

[Full text of an article by Wu Chi-yen (2976 4949 1693).]

A representative of the bourgeoisie who wormed his way into the party, Chou Yang was the ringleader of the black line against the party, socialism, and Mao Tse-tung's thought in literary and art circles. This black line dated back a long time; it ran from the 1930's into the 1960's. For a long time before liberation, Chou Yang was the most faithful and most resolute executor of Wang Ming's "left" opportunist and later right capitulationist line. He was the representative of Wang Ming's line on the literary and art front. After nationwide victory, Chou Yang mustered a group of antiparty old hands in literary and art circles, such as Tien Han, Hsia Yen, Yang Han-sheng, Lin Mo-han, and Shao Chuan-lin, entrenched them in literary and art circles, and frantically carried out criminal activities against the party, socialism and Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Politically, they represented the overthrown landlord and capitalist classes, neobourgeois elements, and degenerate elements; Ideologically they represented a hodge podge of feudalism, capitalism and modern revisionism; and organizationally, they formed a counterrevolutionary revisionist clique which had as its nucleus the representatives of the capitulationist literary and art line of the 1930's. In the thirties this clique advocated the so-called literature of national defense and attacked Lu Hsun, the great standard bearer of the proletarian leftwing literary and art movement; during the periods of the war of resistance to Japanese aggression and the war of liberation, this clique set itself against Chairman Mao's "Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art"; and since the founding of the CPR it was the same clique which for more than a decade exercised dictatorial rule over our proletarian literary and art circles.

This clique had a comprehensive and systematic counterrevolutionary revisionist program for literature and art. For more than a decade, making use of the leading positions they had usurped in literary and art circles, they stubbornly steam-rolled this program to counter Mao Tse-tung's ideas on literature and art, controlling and corrupting literary and art circles. Using Mao Tse-tung's thought as the weapon, we must thoroughly expose and criticize the counterrevolutionary, revisionist program for literature and art of Chou Yang and company. Only by so doing is it possible to recognize clearly the ugly features of Chou Yang and company, to do away with the black line in literary and art circles to overthrow Chou Yang, the ringleader of the black line, and to wipe out completely the evil influence of this black line in literary and art circles, so that Mao Tse-tung's thought occupies all positions in literature and art.

The following is a repudiation, in eight aspects, of Chou Yang's counterrevolutionary revisionist program for literature and art:

1. Chou Yang opposed publicizing Mao Tse-tung's thought, in the vain attempt to remove the very soul of proletarian literature and art. Chairman Mao instructs us "to insure that literature and art fit well into the whole revolutionary machine as a component part, that they operate as powerful weapons for uniting and educating the people and for attacking and destroying the enemy, and that they help the people fight the enemy with one heart and one mind."

What is the common ideological basis of the unity and the revolution of the people of the whole country? It is Mao Tse-tung's thought. What is the source of strength that inspires the people of the whole country in their triumphant advance? It is Mao Tse-tung's thought. What is our sharpest weapon in attacking and eliminating the enemy? It is Mao Tse-tung's thought. Mao Tse-tung's thought is the summit of Marxism-Leninism, living Marxism-Leninism at its highest, the universal truth that is applicable everywhere, and the red sun in the hearts of the Chinese people and the revolutionary people of the whole world. Chairman Mao is the greatest contemporary Marxist-Leninist. Chairman Mao's books are the supreme instruction for all our diverse types of work. Mao Tse-tung's thought is the soul of our socialist literature and art. Singing the praise of the party and Chairman Mao, and disseminating Mao Tse-tung's thought and the heroes among the workers, peasants, and soldiers of the Mao Tse-tung era, is the most glorious and lofty fighting task of our socialist literature and art.

Led by his reactionary class instinct Chou Yang used truly venomous language to vilify our publicity of Mao Tse-tung's thought as "the cult of the individual," and "strangling people's initiative." He also talked such rubbish as "talking about Chairman Mao every day does not necessarily mean understanding Chairman Mao's thought." The watershed between a genuine and a sham revolutionary, between a revolutionary and a counterrevolutionary, and between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism -- and the touchstone to distinguish one from the other -- is the attitude each takes to Mao Tse-tung's thought, whether he supports it or opposes it. The sole political criterion that distinguishes proletarian literature and art from bourgeois literature and art is whether it does nor does not disseminate Mao Tse-tung's thought.

The hundreds of millions of workers, peasants, and soldiers, the revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals of the whole country have countless confidence in and veneration and love for Chairman Mao Tse-tung's thought. They ardently want our literature and art to be a popular and graphic instrument for disseminating Mao Tse-tung's thought, so that every book one reads, every play one sees, every film one sees, every song one sings and every broadcast one listens to will enable one to draw educational benefit and inspiration from Mao Tse-tung's thought. But Chou Yang resolutely opposed our dissemination of Mao Tse-tung's thought, in a vain attempt to remove the soul of socialist literature and art, and to

alter the political orientation of proletarian literature and art. This fully shows Chou Yang to be a sham revolutionary, a counterrevolutionary, and an out-and-out revisionist.

The dissemination of Mao Tse-tung's thought involves sharp class struggle. The more Chou Yang and company are opposed to our disseminating Mao Tse-tung's thought, the more we must disseminate it, do this work consciously, and become lifelong disseminators. To defend and disseminate Mao Tse-tung's thought, we are ready to climb a mountain of swords or plunge into a sea of flames; we are not afraid of losing our heads or shedding our blood, and we will not flinch even if we are threatened with utter destruction.

2. Chou Yang flagrantly opposed the orientation for literature and art -- to serve the workers, peasants and soldiers -- as formulated by Chairman Mao and beat the drum for revisionist "literature and art of the whole country." The question of "for whom" is a fundamental one for literature and art; it is a question of principle. The orientation for literature and art -- to serve the workers, peasants, and soldiers -- as formulated by Chairman Mao thoroughly solved, for the first time in the history of the development of proletarian literature and art, this fundamental question, this question of principle in literature and art. It is the most complete, most thoroughgoing, and most revolutionary proletarian line of literature and art; it is a creative development with genius, of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and theory of literature and art.

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

Openly proposing the slogan "Literature and art of the whole people," Chou Yang unscrupulously opposed the orientation for literature and art of serving the workers, peasants, and soldiers, which Chairman Mao formulated. He spread the nonsense that this had "already become outdated," that "the object of service is the people of the whole country; it is different from what it was in the period of the Yen-an forum on literature and art; it is

wider than in that period," and that, therefore, today "literature and art should be acceptable to all kinds of people."

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

Chairman Mao says: "In the world today all culture, all literature and art belong to definite classes and are geared to definite political lines. There is in fact no such thing as art for art's sake, art that stands above classes or art that is detached from or independent of politics." The "Literature and art of the whole people" propagated by Chou Yang, just as the so-called state of the whole people propagated by Khrushchev, was nothing but bourgeois and revisionist rubbish designed to deceive the people.

Khrushchev used the slogan "State of the whole people" to eliminate the most fundamental thing of the proletarian revolution -- the dictatorship of the proletariat; then Chou Yang used the slogan "Literature and art of the whole people" to eliminate the most fundamental thing in proletarian literature and art -- serving the workers, peasants, and soldiers.

A socialist country that eliminates the dictatorship of the proletariat is bound to degenerate into a capitalist country, proletarian literature and art that depart from the orientation of serving the workers, peasants, and soldiers are bound to turn into bourgeois literature and art. There is absolutely no such thing as a literature and art that is acceptable to all classes and is able to evoke an echo in all classes. The true purpose of Chou Yang's agitation for a "literature and art of the whole people" was to cause proletarian literature and art to evolve into bourgeois literature and art and so open the path for the restoration of capitalism.

3. Chou Yang distorted the party's policy of "letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend," and worked energetically for bourgeois liberalization.

The party's policy of "letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend" is an extremely firm class policy of the proletariat. The policy was put forward on the basis of the fact that classes and class struggle still exist in socialist society. It is a policy that serves to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country though class struggle in the ideological sphere -- the struggle to foster what is proletarian and eradicate what is bourgeois. It is a policy that facilitates the development of Marxism-Leninism in the struggle against bourgeois ideas and helps socialist culture to grow and thrive in China.

The implementation of this policy greatly strengthens the leading position of Marxism-Leninism, of Mao Tse-tung's thought, in the sphere of ideology and culture.

Taking up a position entirely on the bourgeois, reactionary side and proceeding from the class needs of the bourgeoisie, Chou Yang purposely obliterated the class content of "letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend" and presented it distortedly as a policy opposing the "monopoly of ideology," opposing "dogmatism," opposing "administrative methods," and opposing "letting a single flower bloom, and only one school of thought speak out." By opposing the "monopoly of ideology," he opposed precisely the leading position of Marxism-Leninism, of Mao Tse-tung's thought. By opposing "dogmatism," he opposed precisely the most fundamental point of Mao Tse-tung's thought on literature and art: Literature and art must serve the workers, peasants, and soldiers and serve socialism. By opposing "administrative methods," he opposed precisely the party's leadership in literature and art. When he put up a clamor against "letting a single flower bloom and only one school of thought speak out," he meant precisely to prevent us from developing socialist literature and art.

Behind Chou Yang's deliberate distortion of the party's policy of "letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend" was his energetic work to create a bourgeois liberalization and let all monsters and demons "bloom." His aim was to allow only the bourgeoisie to "bloom" but to prohibit the proletariat from doing so. And he vainly attempted to choke the fragrant flowers of the proletariat by cultivating poisonous landlord-bourgeois weeds. At the same time, Chou Yang also set himself up as the patron saint of the bourgeoisie to protect the poisonous weeds. If the proletariat wanted to root out the poisonous weeds, then this was encroaching upon the "liberty" of Chou Yang and company and flouting their prohibitions, and they would charge you with "violating the policy of 'letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend'" and they would use the big stick on you.

Bourgeois liberalization is one of the black flags of modern revisionism. This was the flag hoisted by the Petofi Club in Hungary, by the revisionist elements of Soviet literary and art circles, and also by Chou Yang. In 1956, after the 20th CPSU Congress, Chou Yang turned into a parrot of Khrushchev, openly praising the congress as "having the great advantage that it has emancipated the mind and broken down the ideological monopoly which existed in the past." In 1957 Chou Yang appeared as the spokesman of the bourgeois rightists, when he said with rapturous glee: "The great cold of the past is now thawing." But he was still not satisfied with that, so he clamored: "Though there has been a thaw, dogmatism and secretarianism are still rampant. The present situation can be described as 'the cool of spring,' the real period of spring warmth and blossom time has not yet come." What kind of "period of spring warmth and blossom time" did Chou Yang persistently dream of? It was a period of the restoration of capitalism, of

full "liberalization" for Chou Yang and company, when poisonous weeds would sprout everywhere and monsters and demons would be free to do whatever they liked.

Chairman Mao has said: "All erroneous ideas, all poisonous weeds, all superstitious and degenerate things, must be subjected to criticism; in no circumstance should they be allowed to spread unchecked."

We shall certainly adhere to the teachings of Chairman Mao, tear down Chou Yang's black flag of bourgeois liberalization, knock Chou Yang off his perch as the patron saint of the bourgeoisie, and shall insure that the sunlight of Mao Tse-tung's thought shines over the good heart and the socialist hundred flowers bloom all over the world.

4. Chou Yang dealt in numerous bourgeois, reactionary concepts of literature and art and opposed the Marxist conception of literature and art.

The various bourgeois concepts of literature and art which were criticized by Chairman Mao in his "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art," and the various bourgeois and revisionist concepts of literature and art which have been criticized since the founding of the CPR and are still being criticized -- such as "the theory of human nature," "the theory of thinking in terms of images," "the theory of emotionalism," "the theory of the broad path of realism," "the theory of truthful writing," "the theory of portraying middle characters," "the theory of broad subject matter," "the theory of indirect coordination," and so forth -- were all goods displayed in Chou Yang's black market stamped with the "Chou family brand" and disposed of by him through wholesale and retail outlets.

Chou Yang dealt in the bourgeois "theory of human nature," and opposed the Marxist theory of classes. Chairman Mao has said: "In class society everyone lives as a member of a particular class, and every kind of thinking, without exception, is stamped with the brand of a class." But Chou Yang said that to take men as the "personification of classes and with only class nature" was "class labelism." He vociferously advocated that works of literature and art should express human nature and not class nature.

He advocated "hunting for a kind of true man who is comparatively more human," expressing the innocent mind of a child," "writing about true people and true hearts," and writing about "the brotherhood of men." Marxists hold that in class society the only human nature that exists is one with class nature, and it is absolutely impossible to have human nature that is above class. Chou Yang's human nature above class -- like his so-called innocent mind of a child, true heart, and brotherhood of men -- in essence is bourgeois human nature and bourgeois individualism.

Chou Yang dealt in "the theory of thinking in terms of images" and opposed the Marxist theories of knowledge and reflection. He said that "thinking in terms of images" was the particular law of art and that "the

thinking in terms of images and the thinking of logic are two different things." "The thinking in terms of images" advocated by Chou Yang was, according to him, a kind of pure perceptual activity ruling out reason; a kind of activity of pure images excluding logical thinking; a kind of activity leading from perception to perception and from image to image. This mystical "thinking in terms of images" was a fiction; it simply does not exist in fact.

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

This is a universal truth. Only by going through this process of cognition can writers and artists gain a knowledge of the world and engage in creating works of literature and art.

The "theory of thinking in terms of images" advocated by Chou Yang is anti-Marxist. It is diametrically to oppose the application of the dialectical materialist and historical materialist outlook by writers and artists in their observation of the world, of society, and of literature and art; its aim is to deny completely the guiding role exercised by the world outlook of writers and artists over their creative work in literature and art. Chou Yang spoke of writers and artists as if they were extraordinary types of people and creative work in literature and art as an extraordinary kind of activity over which nobody can exercise authority. He fabricated a theoretical basis for opposing the party's leadership in the spheres of literature and art and for opposing the communist world outlook.

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

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "If you are a bourgeois writer or artist, you will eulogize not the proletariat but the bourgeoisie, and if you are a proletarian writer or artist, you will eulogize not the bourgeoisie but the proletariat and working people: it must be one or the other." Chou Yang is precisely the former. Like all landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad elements, and rightists, Chou Yang loved what the working people hated and hated what the working people loved, and was full to the marrow of class hatred for the party, for socialism, and for the working people. He put on counterrevolutionary colored spectacles to search only for the so-called seamy side of the radiant socialist reality. For more than a decade he shouted himself hoarse for "truthful writing" for the sake of instigating writers and artists to attack the socialist system and to caricature the working people.

Chou Yang peddled the "theory of portraying middle characters" and opposed the portrayal of worker, peasant, and soldier heroes. To portray worker, peasant, and soldier heroes is a fundamental task of proletarian literature and art. In our era the focus of the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie on the literary and art front is: To which class do the heroes and dominant characters portrayed belong? This is the boundary line that separates the literature and art of one class from the other. We have always advocated that revolutionary writers and artists should enthusiastically portray worker, peasant, and soldier heroes armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought. But on this question Chou Yang took an attitude completely antagonistic to ours. Under the pretence of examining everybody in the light of the "one divides into two" principle, he said that in life there was no "perfect person without a single defect" and opposed the creation of ideal proletarian characters in our literary and art works. He advocated writing about "the inherent flaws in the character" of former poor peasants, workers, and party members and the "wounded feelings" of the working people; in reality he aimed at encouraging the portrayal of "middle characters," namely, backward people. On one hand, Chou Yang made the utmost effort to oppose our portrayal of worker, peasant, and soldier heroes; on the other hand he encouraged the eulogizing of the representatives of the landlord class and the bourgeoisie. He spread the nonsense that "any class, any clique has its progressive aspect," that "bourgeois industrialists and businessmen have their progressive aspect," that "there are also good emperors," and that "there are also some relatively soberminded people among the feudal rulers." Truly, as the saying goes: Vines of a particular kind only produce melons of that kind; people of a particular class speak only the language of that class. There is no mistaking here what Chou Yang loved and what he hated.

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

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

Chou Yang canvassed the "theory of indirect coordination" and rejected the view that literature and art should serve proletarian politics. Chairman Mao has said: "Party work in literature and art occupies a definite and assigned position in party revolutionary work as a whole and is subordinated to the revolutionary tasks set by the party in a given revolutionary period." Proletarian literature and art must become an obedient instrument of the party, help fulfill the revolutionary tasks set by the party in a given period, give prominence to politics and promote the revolutionizing of man's thinking, and help the people, united heart and mind, to struggle against the enemy. To stray from this standpoint is to betray the fundamental task of proletarian literature and art.

Chou Yang arrogantly asserted: "There is something not quite right about the idea of serving; at most it is possible to talk of direct coordination and indirect coordination." Here Chou Yang put forward the "theory of indirect coordination" to effect a radical change in the subordinate position of literature and art in relation to politics. He considered that the relationship between literature and art and politics should be that of "placing an order for goods," of public and private joint ownership. He considered that writers and artists "may accept" or "may refuse" tasks assigned them by the party; he scoffed at us for subordinating literature and art to political tasks, saying that it is outdated "art troupe experience"; scolded us for "writing about performing, and painting the central task," describing it as "narrow, improper." What is Chou Yang's so-called indirect coordination? "Without political content," he said, "it is also possible to serve politics." In essence he was talking about not serving proletarian politics, but serving bourgeois politics.

Over the past 10 years and more, Chou Yang, this big dealer in black goods, put up the signboard of revolution behind which he actually peddled

counterrevolution. Under the signboards of "authority," "specialist," and "supreme master," he sold the black merchandise of the bourgeois reactionary viewpoint on literature and art and defrauded and poisoned many people. The question of what outlook each writer or artist adopts on literature and art is one relating to his soul. If Chou Yang's whole reactionary bourgeois outlook on literature and art is not discredited and completely repudiated, it will be impossible to recognize clearly the essence of his counterrevolutionary revisionist program for literature and art, and it will also be impossible to eradicate from literary and art circles the poisonous effects of his bourgeois outlook on literature and art.

5. Chou Yang frantically advocated the worship of what is foreign and the restoration of what is ancient; he obstinately resisted socialist transformation of literature and art.

The proletarian cultural revolution is a great revolution which touches the people to their very souls. It will utterly destroy the old ideology and old culture, old customs and old habits, which were cultivated by the exploiting classes over thousands of years and which poisoned the minds of the people; it will create and engender among the broad masses of the people brand new proletarian ideology, culture, customs, and habits.

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

Chou Yang lauded European bourgeois culture of the 18th and 19th centuries as "the summit of human culture in the world"; he was lavish in his praise of the Russian bourgeois literary critic, Chernyshevskiy, as the founder of the had "transformed literature." Chou Yang opposed with all his might our criticism of the bourgeois masters of literature and art, arguing, for example, that Stanislavskiy was "a very important '-skiy'" and "a very big '-skiy'"; "he had very important achievements to his credit" and "he must not and could not be dethroned." He advocated "the constant introduction" into China of the bourgeois literature and art of other countries. He wanted the theater and opera to present such pieces as "La Traviata," "Romeo and Juliet," "Othello," "King Lear," and so forth, so that these works would be "quickly popularized in China." He also wanted us to learn from the "Nouvelle Vague" (New Wave) and "modernist" literature and art, the most reactionary and most decadent of the contemporary bourgeois schools of literature and art. Chou Yang held that "without this condition, there can be no upsurge of socialist culture."

Chou Yang said: "To exploit legacy is of decisive importance to the development of socialist literature and art and to the nationalization of literature and art." He added: "In my view, it is unfilial to recognize only the works created after liberation and to label the old works are feudal

and those produced after the 4 May movement as bourgeois." He even had the effrontery to call the literature and art of the period following the 4 May movement as the "father" and the literature and art of the feudal period as the "grandfathers," adding "without them, how could you have come into being" whether you like it or not, you cannot deny your grandfather and father." Therefore, he advocated publishing en masse traditional theatrical items so as to let various theatrical troupes perform them and "popularize among the masses" such feudal stuff so that they would "glitter with sparkling radiance till the communist era." While energetically promoting feudal literature and art, Chou Yang advocated "the theory of inheriting old ethical values" and made the absurd assertion that "although the political philosophy, ethics, the principles governing the relations between the emperor and the minister and between the father and the son, and so forth, which the Chinese people accumulated in the prolonged feudal society, are relics of feudalism, we still can learn something from them," and his attempt was, as he put it, systematically to preserve the ideology of the old times in today's literature and art.

As early as 1944, Chairman Mao Tse-tung pointed out that history was created by the people. But on the old theatrical stage (in all old literature and art which were divorced from the people), the people appeared as riffraff while the lords and ladies and their highborn sons and daughters dominated the stage. This distortion of history had to be put right, so as to restore the true face of history. In 1950 Chairman Mao put forward the policy "let a hundred flowers blossom and weed through the old to let the new emerge." In 1963 he pointed out that there were many problems in all forms of art -- in drama, ballad, music, the fine arts, the dance, the cinema, poetry, and literature, a great many people were involved, and in many fields very little had been achieved so far in the way of socialist transformation. The "dead" still dominated many fields. Chairman Mao said: Isn't it absurd that many communists show enthusiasm in advancing feudal and capitalist art, but no zeal in promoting socialist art?

Being a pious scion of the feudal literature and art, Chou Yang persistently and stubbornly resisted Chairman Mao's instructions, opposed the transformation of the theatrical art and opposed the staging of revolutionary modern dramas and operas. He disparaged the transformation of the theatrical art as "crude," and advocated that "we should not strain" to carry out the transformation "lest the result should be a monstrosity like nothing on earth." Indeed, Chou Yang was loyal and filial to the hilt to the emperors, kings, generals, ministers, scholars, and beauties. In his eyes, whoever was in favor of transformation was virtually desecrating the graves of his ancestors and denying his family the devotion of posterity. But Chou Yang did not entirely refrain from talking about transformation. But his so-called transformation amounted to weeding through the old to let the old emerge, or even weeding through the new to let the old emerge, instead of weeding through the old to let the new emerge. The required modern drama, which mainly presented plays on revolutionary theses, originally to perform such items as "Lord Chiao Steps Into a Bride's Sedan Chair," "A Frustrated

Scholar's Complaint," "Generals of the Yang Family," and "Golden Beach." This was regressive, reactionary, and counterrevolutionary transformation.

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

Marxists never refuse to take over and use as examples either their own country's or the foreign literary and art legacies. Chairman Mao Tse-tung has said: "As for foreign culture, it would be a wrong policy to shut it out, rather we should as far as possible draw on what is progressive in it for use in the development of China's new culture; it would also be wrong to copy it blindly, rather we should draw on it critically to meet the actual needs of the Chinese people. . . Similarly, ancient Chinese culture should neither be totally rejected nor blindly copied, but should be accepted discriminatingly so as to help the progress of China's new culture."

Obviously, it is a Marxist policy to accept discriminatingly both the domestic and foreign literary and art legacies; it is a policy conducive to the development of new socialist literature and art. Chou Yang's total and uncritical acceptance of the Chinese and foreign literary and art legacies is a policy running counter to Marxism, a policy designed to undermine new socialist literature and art; it is a counterrevolutionary, revisionist policy.

Revolutionary literary and art workers must abide by the only correct policy formulated by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, integrate themselves with the broad masses of the workers, peasants, and soldiers and be critics of the old culture and creators of the new culture.

6. Chou Yang opposed proletarian literary and art criticism, and attacked the struggle on the literary and art front to foster proletarian and eradicate bourgeois ideology.

Proletarian literary and art criticism is an important aspect of the struggle to foster proletarian ideology and eradicate bourgeois ideology on the ideological and cultural front; it is an important way by which the party gives leadership in literary and art work, and an important factor which helps socialist literary and artistic creation to thrive. There are two criteria in literary and art criticism: the political and the artistic. Chairman Mao has said: "Each class in every class society has its own political and artistic criteria. But all classes in all class societies invariably put the political criterion first and the artistic criterion second." Chou Yang, however, opposed this brilliant thesis of Chairman Mao's with the nonsense that "politics cannot be put in the forefront unless the art is good." For films, he laid down the four criteria of "good plot, good shots, good cast, and good music," deliberately leaving out good politics. Like all reactionary bourgeois literary and art critics,

Chou Yang's absurd thesis about placing the artistic criterion first was simply designed to oppose proletarian politics and peddle bourgeois politics under an "art first" cover. On the pretext of "do not vulgarize the political criterion," Chou Yang flagrantly tampered with Chairman Mao's six political criteria for distinguishing fragrant flowers from poisonous weeds; he divided literary and art work into "beneficial, harmless, and harmful categories," and devised the thesis of "harmless and beneficial" -- meaning politically "harmless" and somewhat "beneficial" to life -- in order to open the door wide to such rubbish as stories about emperors and kings, generals and prime ministers, talented scholars and beauties, flowers and birds, fish and insects, prodigies and ancient lovers, and so forth.

Chairman Mao has taught us that there is no construction without destruction, no flowing without damming, and no motion without rest. Destruction here means criticism, means revolution. Destruction comes first, and, in the course of it, there is construction. But Chou Yang made a great din playing the opposite tune, setting out the absurd theory that "construction must come before destruction" and that "destruction is easy while construction is difficult." He said: "Destruction is comparatively easy but construction is more difficult. Not all destruction equates with construction." Opposing destruction, Chou Yang intended to prevent the proletariat from uprooting poisonous weeds, from making revolution. To this end, he laid down many arbitrary rules to restrict the proletarian left: They must not use such methods as the movements employed in repudiating Hu Shih and Hu Feng, and in criticizing Yu Ping-po in the past, but should use comparatively mild methods," they must not impose "political labels," they must "strictly distinguish academic from political questions," they must keep the "arguments entirely within the bounds of academic studies," and so on and so forth. With all these, he vainly attempted to bind the proletarian left, hand and foot, and eliminate proletarian literary and art criticism.

Chou Yang aired grievances on behalf of the monsters and demons who had been criticized in the major struggles on the literary and art front ever since liberation and campaigned widely to have the judgments on them reversed.

He viciously attacked the proletariat for the struggle against the bourgeois rightists and the criticism of the various poisonous weeds; he said it was a "big chopping off and cutting down," "an offensive by the riffraff beating drums" and "impossible for scholars to reason with soldiers." He maligned past political movements as creating "abysses"; "a rightist abyss, an antiparty abyss, a right opportunist abyss, a revisionist abyss; there are too many abysses and if one falls into one of them there is no hope of getting out." The three may prefer calm but the wind does not subside. Class struggle is independent of man's will. All reactionaries create abysses for themselves and jump into them of their own free will. Chou Yang's slander that we create "abysses" was simply a futile effort to counterattack in revenge. The struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is a life-or-death struggle -- if the proletariat does not exercise dictatorship over

the bourgeoisie, the bourgeoisie will exercise dictatorship over the proletariat. However much the Chou Yang's attack or abuse us, the proletariat will not even for a moment stop or relax the struggle against you representatives of the capitalist class and all the other monsters and demons, who are against the party, socialism, and Mao Tse-tung's thought.

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

7. Chou Yang disseminated the fallacy that class struggle had died down, advocated the "three fames" principle, favored a policy of "three highs"; these were his insidious ways of bringing about a "peaceful evolution" throughout the ranks of the workers in literature and art.

In 1957, in his speech "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," Chairman Mao Tse-tung pointed out: "It is true that in China, socialist transformation, insofar as a change in the system of ownership is concerned has in the main been completed, and the turbulent, large-scale, mass struggles characteristic of the revolutionary periods have in the main concluded. But remnants of the overthrown landlord and comprador classes still exist, the bourgeoisie still exists, and the petty bourgeoisie has only just begun to remold itself. Class struggle is not yet over. The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between various political forces, and the class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will still be long and devious and at times may even become very acute. The proletariat seeks to transform the world according to its own world outlook, so does the bourgeoisie. In this respect, the question whether socialism or capitalism will win is still not really settled."

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

In 1961, when the domestic and international class struggle was very acute and the monsters and demons in literary and art circles became very

active, launching wanton attacks on the party and on socialism, Chou Yang came out with this statement: "As I see it, our ranks in literature and art belong to the revolutionary class, the proletariat, and not to the bourgeoisie," and "our literary and art circles, our intellectual circles, form a very lovable contingent." Referring to the bourgeois elements in literary and art circles who had been the "targets of criticism and struggle," Chou Yang said: "They are good comrades." In his opinion, classes and class struggle no longer existed in our ranks in literature and art, and the class struggle had once and for all been extinguished.

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

In these attacks, he resorted mainly to two methods. One was to build up actively his counterrevolutionary gangster inn by recruiting capitulationists and renegades and by forming cliques pursuing their own selfish interests. In every possible way Chou Yang tried to help the rightists to reverse the correct judgments that had been made earlier concerning them. He made the preposterous assertion that "some people became rightists because they muddle-headedly joined in the swindling." He said: "There are some very intelligent people among them" and "we should help them remove the label (of rightists)." He added: "In this way, our ranks will grow and will not remain narrow in scope."

Chou Yang attacked the party's policy concerning cadres and abused the socialist system, alleging that it "is no less severe" in "ignoring" persons of talent. For reasons of his own, he declared, "The trouble is not the lack of good horses that can gallop a thousand li a day, but the absence of Po Yueh, who can pick them out." Obviously regarding himself as Po Yueh, Chou Yang wooed a number of bourgeois untrained individualists and raked together the dregs of society -- rightist, renegades, traitors, reactionary bourgeois men of letters, and survivals of bygone ages -- and formed a counter-revolutionary revisionist gang that was devoted to him heart and soul.

The other method Chou Yang used was ideological corrosion and peaceful evolution, in a sinister attempt to make the ranks of the revolutionary literary and art workers change color. He opposed the study of Chairman Mao's works and slanderously described the living study and application of Chairman Mao's work by literary and art workers as "oversimplification and philistinism." He advocated that literary and art workers should devote a good deal of time to the study of works by foreign authors of the 18th and 19th centuries, "even reactionary books," and that the young people should be made "a little sophisticated" and should be brought up "in the spirit of Hai Jui as shown in his memorial to the throne." Chou Yang was against going

deep into life and ideological remolding. To young people, he said: "It is impossible to draw experience from life by going to villages or factories" and "so it is not necessary to go there." To older people he said: "Stay a week in the village but then spend another week in the country town to solve the problem of taking baths and gratifying your appetite." In a word, what he advocated was that people should lock themselves away in their studies and "strive to improve their skill" in seclusion.

Our writers and artists are paid regular salaries by the state. But Chou Yang advocated extra payments to them for their work in addition to their regular salaries. He was against keeping politics in the forefront and encouraged the policy of "three highs"-- high salaries, high royalties, and high awards. He said: "payments should be made according to the kind of stuff produced. The painters can sell their paintings. The film director who makes a film will get paid; if he does not, he won't. This is also applicable to writers. If they produce, they will be paid fees and get royalties."

Chou Yang opposed the party's cultivation of the younger generation. He followed a kind of "three fames" principle, that is, he encouraged young people to strive to become famous writers, famous directors, or famous actors. In his opinion, "it is necessary to rely on the old experts to train young writers" and it depends on "one's personal endeavor to become a famous specialist." He urged young people to try and become "an actor with a great power of attraction" or "an outstanding representative of dramatic art in one of its forms." This, he said, was as necessary as "a leader is to a political party."

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

The question of what kind of an army of literary and art workers is to be built is one of key importance which will lead proletarian literature and art to prosperity or extinction. Unless there is an army of proletarian literary and art workers, there will be no proletarian literature and art. We understand this, and so does the enemy. This is why the enemy always tries in every way to corrode and disrupt the ranks of our literary and art workers. An acute and complicated class struggle has always existed in our literary and art ranks ever since the birth of proletarian literature and art in China. It is not at all surprising that Chou Yang cudged his brains to change the color of our literary and art ranks. Our revolutionary literary and art workers must go through storm and stress and remold their thinking in the three great revolutionary movements of the class struggle, the struggle for production, and scientific experimentation, in the fiery life and struggle of the workers, peasants, and soldiers. They must temper themselves to become red fighters in literature and art who do not work for fame or fortune but are ready to defy hardship and death and serve the people wholeheartedly. In this way, the ranks of our literary and art workers will become a thoroughly proletarian and militant army infinitely

loyal to the proletariat and the working people, to the cause of the party, and to Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought.

8. Chou Yang opposed leadership by the party in the work of literature and art, in a vain attempt to usurp party leadership, seize power, and bring about the restoration of capitalism.

Chairman Mao has said: "The core of our strength, which leads us in our cause, is the Communist Party of China." Only with this core, can the cause of socialism and communism succeed. Only with this core can socialist literature and art thrive and develop. So long as this core exists, no antiparty, antisocialist schemes for a counterrevolutionary restoration will succeed.

With his reactionary class stand, Chou Yang was well aware that party leadership was the biggest barrier to his counterrevolutionary revisionist program for literature and art, the most formidable opponent of his futile efforts to usurp party leadership, seize power, and bring about a capitalist restoration.

That was why Chou Yang directed the spearhead of all his attacks on party leadership in his various and repeated offensives over the years. He vilified party leadership as "monopoly of everything by a single party" and insidiously remarked that "old ideas sometimes appear in other forms, that is, old content in new form. The old content -- feudal-patriarchal rule; the new form -- the secretary of the party committee in command." He abused the party's political and ideological work as "occupying all and replacing everything." He called party-member cadres "rulers" and "enslavers." Chou Yang put up a clamor for leadership in the party's literature and art to be handed over to "the specialist inside and outside the party," to a "common leadership" with persons outside the party, exercising leadership in "special ways," and "through an arts committee." He advocated that the associations of writers and artists should be their "own organizations and not become appendages of the government." He incited workers in literature and art not to follow the party's instructions, alleging that "the saying 'unconditionally follow the party's leadership' needs consideration," and he declared that "the party should not give orders to literature and art. The peony will blossom just the same in Loyang if it is exiled there."

From this whole repertory of scurrilous abuse by Chou Yang, we can see more clearly what deep hatred he harbored for our great, glorious and correct party, and what a blackhearted, nasty character he is. In fact, it was none other than this same self-styled "supreme master," Chou Yang, who exercised feudal patriarchal rule over literary and art circles -- "rulers" and "enslavers," fit them to a tee; Chou Yang, the demon king in literary and art circles, together with his gang of monsters and devils. His sole purpose in vilifying party leadership was to get the party to give up its position of leadership and hand it over. This is now obvious to everybody. His own statements and admissions make his ambition to usurp party leadership and seize power as clear as daylight.

The black line in literature and art of which Chou Yang was the commander in chief, and its counterrevolutionary, revisionist program for literature and art, have played havoc among literary and art circles in China and produced grave consequences. In their capacity as leading members of literary and art circles, and under the signboards of veteran party members, veteran "leftwingers," people of experience, they distorted Chairman Mao Tse-tung's ideas on literature and art just as they pleased, worked hard to prevent any implementation of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's ideas and the party's line and policy on literature and art, and used their systematic counterrevolutionary revisionist program for literature and art to rule literary and art circles. They controlled the great majority of the leading organizations in the literary and art world, turned them into instruments of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat, abused the proletarian left, shielded the bourgeois rightists, suppressed socialist literature and art and gave the green light to the cultivation of poisonous weeds and granted licenses for it. They controlled many positions in literature and art such as literary and art periodicals, publishing houses, art organizations, film studios, and broadcasting stations. They produced a great many poisonous weeds and widely disseminated the poison among the masses. They turned most of the associations of literary and art circles into bodies of the Hungarian Petofi Club type, huge dyeing vats of revisionism, thus corrupting many workers in literature and art. They transformed many art colleges and schools into workshops fostering successors to bourgeois literature and art and poisoned the minds of many young people.

In short, they were a pack of vicious wolves in sheep's clothing, serpents disguised as beauties. They waved "red flags" to oppose the red flag. They put up the signboard of proletarian literature and art to peddle their bourgeois, revisionist literature and art. They used the title of Communist Party member to do evil against communism and the people. They were a major field army of the recently exposed counterrevolutionary clique that opposed the party, socialism, and Mao Tse-tung's thought. They were a most dangerous time bomb hidden within the party and literary and art circles.

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

Chairman Mao has said: ". . . We recognize that in the general development of history the material determines the mental and social being determines social consciousness, we also -- and indeed must -- recognize the reaction of mental on material things, of social consciousness on social being and of the superstructure on the economic base."

The Central Committee of the party and Chairman Mao have always paid great attention to getting a grip on the class struggle in the sphere of ideology, on the superstructure, as a means of consolidating and developing the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system. Chou Yang and company, together with various other counterrevolutionary cliques, such as the "Three-Family Villages" and the "Four-Family Inns," too, have always made desperate efforts to get a grip on the class struggle in the sphere of ideology and the superstructure, as a means of preparing the mental climate for a bourgeois comeback.

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

Chou Yang, this sly old hand in opposing the revolution, appeared as a "left" and dressed up as a "positive character" who was "always correct" each time the proletariat launched a counterattack to rebuff an attack by the bourgeoisie; but when the tide of the revolutionary movement subsided, he would again stretch out his claws. Thus there was a situation in which their attacks on the proletariat were sometimes furious and sometimes subdued, sometimes overt and sometimes hidden. But whatever the form, they were always of the same kind, they always attacked the party and socialism. Acting on the orders of the chieftain of the counterrevolutionary sinister gang, who was recently exposed, Chou Yang threw his weight about with the arrogance of a "demon king," and used such arguments as "everyone is equal before truth" and "avoid one-sidedness" as clubs for striking at the proletarian left and the revolutionary masses, in the vain attempt to subdue the mighty tide of the great proletarian cultural revolution, and he did so even as late as 1965 when the storm of the great socialist cultural revolution in China had already started.

Now that Chou Yang and his despicable crew have been exposed under the bright light of day, we have to hold onto them tightly, thoroughly denounce them, and hold them up to shame so that they can never again spread poison and harm people.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is now surging forward, wave upon wave, sweeping aside all monsters and demons that entrenched themselves in every department of culture, striking directly at their "underground kingdom," overthrowing the "demon kings," thoroughly breaking the monopoly exerted in culture by a handful of bourgeois "specialists," "celebrities," "authorities," and "supreme masters" who opposed the party, socialism,

and Mao Tse-tung's thought, and eradicating all the old thinking, culture, customs, and habits by which the exploiting classes poisoned the minds of the people, and thus opening up a brand new epoch. Our epoch is the great epoch of Mao Tse-tung, the epoch in which hundreds of millions of workers, peasants, and soldiers are mastering Mao Tse-tung's thought and science and culture, an epoch in which heroes are coming forward in large numbers; it is an epoch in which proletarian revolutionary literature and art will surely sparkle with great brilliance.

BLACK LITERARY LINE OF CHOU YANG DENOUNCED
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From an editorial note entitled "The Compass for the
Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution," by Hung-ch'i
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Comrade Mao Tse-tung's "Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art" was first published 24 years ago. With genius, Comrade Mao Tse-tung in this article creatively developed the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and the Marxist-Leninist theory on literature and art. This is an important, epoch-making document. It scientifically sums up not only the basic experience of the movement for revolutionary literature and art of the international proletariat. It most completely, most comprehensively and most systematically sums up the struggle between the two lines on the cultural front. It offers, for the first time in the history of the proletarian revolution, the most complete, most thorough-going and most correct Marxist-Leninist line on literature and art.

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

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

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