

An Important Document for the Proletarian Cultural Revolution

IN March last year, our great leader Chairman Mao personally revised and approved the "Summary of the Forum on the Work in Literature and Art in the Armed Forces With Which Comrade Lin Piao Entrusted Comrade Chiang Ching." (See p. 10.) In the history of the cultural struggle in China, this forum is extremely important. Its "Summary" is a most important document for China's proletarian cultural revolution.

At that time, the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines in China had reached a crucial point. It was particularly concentrated, sharp and fierce in the realm of ideology and culture. With Comrade Lin Piao's support and help and overcoming many obstacles, Comrade Chiang Ching and the Liberation Army revolutionary cultural workers under her

guidance issued the "Summary" of the forum on the work in literature and art in the armed forces in direct opposition to the counter-revolutionary "February Outline Report," and launched a vigorous attack on the counter-revolutionary revisionist line.

Using the all-illuminating thought of Mao Tse-tung, the "Summary" has answered many major questions concerning the cultural revolution in the period of socialism. It upholds and defends the orientation set forth by Chairman Mao that literature and art should serve the workers, peasants and soldiers and proletarian politics. It expounds in concrete terms the important role played by literature and art in the struggle both for and against capitalist restoration throughout the

historical period of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It deals a powerful blow against the sinister counter-revolutionary revisionist line on literature and art which has been supported by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. The "Summary" gives a brilliant example of the creative study and application of Mao Tse-tung's thought and is a scientific summary of the experience gained in the struggle to create a new proletarian literature and art. It is a summons to war against the sinister counter-revolutionary revisionist line on literature and art and a manifesto in defence of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art. It is a document not only of great practical significance but also of far-reaching historical significance.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "In the world today all culture, all literature and art belong to definite classes and are geared to definite political lines." Literature and art in the service of the workers, peasants and soldiers and of proletarian politics in the period of socialist revolution means literature and art serving to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, carry forward the socialist revolution and transform the Party and the world in the image of the proletariat. In seizing political power, both the revolutionary class and the counter-revolutionary class must always and first of all seize the advance positions of literature and art. The political struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads, likewise, always and first of all finds expression in literature and art. Throughout the historical period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the main content of class struggle is the struggle for and against restoration, the seizure and counter-seizure of power. The overthrown class enemy always uses the important tool of literature and art to create public opinion for his restoration of capitalism; dreaming to turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, he seeks to transform the Party and the world in the image of the bourgeoisie. We must firmly bear in mind Chairman Mao's teaching **never to forget the class struggle**, particularly in the realm of ideology and culture, including literature and art.

Following Chairman Mao's great teachings concerning classes and class struggles in the period of socialism, the "Summary" has made a comprehensive, penetrating and correct analysis of the situation in the post-liberation struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines on the literary and art front and uncovered the sinister anti-Party, anti-socialist line in literature and art, a line that is diametrically opposed to Mao Tse-tung's thought. This sinister line is a combination of bourgeois ideas and modern revisionist ideas on literature and art and what is known as the literature and art of the 1930s (in the Kuomintang areas of China). It serves the counter-revolutionary revisionist political line stubbornly adhered to by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. During the past decade and more, with the support of their chief backer, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists

represented by Peng Chen, Lu Ting-yi, Chou Yang and Hsia Yen, waved "red flags" to oppose the red flag, drew deserters and traitors into their service, formed cliques in pursuit of their own selfish interests, feigned compliance while acting in opposition, rode roughshod over others, exercised a dictatorship over us in literary and art circles and prepared public opinion for the scheme to usurp the leadership of the Party, the army and the government by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. The "Summary," holding high the banner of revolutionary criticism, launched a fierce counter-offensive and won the first battle against the sinister line on literature and art that serves the restoration of capitalism and against its chief backer.

The "Summary" emphatically points out: **"Ours is the literature and art of the proletariat, the literature and art of the Party. The principle of proletarian Party spirit is the outstanding feature distinguishing us from other classes. It must be understood that representatives of other classes also have their principle of party spirit, and that they are very stubborn too. We must firmly adhere to the principle of proletarian Party spirit and combat the corrosion of bourgeois ideology in creative thinking, in organizational line and in style of work. As for bourgeois ideology, we must draw a clear line of demarcation and must on no account enter into peaceful coexistence with it."** The proletariat seeks to transform the world according to its own world outlook, and so does the bourgeoisie. As in a battle between two armies, the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the struggle between them in the realm of ideology, always results in victory for one side and defeat for the other. Either one eliminates the other, or vice versa. Either we wipe them out, or they wipe us out. In the war in the realm of ideology and culture, there can be no cease-fire and we must never seek peaceful co-existence. **Whoever tries to enter into peaceful co-existence with bourgeois ideology and culture inevitably surrenders to them.**

Comrade Lin Piao has said: **"If the proletariat does not occupy the positions in literature and art, the bourgeoisie certainly will. This struggle is inevitable. And it represents an extremely broad and deep socialist revolution in the realm of ideology. If things are not done properly, revisionism will prevail."** It was precisely because class struggle in the realm of ideology was abandoned that, in the Soviet Union, the world's first socialist state, the revisionist clique usurped the leadership of the Party and the state and brought about the restoration of capitalism. The same thing has happened in a number of other socialist countries. We must engrave on our minds this serious lesson in the international history of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

We must make revolutionary literature and art powerful instruments for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and **"ensure that literature and art fit well into the whole revolutionary machine as a component part, that they operate as powerful weapons for uniting and educating the people and for attacking and destroying the enemy, and that they help**

the people fight the enemy with one heart and one mind."

While vigorously destroying the sinister line on literature and art which serves the counter-revolutionary revisionist political line, the "Summary" sums up the valuable experience gained in vigorously creating the new literature and art of the proletariat. It stresses that we must firmly follow the orientation of literature and art serving the workers, peasants and soldiers and serving proletarian politics that Chairman Mao indicated; that we must carry out the mass line and make serious efforts to ensure that good works of literature and art are created; that we must adopt the creative method of combining revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism, work with enthusiasm and do everything possible to create heroic images of workers, peasants and soldiers; that we must make efforts to reflect the militant life of the workers, peasants and soldiers in socialist revolution and socialist construction; and that we must vigorously promote revolutionary and militant literary and art criticism by the masses and place the weapon of literary and art criticism in the hands of the worker, peasant and soldier masses. To create a flourishing new, socialist literature and art and vigorously develop the proletarian revolutionary literary and art movement, we must attach the greatest importance to the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works and place this above everything else; we must go into the midst of the struggle for a long period, integrate ourselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers, thoroughly remould our world outlook and accelerate the ideological revolutionization of literary and art workers. Only in this way, can revolutionary literature and art become a powerful weapon opposing capitalist restoration and preventing the unchecked spread of revisionism, and shoulder the important task of defending the great dictatorship of the proletariat and the great socialist cause.

In order to capture the positions in the fields of ideology and culture, the proletariat must arouse hun-

dreds of millions of people, carry on all-out revolutionary criticism and wage an all-out revolutionary struggle. At the present time, the spearhead must be directed against the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and a handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists. The "Summary" points out: **"In accordance with the instructions of the Central Committee of the Party, we must resolutely carry on a great socialist revolution on the cultural front" and tackle "the whole problem systematically and comprehensively" in the fields of ideology and culture.** We must have the daring to criticize and repudiate all old ideas and culture, and have the daring to criticize and repudiate the rotten "big shots" and reactionary bourgeois "authorities." If they are not criticized or repudiated, the new ideas and culture of the proletariat cannot survive and grow. The fighting task now confronting us is to carry on all-out criticism and struggle in a more penetrating way and on a still higher plane, bring about a new upsurge and combine these with "struggle-criticism-transformation" in each and every unit.

We must recognize that the question of who will win in the fields of ideology and culture cannot be settled after just one or two great cultural revolutions, or even three or four. In the thoroughgoing dialectical materialistic revolutionary spirit, the "Summary" points out for us: **"After we are rid of this black line, still others will appear and the struggle must go on. Therefore, this is an arduous, complex and long-term struggle which will take decades, or even centuries. It is a cardinal issue which has a vital bearing on the future of the Chinese revolution and the future of the world revolution."**

This is a great call. We must firmly respond to this call and unswervingly carry the proletarian revolution in the fields of ideology and culture through to the end!

("Renmin Ribao" editorial, May 29.)