saying goes, "Nothing ventured, nothing gained." "IF YOU WANT TO KNOW THE TASTE OF A PEAR, YOU MUST CHANGE THE PEAR BY TAKING A PERSONAL BITE AT IT." The revolution for seizing power over the stage must be waged firmly and the counterrevolutionary revisionist black line for art and literature must be removed thoroughly. For this purpose, a steel dagger must be plunged into its bowels. An intense fire must be made to burn in the bastion where its rule was the most severe. The criminal activities of the small handful of counterrevolutionary revisionist elements must be exposed. The broad masses of the hoodwinked must be aroused to rebel.

Comrade Chiang Ch'ing and the proletarian revolutionaries creating the model revolutionary dramas expended a tremendous amount of energy on every model revolutionary drama. Over the theme and the creation of characters, over artistic form and artistic skill, and even over costume and lighting, a firm struggle was waged against the chieftains of the black line for art and literature and against their agents. In the struggle for continuously sorting out and getting rid of the black goods they brought in, the influence of their reactionary thought on art and literature must be criticized and eliminated.

The process of creation of the model revolutionary dramas was a process of raising high the great red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, struggling against the black line for art and literature, criticizing all kinds of reactionary absurdities of the black line for art and literature, and eliminating its influence. This struggle ran like a thread through the thought behind the creation of the model revolutionary dramas.

The black line for art and literature advocates the reactionary "theory of realistic writing," theory of "wide path of realism," and theory of "deepening of realism" as means of smearing and distorting the socialist society. The model revolutionary dramas which are created reflect our brilliant realities by vigorous application of the method of creation which is a combination of revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism.

The black line for art and literature advocates the theory of "confluence of the spirit of the time" of all classes. The model revolutionary dramas which are created richly represent the stormy spirit of time of the proletariat.

The black line for art and literature advocates the theory of opposing "determination of topics." The model revolutionary dramas which are created pay special attention to the selection of major topics, discard the bourgeois low-taste treatment of household affairs and romances between boys and girls, and prominently reflect the epic of brave struggles of the masses under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party.

The black line for art and literature advocates the theory of "people in the middle." The model revolutionary dramas which are created extensively set up the images of proletarian revolutionary heroes. Such as Yang Tzu-jung and Shao Chien-po in Storming of Weihu Mountains by Clever Tactics, Li Yü-ho and his family of three generations in Red Lantern, Kuo Chien-kuang and Sister A-ch'ing in Sha Chia Pin, and Wu Ch'ing-hua and Hung Ch'ang-ch'ing in Red Women's Army are such towering heroic types that they really have the effect of educating the masses and encouraging them to advance.

The black line for art and literature advocates the theory of opposing "smell of gun powder" and theory of "departing from the classics, rebelling against the doctrines." It points the spearhead directly at Marxism-Leninism and the thought of Mao Tse-tung, and opposes representation by art and literature of proletarian revolutionary wars and of political power growing out of the gun barrel. In a tit-for-tat manner, the model revolutionary dramas that are created deal direct blows at such counterrevolutionary theories. They profoundly represent Chairman Mao's great strategic thought on people's war. Of the eight model revolutionary dramas, seven praise revolutionary armed struggles. In particular, Storming of Weihou Mountain by Clever Tactics deserves to be called a most complete and most profound hymn to Chairman Mao's thought on people's war.

The appearance of model revolutionary dramas has pushed the struggle between two classes and two lines on the art and literary front into a new stage, namely, the stage of integration of "struggle, criticism, and reform" and of thorough power seizure on the artistic stage. In the reform, struggle and criticism have been carried out. In the struggle and criticism, reform has been effected. This is completely in accordance with the revolutionary dialectics of "NO DEMOLITION, NO CONSTRUCTION." It is a distinguished creation by vanguards of the creation of model revolutionary dramas in creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's writings in the great proletarian cultural revolution. It has wide, far-reaching significance.

Model Revolutionary Dramas Are Good Examples of Fulfillment of Chairman Mao's Revolutionary Line

The creation of the model revolutionary dramas deeply enlightens us on two important matters of principle.

One is that we must raise high the great red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung and apply the thought of Mao Tse-tung to commanding everything, examining everything, and reforming everything.

The other is that we must trust the majority of the masses and rely on the majority of the masses.

The creation of model revolutionary dramas has been undertaken throughout under the illumination of the infinitely bright thought of Mao Tse-tung.

When formulating the revolutionary line for art and literature, Chairman Mao clearly pointed out, "THE BROADEST MASSES OF THE PEOPLE -- THE PEOPLE WHO ACCOUNT FOR MORE THAN 90 PERCENT OF THE TOTAL POPULATION -- ARE WORKERS, PEASANTS, SERVICEMEN, AND URBAN PETTY BOURGEOISIE." "OUR ART AND LITERATURE SERVE THE BROAD MASSES OF THE PEOPLE, FIRST OF ALL THE WORKERS, PEASANTS, AND SERVICEMEN. THEY ARE CREATED FOR AND USED BY THE WORKERS, PEASANTS, AND SERVICEMEN."

It is Comrade Chiang Ch'ing who consistently and relentlessly defends Chairman Mao's direction of art and literature serving the workers, peasants, and servicemen. During years when poisonous weeds flourished and demons danced, it was Comrade Chiang Ch'ing who sounded for revolutionary art and literary workers the alarm: "When the direction is not clear, try earnestly to discern the correct direction." Comrade Chiang Ch'ing pointed out home-drivingly, "In our country, there are between six and seven hundred million workers, peasants, and servicemen. Apart from them, there are a small handful of people who are landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad elements, rightists, and bourgeois elements. Are we to serve these small handful of people or the between six and seven hundred million people? This question must be considered not only by Communist Party members, but also by all art and literary workers with patriotic thought." The creation of the model revolutionary dramas has set up examples for proletarian revolutionary art and literature which really serve the workers, peasants, and servicemen.

Chairman Mao has taught us that whether one trusts the masses and depends on them or not, and whether one dares to mobilize the masses boldly or not, constitute the dividing line between the proletarian world outlook and the bourgeois world outlook; and that, if we trust the masses, depend on them, and mix as one with them, "THEN, ANY DIFFICULTY CAN BE OVERCOME, AND NO ENEMY CAN OVERWHELM US. HE WILL ONLY BE OVERWHELMED BY US."

The success in the creation of model revolutionary dramas is just a brilliant victory of Chairman Mao's mass line. Comrade Chiang Ch'ing dared to plunge a steel dagger into the bowels of the black line for art and literature and carry out "struggle, criticism, and reform" in the bastion where its rule was the tightest, because she firmly believed that the broad masses stood on the side of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. She firmly believed that it was the request of the broad revolutionary masses -- and an urgent need by the consolidation of proletarian dictatorship -- that these fortresses of bourgeois and feudal art should be stormed.

This is what in fact happened. The moment they appeared, the model revolutionary dramas won the approbation of the broad masses of the workers, peasants, and servicemen, and were given a tremendous welcome. The success of the model revolutionary dramas was a result of depending on the masses, coming from the masses, going to the masses, prolonged, repeated practice, and seeking of increasing perfection.

The model revolutionary dramas not only defeated the enemy ideologically, and stormed the stubborn fortresses -- such as the Peking opera and the ballet -- where feudalism and the bourgeoisie had lodged their roots the most deeply and which they had been occupying for the longest

time. They also aroused a tremendous revolution of the artistic form and created a new life for rigid classical artistic forms.

Chairman Mao pointed out long ago that, concerning classical artistic forms, we must "DEVELOP THE NEW FROM THE OLD." He said, "WE DO NOT REFUSE TO MAKE USE OF FORMS OF ART AND LITERATURE OF PAST EPAS. BUT IN OUR HANDS THESE OLD FORMS ARE REFORMED AND GIVEN NEW CONTENTS. IN THIS WAY, THEY, TOO, BECOME THINGS WHICH ARE REVOLUTIONARY AND WHICH SERVE THE PEOPLE."

Such glorious thoughts of Chairman Mao were all the time resisted by the counterrevolutionary revisionist line for art and literature, which adored Western things and wanted to restore ancient things. They were not put into practice. In September-December, 1963, Chairman Mao issued four directives successively, sharply rebuking the reactionary rule of the counterrevolutionary revisionist black line for art and literature. Chairman Mao pointed out, "THE SOCIAL ECONOMIC BASE HAS CHANGED. THE DEPARTMENT OF ART, PART OF THE SUPERSTRUCTURE SERVING THIS BASE, IS STILL A BIG PROBLEM TO THIS DAY. THIS MUST BE ATTENDED TO SERIOUSLY, BEGINNING WITH INVESTIGATION AND RESEARCH."

But, protected and supported by the biggest intra-Party power holder who follows the capitalist road, the counterrevolutionary revisionist element Chou Yang's pack not only securely sealed off Chairman Mao's directives from the masses, but overtly publicized opposite views and denied their crimes.

At the critical moment of the acute struggle between two lines, Comrade Chiang Ch'ing boldly came out. She raised high the great red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, went deep into the front line, firmly executed Chairman Mao's directives, painstakingly and fully conducted investigation and research in the art and literary circles, paid close attention to the revolution of Peking operas, the ballet, and the symphony, and sounded the forward march bugle for the great proletarian cultural revolution.

In the process of creation of model revolutionary dramas, the vanguards dared to regard the so-called "pinnacles of art" with contempt, dared to carry out demolition and construction on a large scale on the pinnacles and struggle firmly against servility marked by adoration of Western things and restoration of old things, and dared to set up socialist new things and proletarian novelties. In accordance with Chairman Mao's principles "LET ANCIENT THINGS SERVE CONTEMPORARY PURPOSES" and "LET WESTERN THINGS SERVE CHINESE PURPOSES," they critically inherited the fine artistic forms and artistic characteristics of China and other nations in the world.

The model revolutionary dramas have put to shame the feudalist and bourgeois art and literature of China and foreign countries, whether modern or several thousand or several hundred years old. Proletarian revolutionary art and literature have been made to shine brightly. They are good model examples of the fulfillment of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

The great man Lu Hsün several decades ago entertained the following warm expectation: "Without pioneers who are to break through all traditional ideas and methods, China will not have real new art and literature," and, "There should have been a brand new field of literature long before this! There should have been several brave pioneers long before this!" Lu Hsün raised high the big anti-imperialist, anti-feudal banner, raised high the big banner of militant left-wing literature, insisted on thorough revolution on the cultural front, insisted on Chairman Mao's correct line, and became a pioneer who broke through all traditional ideas and methods and the greatest and bravest ensign for the cultural new army.

Our great leader Chairman Mao systematically and integrally formulated the proletarian revolutionary line for culture. But because the chieftains of the black line for art and literature of the 30's were still occupying leadership positions in our country's propaganda and cultural departments, Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line for culture was never seriously implemented. On the contrary, it was the black line for art and literature which dictated to us.

The appearance of model revolutionary dramas in the 60's signifies true implementation of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line for culture. And this brand new revolution of art and literature has been carried out under the concrete leadership of Comrade Chiang Ch'ing.

Today Lu Hsün's wish has come true! Our socialist motherland is beginning to have a brand new field of literature. Comrade Chiang Ch'ing, who created the model revolutionary dramas, deserves to be called "a pioneer who breaks through all traditional ideas and methods" in the 60's. She deserves to be called the strongest and bravest warrior on the cultural front.

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The appearance of model revolutionary dramas is a tremendous victory of the proletariat over feudalism and capitalism in the ideological realm.

Chairman Mao said, "IN OUR COUNTRY THE ISSUE OF THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN SOCIALISM AND CAPITALISM IN THE IDEOLOGICAL FIELD WILL STILL TAKE A CONSIDERABLE LENGTH OF TIME TO DECIDE. THIS IS BECAUSE THE INFLUENCE OF THE BOURGEOISIE AND OF THE INTELLECTUALS WHO HAVE COME FROM THE OLD SOCIETY

WILL CONTINUE TO EXIST IN OUR COUNTRY FOR A LONG TIME. AS A CLASS IDEOLOGY, IT WILL STILL EXIST IN OUR COUNTRY FOR A LONG TIME."

During the past 17 years, our great leader Chairman Mao personally started and led successive important ideological struggles. From the criticism of Inside Story of Ch'ing Court to criticism of Hai Jui Dismissed, he beat back bourgeois attacks time and again and captured one bastion after another. The great proletarian cultural revolution, which began with the revolution of Peking operas, is a general offensive on bourgeois ideology and on representatives of the bourgeoisie. In the great proletarian cultural revolution, the counterrevolutionary revisionist black line for art and literature represented by Chou Yang has been thoroughly smashed. Their general backer -- the biggest intra-Party power holder who follows the capitalist road -- has been unearthed. This is a great victory of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

We believe that, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and as a result of the present big revolution and big criticism, revolutionary dramas on contemporary themes and revolutionary works of art and literature will mushroom and grow strong. In our country's proletarian art and literature, there is bound to appear a situation of prosperity where a hundred flowers will vie in beauty and flourish.

May the great historical accomplishments of the model revolutionary dramas be immortal!

Long live the all-conquering thought of Mao Tse-tung for art and literature!

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