

SCOTT



8

CHINESE  
LITERATURE

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**This is a special number commemorating  
the 25th anniversary of Chairman Mao's  
"Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature  
and Art."**

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Comrade Mao Tse-tung is the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism with genius, creatively and in an all-round way, and has raised Marxism-Leninism to a completely new stage. Mao Tse-tung's thought is Marxism-Leninism of the era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to worldwide victory. It is the guiding principle for all the work of our Party and country.

—Communique of the Eleventh Plenary Session  
of the Eighth Central Committee of the Com-  
munist Party of China (Adopted on August  
12, 1966)



Our great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman  
Chairman Mao Tse-tung

# Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art

May 1942

## INTRODUCTION

*May 2, 1942*

Comrades! You have been invited to this forum today to exchange ideas and examine the relationship between work in the literary and artistic fields and revolutionary work in general. Our aim is to ensure that revolutionary literature and art follow the correct path of development and provide better help to other revolutionary work in facilitating the overthrow of our national enemy and the accomplishment of the task of national liberation.

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. Since the May 4th Movement such a cultural army has taken shape in China, and it has helped the Chinese revolution, gradually reduced the domain of China's feudal culture and of the comprador culture which serves imperialist aggression, and weakened their influence. To oppose the new culture the Chinese reactionaries can now only "pit quantity against quality." In other words, reactionaries have money, and though they can produce nothing good, they can go all out and produce in quantity. Literature and art have been an important and successful part of the cultural front since the May 4th Movement. During the ten years' civil war, the revolutionary literature and art movement grew greatly. That movement and the revolutionary war both headed in the same general direction, but these two fraternal armies were not linked together in their practical work because the reactionaries had cut them off from each other. It is very good that since the outbreak of the War of Resistance Against Japan, more and more revolutionary writers and artists have been coming to Yen-an and our other anti-Japanese base areas. But

it does not necessarily follow that, having come to the base areas, they have already integrated themselves completely with the masses of the people here. The two must be completely integrated if we are to push ahead with our revolutionary work. The purpose of our meeting today is precisely to 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. What are the problems that must be solved to achieve this objective? I think they are the problems of the class stand of the writers and artists, their attitude, their audience, their work and their study.

The problem of class stand. Our stand is that of the proletariat and of the masses. For members of the Communist Party, this means keeping to the stand of the Party, keeping to Party spirit and Party policy. Are there any of our literary and art workers who are still mistaken or not clear in their understanding of this problem? I think there are. Many of our comrades have frequently departed from the correct stand.

The problem of attitude. From one's stand there follow specific attitudes towards specific matters. For instance, is one to extol or to expose? This is a question of attitude. Which attitude is wanted? I would say both. The question is, whom are you dealing with? There are three kinds of persons, the enemy, our allies

in the united front and our own people; the last are the masses and their vanguard. We need to adopt a different attitude towards each of the three. With regard to the enemy, that is, Japanese imperialism and all the other enemies of the people, the task of revolutionary writers and artists is to expose their duplicity and cruelty and at the same time to point out the inevitability of their defeat, so as to encourage the anti-Japanese army and people to fight staunchly with one heart and one mind for their overthrow. With regard to our different allies in the united front, our attitude should be one of both alliance and criticism, and there should be different kinds of alliance and different kinds of criticism. We support them in their resistance to Japan and praise them for any achievement. But if they are not active in the War of Resistance, we should criticize them. If anyone opposes the Communist Party and the people and keeps moving down the path of reaction, we will firmly oppose him. As for the masses of the people, their toil and their struggle, their army and their Party, we should certainly praise them. The people, too, have their shortcomings. Among the proletariat many retain petty-bourgeois ideas, while both the peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie have backward ideas; these are burdens hampering them in their struggle. We should be patient and spend a long time in educating them and helping them to get these loads off their backs and combat their own shortcomings and errors, so that they can advance with great strides. They have remoulded themselves in struggle or are doing

so, and our literature and art should depict this process. As long as they do not persist in their errors, we should not dwell on their negative side and consequently make the mistake of ridiculing them or, worse still, of being hostile to them. Our writings should help them to unite, to make progress, to press ahead with one heart and one mind, to discard what is backward and develop what is revolutionary, and should certainly not do the opposite.

The problem of audience, *i.e.*, the people for whom our works of literature and art are produced. In the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region and the anti-Japanese base areas of northern and central China, this problem differs from that in the Kuomintang areas, and differs still more from that in Shanghai before the War of Resistance. In the Shanghai period, the audience for works of revolutionary literature and art consisted mainly of a section of the students, office workers and shop assistants. After the outbreak of the War of Resistance the audience in the Kuomintang areas became somewhat wider, but it still consisted mainly of the same kind of people because the government there prevented the workers, peasants and soldiers from having access to revolutionary literature and art. In our base areas the situation is entirely different. Here the audience for works of literature and art consists of workers, peasants, soldiers and revolutionary cadres. There are students in the base areas, too, but they are different from students of the old type; they are either former or future cadres. The cadres of all types, fighters in the army, workers in the factories and

peasants in the villages all want to read books and newspapers once they become literate, and those who are illiterate want to see plays and operas, look at drawings and paintings, sing songs and hear music; they are the audience for our works of literature and art. Take the cadres alone. Do not think they are few; they far outnumber the readers of any book published in the Kuo-mintang areas. There, an edition usually runs to only 2,000 copies, and even three editions add up to only 6,000; but as for the cadres in the base areas, in Yen-an alone there are more than 10,000 who read books. Many of them, moreover, are tempered revolutionaries of long standing, who have come from all parts of the country and will go out to work in different places, so it is very important to do educational work among them. Our literary and art workers must do a good job in this respect.

Since the audience for our literature and art consists of workers, peasants and soldiers and of their cadres, the problem arises of understanding them and knowing them well. A great deal of work has to be done in order to understand them and know them well, to understand and know well all the different kinds of people and phenomena in the Party and government organizations, in the villages and factories and in the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies. Our writers and artists have their literary and art work to do, but their primary task is to understand people and know them well. In this regard, how have matters stood with our writers and artists? I would say they have been lacking in knowledge and

understanding; they have been like "a hero with no place to display his prowess." What does lacking in knowledge mean? Not knowing people well. The writers and artists do not have a good knowledge either of those whom they describe or of their audience; indeed they may hardly know them at all. They do not know the workers or peasants or soldiers well, and do not know the cadres well either. What does lacking in understanding mean? Not understanding the language, that is, not being familiar with the rich, lively language of the masses. Since many writers and artists stand aloof from the masses and lead empty lives, naturally they are unfamiliar with the language of the people. Accordingly, their works are not only insipid in language but often contain nondescript expressions of their own coining which run counter to popular usage. Many comrades like to talk about "a mass style." But what does it really mean? It means that the thoughts and feelings of our writers and artists should be fused with those of the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers. To achieve this fusion, they should conscientiously learn the language of the masses. How can you talk of literary and artistic creation if you find the very language of the masses largely incomprehensible? By "a hero with no place to display his prowess," we mean that your collection of great truths is not appreciated by the masses. The more you put on the airs of a veteran before the masses and play the "hero," the more you try to peddle such stuff to the masses, the less likely they are to accept it. If you want



the masses to understand you, if you want to be one with the masses, you must make up your mind to undergo a long and even painful process of tempering. Here I might mention the experience of how my own feelings changed. I began life as a student and at school acquired the ways of a student; I then used to feel it undignified to do even a little manual labour, such as carrying my own luggage in the presence of my fellow students, who were incapable of carrying anything, either on their shoulders or in their hands. At that time I felt that intellectuals were the only clean people in the world, while in comparison workers and peasants were dirty. I did not mind wearing the clothes of other intellectuals, believing them clean, but I would not put on clothes belonging to a worker or peasant, believing them dirty. But after I became a revolutionary and lived with workers and peasants and with soldiers of the revolutionary army, I gradually came to know them well, and they gradually came to know me well too. It was then, and only then, that I fundamentally changed the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois feelings implanted in me in the bourgeois schools. I came to feel that compared with the workers and peasants the unremoulded intellectuals were not clean and that, in the last analysis, the workers and peasants were the cleanest people and, even though their hands were soiled and their feet smeared with cowdung, they were really cleaner than the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois intellectuals. That is what is meant by a change in feelings, a change from one class to another. If our writers and artists who

come from the intelligentsia want their works to be well received by the masses, they must change and remould their thinking and their feelings. Without such a change, without such remoulding, they can do nothing well and will be misfits.

The last problem is study, by which I mean the study of Marxism-Leninism and of society. Anyone who considers himself a revolutionary Marxist writer, and especially any writer who is a member of the Communist Party, must have a knowledge of Marxism-Leninism. At present, however, some comrades are lacking in the basic concepts of Marxism. For instance, it is a basic Marxist concept that being determines consciousness, that the objective realities of class struggle and national struggle determine our thoughts and feelings. But some of our comrades turn this upside down and maintain that everything ought to start from "love." Now as for love, in a class society there can be only class love; but these comrades are seeking a love transcending classes, love in the abstract and also freedom in the abstract, truth in the abstract, human nature in the abstract, etc. This shows that they have been very deeply influenced by the bourgeoisie. They should thoroughly rid themselves of this influence and modestly study Marxism-Leninism. It is right for writers and artists to study literary and artistic creation, but the science of Marxism-Leninism must be studied by all revolutionaries, writers and artists not excepted. Writers and artists should study society, that is to say, should study the various classes in society, their mutual relations

and respective conditions, their physiognomy and their psychology. Only when we grasp all this clearly can we have a literature and art that is rich in content and correct in orientation.

I am merely raising these problems today by way of introduction; I hope all of you will express your views on these and other relevant problems.

## CONCLUSION

*May 23, 1942*

Comrades! Our forum has had three meetings this month. In the pursuit of truth we have carried on spirited debates in which scores of Party and non-Party comrades have spoken, laying bare the issues and making them more concrete. This, I believe, will very much benefit the whole literary and artistic movement.

In discussing a problem, we should start from reality and not from definitions. We would be following a wrong method if we first looked up definitions of literature and art in textbooks and then used them to determine the guiding principles for the present-day literary and artistic movement and to judge the different opinions and controversies that arise today. We are Marxists, and Marxism teaches that in our approach to a problem we should start from objective facts, not from abstract definitions, and that we should derive our guiding principles, policies and measures from an analysis of these facts. We should

do the same in our present discussion of literary and artistic work.

What are the facts at present? The facts are: the War of Resistance Against Japan which China has been fighting for five years; the world-wide anti-fascist war; the vacillations of China's big landlord class and big bourgeoisie in the War of Resistance and their policy of high-handed oppression of the people; the revolutionary movement in literature and art since the May 4th Movement — its great contributions to the revolution during the last twenty-three years and its many shortcomings; the anti-Japanese democratic base areas of the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies and the integration of large numbers of writers and artists with these armies and with the workers and peasants in these areas; the difference in both environment and tasks between the writers and artists in the base areas and those in the Kuomintang areas; and the controversial issues concerning literature and art which have arisen in Yen-an and the other anti-Japanese base areas. These are the actual, undeniable facts in the light of which we have to consider our problems.

What then is the crux of the matter? In my opinion, it consists fundamentally of the problems of working for the masses and how to work for the masses. Unless these two problems are solved, or solved properly, our writers and artists will be ill-adapted to their environment and their tasks and will come up against a series of difficulties from without and within. My concluding remarks will

centre on these two problems and also touch upon some related ones.

## I

The first problem is: literature and art for whom?

This problem was solved long ago by Marxists, especially by Lenin. As far back as 1905 Lenin pointed out emphatically that our literature and art should "serve... the millions and tens of millions of working people." For comrades engaged in literary and artistic work in the anti-Japanese base areas it might seem that this problem is already solved and needs no further discussion. Actually, that is not the case. Many comrades have not found a clear solution. Consequently their sentiments, their works, their actions and their views on the guiding principles for literature and art have inevitably been more or less at variance with the needs of the masses and of the practical struggle. Of course, among the numerous men of culture, writers, artists and other literary and artistic workers engaged in the great struggle for liberation together with the Communist Party and the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies, a few may be careerists who are with us only temporarily, but the overwhelming majority are working energetically for the common cause. By relying on these comrades, we have achieved a great deal in our literature, drama, music and fine arts. Many of these writers and artists have begun their work since the outbreak of the War of Resistance; many others did much revolutionary work before the war, endured many hard-

ships and influenced broad masses of the people by their activities and works. Why do we say, then, that even among these comrades there are some who have not reached a clear solution of the problem of whom literature and art are for? Is it conceivable that there are still some who maintain that revolutionary literature and art are not for the masses of the people but for the exploiters and oppressors?

Indeed literature and art exist which are for the exploiters and oppressors. Literature and art for the landlord class are feudal literature and art. Such were the literature and art of the ruling class in China's feudal era. To this day such literature and art still have considerable influence in China. Literature and art for the bourgeoisie are bourgeois literature and art. People like Liang Shih-chiu, whom Lu Hsun criticized, talk about literature and art as transcending classes, but in fact they uphold bourgeois literature and art and oppose proletarian literature and art. Then literature and art exist which serve the imperialists — for example, the works of Chou Tso-jen, Chang Tzu-ping and their like — which we call traitor literature and art. With us, literature and art are for the people, not for any of the above groups. We have said that China's new culture at the present stage is an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal culture of the masses of the people under the leadership of the proletariat. Today, anything that is truly of the masses must necessarily be led by the proletariat. Whatever is under the leadership of the bourgeoisie cannot possibly be of the masses. Naturally, the

same applies to the new literature and art which are part of the new culture. We should take over the rich legacy and the good traditions in literature and art that have been handed down from past ages in China and foreign countries, but the aim must still be to serve the masses of the people. Nor do we refuse to utilize the literary and artistic forms of the past, but in our hands these old forms, remoulded and infused with new content, also become something revolutionary in the service of the people.

Who, then, are the masses of the people? The broadest sections of the people, constituting more than 90 per cent of our total population, are the workers, peasants, soldiers and urban petty bourgeoisie. Therefore, our literature and art are first for the workers, the class that leads the revolution. Secondly, they are for the peasants, the most numerous and most steadfast of our allies in the revolution. Thirdly, they are for the armed workers and peasants, namely, the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies and the other armed units of the people, which are the main forces of the revolutionary war. Fourthly, they are for the labouring masses of the urban petty bourgeoisie and for the petty-bourgeois intellectuals, both of whom are also our allies in the revolution and capable of long-term cooperation with us. These four kinds of people constitute the overwhelming majority of the Chinese nation, the broadest masses of the people.

Our literature and art should be for the four kinds of people we have enumerated. To serve them, we must take the class stand of the proletariat and not that of the

petty bourgeoisie. Today, writers who cling to an individualist, petty-bourgeois stand cannot truly serve the masses of revolutionary workers, peasants and soldiers.

Their interest is mainly focused on the small number of petty-bourgeois intellectuals. This is the crucial reason why some of our comrades cannot correctly solve the problem of "for whom?" In saying this I am not referring to theory. In theory, or in words, no one in our ranks regards the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers as less important than the petty-bourgeois intellectuals. I am referring to practice, to action. In practice, in action, do they regard petty-bourgeois intellectuals as more important than workers, peasants and soldiers? I think they do. Many comrades concern themselves with studying the petty-bourgeois intellectuals and analysing their psychology, and they concentrate on portraying these intellectuals and excusing or defending their shortcomings, instead of guiding the intellectuals to join with them in getting closer to the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, taking part in the practical struggles of the masses, portraying and educating the masses. Coming from the petty bourgeoisie and being themselves intellectuals, many comrades seek friends only among intellectuals and concentrate on studying and describing them. Such study and description are proper if done from a proletarian position. But that is not what they do, or not what they do fully. They take the petty-bourgeois stand and produce works that are the self-expression of the petty bourgeoisie, as can be seen in quite a number of literary

and artistic products. Often they show heartfelt sympathy for intellectuals of petty-bourgeois origin, to the extent of sympathizing with or even praising their shortcomings. On the other hand, these comrades seldom come into contact with the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, do not understand or study them, do not have intimate friends among them and are not good at portraying them; when they do depict them, the clothes are the clothes of working people but the faces are those of petty-bourgeois intellectuals. In certain respects they are fond of the workers, peasants and soldiers and the cadres stemming from them; but there are times when they do not like them and there are some respects in which they do not like them: they do not like their feelings or their manner or their nascent literature and art (the wall newspapers, murals, folk songs, folk tales, etc). At times they are fond of these things too, but that is when they are hunting for novelty, for something with which to embellish their own works, or even for certain backward features. At other times they openly despise these things and are partial to what belongs to the petty-bourgeois intellectuals or even to the bourgeoisie. These comrades have their feet planted on the side of the petty-bourgeois intellectuals; or, to put it more elegantly, their innermost soul is still a kingdom of the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia. Thus they have not yet solved, or not yet clearly solved, the problem of "for whom?" This applies not only to newcomers to Yen-an; even among comrades who have been to the front and worked for a number of years in

our base areas and in the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies, many have not completely solved this problem. It requires a long period of time, at least eight or ten years, to solve it thoroughly. But however long it takes, solve it we must and solve it unequivocally and thoroughly. 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.

This question of "for whom?" is fundamental; it is a question of principle. The controversies and divergences, the opposition and disunity arising among some comrades in the past were not on this fundamental question of principle but on secondary questions, or even on issues involving no principle. On this question of principle, however, there has been hardly any divergence between the two contending sides and they have shown almost complete agreement; to some extent, both tend to look down upon the workers, peasants and soldiers and divorce themselves from the masses. I say "to some extent" because, generally speaking, these comrades do not look down upon the workers, peasants and soldiers or divorce themselves from the masses in the same way as the Kuomintang does. Nevertheless, the tendency is there. Unless

this fundamental problem is solved, many other problems will not be easy to solve. Take, for instance, the sectarianism in literary and art circles. This too is a question of principle, but sectarianism can only be eradicated by putting forward and faithfully applying the slogans, "For the workers and peasants!", "For the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies!" and "Go among the masses!" Otherwise the problem of sectarianism can never be solved. Lu Hsun once said:

A common aim is the prerequisite for a united front. . . . The fact that our front is not united shows that we have not been able to unify our aims, and that some people are working only for small groups or indeed only for themselves. If we all aim at serving the masses of workers and peasants, our front will of course be united.

The problem existed then in Shanghai; now it exists in Chungking too. In such places the problem can hardly be solved thoroughly, because the rulers oppress the revolutionary writers and artists and deny them the freedom to go out among the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers. Here with us the situation is entirely different. We encourage revolutionary writers and artists to be active in forming intimate contacts with the workers, peasants and soldiers, giving them complete freedom to go among the masses and to create a genuinely revolutionary literature and art. Therefore, here among us the problem is nearing solution. But nearing solution is not the same as a complete and thorough solution. We must study Marxism and study society, as we have been saying, precisely in order to achieve a complete and thorough solu-

tion. By Marxism we mean living Marxism which plays an effective role in the life and struggle of the masses, not Marxism in words. With Marxism in words transformed into Marxism in real life, there will be no more sectarianism. Not only will the problem of sectarianism be solved, but many other problems as well.

## II

Having settled the problem of whom to serve, we come to the next problem, how to serve. To put it in the words of some of our comrades: should we devote ourselves to raising standards, or should we devote ourselves to popularization?

In the past, some comrades, to a certain or even a serious extent, belittled and neglected popularization and laid undue stress on raising standards. Stress should be laid on raising standards, but to do so one-sidedly and exclusively, to do so excessively, is a mistake. The lack of a clear solution to the problem of "for whom?", which I referred to earlier, also manifests itself in this connection. As these comrades are not clear on the problem of "for whom?", they have no correct criteria for the "raising of standards" and the "popularization" they speak of, and are naturally still less able to find the correct relationship between the two. Since our literature and art are basically for the workers, peasants and soldiers, "popularization" means to popularize among the workers, peasants and soldiers, and "raising standards" means to advance from their present level. What should we popularize

among them? Popularize what is needed and can be readily accepted by the feudal landlord class? Popularize what is needed and can be readily accepted by the bourgeoisie? Popularize what is needed and can be readily accepted by the petty-bourgeois intellectuals? No, none of these will do. We must popularize only what is needed and can be readily accepted by the workers, peasants and soldiers themselves. Consequently, prior to the task of educating the workers, peasants and soldiers, there is the task of learning from them. This is even more true of raising standards. There must be a basis from which to raise. Take a bucket of water, for instance; where is it to be raised from if not from the ground? From mid-air? From what basis, then, are literature and art to be raised? From the basis of the feudal classes? From the basis of the bourgeoisie? From the basis of the petty-bourgeois intellectuals? No, not from any of these; only from the basis of the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers. Nor does this mean raising the workers, peasants and soldiers to the "heights" of the feudal classes, the bourgeoisie or the petty-bourgeois intellectuals; it means raising the level of literature and art in the direction in which the workers, peasants and soldiers are themselves advancing, in the direction in which the proletariat is advancing. Here again the task of learning from the workers, peasants and soldiers comes in. Only by starting from the workers, peasants and soldiers can we have a correct understanding of popularization and of the

raising of standards and find the proper relationship between the two.

In the last analysis, what is the source of all literature and art? Works of literature and art, as ideological forms, are products of the reflection in the human brain of the life of a given society. Revolutionary literature and art are the products of the reflection of the life of the people in the brains of revolutionary writers and artists. The life of the people is always a mine of the raw materials for literature and art, materials in their natural form, materials that are crude, but most vital, rich and fundamental; they make all literature and art seem pallid by comparison; they provide literature and art with an inexhaustible source, their only source. They are the only source, for there can be no other. Some may ask, is there not another source in books, in the literature and art of ancient times and of foreign countries? In fact, the literary and artistic works of the past are not a source but a stream; they were created by our predecessors and the foreigners out of the literary and artistic raw materials they found in the life of the people of their time and place. We must take over all the fine things in our literary and artistic heritage, critically assimilate whatever is beneficial, and use them as examples when we create works out of the literary and artistic raw materials in the life of the people of our own time and place. It makes a difference whether or not we have such examples, the difference between crudeness and refinement, between roughness and polish, between a low and a high level, and between slower and faster work.

Therefore, we must on no account reject the legacies of the ancients and the foreigners or refuse to learn from them, even though they are the works of the feudal or bourgeois classes. But taking over legacies and using them as examples must never replace our own creative work; nothing can do that. Uncritical transplantation or copying from the ancients and the foreigners is the most sterile and harmful dogmatism in literature and art. 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 whole-heartedly go among the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, go into the heat of the struggle, go to the only source, the broadest and richest source, in order to observe, experience, study and analyse all the different kinds of people, all the classes, all the masses, all the vivid patterns of life and struggle, all the raw materials of literature and art. Only then can they proceed to creative work. Otherwise, you will have nothing to work with and you will be nothing but a phoney writer or artist, the kind that Lu Hsun in his will so earnestly cautioned his son never to become.

Although man's social life is the only source of literature and art and is incomparably livelier and richer in content, the people are not satisfied with life alone and demand literature and art as well. Why? Because, while both are beautiful, life as reflected in works of literature and art can and ought to be on a higher plane, more intense, more concentrated, more typical, nearer the ideal, and therefore more universal than actual everyday life.

Revolutionary literature and art should create a variety of characters out of real life and help the masses to propel history forward. For example, there is suffering from hunger, cold and oppression on the one hand, and exploitation and oppression of man by man on the other. These facts exist everywhere and people look upon them as commonplace. Writers and artists concentrate such everyday phenomena, typify the contradictions and struggles within them and produce works which awaken the masses, fire them with enthusiasm and impel them to unite and struggle to transform their environment. Without such literature and art, this task could not be fulfilled, or at least not so effectively and speedily.

What is meant by popularizing and by raising standards in works of literature and art? What is the relationship between these two tasks? Popular works are simpler and plainer, and therefore more readily accepted by the broad masses of the people today. Works of a higher quality, being more polished, are more difficult to produce and in general do not circulate so easily and quickly among the masses at present. The problem facing the workers, peasants and soldiers is this: they are now engaged in a bitter and bloody struggle with the enemy but are illiterate and uneducated as a result of long years of rule by the feudal and bourgeois classes, and therefore they are eagerly demanding enlightenment, education and works of literature and art which meet their urgent needs and which are easy to absorb, in order to heighten their enthusiasm in struggle and confidence in victory, strength-



en their unity and fight the enemy with one heart and one mind. For them the prime need is not "more flowers on the brocade" but "fuel in snowy weather." In present conditions, therefore, popularization is the more pressing task. It is wrong to belittle or neglect popularization.

Nevertheless, no hard and fast line can be drawn between popularization and the raising of standards. Not only is it possible to popularize some works of higher quality even now, but the cultural level of the broad masses is steadily rising. If popularization remains at the same level for ever, with the same stuff being supplied month after month and year after year, always the same "Little Cowherd" and the same "man, hand, mouth, knife, cow, goat," will not the educators and those being educated be six of one and half a dozen of the other? What would be the sense of such popularization? The people demand popularization and, following that, higher standards; they demand higher standards month by month and year by year. Here popularization means popularizing for the people and raising of standards means raising the level for the people. And such raising is not from mid-air, or behind closed doors, but is actually based on popularization. It is determined by and at the same time guides popularization. In China as a whole the development of the revolution and of revolutionary culture is uneven and their spread is gradual. While in one place there is popularization and then raising of standards on the basis of popularization, in other places popularization has not even begun. Hence good experience in

popularization leading to higher standards in one locality can be applied in other localities and serve to guide popularization and the raising of standards there, saving many twists and turns along the road. Internationally, the good experience of foreign countries, and especially Soviet experience, can also serve to guide us. With us, therefore, the raising of standards is based on popularization, while popularization is guided by the raising of standards. Precisely for this reason, so far from being an obstacle to the raising of standards, the work of popularization we are speaking of supplies the basis for the work of raising standards which we are now doing on a limited scale, and prepares the necessary conditions for us to raise standards in the future on a much broader scale.

Besides such raising of standards as meets the needs of the masses directly, there is the kind which meets their needs indirectly, that is, the kind which is needed by the cadres. The cadres are the advanced elements of the masses and generally have received more education; literature and art of a higher level are entirely necessary for them. To ignore this would be a mistake. Whatever is done for the cadres is also entirely for the masses, because it is only through the cadres that we can educate and guide the masses. If we go against this aim, if what we give the cadres cannot help them educate and guide the masses, our work of raising standards will be like shooting at random and will depart from the fundamental principle of serving the masses of the people.

To sum up: through the creative labour of revolutionary writers and artists, the raw materials found in the life of the people are shaped into the ideological form of literature and art serving the masses of the people. Included here are the more advanced literature and art as developed on the basis of elementary literature and art and as required by those sections of the masses whose level has been raised, or, more immediately, by the cadres among the masses. Also included here are elementary literature and art which, conversely, are guided by more advanced literature and art and are needed primarily by the overwhelming majority of the masses at present. Whether more advanced or elementary, 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.

Now that we have settled the problem of the relationship between the raising of standards and popularization, that of the relationship between the specialists and the popularizers can also be settled. Our specialists are not only for the cadres, but also, and indeed chiefly, for the masses. Our specialists in literature should pay attention to the wall newspapers of the masses and to the reportage written in the army and the villages. Our specialists in drama should pay attention to the small troupes in the army and the villages. Our specialists in music should pay attention to the songs of the masses. Our specialists in the fine arts should pay attention to the fine arts of the masses. All these comrades should make close contact with com-

rades engaged in the work of popularizing literature and art among the masses. On the one hand, they should help and guide the popularizers, and on the other, they should learn from these comrades and, through them, draw nourishment from the masses to replenish and enrich themselves so that their specialities do not become "ivory towers," detached from the masses and from reality and devoid of content or life. We should esteem the specialists, for they are very valuable to our cause. But we should tell them that no revolutionary writer or artist can do any meaningful work unless he is closely linked with the masses, gives expression to their thoughts and feelings and serves them as a loyal spokesman. Only by speaking for the masses can he educate them and only by being their pupil can he be their teacher. If he regards himself as their master, as an aristocrat who lords it over the "lower orders," then, no matter how talented he may be, he will not be needed by the masses and his work will have no future.

Is this attitude of ours utilitarian? Materialists do not oppose utilitarianism in general but the utilitarianism of the feudal, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois classes; they oppose those hypocrites who attack utilitarianism in words but in deeds embrace the most selfish and short-sighted utilitarianism. There is no "ism" in the world that transcends utilitarian considerations; in class society there can be only the utilitarianism of this or that class. We are proletarian revolutionary utilitarians and take as our point of departure the unity of the present and future interests

of the broadest masses, who constitute over 90 per cent of the population; hence we are revolutionary utilitarians aiming for the broadest and the most long-range objectives, not narrow utilitarians concerned only with the partial and the immediate. If, for instance, you reproach the masses for their utilitarianism and yet for your own utility, or that of a narrow clique, force on the market and propagandize among the masses a work which pleases only the few but is useless or even harmful to the majority, then you are not only insulting the masses but also revealing your own lack of self-knowledge. A thing is good only when it brings real benefit to the masses of the people. Your work may be as good as *The Spring Snow*, but if for the time being it caters only to the few and the masses are still singing the *Song of the Rustic Poor*, you will get nowhere by simply scolding them instead of trying to raise their level. The question now is to bring about a unity between *The Spring Snow* and the *Song of the Rustic Poor*, between higher standards and popularization. Without such a unity, the highest art of any expert cannot help being utilitarian in the narrowest sense; you may call this art "pure and lofty" but that is merely your own name for it which the masses will not endorse.

Once we have solved the problems of fundamental policy, of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers and of how to serve them, such other problems as whether to write about the bright or the dark side of life and the problem of unity will also be solved. If everyone agrees on the fundamental policy, it should be adhered to by all

our workers, all our schools, publications and organizations in the field of literature and art and in all our literary and artistic activities. It is wrong to depart from this policy and anything at variance with it must be duly corrected.

### III

Since our literature and art are for the masses of the people, we can proceed to discuss a problem of inner-Party relations, *i.e.*, the relation between the Party's work in literature and art and the Party's work as a whole, and in addition a problem of the Party's external relations, *i.e.*, the relation between the Party's work in literature and art and the work of non-Party people in this field, a problem of the united front in literary and art circles.

Let us consider the first problem. 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, art that is detached from or independent of politics. Proletarian literature and art are part of the whole proletarian revolutionary cause; they are, as Lenin said, cogs and wheels in the whole revolutionary machine. Therefore, 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. Opposition to this arrangement is certain to lead to dualism or pluralism, and in essence amounts to "politics —

Marxist, art — bourgeois,” as with Trotsky. We do not favour overstressing the importance of literature and art, but neither do we favour underestimating their importance. Literature and art are subordinate to politics, but in their turn exert a great influence on politics. Revolutionary literature and art are part of the whole revolutionary cause, they are cogs and wheels in it, and though in comparison with certain other and more important parts they may be less significant and less urgent and may occupy a secondary position, nevertheless, they are indispensable cogs and wheels in the whole machine, an indispensable part of the entire revolutionary cause. If we had no literature and art even in the broadest and most ordinary sense, we could not carry on the revolutionary movement and win victory. Failure to recognize this is wrong. Furthermore, when we say that literature and art are subordinate to politics, we mean class politics, the politics of the masses, not the politics of a few so-called statesmen. Politics, whether revolutionary or counter-revolutionary, is the struggle of class against class, not the activity of a few individuals. The revolutionary struggle on the ideological and artistic fronts must be subordinate to the political struggle because only through politics can the needs of the class and the masses find expression in concentrated form. Revolutionary statesmen, the political specialists who know the science or art of revolutionary politics, are simply the leaders of millions upon millions of statesmen — the masses. Their task is to collect the opinions of these mass statesmen, sift and refine them,

and return them to the masses, who then take them and put them into practice. They are therefore not the kind of aristocratic “statesmen” who work behind closed doors and fancy they have a monopoly of wisdom. Herein lies the difference in principle between proletarian statesmen and decadent bourgeois statesmen. This is precisely why there can be complete unity between the political character of our literary and artistic works and their truthfulness. It would be wrong to fail to realize this and to debase the politics and the statesmen of the proletariat.

Let us consider next the question of the united front in the world of literature and art. Since literature and art are subordinate to politics and since the fundamental problem in China’s politics today is resistance to Japan, our Party writers and artists must in the first place unite on this issue of resistance to Japan with all non-Party writers and artists (ranging from Party sympathizers and petty-bourgeois writers and artists to all those writers and artists of the bourgeois and landlord classes who are in favour of resistance to Japan). Secondly, we should unite with them on the issue of democracy. On this issue there is a section of anti-Japanese writers and artists who do not agree with us, so the range of unity will unavoidably be somewhat more limited. Thirdly, we should unite with them on issues peculiar to the literary and artistic world, questions of method and style in literature and art; here again, as we are for socialist realism and some people do not agree, the range of unity will be narrower still. While on one issue there is unity, on

another there is struggle, there is criticism. The issues are at once separate and interrelated, so that even on the very ones which give rise to unity, such as resistance to Japan, there are at the same time struggle and criticism. In a united front, "all unity and no struggle" and "all struggle and no unity" are both wrong policies — as with the Right capitulationism and tailism, or the "Left" exclusivism and sectarianism, practised by some comrades in the past. This is as true in literature and art as in politics.

The petty-bourgeois writers and artists constitute an important force among the forces of the united front in literary and art circles in China. There are many shortcomings in both their thinking and their works, but, comparatively speaking, they are inclined towards the revolution and are close to the working people. Therefore, it is an especially important task to help them overcome their shortcomings and to win them over to the front which serves the working people.

#### IV

Literary and art criticism is one of the principal methods of struggle in the world of literature and art. It should be developed and, as comrades have rightly pointed out, our past work in this respect has been quite inadequate. Literary and art criticism is a complex question which requires a great deal of special study. Here I shall concentrate only on the basic problem of criteria in criticism.

I shall also comment briefly on a few specific problems raised by some comrades and on certain incorrect views.

In literary and art criticism there are two criteria, the political and the artistic. According to the political criterion, everything is good that is helpful to unity and resistance to Japan, that encourages the masses to be of one heart and one mind, that opposes retrogression and promotes progress; on the other hand, everything is bad that is detrimental to unity and resistance to Japan, foments dissension and discord among the masses and opposes progress and drags people back. How can we tell the good from the bad — by the motive (the subjective intention) or by the effect (social practice)? Idealists stress motive and ignore effect, while mechanical materialists stress effect and ignore motive. In contradistinction to both, we dialectical materialists insist on the unity of motive and effect. The motive of serving the masses is inseparably linked with the effect of winning their approval; the two must be united. The motive of serving the individual or a small clique is not good, nor is it good to have the motive of serving the masses without the effect of winning their approval and benefiting them. In examining the subjective intention of a writer or artist, that is, whether his motive is correct and good, we do not judge by his declarations but by the effect of his actions (mainly his works) on the masses in society. The criterion for judging subjective intention or motive is social practice and its effect. We want no sectarianism in our literary and art criticism and, subject to the general principle of

unity for resistance to Japan, we should tolerate literary and art works with a variety of political attitudes. But at the same time, in our criticism we must adhere firmly to principle and severely criticize and repudiate all works of literature and art expressing views in opposition to the nation, to science, to the masses and to the Communist Party, because these so-called works of literature and art proceed from the motive and produce the effect of undermining unity for resistance to Japan. According to the artistic criterion, all works of a higher artistic quality are good or comparatively good, while those of a lower artistic quality are bad or comparatively bad. Here, too, of course, social effect must be taken into account. There is hardly a writer or artist who does not consider his own work beautiful, and our criticism ought to permit the free competition of all varieties of works of art; but it is also entirely necessary to subject these works to correct criticism according to the criteria of the science of aesthetics, so that art of a lower level can be gradually raised to a higher and art which does not meet the demands of the struggle of the broad masses can be transformed into art that does.

There is the political criterion and there is the artistic criterion; what is the relationship between the two? Politics cannot be equated with art, nor can a general world outlook be equated with a method of artistic creation and criticism. We deny not only that there is an abstract and absolutely unchangeable political criterion, but also that there is an abstract and absolutely unchangeable ar-

tistic criterion; 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. The bourgeoisie always shuts out proletarian literature and art, however great their artistic merit. The proletariat must similarly distinguish among the literary and art works of past ages and determine its attitude towards them only after examining their attitude to the people and whether or not they had any progressive significance historically. Some works which politically are downright reactionary may have a certain artistic quality. The more reactionary their content and the higher their artistic quality, the more poisonous they are to the people, and the more necessary it is to reject them. A common characteristic of the literature and art of all exploiting classes in their period of decline is the contradiction between their reactionary political content and their artistic form. What we demand is the unity of politics and art, the unity of content and form, the unity of revolutionary political content and the highest possible perfection of artistic form. Works of art which lack artistic quality have no force, however progressive they are politically. Therefore, we oppose both works of art with a wrong political viewpoint and the tendency towards the "poster and slogan style" which is correct in political viewpoint but lacking in artistic power. On questions of literature and art we must carry on a struggle on two fronts.

Both these tendencies can be found in the thinking of many comrades. A good number of comrades tend to neglect artistic technique; it is therefore necessary to give attention to the raising of artistic standards. But as I see it, the political side is more of a problem at present. Some comrades lack elementary political knowledge and consequently have all sorts of muddled ideas. Let me cite a few examples from Yen-an.

“The theory of human nature.” Is there such a thing as human nature? Of course there is. But there is only human nature in the concrete, no human nature in the abstract. In class society there is only human nature of a class character; there is no human nature above classes. We uphold the human nature of the proletariat and of the masses of the people, while the landlord and bourgeois classes uphold the human nature of their own classes, only they do not say so but make it out to be the only human nature in existence. The human nature boosted by certain petty-bourgeois intellectuals is also divorced from or opposed to the masses; what they call human nature is in essence nothing but bourgeois individualism, and so, in their eyes, proletarian human nature is contrary to human nature. “The theory of human nature” which some people in Yen-an advocate as the basis of their so-called theory of literature and art puts the matter in just this way and is wholly wrong.

“The fundamental point of departure for literature and art is love, love of humanity.” Now love may serve as a point of departure, but there is a more basic one.

Love as an idea is a product of objective practice. Fundamentally, we do not start from ideas but from objective practice. Our writers and artists who come from the ranks of the intellectuals love the proletariat because society has made them feel that they and the proletariat share a common fate. We hate Japanese imperialism because Japanese imperialism oppresses us. There is absolutely no such thing in the world as love or hatred without reason or cause. As for the so-called love of humanity, there has been no such all-inclusive love since humanity was divided into classes. All the ruling classes of the past were fond of advocating it, and so were many so-called sages and wise men, but nobody has ever really practised it, because it is impossible in class society. There will be genuine love of humanity — after classes are eliminated all over the world. Classes have split society into many antagonistic groupings; there will be love of all humanity when classes are eliminated, but not now. We cannot love enemies, we cannot love social evils, our aim is to destroy them. This is common sense; can it be that some of our writers and artists still do not understand this?

“Literary and artistic works have always laid equal stress on the bright and the dark, half and half.” This statement contains many muddled ideas. It is not true that literature and art have always done this. Many petty-bourgeois writers have never discovered the bright side. Their works only expose the dark and are known as the “literature of exposure.” Some of their works

simply specialize in preaching pessimism and world-weariness. On the other hand, Soviet literature in the period of socialist construction portrays mainly the bright. It, too, describes shortcomings in work and portrays negative characters, but this only serves as a contrast to bring out the brightness of the whole picture and is not on a so-called half-and-half basis. The writers and artists of the bourgeoisie in its period of reaction depict the revolutionary masses as mobs and themselves as saints, thus reversing the bright and the dark. Only truly revolutionary writers and artists can correctly solve the problem of whether to extol or to expose. All the dark forces harming the masses of the people must be exposed and all the revolutionary struggles of the masses of the people must be extolled; this is the fundamental task of revolutionary writers and artists.

“The task of literature and art has always been to expose.” This assertion, like the previous one, arises from ignorance of the science of history. Literature and art, as we have shown, have never been devoted solely to exposure. For revolutionary writers and artists the targets for exposure can never be the masses, but only the aggressors, exploiters and oppressors and the evil influence they have on the people. The masses too have shortcomings, which should be overcome by criticism and self-criticism within the people’s own ranks and such criticism and self-criticism is also one of the most important tasks of literature and art. But this should not be regarded as any sort of “exposure of the people.” As for the people, the question is basically

one of education and of raising their level. Only counter-revolutionary writers and artists describe the people as “born fools” and the revolutionary masses as “tyrannical mobs.”

“This is still the period of the satirical essay, and Lu Hsun’s style of writing is still needed.” Living under the rule of the dark forces and deprived of freedom of speech, Lu Hsun used burning satire and freezing irony, cast in the form of essays, to do battle; and he was entirely right. We, too, must hold up to sharp ridicule the fascists, the Chinese reactionaries and everything that harms the people; but in the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region and the anti-Japanese base areas behind the enemy lines, where democracy and freedom are granted in full to the revolutionary writers and artists and withheld only from the counter-revolutionaries, the style of the essay should not simply be like Lu Hsun’s. Here we can shout at the top of our voices and have no need for veiled and round-about expressions, which are hard for the people to understand. When dealing with the people and not with their enemies, Lu Hsun never ridiculed or attacked the revolutionary people and the revolutionary Party in his “satirical essay period,” and these essays were entirely different in manner from those directed against the enemy. To criticize the people’s shortcomings is necessary, as we have already said, but in doing so we must truly take the stand of the people and speak out of whole-hearted eagerness to protect and educate them. To treat comrades like enemies is to go over to the stand of the enemy.



Are we then to abolish satire? No. Satire is always necessary. But there are several kinds of satire, each with a different attitude, satire to deal with our enemies, satire to deal with our allies and satire to deal with our own ranks. We are not opposed to satire in general; what we must abolish is the abuse of satire.

“I am not given to praise and eulogy. The works of people who eulogize what is bright are not necessarily great and the works of those who depict the dark are not necessarily paltry.” 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. The works of the eulogists of the bourgeoisie are not necessarily great, nor are the works of those who show that the bourgeoisie is dark necessarily paltry; the works of the eulogists of the proletariat are not necessarily not great, but the works of those who depict the so-called “darkness” of the proletariat are bound to be paltry — are these not facts of history as regards literature and art? Why should we not eulogize the people, the creators of the history of mankind? Why should we not eulogize the proletariat, the Communist Party, New Democracy and socialism? There is a type of person who has no enthusiasm for the people’s cause and looks coldly from the side-lines at the struggles and victories of the proletariat and its vanguard; what he is interested in, and will never weary of eulogizing, is himself, plus perhaps

a few figures in his small coterie. Of course, such petty-bourgeois individualists are unwilling to eulogize the deeds and virtues of the revolutionary people or heighten their courage in struggle and their confidence in victory. Persons of this type are merely termites in the revolutionary ranks; of course, the revolutionary people have no need for these “singers.”

“It is not a question of stand; my class stand is correct, my intentions are good and I understand all right, but I am not good at expressing myself and so the effect turns out bad.” I have already spoken about the dialectical materialist view of motive and effect. Now I want to ask, is not the question of effect one of stand? A person who acts solely by motive and does not inquire what effect his action will have is like a doctor who merely writes prescriptions but does not care how many patients die of them. Or take a political party which merely makes declarations but does not care whether they are carried out. It may well be asked, is this a correct stand? And is the intention here good? Of course, mistakes may occur even though the effect has been taken into account beforehand, but is the intention good when one continues in the same old rut after facts have proved that the effect is bad? In judging a party or a doctor, we must look at practice, at the effect. The same applies in judging a writer. A person with truly good intentions must take the effect into account, sum up experience and study the methods or, in creative work, study the technique of expression. A person with truly good intentions

must criticize the shortcomings and mistakes in his own work with the utmost candour and resolve to correct them. This is precisely why Communists employ the method of self-criticism. This alone is the correct stand. Only in this process of serious and responsible practice is it possible gradually to understand what the correct stand is and gradually obtain a good grasp of it. If one does not move in this direction in practice, if there is simply the complacent assertion that one "understands all right," then in fact one has not understood at all.

"To call on us to study Marxism is to repeat the mistake of the dialectical materialist creative method, which will harm the creative mood." To study Marxism means to apply the dialectical materialist and historical materialist viewpoint in our observation of the world, of society and of literature and art; it does not mean writing philosophical lectures into our works of literature and art. Marxism embraces but cannot replace realism in literary and artistic creation, just as it embraces but cannot replace the atomic and electronic theories in physics. Empty, dry dogmatic formulas do indeed destroy the creative mood; not only that, they first destroy Marxism. Dogmatic "Marxism" is not Marxism, it is anti-Marxism. Then does not Marxism destroy the creative mood? Yes, it does. It definitely destroys creative moods that are feudal, bourgeois, petty-bourgeois, liberalistic, individualist, nihilist, art-for-art's sake, aristocratic, decadent or pessimistic, and every other creative mood that is alien to the masses of the people and to the proletariat.

So far as proletarian writers and artists are concerned, should not these kinds of creative moods be destroyed? I think they should; they should be utterly destroyed. And while they are being destroyed, something new can be constructed.

## V

The problems discussed here exist in our literary and art circles in Yenan. What does that show? It shows that wrong styles of work still exist to a serious extent in our literary and art circles and that there are still many defects among our comrades, such as idealism, dogmatism, empty illusions, empty talk, contempt for practice and aloofness from the masses, all of which call for an effective and serious campaign of rectification.

We have many comrades who are still not very clear on the difference between the proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie. There are many Party members who have joined the Communist Party organizationally but have not yet joined the Party wholly or at all ideologically. Those who have not joined the Party ideologically still carry a great deal of the muck of the exploiting classes in their heads, and have no idea at all of what proletarian ideology, or communism, or the Party is. "Proletarian ideology?" they think. "The same old stuff!" Little do they know that it is no easy matter to acquire this stuff. Some will never have the slightest communist flavour about them as long as they live and can only end up by leaving the Party. Therefore, though the majority

in our Party and in our ranks are clean and honest, we must in all seriousness put things in order both ideologically and organizationally if we are to develop the revolutionary movement more effectively and bring it to speedier success. To put things in order organizationally requires our first doing so ideologically, our launching a struggle of proletarian ideology against non-proletarian ideology. An ideological struggle is already under way in literary and art circles in Yenan, and it is most necessary. Intellectuals of petty-bourgeois origin always stubbornly try in all sorts of ways, including literary and artistic ways, to project themselves and spread their views, and they want the Party and the world to be remoulded in their own image. In the circumstances it is our duty to jolt these "comrades" and tell them sharply, "That won't work! The proletariat cannot accommodate itself to you; to yield to you would actually be to yield to the big landlord class and the big bourgeoisie and to run the risk of undermining our Party and our country." Whom then must we yield to? We can mould the Party and the world only in the image of the proletarian vanguard. We hope our comrades in literary and art circles will realize the seriousness of this great debate and join actively in this struggle, so that every comrade may become sound and our entire ranks may become truly united and consolidated ideologically and organizationally.

Because of confusion in their thinking, many of our comrades are not quite able to draw a real distinction between our revolutionary base areas and the Kuomintang

areas and they make many mistakes as a consequence. A good number of comrades have come here from the garrets of Shanghai, and in coming from those garrets to the revolutionary base areas, they have passed not only from one kind of place to another but from one historical epoch to another. One society is semi-feudal, semi-colonial, under the rule of the big landlords and big bourgeoisie, the other is a revolutionary new-democratic society under the leadership of the proletariat. To come to the revolutionary bases means to enter an epoch unprecedented in the thousands of years of Chinese history, an epoch in which the masses of the people wield state power. Here the people around us and the audience for our propaganda are totally different. The past epoch is gone, never to return. Therefore, we must integrate ourselves with the new masses without any hesitation. If, living among the new masses, some comrades, as I said before, are still "lacking in knowledge and understanding" and remain "heroes with no place to display their prowess," then difficulties will arise for them, and not only when they go out to the villages; right here in Yenan difficulties will arise for them. Some comrades may think, "Well, I had better continue writing for the readers in the Great Rear Area; it is a job I know well and has 'national significance.'" This idea is entirely wrong. The Great Rear Area is also changing. Readers there expect authors in the revolutionary base areas to tell about the new people and the new world and not to bore them with the same old tales. Therefore, the more a work is written for

the masses in the revolutionary base areas, the more national significance will it have. Fadeyev in *The Debacle* only told the story of a small guerrilla unit and had no intention of pandering to the palate of readers in the old world; yet the book has exerted world-wide influence. At any rate in China its influence is very great, as you know. China is moving forward, not back, and it is the revolutionary base areas, not any of the backward, retrogressive areas, that are leading China forward. This is a fundamental issue that, above all, comrades must come to understand in the rectification movement.

Since integration into the new epoch of the masses is essential, it is necessary thoroughly to solve the problem of the relationship between the individual and the masses. This couplet from a poem by Lu Hsun should be our motto:

Fierce-browed, I coolly defy a thousand pointing fingers,  
Head-bowed, like a willing ox I serve the children.

The "thousand pointing fingers" are our enemies, and we will never yield to them, no matter how ferocious. The "children" here symbolize the proletariat and the masses. 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 task until their dying day. Intellectuals who want to integrate themselves with the masses, who want to serve the masses, must go through a process in which they and the masses come to know each other well. This process may, and

certainly will, involve much pain and friction, but if you have the determination, you will be able to fulfil these requirements.

Today I have discussed only some of the problems of fundamental orientation for our literature and art movement; many specific problems remain which will require further study. I am confident that comrades here are determined to move in the direction indicated. I believe that in the course of the rectification movement and in the long period of study and work to come, you will surely be able to bring about a transformation in yourselves and in your works, to create many fine works which will be warmly welcomed by the masses of the people, and to advance the literature and art movement in the revolutionary base areas and throughout China to a glorious new stage.

## Circular of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party

(May 16, 1966)

To all regional bureaus of the Central Committee, all provincial, municipal and autonomous region Party committees, all departments and commissions under the Central Committee, all leading Party members' groups and Party committees in government departments and people's organizations, and the General Political Department of the People's Liberation Army:

The Central Committee has decided to revoke the "Outline Report on the Current Academic Discussion Made by the Group of Five in Charge of the Cultural Revolution" which was approved for distribution on February 12, 1966, to dissolve the "Group of Five in Charge of the Cultural Revolution" and its offices, and to set up a new Cultural Revolution Group directly under the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau. The outline report by the so-called "Group of Five" is fundamentally wrong. It runs counter to the line of the socialist cultural revolution set forth by the Central

Committee and Comrade Mao Tse-tung and to the guiding principles formulated at the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party in 1962 on the question of classes and class struggle in socialist society. While feigning compliance, the outline actually opposes and stubbornly resists the great cultural revolution initiated and led personally by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, as well as the instructions, regarding the criticism of Wu Han, which he gave at the working conference of the Central Committee held in September and October 1965 (that is, at the session of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee attended also by the leading comrades of all the regional bureaus of the Central Committee).

The outline report by the so-called "Group of Five" is actually an outline report by Peng Chen alone. He concocted it according to his own ideas behind the backs of Comrade Kang Sheng, a member of the "Group of Five," and other comrades. In handling such a document regarding important questions which affect the over-all situation in the socialist revolution, Peng Chen had no discussions or exchange of views at all within the "Group of Five." He did not ask any local Party committee for its opinion, nor did he make it clear that the outline report would be sent to the Central Committee for examination as its official document, and still less did he get the approval of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee. Employing the most improper methods, he acted arbitrarily, abused his powers and, usurping the name of the Central Committee, hurriedly issued the outline report to the whole Party.

The main errors of the outline report are as follows:

1) Proceeding from a bourgeois stand and the bourgeois world outlook in its appraisal of the situation in and the nature of the current academic criticism, the outline completely reverses the relation between the enemy and ourselves, putting the one into the position of the other. Our country is now in an upsurge of the great proletarian cultural revolution which is pounding at all the decadent ideological and cultural positions still held by the bourgeoisie and the remnants of feudalism. Instead of encouraging the entire Party boldly to arouse the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and the proletarian

cultural fighters so that they can continue to charge ahead, the outline does its best to turn the movement to the Right. Using muddled, self-contradictory and hypocritical language, it obscures the sharp class struggle that is taking place on the cultural and ideological front. In particular, it obscures the aim of this great struggle, which is **to criticize and repudiate Wu Han and the considerable number of other anti-Party and anti-socialist representatives of the bourgeoisie (there are a number of these in the Central Committee and in the Party, government and other departments at the central as well as at the provincial, municipal and autonomous region level).** By avoiding any mention of the fact repeatedly pointed out by Chairman Mao, namely, that the key point in Wu Han's drama *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office* is the question of dismissal from office, the outline covers up the serious political nature of the struggle.

2) The outline violates the basic Marxist thesis that all class struggles are political struggles. When the press began to touch on the political issues involved in Wu Han's *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office*, the authors of the outline went so far as to say: "The discussion in the press should not be confined to political questions, but should go fully into the various academic and theoretical questions involved." Regarding the criticism of Wu Han, they declared on various occasions that it was impermissible to deal with the heart of the matter, namely, the dismissal of the Right opportunists at the Lushan Meeting in 1959 and the opposition of Wu Han and others to the Party and socialism. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has often told us that the ideological struggle against the bourgeoisie is a protracted class struggle which cannot be resolved by drawing hasty political conclusions. However, Peng Chen deliberately spread rumours, telling many people that Chairman Mao believed political conclusions on the criticism of Wu Han could be drawn after two months. Peng Chen also said that the political issues could be discussed two months later. His purpose was to channel the political struggle in the cultural sphere into the so-called pure academic discussion so frequently advocated by the bourgeoisie. Clearly, this means giving prominence to bourgeois politics and opposing giving prominence to proletarian politics.

3) The outline lays special emphasis on what it calls "opening wide." But, playing a sly trick it grossly distorts the policy of "opening wide" expounded by Comrade Mao Tse-tung at the Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work in March 1957 and negates the class content of "opening wide." It was in dealing with this question that Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out: "**We still have to wage a protracted struggle against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology. It is wrong not to understand this and to give up ideological struggle. All erroneous ideas, all poisonous weeds, all ghosts and monsters, must be subjected to criticism; in no circumstance should they be allowed to spread unchecked.**" Comrade Mao Tse-tung also said, "**To 'open wide' means to let all people express their opinions freely, so that they dare to speak, dare to criticize and dare to debate.**" This outline, however, poses "opening wide" against exposure by the proletariat of the bourgeoisie's reactionary stand. What it means by "opening wide" is bourgeois liberalization, which would allow only the bourgeoisie to "open wide," but would not allow the proletariat to "open wide" and hit back; in other words, it is a shield for such reactionary bourgeois representatives as Wu Han. The "opening wide" in this outline is against Mao Tse-tung's thought and caters to the needs of the bourgeoisie.

4) Just when we began the counter-offensive against the wild attacks of the bourgeoisie, the authors of the outline raised the slogan: "Everyone is equal before the truth." This is a bourgeois slogan. Completely negating the class nature of truth, they use this slogan to protect the bourgeoisie and oppose the proletariat, oppose Marxism-Leninism and oppose Mao Tse-tung's thought. In the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the truth of Marxism and the fallacies of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, either the East wind prevails over the West wind or the West wind prevails over the East wind, and there is absolutely no such thing as equality. **Can any equality be permitted on such basic questions as the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, the dictatorship of the proletariat in the superstructure, including all**

the various spheres of culture, and the continued efforts of the proletariat to weed out those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Communist Party and who wave "red flags" to oppose the red flag? For decades the old-line Social Democrats, and for over ten years the modern revisionists, have never allowed the proletariat equality with the bourgeoisie. They completely deny that the several thousand years of human history is a history of class struggle. They completely deny the class struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, proletarian revolution against the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie. On the contrary, they are faithful lackeys of the bourgeoisie and imperialism. Together with the bourgeoisie and imperialism, they cling to the bourgeois ideology of oppression and exploitation of the proletariat and to the capitalist system, and they oppose Marxist-Leninist ideology and the socialist system. They are a bunch of counter-revolutionaries opposing the Communist Party and the people. Their struggle against us is one of life and death, and there is no question of equality. Therefore, our struggle against them, too, can be nothing but a life-and-death struggle, and our relation with them can in no way be one of equality. On the contrary, it is a relation of one class oppressing another, that is, the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie. There can be no other type of relation, such as a so-called relation of equality, or of peaceful coexistence between exploiting and exploited classes, or of kindness or magnanimity.

5) The outline states: "It is necessary not only to beat the other side politically, but also, by academic and professional standards, truly surpass and beat it by a wide margin." This concept which makes no class distinction on academic matters is also very wrong. The truth on academic questions, the truth of Marxism-Leninism, of Mao Tse-tung's thought — which the proletariat has grasped — has already far surpassed and beaten the bourgeoisie. The formulation in the outline shows that its authors laud the so-called academic authorities of the bourgeoisie and try to boost their prestige, and that they hate

and repress the militant new-born forces representative of the proletariat in academic circles.

6) Chairman Mao often says that there is no construction without destruction. Destruction means criticism and repudiation; it means revolution. It involves reasoning things out, which is construction. Put destruction first, and in the process you have construction. Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, was founded and has constantly developed in the course of the struggle to destroy bourgeois ideology. This outline, however, emphasizes that "without construction, there can be no real and thorough destruction." This amounts to prohibiting the destruction of bourgeois ideology and prohibiting the construction of proletarian ideology. It is diametrically opposed to Chairman Mao's thought. It runs counter to the revolutionary struggle we have been waging on the cultural front for the vigorous destruction of bourgeois ideology. And it amounts to prohibiting the proletariat from making any revolution.

7) The outline states that "we must not behave like scholar-tyrants who are always acting arbitrarily and trying to overwhelm people with their power" and that "we should guard against any tendency for academic workers of the Left to take the road of bourgeois experts and scholar-tyrants." What is really meant by "scholar-tyrants"? Who are the "scholar-tyrants"? Should the proletariat not exercise dictatorship and overwhelm the bourgeoisie? Should the academic work of the proletariat not overwhelm and eradicate that of the bourgeoisie? And if proletarian academic work overwhelms and eradicates bourgeois academic work, can this be regarded as an act of "scholar-tyrants"? The outline directs its spearhead against the proletarian Left. Obviously, its aim is to label the Marxist-Leninists "scholar-tyrants" and thus to support the real, bourgeois scholar-tyrants and prop up their tottering monopoly position in academic circles. As a matter of fact, those Party people in authority taking the capitalist road who support the bourgeois scholar-tyrants, and those bourgeois representatives who have sneaked into the Party and protect the bourgeois scholar-tyrants, are indeed big Party tyrants who have usurped the name of the Party, do not read books,

**do not read the daily press, have no contact with the masses, have no learning at all, and rely solely on "acting arbitrarily and trying to overwhelm people with their power."**

8) For their own ulterior purposes, the authors of the outline demand a "rectification campaign" against the staunch Left in a deliberate effort to create confusion, blur class alignments and divert people from the target of struggle. Their main purpose in dishing up the outline in such a hurry was to attack the proletarian Left. They have gone out of their way to build up dossiers about the Left, tried to find all sorts of pretexts for attacking them, and intended to launch further attacks on them by means of a "rectification campaign," in the vain hope of disintegrating their ranks. They openly resist the policy explicitly put forward by Chairman Mao of protecting and supporting the Left and giving serious attention to building up and expanding their ranks. On the other hand, they have conferred on those bourgeois representatives, revisionists and renegades who have sneaked into the Party the title of "staunch Left," and are shielding them. In these ways, they are trying to inflate the arrogance of the bourgeois Rightists and to dampen the spirits of the proletarian Left. They are filled with hatred for the proletariat and love for the bourgeoisie. Such is the bourgeois concept of brotherhood held by the authors of the outline.

9) At a time when the new and fierce struggle of the proletariat against the representatives of the bourgeoisie on the ideological front has only just begun, and in many spheres and places has not even started — **or, if it has started, most Party committees concerned have a very poor understanding of the task of leadership in this great struggle and their leadership is far from conscientious and effective** — the outline stresses again and again that the struggle must be conducted "under direction," "with prudence," "with caution," and "with the approval of the leading bodies concerned." All this serves to place restrictions on the proletarian Left, to impose taboos and commandments in order to tie their hands, and to place all sorts of obstacles in the way of the proletarian cultural revolution. In a word, the authors of the outline are rushing to apply the brakes and launch a counter-attack in revenge. As for the articles written by the proletarian Left refuting the reactionary bourgeois "authori-

ties," they nurse bitter hatred against those already published and are suppressing those not yet published. **But on the other hand, they give free rein to all the various ghosts and monsters who for many years have abounded in our press, radio, magazines, books, text-books, platforms, works of literature, cinema, drama, ballads and stories, the fine arts, music, the dance, etc. and in doing so they never advocate proletarian leadership or stress any need for approval. The contrast here shows where the authors of the outline really stand.**

10) The present struggle centres around the issue of implementation of or resistance to Comrade Mao Tse-tung's line on the cultural revolution. Yet the outline states: "Through this struggle, and under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought, we shall open up the way for the solution of this problem (that is, 'the thorough liquidation of bourgeois ideas in the realm of academic work')." Comrade Mao Tse-tung opened up the way for the proletariat on the cultural and ideological front long ago, in his *On New Democracy, Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art, Letter to the Yen-an Peking Opera Theatre After Seeing the Performance of "Driven to Join the Liangshan Mountain Rebels," On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People, and Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work*. Yet the outline maintains that Mao Tse-tung's thought has not yet opened up the way for us and that the way has to be opened up anew. Using the banner of "under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought" as cover, the outline actually attempts to open up a way opposed to Mao Tse-tung's thought, that is the way of modern revisionism, the way for the restoration of capitalism.

In short, the outline opposes carrying the socialist revolution through to the end, opposes the line on the cultural revolution taken by the Central Committee of the Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, attacks the proletarian Left and shields the bourgeois Right, thereby preparing public opinion for the restoration of capitalism. It is a reflection of bourgeois ideology in the Party, it is out-and-out revisionism. Far from being a minor issue, the struggle against this revisionist line is an issue of prime importance having a vital bearing on the destiny and future of our Party and state, on the future complexion of our Party and state, and on the world revolution.



Party committees at all levels must immediately stop carrying out the "Outline Report on the Current Academic Discussion Made by the Group of Five in Charge of the Cultural Revolution." The whole Party must follow Comrade Mao Tse-tung's instructions, **hold high the great banner of the proletarian cultural revolution, thoroughly expose the reactionary bourgeois stand of those so-called "academic authorities" who oppose the Party and socialism, thoroughly criticize and repudiate the reactionary bourgeois ideas in the sphere of academic work, education, journalism, literature and art and publishing, and seize the leadership in these cultural spheres. To achieve this, it is necessary at the same time to criticize and repudiate those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, the government, the army and all spheres of culture, to clear them out or transfer some of them to other positions. Above all, we must not entrust these people with the work of leading the cultural revolution. In fact many of them have done and are still doing such work, and this is extremely dangerous.**

Those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, the government, the army and various cultural circles are a bunch of counter-revolutionary revisionists. Once conditions are ripe, they will seize political power and turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Some of them we have already seen through, others we have not. Some are still trusted by us and are being trained as our successors, persons like Khrushchov, for example, who are still nestling beside us. Party committees at all levels must pay **full attention to this matter.**

This circular is to be sent, together with the erroneous document issued by the Central Committee on February 12, 1966, down to the level of county Party committees, Party committees in the cultural organizations and Party committees at regimental level in the army. These committees are asked to discuss which of the two documents is wrong and which is correct, their understanding of these documents, and their achievements and mistakes.

## A Great Historic Document

The historic document drawn up a year ago under the personal guidance of our great leader Comrade Mao Tse-tung — the May 16, 1966 Circular of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party — is a great Marxist-Leninist document. It is now made known to the general public. It put forward the theory, line, principles and policies of the great proletarian cultural revolution, thus crushing the scheme of the Peng Chen counter-revolutionary revisionist clique for the undermining of the great proletarian cultural revolution in a futile attempt to restore capitalism. This document sounded the clarion call for the advance in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

The "outline report," which Peng Chen dished up in February last year, is an out-and-out revisionist programme, a programme for restoring capitalism. The appearance of this programme was a devastating exposure of the long-meditated anti-Party, anti-socialist con-

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This article was written by the editorial departments of *Hongqi* and *Renmin Ribao*.

spiracy of the Peng Chen revisionist clique. The Circular unmasked the Peng Chen counter-revolutionary revisionist clique, and made it bankrupt. This forced a break in the counter-revolutionary revisionist front headed by the Khrushchov of China, and threw it into confusion.

This great historic document, drawn up under the personal guidance of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, has creatively developed Marxism-Leninism and solved the question of revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Marx and Engels founded the theory of scientific socialism. Lenin and Stalin developed Marxism, solved a series of questions of the proletarian revolution in the era of imperialism and solved the theoretical and practical questions of establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat in one country. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has developed Marxism-Leninism, solved a series of questions of the proletarian revolution in the present era and solved the theoretical and practical questions of carrying on the revolution and preventing a restoration of capitalism under the dictatorship of the proletariat. These are three monumental milestones in the history of the development of Marxism.

The class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat, when reduced to a single point, is still the question of political power. This means that the proletariat wants to consolidate its dictatorship while the bourgeoisie wants to overthrow this dictatorship. And, among the representatives of the bourgeoisie who vainly attempt to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat, those who do the greatest harm are the ones in authority taking the capitalist road who have sneaked into leading organs of the Party and of political power and who wave "red flags" to oppose the red flag.

Chairman Mao points out in this great, historic document:

**"There are a number of these (representatives of the bourgeoisie) in the Central Committee and in the Party, government and other departments at the central as well as at the provincial, municipal and autonomous region level."**

The whole Party must "hold high the great banner of the proletarian cultural revolution, thoroughly expose the reactionary bourgeois stand of those so-called 'academic authorities' who

oppose the Party and socialism, thoroughly criticize and repudiate the reactionary bourgeois ideas in the sphere of academic work, education, journalism, literature and art and publishing, and seize the leadership in these cultural spheres. To achieve this, it is necessary at the same time to criticize and repudiate those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, the government, the army and all spheres of culture, to clear them out or transfer some of them to other positions."

"Those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, the government, the army and various cultural circles, are a bunch of counter-revolutionary revisionists. Once conditions are ripe, they will seize political power and turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Some of them we have already seen through, others we have not. Some are still trusted by us and are being trained as our successors, persons like Khrushchov, for example, who are still nestling beside us. Party committees at all levels must pay full attention to this matter."

The great proletarian cultural revolution, in its most significant practice over the past year, has shown how brilliant these scientific theses of Chairman Mao are!

These scientific theses are the beacon light guiding the great proletarian cultural revolution and the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat; they are the beacon light guaranteeing the transition from socialism to communism.

Are there still classes and class struggle in a socialist society, particularly after the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production has in the main been accomplished? Do all the class struggles in society still centre around the question of the fight over political power? Under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, do we still have to make revolution? Against whom should we make revolution? And how should we carry out the revolution? Marx and Engels could not possibly solve this series of major theoretical problems at their time. Lenin saw that after the proletariat seized power, the defeated bourgeoisie still remained stronger than the proletariat and was always trying to stage a comeback. At

the same time, the small producers were incessantly generating capitalism and the capitalist class anew, thus posing a threat to the dictatorship of the proletariat. In order to cope with this counter-revolutionary threat and overcome it, it was therefore necessary to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat over a long period of time. There was no other way. However, Lenin died before he could solve these problems in practice. Stalin was a great Marxist-Leninist who actually cleared out a large number of counter-revolutionary representatives of the bourgeoisie who had sneaked into the Party, including Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Radek, Bukharin, Rykov and their like. But where he failed was in not recognizing, on the level of theory, that classes and class struggle exist in society throughout the historical period of the dictatorship of the proletariat and that the question of who will win in the revolution has yet to be finally settled; in other words, if all this is not handled properly there is the possibility of a comeback by the bourgeoisie. The year before he died, Stalin became aware of this point and stated that contradictions do exist in socialist society and if not properly handled might turn into antagonistic ones. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has given full attention to the whole historical experience of the Soviet Union. He has correctly solved this series of problems in a whole number of great writings and instructions, in this great historic document and in the most significant practice of the great proletarian cultural revolution personally initiated and led by him. This is a most important sign indicating that Marxism has developed to an entirely new stage. In the early years of the 20th century, Marxism developed into the stage of Leninism. In the present era, it has developed further into the stage of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Chairman Mao tells us that the main targets of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat are the representatives of the bourgeoisie who have wormed their way into the apparatus of the proletarian dictatorship, the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. The contradiction between the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road on the one hand, and the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and revolutionary cadres and intellectuals on the other, is the principal contradiction and

is an antagonistic one. The struggle to resolve this contradiction is a concentrated manifestation of the struggle between two classes — the proletariat and the bourgeoisie — and two roads, socialism and capitalism. To expose the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, put before the public and thoroughly criticize and repudiate their revisionist wares, completely refute, discredit and overthrow them and carry out the struggle to seize power from them — this is the main task that the great proletarian cultural revolution has to accomplish. This is the general orientation of the struggle and we must hold firmly to it.

The “person like Khrushchov,” mentioned by Chairman Mao in the document as still nestling beside us, has now been exposed by the masses. This Khrushchov of China is the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and is also the chief representative of the bourgeoisie inside the apparatus of the proletarian dictatorship. Factual disclosures have now established that this top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road is a veteran opportunist. Before nationwide victory was achieved, he opposed the seizure of political power by the proletariat. After nationwide victory was won, he opposed the dictatorship of the proletariat, opposed the socialist revolution and wanted to practise capitalism in China. After the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production was in the main accomplished, he wanted to restore capitalism in China. It has now been conclusively proved that the counter-revolutionary revisionist “February outline” by Peng Chen was supported by him and was actually his programme as well.

What role did he play in regard to the mass movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution? **Taking a reactionary bourgeois stand, he exercised a bourgeois dictatorship and suppressed the vigorous movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution. He called black white and stood facts on their heads, encircled and attacked the revolutionaries, suppressed opinions differing from his own, and imposed a white terror, and he did all this with great smugness. He inflated the arrogance of the bourgeoisie and damped down the morale of the proletariat. How utterly pernicious!**

It is now crystal clear to all that, among the counter-revolutionary revisionists, among those who would seize political power and turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie once conditions are ripe, as described by Chairman Mao in this great, historic document, the main figure is no other than that top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road.

The exposure in broad daylight of the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road is a most important event affecting the destiny of our socialist state and the future of the world revolution. It is the most important outcome of the great proletarian cultural revolution. The revolutionary people of China and of the whole world unanimously acclaim this great victory. The intrigues of imperialism and modern revisionism, by which they vainly attempt to create subversion in China through their agents, have suffered the greatest failure.

The fact that the revisionist clique has usurped Party and state leadership and is restoring capitalism in the Soviet Union, the first socialist country, provides the biggest lesson in the history of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the world. It has happened, too, in a number of other socialist countries. And precisely by summing up the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the world, our great leader Chairman Mao has aroused hundreds of millions of people to undertake the great and historically unparalleled proletarian cultural revolution, providing the surest guarantee that our Party and country will never change political colour. This is Comrade Mao Tse-tung's greatest contribution in theory and practice to the proletariat of the whole world.

The document announces the dissolution of the former "Group of Five in Charge of the Cultural Revolution" which was fully controlled by the Peng Chen counter-revolutionary revisionist clique. It announces the establishment of a new Central Cultural Revolution Group directly under the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Party's Central Committee. This is an important measure for carrying out the great proletarian cultural revolution.

The publication of this great historic document is an important event in the political life of our country and in the international communist movement.

We have already won tremendous victories in our great proletarian cultural revolution. Yet serious fighting tasks are still ahead of us. We shall thoroughly criticize and completely repudiate, politically, ideologically and theoretically, the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. We shall further bring about the great alliance of the proletarian revolutionaries, unite the greatest possible numbers among the masses and unite the great majority of the cadres. We shall bring about the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination and seize power in those places and departments where this is necessary so that power will be truly taken into the hands of the proletariat. We shall combine the great movement of criticism with the tasks of "struggle-criticism-transformation"\* in each unit and successfully carry out these tasks. We shall work still better to **"take a firm hold of the revolution and promote production"** so as to ensure the growing prosperity of all kinds of undertakings in the field of socialist construction.

The Central Committee of the Party calls on all revolutionary comrades to study this document conscientiously. Through this study, taking into consideration the new situation in the struggle at the present time and the experience gained in the struggle during the past year, they should further arm themselves with Mao Tse-tung's thought, achieve a better comprehension and grasp of the theory, line, principles and policies set forth by Chairman Mao for the great proletarian cultural revolution, and carry this revolution through to the end.

**The present great cultural revolution is only the first; there will inevitably be many more in the future. In the last few years Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said repeatedly that the issue of who**

\*"Struggle-criticism-transformation" means: to struggle against and overthrow those persons in authority taking the capitalist road, to criticize and repudiate the reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities" and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and to transform education, literature and art and all other parts of the superstructure which do not correspond with the socialist economic base.

will win in the revolution can only be settled over a long historical period. If things are not properly handled, it is possible for a capitalist restoration to take place at any time. It should not be thought by any Party member or any one of the people in our country that everything will be all right after one or two great cultural revolutions, or even three or four. We must be very much on the alert and never lose vigilance.

This poster is based on the quotation from Chairman Mao: "It is right for writers and artists to study literary and artistic creation, but the science of Marxism-Leninism must be studied by all revolutionaries, writers and artists not excepted." ▶

**文艺工作者应该  
学习文艺创作，这是  
对的，但是马克思列  
宁主义是一切革命者  
都应学习的科学，文  
艺工作者不能例外。**

毛泽东



## Fight to Safeguard the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

—Commemorating the 25th Anniversary of the *Talks  
at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*

Twenty-five years ago, in a great polemic and struggle in literary and art circles, Chairman Mao published his *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*, an epoch-making work of genius. Today, in the great proletarian cultural revolution, in the all-out criticism and repudiation of the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, in the fight for the thorough liquidation of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line on literature and art, this great work has further demonstrated its incomparable strength.

The *Talks* smashed every type of bourgeois reactionary theory on literature and art. It is the most comprehensive scientific summing-up of the fundamental experience of the movement for proletarian literature and art in China and the rest of the world. It has creatively

formulated the most comprehensive, thoroughgoing and correct proletarian line on literature and art. It is a brilliant example of proletarian theory on literature and art, a new development in the Marxist-Leninist world outlook, a programmatic document for the great proletarian cultural revolution.

In the *Talks*, Chairman Mao solved, in a penetrating and systematic way, the problem of general orientation, that is, that literature and art must serve the workers, peasants and soldiers.

Chairman Mao says: **“This question of ‘for whom?’ is fundamental; it is a question of principle.”** To serve the millions upon millions of workers, peasants and soldiers, or to serve the handful of exploiting classes? To serve the proletariat, or to serve the bourgeoisie? This is the demarcation line separating the literature and art of the proletariat from that of the bourgeoisie. This is the focal point of the struggle between the line on literature and art of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung’s thought, and the counter-revolutionary revisionist line on literature and art.

By serving the workers, peasants and soldiers we mean that literature and art must serve the needs of their struggle, serve their fundamental interests. And it is only through politics that the needs of the struggle and the fundamental interests of the workers, peasants and soldiers find their concentrated expression. Politics means class struggle, seizure of political power and consolidation of political power. Therefore, to serve the workers, peasants and soldiers means to serve the political struggle of the proletariat, to serve the dictatorship of the proletariat.

To hold fast to the orientation of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers, revolutionary literary and art workers must maintain a firm proletarian stand and enthusiastically sing the praises of the people, the proletariat, the dictatorship of the proletariat, revolutionary struggles and the heroes of these struggles. They must relentlessly expose the monstrous features and ugly soul of the enemy, expose the bourgeoisie’s schemes for a counter-revolutionary restoration. They must make every drama, every song, every work of literature and art a battle-cry inspiring the people’s revolutionary struggle, a dagger piercing the heart of the enemy. In a word, as Chairman Mao says: **“All the**

**dark forces harming the masses of the people must be exposed and all the revolutionary struggles of the masses of the people must be extolled; this is the fundamental task of revolutionary writers and artists.”** Only in this way can literature and art become **“Powerful weapons for uniting and educating the people and for attacking and destroying the enemy,”** and powerful tools for the political struggle of the proletariat and for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

To hold fast to the orientation of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers, it is necessary to engage in struggle and to carry out resolute and deep-going criticism and repudiation of all trends of thought and works of literature and art which run counter to the concept of literature and art serving the workers, peasants and soldiers and proletarian politics. Fallacious ideas should on no account be allowed to spread to poison the people.

To hold fast to the orientation of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers, literary and art workers must take the road of revolutionization, go into the very midst of the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, study Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung’s thought, and society in the heat of the mass struggle in order to radically remould themselves and **“move their feet over to the side of the workers, peasants and soldiers, to the side of the proletariat.”** Chairman Mao has pointed out that this change in stand and in thinking and feelings means the remoulding of one’s world outlook. This is the key to correctly solving the question of whom to serve.

Chairman Mao’s line on literature and art is a thoroughgoing revolutionary line, which points out the only correct road for the development of proletarian literature and art. The history of the last 25 years shows that when they develop in the direction indicated by Chairman Mao, revolutionary literature and art, revolutionary literary and art criticism and the revolutionary mass movement for literature and art flourish and develop vigorously and are ever victorious. It is precisely because of this that Chairman Mao’s line on literature and art has been the object of wild attacks by class enemies inside and outside the Party.

The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists in literary and art circles including Chou Yang, Lin Mo-han, Chi Yen-ming, Hsia Yen, Tien Han and Shao Chuan-lin have viciously attacked the *Talks*. Using underhand, double-dealing tactics, they tried in every way to oppose Chairman Mao's proletarian line on literature and art and obstinately pushed through a counter-revolutionary revisionist line on literature and art.

The main slogan of this counter-revolutionary revisionist line on literature and art is "a literature and art of the whole people." This is no new product but simply a different version of the "literature and art transcending classes" peddled long ago by such scribblers in Chiang Kai-shek's pay as Liang Shih-chiu and his ilk. Chairman Mao penetratingly pointed out at that time: **They "talk about literature and art as transcending classes, but in fact they uphold bourgeois literature and art and oppose proletarian literature and art."** The class essence of the theory of "a literature and art of the whole people" is exactly the same. Displaying the signboard of "the whole people," it in fact serves the bourgeoisie and the handful of landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists.

This reactionary theory of "a literature and art of the whole people" has been concocted on the basis of the theory of "the dying out of class struggle" advanced by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. It serves the counter-revolutionary revisionist political line of the "Party of the entire people" and the "state of the whole people." "A literature and art of the whole people" means turning proletarian literature and art into bourgeois literature and art in order to prepare public opinion for the overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The theory of "a literature and art of the whole people" opposes the praising of the workers, peasants and soldiers and their occupation of the stage of literature and art. Using as his pretext the argument that "excellent technique" can "delight people," the Khrushchov of China openly advocated the staging of such obscene operas as *The Emperor Flirts with the Waitress*, which glorify the decadent and licentious life of the feudal monarchs, and *Yang Yen-hui Visits His*

*Mother* which honours a traitor. In addition, Chou Yang and his like advocated writing about "middle characters," which in fact meant writing about people who obstinately took the capitalist road by engaging in speculation and trafficking and by working to extend private plots and free markets, to increase the number of small enterprises solely responsible for their own profits or losses and to fix output quotas based on the individual household.

The theory of "a literature and art of the whole people" opposes the waging of the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and against everything decadent in literary and art circles. The originators of this theory raised the slogan of the so-called very "extensive" "unity," which negated struggle. This slogan meant uniting everyone and lumping them all together while making no distinction between different classes and between fragrant flowers and poisonous weeds. It aimed at getting the proletariat to give up in face of the bourgeoisie the revolutionary banner of criticism and repudiation, to prostrate itself before bourgeois literature and art and to bow down in surrender to the reactionary bourgeois "authorities." The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road even proposed that "the method of struggle should not be used" against counter-revolutionary works of literature and art aimed at the restoration of capitalism.

The theory of "a literature and art of the whole people" opposes the integration of literary and art workers with the workers, peasants and soldiers to remould their own world outlook. They were urged to "go and have a look" by car instead of going among the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, going into the heat of the class struggle and carrying out long-term, arduous ideological remoulding. The Khrushchov of China slandered those writers who were truly one with the workers, peasants and soldiers as "native writers" "only knowing what concerns the common people," while lauding the "Westernized writers" who "understand" *Swan Lake*, *Notre Dame de Paris* and *Maid of the Sea*. Actually it is far from easy to "know what concerns the common people" and this is the most important thing for revolutionary literary and art workers and all revolutionary comrades. And, in palming himself off as an expert and lauding the "Westernized writ-



ers" who "understand" *Swan Lake*, *Notre Dame de Paris* and *Maid of the Sea*, that fellow who despises "the common people" and "what concerns the common people" was in fact giving the go ahead signal for capitalist and revisionist literature and art.

This counter-revolutionary revisionist line on literature and art backed by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road serves the counter-revolutionary revisionist political line and the restoration of capitalism.

The attempt at a capitalist restoration and the struggle against it are the main content of class struggle throughout the historical period of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The overthrown exploiting classes engage in intrigues, manoeuvres and all forms of struggle to seize back their lost political power. And they use literature and art as a very important means to this end.

Under the domination of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line on literature and art, the counter-revolutionary revisionists in literary and art circles recruited deserters and renegades, and formed cliques to serve their own selfish interests. They praised to the skies the foul intellectual aristocrats, reactionary "authorities," counter-revolutionaries and those who, like termites, were undermining the revolution. They turned many literary and art organizations into "**groups like the Hungarian Petofi Club.**" They usurped the leadership in literary and art circles, occupied important posts, issued orders, bullied people, threw their weight around and exercised a dictatorship over us.

Under this line, they produced many poisonous weeds and released them through the media of books, newspapers, magazines, the stage and the screen to attack our great leader Chairman Mao, and the great Communist Party of China. They attacked the socialist system, the general line for building socialism, the great leap forward and the people's commune. They glorified big careerists and conspirators in order to secure them a place in history and made bitter complaints on behalf of anti-Party elements and Right opportunists. They whitewashed renegades, traitors and Kuomintang reactionaries and incited the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists to engage in class revenge.

All this centred on one point, namely, opposition to the dictatorship of the proletariat, and preparation of public opinion for the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road to usurp the leadership of the Party, the army and the government and to restore capitalism.

As to Lu Ting-yi, Chou Yang and company, Chairman Mao has time and again given them severe political warnings. In 1964, Chairman Mao solemnly pointed out: "**In the past 15 years these associations and most of their publications (a few are said to be good) by and large (this does not apply to every individual) have not carried out the policies of the Party, have acted as high and mighty bureaucrats, have not gone to the workers, peasants and soldiers and have not reflected the socialist revolution and construction. In recent years, they have even slid to the verge of revisionism. Unless they make serious efforts to remould themselves, they are bound at some future date to become groups like the Hungarian Petofi Club.**" It is intolerable that they and their bosses behind the scenes should have unscrupulously blocked, distorted, adulterated and even openly countered Chairman Mao's successive instructions on criticism and repudiation of reactionary theories and reactionary works of literature and art. They attacked and attempted to push aside Comrade Chiang Ching, who had been steadfastly carrying out Chairman Mao's proletarian line on literature and art and waging a resolute struggle against them, and they suppressed and persecuted revolutionary literary and art workers.

Facts show that only through the great proletarian cultural revolution can Chairman Mao's line be truly carried out in all spheres of literature and art. Now, the counter-revolutionary revisionists Lu Ting-yi, Chou Yang and company have been dragged out, and the backer of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line in literature and art, China's Khrushchov, has also been dragged out. This is a great political victory which has paved the way for carrying out Chairman Mao's proletarian line on literature and art.

With this line to guide them, Comrade Chiang Ching and the revolutionary literary and art workers put up a strenuous struggle to overcome many obstacles, and have already produced a number of rev-

olutionary Peking operas and ballets and a revolutionary symphony, all reflecting the brilliance of Mao Tse-tung's thought. These works are full of militancy and proletarian revolutionary heroism. They are models in serving the workers, peasants and soldiers and the dictatorship of the proletariat. They are gems in the treasury of proletarian literature and art, precious works in the art history of mankind. They have righted the reversal of history over thousands of years during which the stage was dominated by emperors, kings, generals, ministers, scholars and beauties. We are firmly convinced that, as a result of the great proletarian cultural revolution and illuminated by Chairman Mao's brilliant proletarian line on literature and art, China's literary and art front will take on an extraordinary splendour.

In marking the 25th anniversary of the publication of the *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*, we must study and apply it creatively in the course of struggle and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end. We must make further efforts to carry forward the class struggle between the two lines on the literary and art front, mount a large-scale campaign of revolutionary criticism and repudiation of the counter-revolutionary revisionists in literary and art circles and of the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, seize all power in the leading organs, art schools, literary and art journals and organizations under their control, and keep this power in the hands of the proletariat. We must thoroughly and penetratingly criticize and repudiate and completely discredit the counter-revolutionary revisionist line on literature and art and the bad operas, bad films and other bad works of literature and art.

Revolutionary literary and art workers and all other revolutionary comrades, let us follow Chairman Mao's instructions, completely remould our world outlook in the mass movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution and become staunch revolutionary fighters of the proletariat. Under the guidance of the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, let us fight to overcome the ideology of all the exploiting classes, develop the new socialist culture and defend the dictatorship of the proletariat!

(“Hongqi” editorial, No. 8, 1967.)

## Guiding Light for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

— In Commemoration of the 25th Anniversary of the  
*Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*

Revolutionary people throughout China are today solemnly celebrating the 25th anniversary of the publication of Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*. This is another important event in our country's political life, following the public release of the May 16, 1966 Circular of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

In the *Talks* our great leader Chairman Mao creatively and with genius developed the Marxist-Leninist world outlook. For the first time, the *Talks* put forward in the most systematic, complete and incisive way the historic tasks of the proletarian cultural revolution and its supreme guiding principles. This epoch-making, great essay is a beacon that will always illuminate the revolutionary literature and

art of China and the whole world. The *Talks* is a programmatic document guiding us in our advance in the great proletarian cultural revolution, which is unparalleled in history. Its illustrious ideas inspire hundreds of millions of revolutionary people in their fight to storm the deeply entrenched strongholds of the bourgeoisie.

Chairman Mao states in the *Talks*: **“Literature and art are subordinate to politics, but in their turn exert a great influence on politics.”** In another brilliant work, *On New Democracy*, Chairman Mao says: **“As for the new culture, it is the ideological reflection of the new politics and the new economy which it sets out to serve.”** Socialist literature and art must serve proletarian politics, the workers, peasants and soldiers and the consolidation and development of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system.

What has been the situation in the literary and art circles of China since liberation?

Over the past 17 years, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, the Peng Chen counter-revolutionary revisionist clique, and the gang of revisionist chiefs in literary and art circles — including Chou Yang, Hsia Yen, Lin Mo-han and Chi Yen-ming — whom they shielded and backed, used literature and art as their outpost in their attempt to restore capitalism. While controlling this position, they wildly resisted and opposed Chairman Mao’s proletarian revolutionary line on literature and art and flooded the country with feudal, capitalist and revisionist poison, in a vain attempt to confuse people ideologically. By doing so, they were serving bourgeois politics and the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists, and preparing ideological conditions for the overthrow of the socialist system and the restoration of capitalism.

The atmosphere in these literary and art circles controlled by the revisionists has reeked of stress on the ancient as against the contemporary, worship of the foreign and scorn for the Chinese, praise for the dead and contempt for the living. Our literary works, films, dramas and operas, ballads, fine arts, music, dance, etc. are infested with ghosts and monsters, both ancient and modern, Chinese and foreign.

Many literary and art works, flagrantly or by innuendo, preach that “treason is justified” and “exploitation is meritorious,” disseminate the theory of “the dying out of class struggle” and bourgeois reformism, propagate the philosophy of treachery and survival, or even tamper with Party history in order to glorify the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and secure him a place in history.

The old Propaganda Department of the Party Central Committee, over which the revisionists retained control, was “a palace of hell” and the old Ministry of Culture had virtually become a “ministry of emperors and kings, generals and ministers, and scholars and beauties.” These organizations and most of the literary and art associations had opposed Chairman Mao’s *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* and, by and large, had not carried out the policies of the Party, had failed to serve proletarian politics and the workers, peasants and soldiers and had developed a sinister revisionist line, thus exercising dictatorship over the proletariat.

Chairman Mao teaches us: **“To overthrow a political power, it is always necessary first of all to create public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the revolutionary class as well as for the counter-revolutionary class.”**

Leadership of the first socialist country in the world, Lenin’s birthplace, the Soviet Union, has been usurped by the revisionist clique almost half a century after the victory of the revolution, and capitalism is being restored there. A major reason for this monstrous historical retrogression is that the Khrushchov revisionist clique first of all carried out ideological work to create confusion in the minds of the masses and prepare public opinion for the staging of a counter-revolutionary coup d’etat by this handful of big renegades.

This is indeed a painful historical lesson in the dictatorship of the proletariat!

Chairman Mao has studied the entire experience of the history of the Soviet Union, and summed up the experience of China’s revolution. In the Circular of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Chairman Mao said emphatically that **the whole Party must “hold high the great banner of the proletarian cultural revolution, thoroughly expose the reactionary bourgeois stand of those so-**

called 'academic authorities' who oppose the Party and socialism, thoroughly criticize and repudiate the reactionary bourgeois ideas in the sphere of academic work, education, journalism, literature and art and publishing, and seize the leadership in these cultural spheres. To achieve this, it is necessary at the same time to criticize and repudiate those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, the government, the army and all spheres of culture, to clear them out or transfer some of them to other positions."

The great proletarian cultural revolution personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao is an all-round class struggle under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the final analysis, this struggle is still a question of political power. The main question to be solved in this struggle is for the proletarian revolutionaries to take back into their hands all the power of leadership, including that in literary and art circles, usurped by the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. This is the general orientation of the struggle and we must take firm hold of it.

All revolutionary cultural, ideological and literary and art workers must take the *Talks* and other works of Chairman Mao as their compass, firmly stand on the side of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, and actively participate in the mass criticism and repudiation of and mass struggle against the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. This mass criticism and repudiation must be combined with the criticism and repudiation of the sinister revisionist line on literature and art, and with the tasks of "struggle-criticism-transformation" in their own units. In the literary and art circles, the great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries must be brought about and the great majority must be united. Conditions must be created for bringing about the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination, for truly restoring power to the hands of the proletariat and for building highly proletarianized and revolutionized ranks of literary and art workers. The principle of literature and art serving proletarian politics and the workers, peasants and soldiers must be carried out unswervingly. More model revolutionary theatrical works should be written and staged, and more

works should be produced. Chairman Mao's works must be creatively studied and applied so that the theory, line, principles and policies of the great proletarian cultural revolution put forth by Chairman Mao are better understood and grasped, and the great proletarian cultural revolution carried through to the end.

In literature and art and in the ideological sphere, the complete liquidation of the poisonous effects of the exploiting classes over the past several thousand years will take a very long time. After the present sinister revisionist line in literary and art circles is eradicated, new ones will emerge in the future. There have been struggles and there will be more.

We must firmly bear in mind Chairman Mao's teaching: **The present great cultural revolution is only the first; there will inevitably be many more in the future. The issue of who will win in the revolution can only be settled over a long historical period. If things are not properly handled, it is possible for a capitalist restoration to take place at any time. It should not be thought by any Party member or any one of the people in our country that everything will be all right after one or two great cultural revolutions, or even three or four. We must be very much on the alert and never lose vigilance.**

(*"Renmin Ribao"* editorial, May 23, 1967.)

## Peking Mass Rally Commemorates 25th Anniversary of Chairman Mao's "Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art"

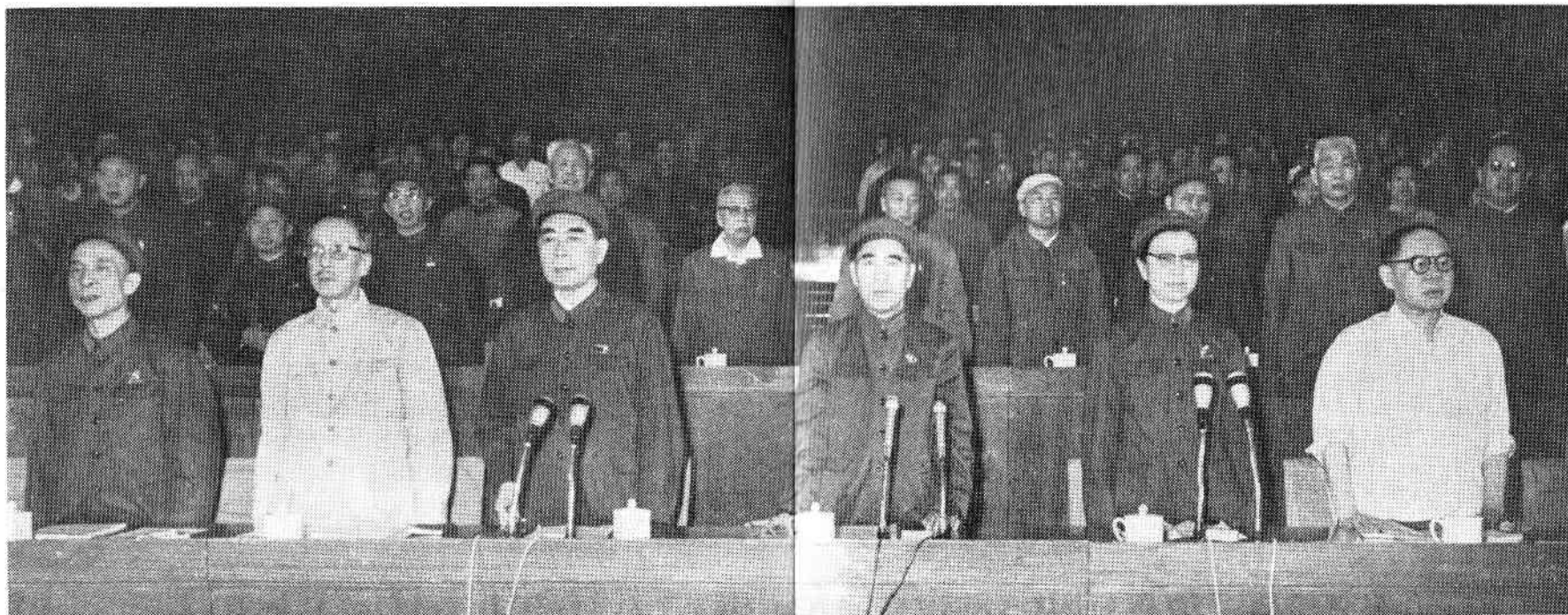
Sixteen thousand representatives of Peking's literary and art circles, workers, peasants and soldiers, revolutionary teachers and students and revolutionary cadres held a mass rally on May 23 at the magnificent Great Hall of the People in commemoration of the 25th anniversary of the publication of Chairman Mao's brilliant work — *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*. The meeting took place at a time when the great proletarian cultural revolution personally initiated and led by our great leader Chairman Mao has already won big successes and the revolutionary situation is excellent, and when the whole world is entering a completely new historical epoch in which Mao Tse-tung's thought is the great banner.

Comrade Lin Piao, the close comrade-in-arms of our great leader Chairman Mao, and Comrades Chou En-lai, Chen Po-ta, Kang Sheng, Li Fu-chun, Chiang Ching and other responsible comrades of the central departments and of different fields of work attended the meeting. As they mounted the rostrum the audience rose to its feet, applauded thunderously and prolonged cheers of "Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!" resounded throughout the Great Hall.

In the warm message of salute to Chairman Mao adopted at the rally, the representatives said: "Most respected and beloved Chairman Mao! We pledge that we will seriously study and apply your *Talks* and all your directives, that we will thoroughly criticize and repudiate the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, thoroughly criticize and repudiate the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionist elements in literary and art circles, thoroughly criticize and repudiate the reactionary bourgeois "authorities" and utterly eradicate all the pernicious influence of the bourgeois reactionary line. At the same time we undertake to do an even better job of struggle-criticism-transformation in our own organizations, to unite with the great majority of the cadres and masses, and resolutely carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end!"

Held soon after the publication of the May 16, 1966 Circular of the Party's Central Committee, the rally marked another important event in the political life of China. It was a splendid review of the brilliant victories won by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line on literature and art, and a solemn pledge to seize still greater victories in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

The Great Hall of the People was alive with the participants' sincere revolutionary sentiments for the great leader Chairman Mao — infinite love, respect, loyalty and veneration. It glowed with their powerful militant determination to thoroughly criticize and repudiate the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. A huge portrait in colour of Chairman Mao, the red sun that shines most brightly in the hearts of the revolutionary people of China and the whole world, flanked by ten red banners, hung above the centre of the rostrum. Opposite were two red streamers with the



(From left to right) Chairman Mao's close comrade-in-arms Comrade Lin Piao (4th) and Comrade Chou En-lai (3rd), Comrade Chen Po-ta (6th), Comrade Kang Sheng (2nd), Comrade Li Fu-chun (1st) and Comrade Chiang Ching (5th) at the rally

slogans written in big characters: "Revolutionary literary and art workers must go among the worker, peasant and soldier masses, and go into the heat of struggle unconditionally, whole-heartedly and for a long period of time, to learn from the workers, peasants and soldiers and integrate themselves with them!" and "Hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, resolutely carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art, thoroughly smash the sinister, counter-revolutionary revisionist line on literature and art!" The whole hall was seething with the cheers of the participants in the 25th anniversary celebration of the great epoch-making document.

The rally was presided over by Comrade Chiang Ching, the first deputy-leader of the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Party's Central Committee.

In the midst of stormy applause, Comrade Chen Po-ta, Member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Party's Central Committee and leader of the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Party's Central Committee, made an important speech entitled "Commemorating the 25th Anniversary of Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*." (See p. 85 for full text.) He was followed by Comrade Chi Pen-yu, a member of the Cultural Revolution Group, who made a long speech entitled "Chairman

Mao's *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* Is a Programme for Building a Mighty, Proletarian Cultural Army." (See p. 96 for full text.)

The two speakers were enthusiastically applauded by the audience who waved their hands and shouted "Long live the victory of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art!" and "Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!"

Chin Ching-mai, author of the novel *The Song of Ouyang Hai*, Yu Hui-yung, the composer of the music for the revolutionary Peking operas *Taking the Bandits' Stronghold* and *On the Docks*, Chung Jun-liang, a performer in the revolutionary ballet *The Red Detachment of Women*, and Chen Ju-tang, conductor of the revolutionary symphonic music *Shachiapang*, also spoke.

Also on the rostrum were representatives from various fields of work and from the many units which produced the eight revolutionary exemplary works *Taking the Bandits' Stronghold*, *On the Docks*, *The Red Lantern*, *Shachiapang*, *Raid on the White Tiger Regiment*, *The Red Detachment of Women*, *The White-Haired Girl* and the symphonic music *Shachiapang*.

The rally ended triumphantly with the singing of *Sailing the Seas Depends on the Helmsman*.

## Comrade Chen Po-ta's Speech

Comrades:

The world is entering an entirely new historical epoch. It is a new epoch in which the masters are the workers, peasants and soldiers and the great banner is the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

The *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* by our great teacher Comrade Mao Tse-tung 25 years ago foretold that the new era, in which the workers, peasants and soldiers would be the masters, would soon dawn over China, just as it would, after various developments, soon dawn over every country in the world.

This great work of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's is a summation of the great polemic which took place 25 years ago on questions of literature and art but which in essence belong to the realm of politics. It summed up the great debate, centring on the fundamental political issue of our times, of whether to take a positive or negative attitude towards the workers, peasants and soldiers.

This great work is an epoch-making political manifesto of our Party for remoulding the Party, and the whole world, in the image of

the vanguard of the proletariat. It solves the question of world outlook for all who wish to become proletarian revolutionaries, solves the question of whether many Communists who have joined the Party organizationally have joined it ideologically, and points out to all Communists and all revolutionaries the bright road of integration with the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers.

This great work is not confined to questions of literature and art but, proceeding from the proletarian world outlook, sums up the experience of struggle on the literary and art front. It is the first encyclopaedia in history which solves the questions of literature and art; it represents a great all-round Marxist-Leninist revolution in literature and art and is our compass and programme in our current great proletarian cultural revolution.

In essence, this great work is also an ideological weapon for the oppressed classes and oppressed peoples of the world in their great political struggles against imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction, the bugle call for revolutionaries of all countries in their ideological and political struggle against the imperialists, modern revisionists and all reactionaries.

In his letter on the revolution in Peking opera, Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: **“History is made by the people, yet the old opera (and all the old literature and art, which are divorced from the people) presents the people as though they were dirt, and the stage is dominated by lords and ladies and their pampered sons and daughters.”** And Comrade Mao Tse-tung held that **this reversal of history had to be reversed.**

The labouring people, the creators of history, the workers, the peasants, the soldiers who are armed workers and peasants, must dominate the scene in literature and art as well as in politics and economics. This was Comrade Mao Tse-tung’s conclusion.

In class society, without exception the struggles on the cultural and ideological fronts, including the struggle on the front of literature and art, are class struggles. They are one form of class struggle.

As Marx and Engels stated in the *Communist Manifesto*, all class struggles are political struggles.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung threw all the bourgeois supra-class and supra-politics rubbish into the dustbin. He thoroughly criticized and repudiated the reactionary dualism or pluralism of Trotsky’s so-called “politics — Marxist, art — bourgeois.” Comrade Mao Tse-tung held that supra-class politics simply does not exist and there is no such thing as literature and art independent of class politics. On questions of literature and art, as on all other questions, he consistently expounded the monistic proletarian world outlook. He was absolutely correct in pointing out that **“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, art that is detached from or independent of politics.”**

Comrade Mao Tse-tung developed Lenin’s thesis on Party literature. He said that all revolutionary writers must carry out the correct proletarian political line of our Party and take the stand of the proletariat if they really wish to serve the workers, peasants and soldiers and the revolutionary people.

Obviously, unless a revolutionary writer carries out the Party’s correct proletarian political line and strives to keep to the proletarian world outlook, he will not come close to the worker, peasant and soldier masses or participate in their actual revolutionary struggles. As a result, he will not be able to depict the workers, peasants and soldiers correctly, nor will he be able in his turn to educate them correctly; what is more, he will run counter to their cause.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung tells us: **“Proletarian literature and art are part of the whole proletarian revolutionary cause”** and **“literature and art are subordinate to politics, but in their turn exert a great influence on politics.”** The influence of proletarian politics on literature and art, and the influence which proletarian literature and art in turn exert on proletarian politics is bound to be a long-term process; it will continue all through the long struggle of the proletariat till victory in the revolution, all through the long period of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The great proletarian cultural revolution in our country is not accidental. Though we have won victory in the proletarian revolution



and brought into being the dictatorship of the proletariat, we must in no circumstances underestimate the influence of the landlord and capitalist classes. As Comrade Mao Tse-tung has repeatedly taught us, classes and class struggle continue to exist in socialist society, and the struggle still goes on between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat and between the socialist road and the capitalist road. The struggle to safeguard the fruits of the proletarian revolution and oppose the restoration of capitalism is a serious one. The landlord and capitalist classes have forfeited political power and the feudal and capitalist system of ownership. But they are still powerful in the field of culture, ideology, and literature and art. Their literature and art, which have a long history and provide a strong medium of expression for these exploiting classes, still have a market among the masses. It is impossible to shake off at one go this long-standing influence in the field of culture and ideology, and literature and art, after the overthrow of the rule of the landlord and capitalist classes and of international capital by the labouring masses under the leadership of the proletariat. The landlord and capitalist classes, in close link with international capital, try in every possible way to maintain, consolidate and contend with us for positions in this field, so as to corrupt our masses and our revolutionary cadres. They are using peaceful evolution as a means of enabling the international imperialist forces that formerly enslaved our people to make a comeback and transform our political power, the political power of the proletariat to dispossess the exploiters, back into the political power of the exploiters, of the landlord and capitalist classes, and to transform our socialist state property, our socialist collective property, back into the property of the blood-suckers, so that they will once again be able to oppress and exploit the people and push them back into the abyss of misery.

While the landlord and capitalist classes and international capital day in and day out dream of regaining their lost paradise, the petty bourgeoisie ceaselessly generates new bourgeois elements. The petty bourgeoisie is characterized by very serious vacillation. The landlord and capitalist classes invariably take advantage of this vacillation, and likewise of the vacillation of the bourgeois intellectuals and quite a number of our cultural, ideological and literary and art workers

in order to usurp our positions in the field of culture, ideology and literature and art, and facilitate their activities for a counter-revolutionary restoration. As a matter of fact, some of these positions have remained as of old, while some others have been seized from us.

Comrade Chiang Ching has consistently kept to and defended Chairman Mao's line of revolution in literature and art. She has always fought in the van. In recent years, exerting the greatest efforts she has set up a series of revolutionary models in the field of drama, music, and the dance, driving all kinds of ghosts and monsters out of the arena of literature and art, and has built up the heroic images of the worker, peasant and soldier masses. And together with Comrade Chiang Ching, many of the workers in literature and art, guided by Mao Tse-tung's thought, have become trail-blazers in the revolution in literature and art. In addition to this, the great importance of the efforts made by many revolutionary workers in the field of culture and ideology against the restoration of capitalism is perfectly clear.

Before the proletariat seizes political power, the revolutionary workers in culture, ideology, and literature and art serve the workers, peasants and soldiers in life-and-death struggles, the sole aim being to seize proletarian victory and proletarian political power through the various stages of the revolution (from the stage of the democratic revolution to that of the socialist revolution). After the proletariat seizes political power, under the dictatorship of the proletariat the revolutionary workers in literature and art, culture and ideology serve the workers, peasants and soldiers, the sole aim being to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and achieve the forward leap of socialism in continued revolutionary advance.

And after the proletariat seizes political power, the very practical and fundamental problem confronting us is whether this political power can be maintained, consolidated and strengthened.

In 1949, on the eve of nationwide liberation, Comrade Mao Tse-tung reminded our whole Party of **the imperative necessity to guard against the attacks of the enemy using sugar-coated bullets.**

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's foresight was really scientific and brilliant. The enemy has a variety of sugar-coated bullets. He knows very well how to use such sugar-coated bullets as "literature

and art.” The bourgeoisie makes use of the old ideas, culture, customs and habits of the exploiting classes to “conquer people’s minds” and thus weaken the dictatorship of the proletariat and pave the way for a counter-revolutionary restoration.

At the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party in 1962, Comrade Mao Tse-tung specially raised and emphasized the thesis of **the continued existence of classes, class contradiction and class struggle in socialist society**, in order to counter the “go it alone” trend stirred up by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. He also pointed out: **to overthrow a political power, it is always necessary first of all to create public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the revolutionary class as well as for the counter-revolutionary class.**

It is true to say that both the revolutionary and the counter-revolutionary classes invariably create public opinion in preparation for the seizure of political power. This is an important law of history expounded by Comrade Mao Tse-tung. It holds good, without any exception, for the history of all class struggles, in China and abroad, and in ancient and modern times.

And this preparation of public opinion includes literature and art.

Ever since the liberation of the whole country, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has given consistent attention to the question of the proletarian cultural revolution. He has consistently linked the struggles of the proletariat on the political and economic fronts with those on the cultural and ideological fronts. All the major questions on the cultural and ideological fronts in the last 17 years — beginning with the criticism of the film of national betrayal, *Inside Story of the Ching Court*, the film preaching slavishness *The Life of Wu Hsun* and the idealist *Studies of the “Dream of the Red Chamber”* — were all raised by Comrade Mao Tse-tung. Today it is imperative for us once more to study the article *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* and the whole series of militant writings by Comrade Mao Tse-tung concerning ideology and literature and art. These writings of Comrade Mao Tse-tung’s, produced since China’s liberation, call for the liquidation of the forces of habit and the influence of the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes and, in the final analysis, for the prevention

of a capitalist restoration and consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

If a genuine Communist takes the questions of ideology and of literature and art lightly, or even for a moment ignores Comrade Mao Tse-tung’s teachings on these questions, he will make grave political errors, may sink into the quagmire of the bourgeoisie and degenerate politically without being aware of it, becoming a counter-revolutionary revisionist like the members of the Khrushchov clique in the Soviet Union, and may even join in the evil work of the representatives of the bourgeoisie who worm their way into the Party, scheming for a counter-revolutionary capitalist restoration by all sorts of trickery.

Doesn’t everything mercilessly reveal all this and prove it to be true? Yes, it does, absolutely.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has repeatedly sounded the alarm.

In December 1963, Comrade Mao Tse-tung severely criticized the weaknesses in the work of our art circles, describing it as “absurd” that the handful of persons in authority within the Party taking the capitalist road were “enthusiastic about promoting feudal and capitalist art, but not socialist art.” He said:

**“Problems abound in all forms of art such as the drama, ballads, music, the fine arts, the dance, the cinema, poetry and literature; the people engaged in them are numerous; and in many departments very little has been achieved so far in socialist transformation. The “dead” still dominate many departments. What has been achieved in the cinema, new poetry, folk songs, the fine arts and the novel should not be underestimated, but there are also quite a few problems in these. As for such departments as the drama, the problems are even more serious. The social and economic base has changed, but the arts as part of the superstructure, which serve this base, still remain a serious problem. Hence we should undertake investigation and study and attend to this matter in earnest.**

**“Isn’t it absurd that many Communists are enthusiastic about promoting feudal and capitalist art, but not socialist art?”**

In June 1964, Comrade Mao Tse-tung gave the following warning to the "All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles" and various "associations" set up after liberation:

**"In the past 15 years these associations and most of their publications (a few are said to be good) by and large (this does not apply to every individual) have not carried out the policies of the Party, have acted as high and mighty bureaucrats, have not gone to the workers, peasants and soldiers and have not reflected the socialist revolution and construction. In recent years, they have even slid to the verge of revisionism. Unless they make serious efforts to remould themselves, they are bound at some future date to become groups like the Hungarian Petofi Club."**

However, the handful of persons who acted as high and mighty bureaucrats were under the spell of the bourgeois and modern revisionist ideas. Comrade Mao Tse-tung's warnings went entirely unheeded by "those Party people in authority taking the capitalist road who support the bourgeois scholar-tyrants," "those bourgeois representatives who have sneaked into the Party and protect the bourgeois scholar-tyrants," those "big Party tyrants who have usurped the name of the Party, do not read books, do not read the daily press, have no contact with the masses, have no learning at all, and rely solely on 'acting arbitrarily and trying to overwhelm people with their power'" and those "men of culture" who have long soaked themselves to the marrow in bourgeois ideology. They still carried on desperate struggles along their own bourgeois and modern revisionist road. Then, 18 months later, in February 1966, Peng Chen went so far as to dish up his notorious revisionist "outline report of February." This "outline report" gave concentrated expression to the reactionary ideas of the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road.

Our proletarian thinker of genius, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, using his invincible scalpel of materialist dialectics, dissected Peng Chen's "outline report of February," fully revealed its despicable features and called on the whole Party to raise aloft the great banner of the proletarian cultural revolution. It was done in the Circular of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, issued on May 16, 1966.

In this great historic document, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out:

**"There are a number of these (representatives of the bourgeoisie) in the Central Committee and in the Party, government and other departments at the central as well as at the provincial, municipal and autonomous region level."**

The whole Party must "hold high the great banner of the proletarian cultural revolution, thoroughly expose the reactionary bourgeois stand of those so-called 'academic authorities' who oppose the Party and socialism, thoroughly criticize and repudiate the reactionary bourgeois ideas in the sphere of academic work, education, journalism, literature and art and publishing, and seize the leadership in these cultural spheres. To achieve this, it is necessary at the same time to criticize and repudiate those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, the government, the army and all spheres of culture, to clear them out or transfer some of them to other positions.

**"Those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, the government, the army and various cultural circles are a bunch of counter-revolutionary revisionists. Once conditions are ripe, they will seize political power and turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Some of them we have already seen through, others we have not. Some are still trusted by us and are being trained as our successors, persons like Khrushchov, for example, who are still nestling beside us. Party committees at all levels must pay full attention to this matter."**

The struggle was provoked by the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. However, the laws of history worked independently of their will. They lifted a rock only to drop it on their own feet.

Under the great banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, the great proletarian cultural revolution, unprecedented in history, is rising over China's vast land like the morning sun, and it shakes the whole world.

It is the immense political might of the proletariat that has generated the most powerful proletarian cultural revolutionary movement. And there is no doubt that this powerful proletarian cultural revolution will accelerate the progress of our history and usher in a new era of international proletarian revolutionary struggles.

The ever-growing great proletarian cultural revolution is a continuation and development of the great polemic on questions of literature and art which took place in the revolutionary base areas during the 1940's; it is a continuation and development of the great ideological and political debates of that time in the new historical stage; it is the continuation and development of those debates under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has given full attention to the whole historical experience of the Soviet Union. In a succession of great works and directives, and in the great practice of the proletarian cultural revolution which he has initiated and is leading, he has correctly solved a whole series of these problems. This is a most important landmark, indicating that Marxism has developed to a completely new stage. In the early years of the 20th century, Marxism developed to the stage of Leninism. In the present era, it has developed to the stage of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Marx and Engels founded the theory of scientific socialism. Lenin and Stalin developed Marxism, solved a series of questions of the proletarian revolution in the era of imperialism and solved the theoretical and practical questions of realizing the dictatorship of the proletariat in one country. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has developed Marxism-Leninism, solved a series of questions of the proletarian revolution in the present era, and solved the theoretical and practical questions of carrying on the revolution and preventing a restoration of capitalism under the dictatorship of the proletariat. These are three monumental milestones in the history of the development of Marxism.

In the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution, we must creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* and his series of documents and directives concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution, bring our struggle to a higher level on the basis of the experience already gained in the

practice of this revolution during the last year, concentrate our criticism and repudiation on the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

Long live Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art!

Long live the great proletarian cultural revolution under the banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought!

Long live the dictatorship of the proletariat!

Long live the Chinese Communist Party!

Long live the infinitely brilliant thought of Mao Tse-tung!

Long live our great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman Chairman Mao! A long life to him! A long, long life to him!

## Comrade Chi Pen-yu's Speech

Comrades, friends, proletarian revolutionary comrades-in-arms, dear young Red Guard fighters!

Let us first wish our most respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao a long, long life! And lasting good health to Comrade Lin Piao, Chairman Mao's close comrade-in-arms!

### I

Today is the 25th anniversary of the *Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art*, written by our most respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao. These twenty-five years have been a period of momentous growth, one unprecedented in the thousands of years of history of our motherland. In the past twenty-five years, our great country has undergone stupendous changes: the Chinese people not only defeated the savage Japanese fascist invaders, overthrew the Kuomintang reactionaries, drove out U.S. and British imperialism, and toppled the three great mountains — imperialism, feu-

dalism and bureaucrat capitalism — which had lain like a dead weight on our countrymen; but since the liberation of the country they have won brilliant victories in the socialist revolution and socialist construction. Who has led us in turning the oppressed, exploited, dark and impoverished, semi-feudal and semi-colonial old China into the independent, unified, radiant and powerful socialist New China? It is our most respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao! It is he, the red, red sun that shines most brightly in our hearts!

Chairman Mao is not only the great leader of the Chinese people but also the great leader of the revolutionary people of the world. As many proletarian revolutionary comrades in the world today so correctly say, Chairman Mao is the Lenin of the present era.

Chairman Mao has inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism with genius, creatively and comprehensively. Mao Tse-tung's thought is Marxism-Leninism at its highest level in the present era.

Since its birth, Marxism has gone through three great stages of development. The first stage was the stage of Marx and Engels, who established Marxism and worked out the theory of scientific socialism. The second stage was the stage of Leninism. When capitalism entered the era of imperialism, Lenin and Stalin developed Marxism, solved a series of questions of the proletarian revolution, especially those concerning the theory and practice of realizing the proletarian dictatorship in a single country. The third stage is the stage of Mao Tse-tung's thought. Mao Tse-tung's thought is Marxism-Leninism further developed in the era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to worldwide victory. Our great leader Chairman Mao has creatively and with genius solved a series of important questions of the proletarian revolution in the present era, especially those concerning the theory and practice of carrying on the revolution and preventing a restoration of capitalism, under the historical conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and has thus brought Marxism-Leninism to a higher and completely new stage.

On the eve of the October Revolution, Lenin emphatically pointed out: **“Those who recognize *only* the class struggle are not yet Marxists; they may be found to be still within the bounds of**

bourgeois thinking and bourgeois politics.” “A Marxist is solely someone who *extends the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat.*” And today, no one is a genuine Marxist if he only pays lip service to the dictatorship of the proletariat but does not recognize that, in the historical period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, there is still the struggle between restoration and counter-restoration, the struggle between the proletariat defending its dictatorship and the bourgeoisie trying to overthrow this dictatorship. From what can be learned from the emergence of modern revisionism and the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and from the historical experience internationally of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and in the light of the schemes for a capitalist restoration carried out by the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road in China, our great leader Chairman Mao has developed the Marxist-Leninist theory concerning the dictatorship of the proletariat, worked out the most complete revolutionary theory for opposing counter-revolutionary revisionism and defending the proletarian dictatorship and has personally aroused and led hundreds of millions of people in carrying out this unprecedented, great proletarian cultural revolution, thereby making a great contribution in theory and practice to the international proletarian revolutionary movement.

*Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* is a great Marxist-Leninist work that shines with dazzling radiance in the splendid treasure-house of Mao Tse-tung's thought. It is the most complete, most systematic and most correct programme for the great proletarian cultural revolution, the first work of its kind in the history of the proletarian revolution. It is an embodiment of universal truth, a brilliant and epoch-making document in the history of human culture.

When this brilliant work was published in 1942, the anti-fascist war which was raging throughout the world and China's War of Resistance Against Japan were in their most bitter stage. It was at this time that a handful of anti-Party elements, Trotskyites and renegades, such as Chou Yang, Wang Shih-wei and Ting Ling produced many poisonous weeds and made wild attacks on the Party. They viciously attacked the Party leadership, energetically advocated “freedom of creation,”

opposed the Marxist viewpoint of class struggle and publicized the bourgeois “theory of human nature” and “love of humanity.” They opposed extolling the proletariat. In an attempt to incite others to come out and attack the Party and the people, they talked such nonsense as “even the sun has spots” and “the task of literature and art has always been to expose.” Chou Yang, Wang Shih-wei, Ting Ling and others stirred up this anti-Party adverse current in the literary and art circles in Yen-an in co-ordination on the cultural front with the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries' wild attacks on the liberated areas. Its purpose was to disintegrate the revolutionary forces, to undermine the people's political power in the base areas and to sabotage the War of Resistance Against Japan.

At that time, the Yen-an rectification campaign, which is well known in the history of our Party, was unfolding on a large scale, and the struggle between the two lines on the political, ideological and cultural fronts was very acute. The Yen-an forum on literature and art was an important component part of this great rectification campaign. The *Talks*, which are of immense historic significance, were delivered by Chairman Mao at this forum and became the guide to the great Yen-an rectification campaign and to the building up of a political party of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought. Chairman Mao's *Talks* made a most penetrating criticism of the anti-Party adverse current and various bourgeois reactionary trends of thought, which were then appearing on the cultural front. Chairman Mao pointed out: **Proletarian literature and art are part of the whole proletarian revolutionary cause. The revolutionary literary and art forces are an army serving the political struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat.** Chairman Mao said: **“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.”** He also pointed out that proletarian literature and art **“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”** and that they are instruments for winning liberation and seizing political power. Chairman Mao’s view of literary and art workers as an army serving the Chinese people’s struggle for liberation has fundamentally solved the problem of the relationship between literature and art on the one hand and politics on the other. In his *Talks*, Chairman Mao also solved the problem of the general orientation of struggle for the mighty proletarian cultural army. He pointed out that **the fundamental orientation for proletarian literature and art is to serve the workers, peasants and soldiers.**

This proletarian revolutionary line on literature and art put forward by Chairman Mao clearly indicated to revolutionary literary and art workers the objectives of their fight and the orientation of their struggle, struck at the enemy’s vitals and repulsed the frantic attacks by a handful of anti-Party elements, Trotskyites and renegades. In response to the call Chairman Mao made in his *Talks*, fine literary and art workers in the Liberated Areas went among the workers, peasants and soldiers to learn from them and portray them. They used literature and art as means to encourage the people and to attack and annihilate the enemy, thus performing meritorious service in the great cause of liberating the nation and the people and in the struggle to seize and consolidate the people’s political power.

## II

We are solemnly commemorating the 25th anniversary of Chairman Mao’s great, epoch-making work *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* at a time when there is an upsurge in the great proletarian cultural revolution. This has a very important practical significance.

The victory of the socialist revolution, of the struggle of the proletariat to seize power, does not mean that class struggle has ended. On the eve of the liberation of the country, Chairman Mao said: **“After the enemies with guns have been wiped out, there will still be enemies without guns; they are bound to struggle desperately against us, and we must never regard these enemies**

**lightly.”** After the proletariat seizes power, class enemies which have been overthrown will always attempt to stage a counter-revolutionary comeback and the question of who will win is still not settled. In order to recapture their lost power, the exploiting classes will first of all create public opinion and prepare the ground ideologically for their attempt at a counter-revolutionary restoration. Literature and art are one of their advance positions for creating public opinion for their counter-revolutionary restoration and carrying out their scheme to usurp the leadership of the Party, the army and the government. The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists including Peng Chen, Lu Ting-yi, Chou Yang, Lin Mo-han, Chi Yen-ming, Hsia Yen, Tien Han and Teng To, who usurped the leadership in cultural circles, took control of the old Propaganda Department of the Party Central Committee, the old Ministry of Culture, the old Peking Municipal Party Committee and the associations under the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles. They held the leadership in many (not all) cultural and publishing institutions and they turned these institutions and organizations into revisionist clubs, into tools of the bourgeoisie for opposing the Party and socialism.

Our wise and great leader long ago saw through the conspiratorial activities of this handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists. Between 1963 and 1964, Chairman Mao pointed out on many occasions that, since liberation, various departments in culture and art, including literature, the drama, the cinema, balladry, music, the fine arts and the dance, and the art academies and schools **“by and large (this does not apply to every individual) have not carried out the policies of the Party, have acted as high and mighty bureaucrats, have not gone to the workers, peasants and soldiers and have not reflected the socialist revolution and construction.”** He said, **“the ‘dead’ still dominate”** many departments. Workers, peasants and soldiers who are the real creators of history did not occupy a major position on our stage. Instead, it was dominated by emperors and kings, generals and ministers, scholars and beauties, ghosts and monsters. We were subjected here to the dictatorship of feudalism, capitalism and revisionism. Particularly during the period of the country’s eco-

conomic difficulties between 1959 and 1962, the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists, supported by the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, took the opportunity to put out a large number of poisonous weeds such as *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office*, *Hsieh Yao-huan* and *Li Hui-niang*. In these they insidiously attacked and insulted our great Party in an attempt to reverse the verdicts on the Right opportunist Peng Teh-huai and others dismissed from office at the Lushan Meeting and to incite people to join them in activities aimed at a counter-revolutionary restoration. At the same time, many plays and operas glorifying renegades, propagating capitulationism and advocating the philosophy of survival, such as *Yang Yen-hui Visits His Mother*, *Peach Blossom Fan* and *Li Hsiu-cheng*, appeared one after another. The situation in the cinema was even more striking. What a lot of poison was spread by films from those of the early post-liberation period, such as the *Inside Story of the Ching Court* and *The Life of Wu Hsun* down to the more recent *Storming the City* and *Threshold of Spring!* They perpetrated every conceivable evil in vilifying the workers, peasants and soldiers and whitewashing capitalism, feudalism and revisionism in order to glorify the capitalist road and carry out their scheme for a counter-revolutionary restoration. Moreover, in accordance with the wishes of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, they distorted the history of the Party, established China's Khrushchov as a hero on the screen and gave three cheers for Right opportunism.

Chairman Mao has pointed out, **"it is a great invention to use novels to carry out anti-Party activities."** This was exactly what the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists including Chou Yang did. Under their direction, a novel appeared which aimed at vindicating the notorious anti-Party element Kao Kang and which openly distorted history directing an attack against the Party Central Committee headed by our great leader Chairman Mao.

However, these counter-revolutionary revisionists' conspiratorial activities aimed at a capitalist restoration could not escape exposure by the magic, monster-detecting mirror of Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art*. Therefore, this pack of ghosts and monsters dreaded and hated the *Talks*. They used all manner of

despicable means to spread such fallacious theories as "truthful writing," "writing about middle characters," opposition to "the smell of gunpowder" and "the merging of various trends as the spirit of the age" in order to attack this brilliant work of Chairman Mao's. Waving a "red flag" to oppose the red flag, while ostensibly propagating the *Talks* they distorted and emasculated its fundamental spirit.

"Like mayflies trying to topple the giant tree, they ridiculously overrated themselves." All their attacks on Chairman Mao's brilliant work have long ago been utterly crushed by the criticisms contained in Chairman Mao's *Talks* itself. Led by Chairman Mao himself, the revolutionary masses who have mastered the powerful weapon of the *Talks* have launched repeated tit-for-tat struggles against the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and the reactionary academic "authorities."

As far back as 1951, Chairman Mao personally initiated and led the criticism and repudiation of the reactionary film *The Life of Wu Hsun*. In 1954, he again initiated and led the criticism and repudiation of the *Studies of the "Dream of the Red Chamber"* and the reactionary ideas of Hu Shih.

The struggle against the Hu Feng counter-revolutionary clique took place between 1954 and 1955, and since 1957 struggles have been carried out to repulse the Rightists, to oppose Right opportunism and to criticize Yang Hsien-chen's theory of "two combining into one" and Chou Ku-cheng's theory of "the merging of various trends as the spirit of the age."

At the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party, held in 1962, in particular, Chairman Mao issued the great, militant call to the entire Party and all the Chinese people **"never to forget class struggle,"** and directed them to take a firm hold of the class struggle in the fields of ideology.

On two occasions in 1963 and 1964, Chairman Mao gave extremely important instructions concerning literary and art work, hitting hard at the sinister counter-revolutionary, revisionist line on literature and art represented by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. Following this, Comrade Chiang Ching, a most coura-



geous fighter on the cultural front, responded enthusiastically to Chairman Mao's call and led vanguard fighters in the cultural revolution to mount an offensive against the art stage occupied by the lords of the exploiting classes. They broke through ring upon ring of repression and obstruction created by the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, and for the first time succeeded in making the heroic image of the real creators of history — the workers, peasants and soldiers — shine in splendour on the stage of Peking opera, the ballet and symphonic music. The lords and ladies and their pampered sons and daughters who for so long have dominated the stage are beginning to be ousted. This reversal of history has been righted. This is a glorious milestone in the history of the proletarian cultural revolution. All the victories in these struggles are victories for the proletarian revolutionary line on literature and art represented by Chairman Mao, victories for this great work of Chairman Mao's.

Then came the moment for the proletariat to launch a general counter-offensive against the bourgeoisie.

In November 1965, the proletarian revolutionaries in Shanghai, resolutely carrying out Chairman Mao's instruction given at the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party, and led by Comrade Chiang Ching, launched the criticism and repudiation of *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office*, thus firing the first shot at the Peng Chen counter-revolutionary revisionist clique and sounding the clarion call for the great proletarian cultural revolution.

In February of the following year Comrade Chiang Ching was entrusted by Comrade Lin Piao to call the forum on literature and art in the armed forces. This was a highly important meeting in the history of China's struggle in the field of culture. As pointed out by Comrade Chiang Ching, the forum, to which were invited the defenders of the proletarian dictatorship — the Chinese People's Liberation Army — opened a fierce attack on the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and the reactionary bourgeois "authorities" who had monopolized the leadership in cultural circles for many long years.

The forum, presided over by Comrade Chiang Ching, adopted the "Summary of the Forum on Literature and Art in the Armed Forces."

This "Summary," revised by Chairman Mao himself on three occasions, gives an extremely penetrating and correct analysis of many fundamental questions concerning the struggle since liberation between the two lines on the literary and art front. This "Summary" swept away the noxious vapours disseminated for so many years in cultural circles by representatives of the bourgeoisie, destroying their prestige, forcing them to lay down their arms, and winning the first battle of the great proletarian cultural revolution. Comrade Lin Piao has pointed out that the "Summary" "is an excellent document which uses Mao Tse-tung's thought to answer many important questions concerning the cultural revolution during the socialist period. It not only has tremendous practical significance but has far-reaching and profound historical significance as well."

Soon afterwards, the great historic document — the May 16, 1966 Circular of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party — was drawn up under Chairman Mao's personal guidance. It put forward in a systematic way the theory, line, principles and policies of the great proletarian cultural revolution, shattering the "February Outline," a reactionary programme for restoring capitalism knocked up by the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique represented by Peng Chen. It repulsed their counter-attack, threw them into confusion, and set in motion the great proletarian cultural revolution which swept the whole country.

Like an irresistible torrent, the revolutionary masses and revolutionary young Red Guard fighters armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought have charged straight into the "palaces of hell" ruled by the ghosts and monsters.

The old Propaganda Department of the Party's Central Committee collapsed!

The old Ministry of Culture collapsed!

The old Peking Municipal Party Committee collapsed!

The handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road who used to be so arrogant and regard themselves as "important figures," may look like giants, but in fact are only paper tigers that cannot withstand a single blow!

### III

The acute struggle on the cultural front since liberation clearly shows that the struggle of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line on literature and art against the sinister counter-revolutionary revisionist line on literature and art is, in the last analysis, a struggle between the bourgeoisie which wants to restore capitalism and the proletariat which fights against it.

In the historical period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, in the class struggle which mainly comprises the struggle for and against a capitalist restoration, the mighty revolutionary cultural army is an important force in opposing a capitalist restoration and checking the spread of revisionism. It relies primarily on the people's army with guns to defend the dictatorship of the proletariat, but the cultural army is also indispensable. Like the Chinese People's Liberation Army, the cultural army, too, has the important task of defending the great dictatorship of the proletariat and the great socialist cause.

Today we must fully realize the important role the revolutionary cultural army plays in the struggle to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent the restoration of capitalism. Chairman Mao's *Talks* is the programme for the building of this mighty proletarian cultural army. We must use it to establish a correct orientation, build up our ranks and arm our fighters.

As the mighty proletarian cultural army forges ahead braving the winds and storms in the great proletarian cultural revolution, every one of our fighters is confronted with all sorts of questions. What road should the literary and art circles take? What is their fighting task at present? What are the principles and policies for literary and art work? The answers to all these questions can be found in Chairman Mao's *Talks*.

**First, hold fast to Chairman Mao's orientation that literature and art must serve the workers, peasants and soldiers, actively participate in the revolutionary mass campaign of criticism and repudiation, and fight to defend the dictatorship of the proletariat.**

In his *Talks* Chairman Mao pointed out: "This question of 'for whom?' is fundamental; it is a question of principle." This

is the question of orientation for literary and art work. Should literature and art serve the millions of workers, peasants and soldiers or a handful of exploiters? Should they serve the defence of the dictatorship of the proletariat or a handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists working for capitalist restoration? This is the focal point of the struggle between Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line on literature and art and the sinister counter-revolutionary revisionist line. The struggle between the two lines in literary and art circles over the past seventeen years has demonstrated in practice that the question of orientation remains the most fundamental one for cultural circles, which have been controlled and influenced by the sinister counter-revolutionary revisionist line over a long period of time. Only when we have solved the question of the general orientation for literary and art work not only in theory but also in practice can we take a firm proletarian revolutionary stand and fight in defence of the dictatorship of the proletariat, in defence of socialism and against capitalist restoration.

The masses of the workers, peasants and soldiers are the real creators of history, the masters of socialist society. To serve the workers, peasants and soldiers means that the literary and art workers must go among the masses of the workers, peasants and soldiers. They must go into the heat of the struggle, and "**move their feet over to the side of the workers, peasants and soldiers, to the side of the proletariat,**" so as to thoroughly transform their thoughts and feelings and their world outlook in the three great revolutionary movements of the class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment. They must become one with the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, and create a new literature and art of the proletariat. Only in this way can they really make literature and art powerful weapons for uniting and educating the people and for attacking and destroying the enemy.

The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists used double-dealing tactics to furiously oppose the orientation pointed out by Chairman Mao that literature and art must serve the workers, peasants and soldiers. To counter Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature

and art, they put forward the slogan of “a literature and art of the whole people.”

In 1962, on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the publication of the *Talks*, Chou Yang, Lin Mo-han and company put on a sham celebration and produced a big poisonous weed — the article “In the Service of the Broadest Masses of the People.” In it, they maintained that literature and art should serve “the whole people” including bourgeois elements and hoisted the reactionary evil flag of “literature and art of the whole people.” They even openly declared that “socialist culture is a culture of the whole people.”

Can proletarian literature and art serve the bourgeoisie? Can socialist culture be a culture of the whole people?

Absolutely not. Chairman Mao long ago denounced such absurd views in his *Talks*.

“A literature and art of the whole people” is nothing new; it is merely a duplication in the field of literature and art of Khrushchov’s “state of the whole people” and “Party of the entire people.” There is absolutely no such thing as a literature and art of the “whole people” in the world. Literature and art must either serve the proletariat or the bourgeoisie. Chou Yang and Lin Mo-han’s theory of “a literature and art of the whole people” in the guise of transcending classes, opposes literature and art serving the workers, peasants and soldiers and proletarian politics, and turns literature and art into a counter-revolutionary tool of capitalist restoration.

The most important task of the great proletarian cultural revolution in cultural circles is that of solving this problem of orientation.

There is no construction without destruction. In the mass campaign to criticize and repudiate the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, we must smash their orientation of literature and art serving counter-revolutionary revisionism, and firmly establish our orientation of literature and art serving the workers, peasants and soldiers. We must use Chairman Mao’s *Talks* as our weapon and take an active part in the mass movement of criticism and repudiation, to safeguard the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist state.

In cultural circles today there is what is known as “the argument between seventeen years and fifty days.” The focal point of this argument is: Should cultural circles criticize the counter-revolutionary revisionist black line on literature and art during the past seventeen years? Or should they criticize the reactionary bourgeois line which prevailed for fifty odd days in June and July last year? This controversy has aroused widespread interest among comrades in cultural circles. In fact, neither of these problems is isolated. And the reactionary bourgeois line certainly prevailed for more than fifty days. Criticism of the counter-revolutionary revisionist black line on literature and art during the last seventeen years can and should be combined with criticism of the reactionary bourgeois line during the great proletarian cultural revolution. The reactionary bourgeois line in this revolution was put forward by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road precisely to protect his gang’s counter-revolutionary revisionist line, including, naturally, the counter-revolutionary revisionist black line on literature and art since liberation. We must criticize both this counter-revolutionary revisionist black line in literature and art and the reactionary bourgeois line designed to protect it. The main representative of the counter-revolutionary revisionist black line on literature and art and the advocate of the reactionary bourgeois line is the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. Thus the main task of the current movement of mass criticism is to thoroughly refute and discredit him. Only so can we really establish Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line on literature and art.

We proletarian revolutionaries must take up our pens as weapons and, now that the proletariat is launching a general offensive against the bourgeoisie, plunge boldly into the movement for mass criticism and repudiation, and deal the enemy powerful blows!

**Secondly, organize the Left forces to do a good job of “struggle-criticism-transformation” in each unit.**

Bourgeois rule in our cultural circles must not continue any longer. Proletarian revolutionaries must seize power in the leading organs, cultural organizations, art academies and schools in which the hand-

ful of counter-revolutionary revisionists have been entrenched and which they have controlled for the past seventeen years.

A mighty army of the proletarian cultural revolution must be organized, and in each unit strong Left forces be formed step by step in the course of the struggle. Proletarian revolutionaries should bring about a revolutionary great alliance in the course of the revolutionary mass movement of criticism and repudiation, co-ordinate their efforts in doing a good job of struggle-criticism-transformation in their own units, and direct the spearhead of struggle at the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, expose their crimes, wipe out their evil influence and completely refute, overthrow and discredit them!

Reactionary bourgeois scholar-tyrants and reactionary "authorities" should be thoroughly criticized and repudiated.

A new and truly revolutionary core leading the cultural forces should be established in all places where power needs to be seized.

In accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions in the *Talks*, all forces that can be united should be united, the relationship between enemies, friends, and ourselves should be clearly distinguished, and a line of demarcation should be drawn between the two different types of contradictions. There are people who support the Party, socialism and Chairman Mao but have said or done something wrong, written works that are not good or acted in bad plays. However, so long as they dare to examine their own mistakes and gain a clear understanding of them, we proletarian revolutionaries should welcome and unite with these people and work with them in carrying out the struggle-criticism-transformation.

**Thirdly, pay attention to creative work, establish good models and make great efforts to create new proletarian works.**

Paying close attention to creative work is a key to overthrowing bourgeois literature and art and developing proletarian revolutionary literature and art. In the light of the new situation in the current great proletarian cultural revolution, generally speaking, all cultural units should carry on their own struggle-criticism-transformation, and at the same time create and produce modern, revolutionary works of literature and art which serve the workers, peasants and soldiers.

Creative works by workers, peasants and soldiers must be given serious attention and helped to develop. The fine works of literature and art springing up from among the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers are reflections of the new features of the epoch of our country's proletarian cultural revolution. All revolutionary literary and art workers ought to learn modestly from them.

In paying attention to creative work the most essential thing lies, in turn, in the establishing of fine models. Peking operas with contemporary themes like *Taking the Bandits' Stronghold*, *On the Docks*, *The Red Lantern*, *Shachiapang* and *Raid on the White Tiger Regiment*; the revolutionary ballets *The Red Detachment of Women* and *The White-Haired Girl*; and the symphonic music *Shachiapang* form a series of such fine models. They are new models of art shining with the splendour of Mao Tse-tung's thought, and have integrated revolutionary political content with superb artistic forms. The appearance of these fine artistic models is a victory for Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line on literature and art.

The proletariat requires fine artistic works in which real revolutionary struggles are integrated with noble revolutionary ideals. Such fine works can be produced only by following the creative method advanced by Chairman Mao, that of combining revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism.

The blind worship of that which is ancient, foreign, and revisionist and the slavish habit of those who cannot open their mouths without quoting the ancient Greeks must be done away with. We have no faith in heaven, nor blind faith in that which is foreign, famous and ancient. We believe only in the workers, peasants and soldiers, the proletariat, Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought. We must never have blind belief in ancient Peking opera, films of the 1930's, French literature, England's Shakespeare, Russia's Belinsky, Chernyshevsky and Stanislavsky and the revisionist Soviet Union's Sholokhov. We must critically take over those ancient things which are good and also critically assimilate those foreign things which are good. But in so doing, we must follow Chairman Mao's instructions of "making the old serve the present and the foreign serve China,"

and never allow ourselves to be misled by the exploiting classes' rubbish.

Anyone who looks down upon the labouring people and the proletariat, follows others blindly and obsequiously complies with their wishes will never succeed. Our artistic treasures that shake the world are not *Swan Lake* copied from the bourgeoisie by Westernized experts who were worshipped as "gods" by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road but our own revolutionary ballets, *The Red Detachment of Women* and *The White-Haired Girl*. We did not intend these two ballets of ours for the whole world, but they have been warmly acclaimed by progressive people everywhere, who did not expect that this ancient art form gradually decaying in the Western world would burst into new and youthful life in the East. The top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and their supporters called our artistic treasures "vulgar trash," treating the rubbish of foreign countries as almighty. Having received a bit of Western education, they have forgotten their ancestors, and prate that "even the moon in foreign countries looks rounder." One wonders whether they have any sense of shame.

We should learn from the initiators and the vanguard fighters of the revolutions in Peking opera, the ballet and symphonic music. These revolutions have been most arduous battles to storm strong fortresses on the literary and art front. They have been the prologue to the unprecedented great proletarian cultural revolution. The difficulties are great and the struggle is hard. The bourgeoisie and those monsters and demons have incessantly attacked, slandered, and viciously persecuted the vanguard fighters on the literary and art front. But Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art* has inspired them. They have never become disheartened and have no fear of difficulty. In order to take the literary and art positions from the bourgeoisie, in order to defend Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art, the pioneers of the cultural revolution have, under the leadership of Comrade Chiang Ching, waged long, uninterrupted, and bitter struggle. After overcoming countless difficulties and obstacles, they have finally opened up a bright road through waste land, using the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung as their weapon.

Their revolutionary fighting spirit, which finds expression in their courage, perseverance and staunchness, has set an example for all cultural fighters. Now that our vanguard fighters have broken through such seemingly impregnable strongholds of literature and art as Peking opera, the ballet, and symphonic music, is there any other stronghold of literature and art in the world that can't be broken through? Fighters of our mighty cultural army, hold high the banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and march forward courageously and with complete confidence!

**Fourthly, open up mass literary and art criticism.**

Chairman Mao teaches us: "**Literary and art criticism is one of the principal methods of struggle in the world of literature and art.**" In literary and art criticism, it is essential to adhere to the principle that the political criterion must be put first and the artistic criterion second. All reactionary ideas and works of literature and art that harm the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist revolutionary cause must be criticized and repudiated. In no circumstance should these poisonous weeds be allowed to spread unchecked to poison the minds of the people.

The handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and their supporters did their best to spread an absurd argument about "harmless" works, saying that "whatever play relaxes and pleases the audience is good." Their talk of "harmless" works was an utter fraud. They flagrantly proposed the unrestricted showing of "harmless" foreign films, which are all works preaching capitalism and revisionism. They flagrantly proposed the widespread staging of "harmless" plays, all of which glorified the exploiting classes, vilified the working people or even made veiled attacks upon the Party and socialism. Are there really any so-called "harmless" works in the world? No. Chairman Mao teaches us in the *Talks*: "**In the world today all culture, all literature and art belong to definite classes and are geared to definite political lines.**" One man's meat is another man's poison. How can there be any work of literature or art that is "harmless" to all classes? Hasn't enough harm been done to the labouring people, especially to the younger generation, by decadent bourgeois and revisionist works of literature and art? The pur-

pose of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists in spreading this fallacy of "harmlessness" was to use it as a shield to prevent criticism by the masses so that all sorts of big anti-Party, anti-socialist poisonous weeds could be labelled "harmless" and sold to hundreds of millions of revolutionaries. Their aim was to lull the labouring people and poison their minds with such works of literature and art so as to carry out their scheme of peaceful evolution and capitalist restoration.

Moreover, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists resisted literary and art criticism by flaunting the banner of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend." They clamoured for "opening wide," saying that "there should be freedom to 'open wide,'" that "all kinds of things should be tolerated and accepted," that "there should be free competition," that "there should be fewer restrictions," that "there should not be too much interference" and that "there should be no crudeness." They used such slogans to open the way for the proliferation of their poisonous weeds and create public opinion for their conspiratorial activities for a bourgeois restoration.

They completely distorted Chairman Mao's policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend," and emasculated the class content of this great policy. "To let a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" is the class policy of the proletariat and is aimed at consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and enriching proletarian culture. In discussing this policy, Chairman Mao said: **"We still have to wage a protracted struggle against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology. It is wrong not to understand this and to give up ideological struggle. All erroneous ideas, all poisonous weeds, all ghosts and monsters, must be subjected to criticism; in no circumstance should they be allowed to spread unchecked."** He also said: **"to 'open wide' means to let all people express their opinions freely, so that they dare to speak, dare to criticize and dare to debate."** And by "opening wide," these revisionists actually

meant bourgeois liberalization, which would allow only poisonous weeds to "open wide" but not fragrant flowers, and allow only Rightists to air their views but would not permit the Left to debate. This means a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over us, the proletariat, and this we will absolutely not allow! We will act in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions and eradicate all the poisonous weeds you have spread.

"Don't be crude"? Those who are really crude are the bourgeois overlords. In places under their rule, not even a single new shoot belonging to the proletariat is allowed to grow. Is this not crude? No sooner do new things emerge than they want to wildly suppress, satirize, curse, repress, attack, encircle and strangle them, going to every extreme. Is there anything cruder than all this?

As soon as a few models had been created during the Peking opera revolution, the bourgeois overlords tried to suppress and sabotage them. Having failed, they indulged in all kinds of abuse, saying that "modern Peking opera is as dull as plain water," that "it is nothing but modern drama plus singing." Aren't you ready to give up yet? Be so kind as to take out the best old Peking operas and compare them with our models! Is there anything in the old Peking opera that can compare with ours? Who after all are presented more magnificently — the workers, peasants and soldiers in our modern operas, or the lords and ladies and their pampered sons and daughters in the old Peking opera? On the old Peking opera stage, the emperors and kings, generals and ministers, scholars and beauties, are ugly through-and-through, from their soul to their appearance. Can they compare with the workers, peasants and soldiers on our stage? They cannot, neither politically nor ideologically, nor even artistically. Is there anything in our modern opera so loose, languid and dispirited as in the old Peking opera?

The old Peking opera was performed for 130 or 140 years while we have put on the new ones for only three or four years. The three or four years of the new have defeated the 130 or 140 years of the old. The revolution has hit you bourgeois lords hard and your arbitrary rule can no longer be maintained. So you foist the blame on us, al-

leging that we have been crude. You have indeed turned black into white and right into wrong! You had better eat your words now!

The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists are most afraid of the masses' criticism, which they revile as a "club." Chairman Mao says: **"We should support whatever the enemy opposes."** What they fear is precisely what we should encourage. We do, indeed, want to promote mass literary and art criticism. If this mass criticism is called a "club," then this is the proletariat's "steel club" and "gold club" especially for the purpose of beating the bourgeoisie and revisionism. It is very precious. And furthermore, we say to the bourgeois lords: this kind of "club" will be greatly strengthened through the great proletarian cultural revolution.

The line of placing sole reliance on "experts" in literary and art criticism must be smashed. It is utterly wrong to make literary and art criticism an "ivory tower" for intellectuals, something monopolized by a few people.

The masses see very clearly. The weapon of literary and art criticism must be wielded by the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers. For it is they who show the greatest concern for the proletarian revolutionary cause and most firmly defend the dictatorship of the proletariat. Only when the hundreds of millions of workers, peasants and soldiers throughout the country are aroused to examine works of literature and art, can the real poisonous weeds be eradicated and the genuine fragrant flowers be protected. Only by arousing them to examine literary and art works, can the quality of the works be raised and creative activity in revolutionary literature and art flourish.

The unprecedented great proletarian cultural revolution has opened up a new era which will provide the best conditions for a vigorous development of proletarian literature and art. A new era of brilliant revolutionary culture has begun!

Let us arm ourselves with the brilliant works of our great leader, ceaselessly remould ourselves, closely follow Chairman Mao and the revolutionary worker, peasant and soldier masses, carry on uninterrupted revolution, always be revolutionaries. Let us defend the great dictatorship of the proletariat and build a proletarian revolutionary

culture, the most magnificent and resplendent culture in human history!

Let all reactionaries who try to go against the tide of history tremble before the great victories of the proletariat!

Long live the great proletarian cultural revolution!

Long live the dictatorship of the proletariat!

Long live the great Chinese Communist Party!

Long live the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung!

Long live our great leader Chairman Mao! A long, long life to Chairman Mao!

## On the Revolution in Peking Opera

— Speech Made in July 1964 at Forum of Theatrical Workers Participating in the Festival of Peking Operas on Contemporary Themes

I offer you my congratulations on this festival, for which you have worked so hard. This is the first campaign in the revolution of Peking opera. It has achieved promising results and will have a relatively far-reaching influence.

Peking opera on revolutionary contemporary themes has now been staged. But do we all look at it in the same way? I don't think we can say so just yet.

We must have unshakable confidence in the staging of Peking operas on revolutionary contemporary themes. It is inconceivable that, in our socialist country led by the Chinese Communist Party, the dominant position on the stage is not occupied by the workers, peasants and soldiers, who are the real creators of history and the true

masters of our country. We should create literature and art which protect our socialist economic base. When we are not clear about our orientation, we should try our best to find the right orientation. Here I would like to give two groups of figures for your reference. These figures strike me as shocking.

Here is the first group: according to a rough estimate, there are 3,000 theatrical companies in the country (not including amateur troupes and unlicensed companies). Of these, around 90 are professional modern drama companies, 80 odd are cultural troupes, and the rest, over 2,800, are companies staging various kinds of operas. Our operatic stage is occupied by emperors and kings, generals and ministers, scholars and beauties, and, on top of these, ghosts and monsters! As for those 90 modern drama companies, they don't necessarily all depict the workers, peasants and soldiers either. They, too, lay stress on staging full-length plays, foreign plays and plays on ancient themes. Therefore we can say that the modern drama stage is also occupied by ancient Chinese and foreign figures. Theatres are places in which to educate the people, but now the stage is dominated by emperors and kings, generals and ministers, scholars and beauties — by feudal and bourgeois stuff. This state of affairs cannot serve to protect our economic base but will undermine it.

Here is the second group of figures: there are well over 600 million workers, peasants and soldiers in our country, whereas there is only a handful of landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements, Rightists and bourgeois elements. Shall we serve this handful, or the well over 600 million? This question calls for consideration not only by Communists but also by all those literary and art workers who are patriotic. The grain we eat is grown by the peasants, the clothes we wear and the houses we live in are woven and built by the workers, and the People's Liberation Army stands guard at the fronts of national defence for us and yet we do not portray them on the stage. May I ask which class stand you artists take? And where is the artists' "conscience" you always talk about?

For Peking opera to present revolutionary contemporary themes will not be all plain sailing, there will be reverses; but if you consider carefully the two groups of figures I have mentioned above, there may



be no reverses, or at least fewer of them. Even if there are reverses, it won't matter, because history always goes forward on a zigzag course but its wheels can never be made to turn backwards. It is our view that opera on revolutionary contemporary themes must reflect real life in the fifteen years since the founding of our Chinese People's Republic, and that images of contemporary revolutionary heroes must be created on our operatic stage. This is our foremost task. This is not to say that we don't want historical operas. Revolutionary historical operas have formed no small proportion of the programme of the present festival. Historical operas portraying the life and struggles of the people before our Party came into being are also needed. Moreover, we need to foster some pace-setters, to produce some historical operas which are really written from the standpoint of historical materialism and which can make the ancient serve the present. Of course, we should take up historical operas only on the condition that the carrying out of the main task (that of portraying contemporary life and creating images of workers, peasants and soldiers) is not impeded. This is not to say that we don't want any traditional operas either. Except for those about ghosts and those extolling capitulation and betrayal, good traditional operas can all be staged. But these traditional operas will have no audience worth mentioning unless they are carefully re-edited and revised. I have made systematic visits to theatres for more than two years and my observation of both actors and audiences led me to this conclusion. In future, the editing and



Comrade Chiang Ching warmly receives the Red Guard artists after their performance of *The Red Lantern*, a Peking opera on a revolutionary contemporary theme.

revising of traditional operas is necessary, but this work must not replace our foremost task.

I should next discuss the question of where to make a start.

I think scripts are the crux of the matter. If you have only directors and actors and no scripts there is nothing to be directed or acted. People say that scripts form the basis of theatrical productions. I think that is quite true. Therefore attention must be devoted to creative writing.

In the last few years the writing of new plays has lagged far behind real life. This is even more true in the writing of libretti for Peking opera. Playwrights are few and they lack experience of life, so it is only natural that no good scripts are being written. The key to tackling the problem of creative writing is the formation of a three-way combination of the leadership, the professional theatrical artists and the masses. Recently, I studied the way in which the play *Great Wall Along the Southern Sea* was produced and I found that they did it exactly like this. First the leadership set the theme. Then the playwrights went three times to acquire experience of life, even taking part in a military operation to round up enemy spies. When the script was written, many leading members of the Kwangchow military command took part in discussions on it, and after it had been rehearsed, opinions were widely canvassed and revisions made. In this way, as a result of constantly asking for opinions and constantly making revisions they succeeded in a fairly short time in turning out a good topical play reflecting a real life struggle.

In the case of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee it was Comrade Ko Ching-shih himself who came to grips with this problem of creative writing. All localities must appoint competent cadres to handle the question of creative writing.

It will be difficult for some time yet to create libretti directly for Peking opera. Nevertheless, people have to be appointed right now to do the job. They must first be given some special training and then go out to get some experience of life. They can begin by writing something short and gradually go on to full-length operas. Short works, if well written, are also very valuable.

In creative writing, new forces must be cultivated. Send them out into the world and in three to five years they will blossom and bear fruit.

Another good way to get scripts is by adaptation.

Theatrical items for adaptation must be carefully chosen. First, we must see whether or not they are good politically and secondly whether or not they suit the conditions of the company concerned. Serious analysis of the original must be made when adapting it, its good points must be affirmed and left unchanged, while its weak points

must be made good. In adapting for Peking opera attention must be paid to two main questions: on the one hand the adaptations must be in keeping with the characteristics of Peking opera, having singing and acrobatics, and words which fit the rhyme schemes of Peking opera singing. The language used must be that of Peking opera. Otherwise, the performers will not be able to sing. On the other hand, excessive concessions should not be made to the performers. An opera must have a clear-cut theme with a tightly knit structure and striking characters. There should be no degression or slowing down of the action to afford all the principal performers good parts.

Peking opera uses artistic exaggeration. At the same time, it has always depicted ancient times and people belonging to those times. Therefore, it is comparatively easy for Peking opera to portray negative characters and this is what some people like most about it. On the other hand, it is very difficult to create positive characters, and yet we must present advanced revolutionary heroes. In the original version of the opera *Taking the Bandits' Stronghold* produced by the Shanghai troupe the negative characters stood out sharply, while the positive characters were quite colourless. Since the leadership attended to this question personally, this opera has been improved in a positive way. Now, the scene about the Taoist Ting Ho has been cut. The part of the bandit leader, the Eagle, has not been basically altered (the actor who plays the part acts very well), but since the roles of Yang Tzu-jung and Shao Chien-po have been made more prominent, the images of those negative characters have paled by comparison. It has been said that there are different views on this opera. Debates can be conducted on this subject. You must consider which side you stand on. Should you stand on the side of the positive characters or on the side of the negative characters? It has been said that there are still people who oppose writing about positive characters. This is wrong. Good people are always the majority. This is true not only in our socialist countries, but even in imperialist countries, where the majority are labouring people. In revisionist countries, the revisionists are only a minority. We should place the emphasis on creating artistic images of advanced revolutionaries so as to educate and inspire the people and lead them forward. Our purpose in pro-

ducing operas on contemporary revolutionary themes is mainly to extol the positive characters. The opera *Little Heroic Sisters on the Grassland* performed by the Peking Opera Troupe of the Inner Mongolian Art Theatre is very good. The librettist wrote the script for this opera with revolutionary feeling, inspired by the outstanding deeds of the two little heroines. The middle section of the opera is very moving, but because the librettist still lacks experience of real life, worked in haste and had no time for careful polishing, the opening and closing scenes of the opera are not so good. As it is now, it looks like a fine painting placed in a crude old frame. With regard to this opera, there is one point more to which importance should be attached, and that is that it is a Peking opera which has been composed for our children. In short, this opera has a firm foundation and is good. I hope that you writers for the theatre will go back to experience the life of the people and do your best to perfect your scripts. In my opinion, we should treasure the fruits of our labour, and shouldn't scrap them lightly. Some comrades are unwilling to revise the works they have done, but this prevents them from making bigger achievements. In this respect, the Shanghai troupe has set us a good example. Because the Shanghai artists have been willing to polish their scripts over and over again, they have made *Taking the Bandits' Stronghold* the success it is today. All the items in the repertory of the present festival should be given further polishing. The items which have been acknowledged as successful should not be thrown aside lightly.

In conclusion, I hope that all of you will make the effort to learn one another's items, so that audiences throughout the country will be able to see this festival's achievements.

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The Revolutionary Red Lantern Illuminates the Stage (traditional painting) ▶



革命红灯照午台

## Hail the Great Victory of the Revolution in Peking Opera

The revolution of Peking opera sounded the call to arms for China's great proletarian cultural revolution and served as a magnificent prelude to it. It was a tremendous victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought, a tremendous victory for Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art!*

The dramatic arts are of great importance in the struggle between the two classes and between the two lines on the literary and art front. Our great leader Chairman Mao has always laid great stress on their importance. In 1944, Chairman Mao pointed out after seeing *Driven to Join the Liangshan Mountain Rebels* presented by the Yen-an Peking Opera Theatre:

**History is made by the people. Yet the old opera stage (and all the old literature and art divorced from the people) presents the people as though they were dirt. The stage is dominated by lords and ladies and their pampered sons and daughters. Now you have righted this reversal of history and restored his-**

**torical truth, thus opening up a new life for the old opera. That is why this merits congratulations.**

After liberation Chairman Mao further put forward the important policies of “letting a hundred flowers blossom and weeding through the old to let the new emerge” and “making the old serve the present and the foreign serve China.” Chairman Mao’s instructions, the supreme criteria for guiding the revolution in the dramatic arts, have solved a series of basic questions in this revolution.

Using Mao Tse-tung’s thought, Comrade Chiang Ching discussed the great significance of the revolution of Peking opera and expounded its guiding principles as formulated by Chairman Mao, in her July 1964 speech at the forum of theatrical artists and workers participating in the festival of Peking opera on contemporary themes. This speech is an important document which uses Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung’s thought, to solve the problems in the revolution of Peking opera.

For a long time, because of the domination of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line in the field of literature and art represented by Chou Yang, Chi Yen-ming, Hsia Yen and Lin Mo-han, Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line could not be carried through in the field of Peking opera. Many bad operas glorifying emperors and kings, generals and ministers, scholars and beauties dominated the Peking opera stage. These bad operas played the reactionary role of disintegrating the socialist economic base to pave the way for the restoration of capitalism.

Abusing their usurped power and position, a handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and some reactionary “authority” overlords controlled Peking opera circles, and, by drawing deserters and traitors into their service and forming cliques in pursuit of their own selfish interests, turned these circles into an impenetrable independent kingdom of the feudal landlords and the bourgeoisie.

The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road was the main pillar and support for bourgeois reactionary forces and all monsters and demons in Peking opera circles and the biggest obstacle to the revolution of Peking opera. For a long time he stubbornly

opposed the revolution of Peking opera and spread the idea that “old operas have much educational value.” He heaped praise upon *Yang Yen-hui Visits His Mother*, an opera which disseminated a traitor’s philosophy and the philosophy of survival. He said: “It doesn’t matter much if this opera is staged. It has been sung for so many years; didn’t New China emerge in spite of such singing?” He lauded *Fierce Tiger Village*, which made every effort to idealize scoundrels like Huang Tien-pa, a lackey of the feudal landlords, as “an opera which has been well revised.” He even recommended such an obscene Peking opera as *The Emperor Flirts with the Waitress*. He worked closely with the top counter-revolutionary revisionists in the former Peking Municipal Party Committee and Chou Yang, Chi Yen-ming, Hsia Yen, Lin Mo-han, Tien Han, Chang Keng and company to utilize old Peking operas to serve a counter-revolutionary restoration of capitalism.

But the new-born forces will eventually defeat all that is decadent. Illuminated by the radiance of the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, guided by Comrade Chiang Ching and with the efforts of the great numbers of revolutionary comrades in Peking opera circles, new revolutionary Peking opera finally broke through stubborn resistance to fight its way out from the old stronghold of emperors and kings, generals and ministers, scholars and beauties.

Rich results have already been achieved in the revolution of Peking opera. Such model Peking operas as *Taking the Bandits’ Stronghold*, *On the Docks*, *The Red Lantern*, *Shachiapang* and *Raid on the White Tiger Regiment* represent a most valuable achievement. They are fine prototypes not only for Peking opera, but for proletarian literature and art as a whole. They also serve as fine examples for “struggle-criticism-transformation” on all fronts of the great proletarian cultural revolution. These splendid results of the revolution of Peking opera have shaken the entire field of the arts like spring thunder, indicating that it is now time for the hundred flowers of the proletariat to bloom. This will have an immense impact and influence on the development of proletarian literature and art as a whole.

Only a short while ago, the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road sneered at the vanguards in the revolution

of Peking opera: "So you people want to capture the stronghold?" Yes, we do want to capture the stronghold, to attack this most stubborn "fortress" in theatrical art and to take this most closely guarded position of the bourgeois reactionary forces into the hands of the proletariat. Today, Peking opera has broken the bonds of counter-revolutionary revisionism. The great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought has now been hoisted high over the opera stage. The stage once occupied by emperors and kings, generals and ministers, scholars and beauties has now been turned into a place where the workers, peasants and soldiers can fully display all their talents. The position for spreading feudalism and capitalism has been turned into one for the propagation of Mao Tse-tung's thought. This is a great victory for Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art, an earth-shaking transformation. It proves to the masses that the great thought of Mao Tse-tung is all-conquering. Can there possibly be any other old fortress that cannot be taken now that we have succeeded in taking the fortress of Peking opera which was under the strictest control of the counter-revolutionary revisionists and where the old forces were most stubborn?

The victories of the revolution in Peking opera have proclaimed the bankruptcy of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line on literature and art and opened up a brand-new era for the development of new, proletarian literature and art.

The revolution of Peking opera is an important component part of China's great proletarian cultural revolution. We must make a high appraisal of the tremendous achievements in the revolution of Peking opera and lay great stress on its immense historical significance. A clear understanding of its achievements and significance will powerfully increase our confidence in the great proletarian cultural revolution. We are convinced that after the great proletarian cultural revolution, a completely new situation never before seen in history, a flourishing and dynamic atmosphere in which a hundred flowers will bloom, will appear in the field of culture and art in our country.

(*"Hongqi" editorial, No. 6, 1967.*)

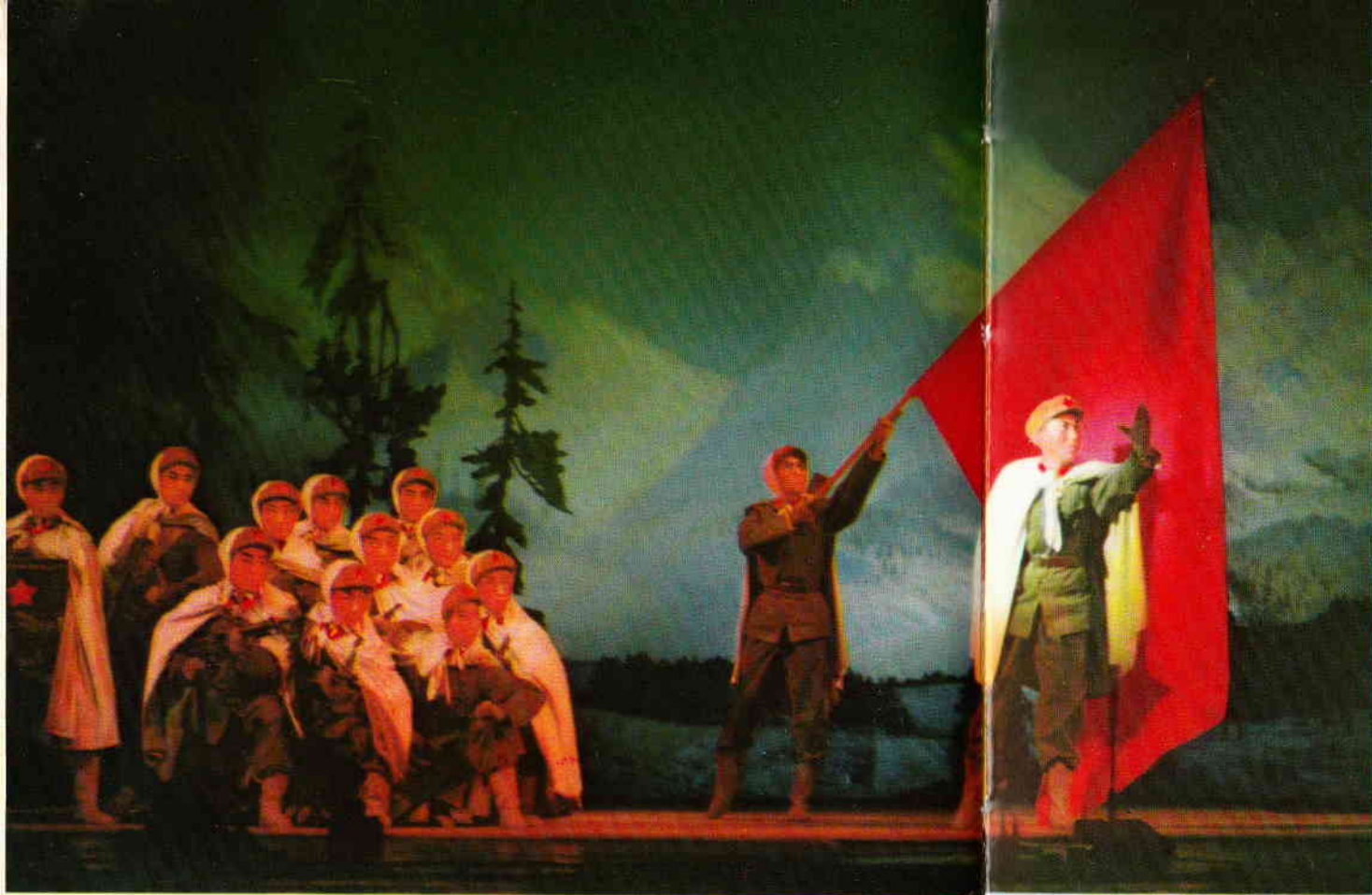


Yang Tzu-jung and Shao Chien-po

## Taking the Bandits' Stronghold

◀Advancing in Victory

Drawing up a Plan ▼



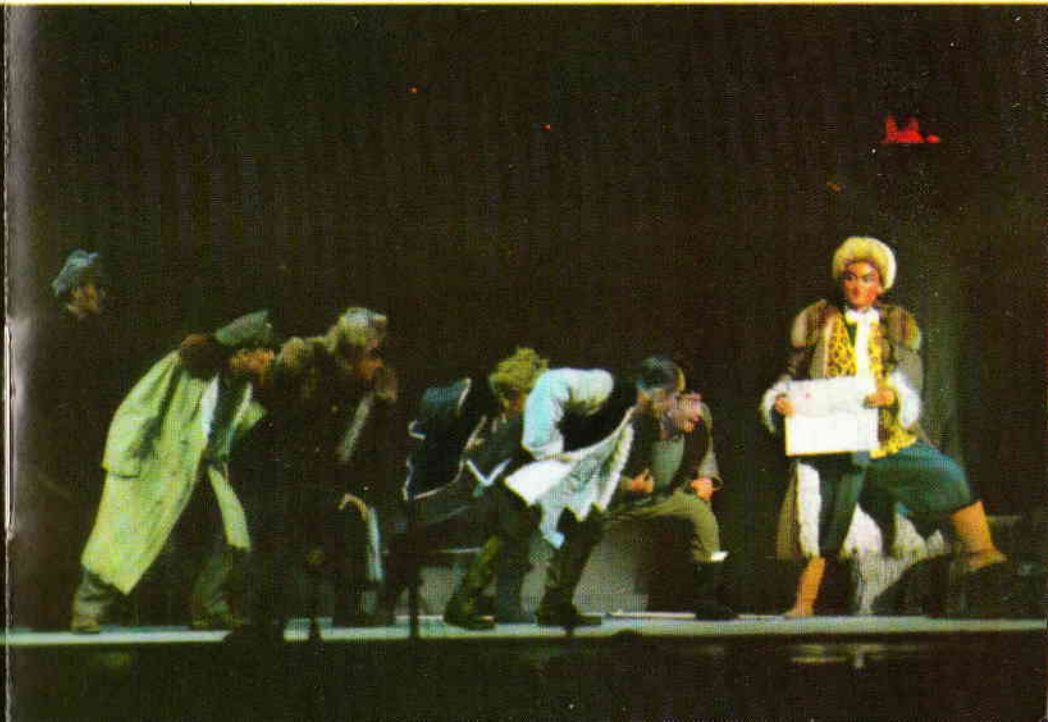


Asking About Past Bitterness





◀ In the Mountains  
The Bandits' Lair ▼





Mobilizing the Masses



◀The Hundred Chickens Feast  
Surprise Attack ▼





## Taking the Bandits' Stronghold

### CAST

Yang Tzu-jung	<i>leader of a PLA scout platoon</i>
Shao Chien-po	<i>a PLA regimental chief of staff (Commander 203)</i>
Sun Ta-teh	<i>assistant leader of a PLA scout platoon</i>
Pai Ju	<i>girl nurse</i>
Kao Po	<i>a guard</i>
Tung Chung-sung	<i>soldier</i>
Li Hung-yi	<i>soldier</i>
Luan Chao-chia	<i>soldier</i>
Other Soldiers	
Li Yung-chi	<i>railway worker</i>
Mother	<i>his mother</i>
Hunter Chang	
Chang Pao	<i>Chang's daughter</i>
Mrs. Li	<i>Li Yung-chi's wife</i>
Chang Ta-shan	<i>railway worker</i>
Other Villagers	

**Eagle** *bandit chieftain of Tiger Mountain, leader of Kuomintang's "Fifth Peace Preservation Brigade"*  
**Luan Ping** *liaison adjutant under Horse Cudgel Hsu — bandit chieftain of Breast Mountain*  
**Big Pockmark** *chief of staff to the Eagle*  
**Flatnose** *chief adjutant to the Eagle*  
**Captain** *a bandit leader*  
**Other Bandits**

SCENE ONE

ADVANCING IN VICTORY

Winter, 1946. A snowy forest in the Peony River area, in northeast China.

*(A small detachment of the PLA in full battle kit, a red flag at their head, is advancing swiftly.)*

**Chao-chia:** We've come to a fork in the road, 203.

**Shao:** Halt the march!

**Chao-chia:** Form ranks!

*(The men form ranks; Kao Po hands Shao a map.)*

**Shao** *(looks at map, examines terrain):* Chao-chia.

**Chao-chia:** Here.

**Shao:** We'll rest here.

**Chao-chia:** Right. Li Hung-yi, stand guard.

*(Li exits.)*

**Chao-chia** *(turns and calls):* Supply chief. We'll rest here.

*(A voice responds. Horses neigh. The men stamp their feet to warm up, and knock the snow from their clothes.)*

**Shao:** Are you tired?

**Soldiers:** No.

**Shao:** Good. Comrades Yang Tzu-jung and Sun Ta-teh are scouting up ahead. We've arranged to meet them here. That Eagle

has really hidden himself deep in the mountains. We've been marching through the snow for days, but there's still no sign of him. We must be prepared for a long struggle.

**Soldiers:** Right.

**Shao:** Comrades, the Party Committee picked us thirty-six men and sent us as a small detachment into this snowy forest to carry out Chairman Mao's directive "**Build Stable Base Areas in the Northeast.**" In other words our job is to rouse the masses in the Peony River area, wipe out the bandits, strengthen the rear, and co-ordinate with our field armies in smashing the US-backed Kuomintang attacks. It's a task of great strategic importance. We must do as Chairman Mao teaches us: "**Be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory.**"

**Soldiers:** We'll definitely fulfil our mission.

**Li** *(enters):* Report. Comrades Yang and Sun are back.

*(The two enter and salute.)*

**Yang:** Report.

**Shao:** You scouts have had a tiring job.

**Yang:** We went out in disguise, according to orders, but it took a long time before we could find any of the local people. Finally we rescued a boy — a mute — who had fallen into a ravine. Thanks to his father's directions, we discovered a little hamlet called Black Dragon at the end of a small gauge railway used for hauling timber. Our investigations there put us on the trail of the Eagle.

**Shao:** Excellent.

**Yang** *(sings):* *This section is infested with bandits,  
They call themselves "First Regiment of the Fifth Peace Preservation  
Brigade."*

*Every station on the line they've plundered,*

*Last night they pillaged Black Dragon.*

*The little hamlet is charred and dead,*

*Another victim of the Eagle's crimes.*

*From there the bandits went to Chiapi Valley,  
And probably have returned to Tiger Mountain.*

**Shao:** We're on the Eagle's trail, comrades. We must follow up. Chao-chia, we'll spend the night in Black Dragon. Comrade Yang.

**Yang:** Here.

**Shao:** We need more information. Take Comrades Sun, Tung and Li (*The three men step forward as their names are mentioned.*) and do some more scouting. Don't let a single clue to the bandits escape you.

**Yang:** Right. We're off. (*He departs with the other three scouts.*)

**Shao:** Comrades! (*Sings.*)

*Our responsibility to the people is heavy,  
We must support the front and strengthen the rear;  
No matter how dangerous the mountains and cliffs,  
We're determined to bring the sunshine in.*

*(The lights darken. Curtain)*

## SCENE TWO

### PILLAGE OF CHIAPI VALLEY

Dusk. The edge of the village Chiapi Valley.

*(Eagle, Big Pockmark, Flatnose and other bandits are gazing towards the village.)*

**Big Pockmark:** We've picked up a lot of loot on the way back to our stronghold, Excellency. This village is more or less right on our doorstep. We ought to leave it alone this time.

**Eagle:** Who cares? Chief of staff, go and grab me some of those paupers. We'll put them to work building more fortifications on Tiger Mountain. Men or women — take them all.

**Big Pockmark:** Yes, sir.

*(He leaves with the bandit gang. Flatnose starts to go too, but Eagle stops him.)*

**Eagle:** How many days is it since Tuft Cheek went off to find Luan Ping?

**Flatnose:** Exactly ten. I'm getting worried.

**Eagle:** What for? I hear Chiang Kai-shek has already arrived in Shenyang and is taking personal charge of the fighting. He'll be launching a general offensive towards northern Manchuria very soon.

**Flatnose:** Can we really look forward to such a day?

**Eagle:** Don't you remember what Commissioner Hou said at the conference in Peony River City? The Americans are pretending to be working for peace talks between the Kuomintang and the Communists, but actually they're transporting soldiers north for Chiang Kai-shek. They want to wipe out all the communist troops north and south of the Great Wall in three months. Our time has come.

**Flatnose:** Fine. We'll be able to work off our anger at last.

**Eagle:** The first thing we'll do when we get back to Tiger Mountain is expand our forces.

**Flatnose:** If Tuft Cheek can find Luan Ping and get his hands on Horse Cudgel Hsu's Contacts Map, the whole Peony River area will belong to us.

**Eagle:** I hear Commissioner Hou is looking all over for that map. We mustn't let him get it.

**Flatnose:** Don't worry, Excellency. Tuft Cheek and Luan Ping are sworn brothers. It won't fly away. When the Kuomintang army returns, you'll be made general of all northern Manchuria.

**Eagle:** Ha! Ha! Ha! (*Sings.*)

*Though three times the regime has changed,  
I'm still the master of Tiger Mountain.*

**Flatnose:** First it was Marshal Chang, then the Manchukuo of the Japanese, then the Kuomintang of Chiang Kai-shek, but none of them could do without you.

**Eagle (sings):** *Chiang and the Yanks have launched a civil war,  
I'm going to take over the whole northeast.*

*(He swaggers off with Flatnose in the direction of the village where flames glow and crying and shouting are heard.)*

*(Li Yung-chi enters carrying a hunting rifle and some game.)*

**Yung-chi (sings):** *Flames leap to the sky and people shout,  
Mothers call for their sons, children for their mothers;  
Again the bandits murder and plunder,  
I'll have it out with them though I die.*

*(Bandits enter pulling young men and women whose arms they have tied. Yung-chi fights with the bandits while the young people are beaten by the bandits and dragged off.)*

*(Yung-chi's wife is pulled on, followed by her mother-in-law who is holding the baby. A bandit captain snatches the infant from the old woman and throws it over the cliff. Yung-chi attacks bandits furiously. His left arm is hurt in the struggle.)*

*(Eagle enters and shoots at Yung-chi. Yung-chi's wife flings herself to cover him and falls dead. Exit Eagle and the other bandits.)*

**Yung-chi (heart-broken and enraged):** Baby's ma . . . Baby's ma . . .

**Mother (tragically):** Baby's ma . . .

**Yung-chi (sings):** *Disaster, like a bolt from the blue,  
Burns like fire in my breast;  
My wife, lying in a pool of blood,  
My baby, dead at the foot of the cliff.  
I swear that I shall get revenge — Eagle!  
I'll back you to pieces to repay this debt.*

*(He starts to run after Eagle. Bandits swarm on, overcome him and tie him up.)*

**Mother:** Yung-chi!

*(Yung-chi struggles wildly.)*

*(Curtain)*

## SCENE THREE

### ASKING ABOUT PAST BITTERNESS

Afternoon. A remote mountain valley. High mountains can be seen in the distance. Sunlight filters through the trees. Snow covers the ground. In a small log cabin bowls and chopsticks lie in disarray on a table.

*(Chang Pao, disguised as a boy, is clearing the table. Hunter Chang stands outside, looking around, then he goes back inside, quickly.)*

**Pao:** That man and woman were very rude, pa. They ate the bit of venison we'd just got.

**Chang:** We can't stay here, Pao. We've got to leave.

**Pao:** Why?

**Chang:** Do you know who they were?

**Pao:** He said he was in the PLA.

**Chang:** Huh! Eight years ago, when the bandits dragged me away, I met him in their lair on Tiger Mountain. His name is Tuft Check. He's a bandit.

**Pao:** Oh!

**Chang:** He doesn't remember me, but I remember him, all right. Wrap up our pelts, quick. We're going to your uncle Ta-shan's, in Chiapi Valley.

**Pao:** Right. *(Gets some belongings together.)*

**Chang:** Those two fur traders who came through here a few days ago said the Communists have reached Shantung Province already — our old home; they're helping the poor to take power. I wonder if it's true.

**Pao:** They're good men, those two. They wouldn't lie. If they hadn't carried me out of that ravine, I would have frozen to death.

**Chang:** Right. We must ask more about it.

*(Pao gets the pelts out of hiding and a rifle. Chang ties the furs into a bundle, then they both leave the cabin. Approaching footsteps are heard.)*

**Pao:** Somebody's coming, pa.

*(Chang covers Pao's mouth with his hand.)*

**Chang:** Hush!

*(They go back inside and listen cautiously. Yang, Sun, Tung and Li enter, muffled in hoods and capes which hide the red star on their caps. They look carefully around.)*

**Yang (sings):** *With the help of the local people  
We've been following a suspicious pair,  
But here in the mountains we've lost the trail—(Gazes around.)  
Isn't this where Hunter Chang lives, Old Sun?*

**Sun:** Yes. We came here together last time.

**Yang:** Right. *(Sings.)*  
*We'll revisit the hunter to solve our problem.*  
You and Li scout on ahead, Comrade Sun. Report back here if you discover anything.

**Sun and Li:** Right. *(Exeunt.)*

**Yang:** Tung, stand guard.

**Tung:** Right. *(Exit.)*

**Yang (walks up to the cabin):** Anybody home?

*(The hunter comes out tensely.)*

**Chang (examines him):** Who do you want?

**Yang:** Don't you recognize an old neighbour? I'm the fur trader who was here a few days ago.

**Chang:** Fur trader?

*(Pao comes out. Chang tries to stop her but he's too late.)*

**Yang:** Your father doesn't remember me, little brother, but I'm sure you do. Wasn't I the one who brought you home that day?

*(Pao wants to speak, but stops, nods.)*

**Yang (has observed and guessed the truth but doesn't let on):** A clever child.

**Chang (quickly):** He's a mute.

**Yang:** Ah, I see.

**Chang (observes Yang carefully, recognizing him):** Ah, you're Master Yang.

**Yang:** Yes.

**Chang:** Please come inside. *(They all go in.)* Have a seat.

*(They sit down.)*

**Yang (pointing at Pao):** No ill effects from that fall?

**Chang:** Nothing serious. *(Quickly changes the subject.)* You said we're both from the same province and that you're a fur trader. But today you seem to be a soldier. What are you, after all?

**Yang:** I'm not a trader. *(Throws back his hood and reveals his cap with its red star.)* A member of the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

**Chang (still sceptical):** You're also in the PLA?

**Yang:** Yes. Have you seen any of our men before?

**Chang (guardedly):** No . . . never.

**Yang:** We didn't have a chance to talk much, last time. I really am from Shantung Province, like yourself. Things are a lot better than when you left to come north of the Great Wall.

**Chang:** That's fine. But what are you fellows doing all the way up here?

**Yang:** Fighting bandits.

**Chang:** Just you few?

**Yang:** We've got a big force not far behind. Let me tell you — our PLA has won several big victories in the northeast. The whole Peony River sector has been liberated. We've smashed most of the bandits. Only Eagle and his gang are left. They've buried themselves deep in this mountain forest, but we're going to finish them off too, and soon.

**Chang:** Wonderful.

**Yang:** Eagle has wreaked havoc in this district. You two must have plenty of reason to hate him.

**Chang (bitterly):** We do indeed.

**Yang:** Tell me about it.



**Chang** (*not wanting to mention the painful past*): It happened eight years ago, why talk about it?

**Pao** (*bursts out*): Pa —

**Chang** (*startled*): Pao, how could you —

**Yang** (*sympathetically*): It's all right, child. The Communist Party and Chairman Mao will protect you. Speak.

**Pao**: I will, uncle, I will. (*Sings.*)

*Disaster struck one snowy night eight years ago,  
Eagle killed my grandma and took off my ma and pa;  
Uncle Ta-shan raised me in Chiapi Valley, my pa came back,  
But my ma threw herself off a cliff and died;  
Afraid I'd fall into those devils' hands,  
Pa dressed me as a boy and said I was mute;  
We hunted in the mountains during the day,  
At night we thought of grandma and ma;  
We looked at the stars and looked at the moon  
And longed for the time when the sun would come,  
When we would be able to speak out freely,  
When I could dress as a girl again,  
When we could collect our debt of blood;  
If I only had wings I'd take my gun  
And fly to the summit and slaughter those wolves.*

(*Chang listens in misery.*)

**Yang** (*furiously, sings*): Pao's tales of the bandits' crimes

*Rouse me to the utmost rage;  
Oppressed people everywhere suffer alike,  
They want vengeance, blood for their blood;  
Destroy the Eagle and liberate the people.  
Rising as masters, they'll see the sun;  
Work with their saviour, the Communist Party,  
And bring a new life to our land,  
Good days will come to this area too,  
Just like our old home in Shantung.*

**Chang** (*with emotion*): You've said what's in my heart, Old Yang.  
(*Sits down by Yang.*) But beating the Eagle won't be easy. Though

the regime has changed hands three times, he flees to his Tiger Mountain, every time he smells any danger. That stronghold is protected by twenty-seven bunkers. There, he can attack, he can defend, and he can slip away. Nobody can touch him.

**Yang**: It's a tough problem, all right. They say it's impossible to fight your way to the top.

**Chang**: That's right. There's only one direct path, and it's very steep. "One man can hold it against ten thousand," as the old saying goes. And it's very carefully watched. They've got guard posts at every stage. How can you fight your way up?

**Yang**: How did you manage to escape when the bandits held you a prisoner?

**Chang**: There's a dangerous trail down the back of the mountain. It's full of cliffs and dense brush. No one dares to use that trail, so it's unguarded. Eight years ago, that's where I came down. If I hadn't been lucky enough to grab the branch of a tree, I'd have been dashed to pieces.

**Yang**: You've given us some very useful information. As long as we all stand together, there's no mountain top we can't conquer.

**Chang**: Right. I'll be glad when you take this one. You mustn't blame me for being suspicious. A man and woman were here a while ago. The man plainly was a bandit, but he also said he was in the PLA.

**Pao**: My pa saw him eight years ago on Tiger Mountain. His name is Tuft Cheek.

**Yang**: Tuft Cheek, eh? What did he talk about?

**Chang**: He called the woman sister-in-law. He said her husband Luan Ping was his sworn brother.

**Yang** (*bursts out*): Luan Ping?

**Chang**: The woman seemed to be Luan Ping's wife. Tuft Cheek had a big argument with the woman. He wanted her to give him some map or other.

**Pao**: A Contacts Map.

**Chang**: That's right.

**Yang:** Contacts Map?

*(Tung enters and patrols outside cabin.)*

**Tung** *(calls)*: Platoon leader.

*(Yang opens door.)*

**Tung:** Sun and Li have come back.

*(Sun and Li enter. They go into cabin.)*

**Sun** *(greeted Chang)*: How are you, neighbour?

**Li:** In the forest northeast of here we found a bloody glove and the body of a woman. *(Gives glove to Yang.)*

**Sun:** We searched all around, but the snow had already blotted out any footprints. We couldn't tell where the murderer had gone.

**Yang:** Have you seen this glove before, Old Chang?

**Chang** *(examines glove)*: Yes. It belongs to Tuft Cheek.

**Yang:** He must have killed her and stolen the Contacts Map. But what does this have to do with Luan Ping?

**Tung** *(pulls Yang aside)*: Wasn't that bandit you caught in Nine River Confluence called Luan Ping?

**Yang:** Right. That's the man. This murder is a complicated business, comrades, and Luan Ping is mixed up in it. Tung, I'm going after the murderer with Sun and Li. You go back to 203 and report. Tell him I suggest we interrogate Luan Ping and dig out the story of the Contacts Map.

**Tung:** Right. *(Trots out.)*

**Yang:** This is urgent, neighbour. We've no time to chat. Here's a bit of food for you and Pao. *(Hands his ration bag to Chang. Sun and the others hand theirs to Pao.)*

**Pao** *(moved)*: Uncle. . . .

**Yang:** It isn't safe for you two here. Better go into hiding. When our troops arrive things will be different. Goodbye for now.

**Chang:** Where are you going?

**Yang:** After Tuft Cheek.

**Chang:** Wait. He's sure to be heading for Tiger Mountain. That trail has always been hard to follow, and in this snowstorm a stranger could never find it. Pao and I will show you the way.

**Yang:** Thank you. Old Chang.

*(Curtain)*

#### SCENE FOUR

#### DRAWING UP A PLAN

Morning. Black Dragon Village. A cabin in which the detachment is billeted. Outside the wind roars and heavy snow drifts.

*(Shao faces a map, meditates, and looks out through the window.)*

**Shao** *(sings)*: *Wind howls through the wooded valley,  
Snow mantles the mountains with silver;  
What a magnificent scene of the north!  
How can we let ravening beasts  
Lay waste this beautiful land?  
The Central Committee points the way,  
Revolutionary flames cannot be quenched.  
Bearing the hopes of the people, the PLA fight north and south  
And plant red banners all over our country.  
Though the Yanks and Chiang collude,  
Prating of peace, they move in forces to attack;  
Fighting openly and stabbing in the dark, they resort to a hundred tricks,  
Our just hatred cannot be quelled,  
One against ten, we'll still wipe them out.  
We fighters grew up under Mao Tse-tung's banner,  
Thirty-six red hearts turn towards the sun.  
Streak through the snowstorm over the mountains,  
Break through brambles, grow ever stronger.  
Tempered in the revolution's crucible,  
We're toughened and hardened into steel.*

*Eagle is only a US-Chiang slunkey,  
With them together he will be buried.  
It matters not how he may struggle,  
His days on Tiger Mountain are numbered.*

*(Yang enters.)*

**Yang:** Report.

**Shao:** Come in.

*(Yang comes into room.)*

**Shao:** You've been having a hard time. Did you catch the murderer?

**Yang:** We got him. We found this letter and this map concealed in his clothes. *(Hands them over.)* The trails in this region are very faint. Luckily, Hunter Chang acted as our guide. The murderer pretended to be one of our PLA scouts, but the hunter exposed him, and under our questioning he admitted that he's a Tiger Mountain bandit named Tuft Cheek.

**Shao:** Good. That hunter has been a great help. Long ago Chairman Mao told us: **"The revolutionary war is a war of the masses; it can be waged only by mobilizing the masses and relying on them."** Without the masses we can't move a step.

**Yang:** How true. Hunter Chang says there are two trails up the mountain. I've sketched them out, according to his description. *(Hands Shao a sketch.)* Tuft Cheek admits to the trail going up the face of the mountain. He says there are no fortifications along it and that it's easy to climb — obviously a lie. He didn't say a word about the other trail.

**Shao:** I see. What have you done about the hunter and his daughter?

**Yang:** We left them our grain rations. They're planning to move to Chiapi Valley when our forces push forward.

**Shao:** Good. *(Looks at map and letter.)* Luan Ping never said anything about this map.

**Yang:** Right. Tuft Cheek says it shows the location of three hundred secret contact centres throughout the northeast controlled from Breast Mountain. It's a very important problem.

**Shao:** Kao Po has brought Luan Ping here. Let's question him and see whether we can't get the story of the Contacts Map.

**Yang:** Right. I'll get Luan Ping.

**Shao:** He's your old adversary. You'd better do the questioning.

**Yang:** Right.

*(Shao goes into next room.)*

**Yang** *(to the soldier on guard):* Young Chang, tell Kao Po to bring Luan Ping in.

*(Kao Po enters with Luan Ping. Luan Ping is startled to see Yang, but comes over to greet him. Yang waves him to a chair. Luan sits down.)*

**Yang:** How are you getting on with your confession?

**Luan:** I want to come clean. I'm writing down everything I know.

**Yang:** There's something you haven't mentioned yet.

**Luan:** There is?

**Yang:** An important object.

**Luan:** I don't own a thing in the world except the clothes on my back, officer.

**Yang:** What about that map?

**Luan:** Map?

**Yang:** The Contacts Map.

**Luan** *(startled):* Oh.

**Yang:** Do you want to earn lenient treatment, or are you determined to be an enemy of the people?

**Luan** *(pretending to be calm):* Slowly, let me think. *(Strikes a thoughtful pose.)* Ah, yes, yes, I remember now. They say Horse Cudgel Hsu had a map of secret contacts.

**Yang:** Why have you been holding back information?

**Luan:** Don't misunderstand, officer. Horse Cudgel Hsu considered that map precious. I've never even seen it.

**Yang:** Luan Ping, you ought to understand our policy.

**Luan:** I do, I do. Leniency to confessors; severity to resisters.

**Yang:** I'm asking you — what was your job on Breast Mountain?

**Luan:** You know that. I was a liaison adjutant.

**Yang:** Huh! A liaison officer who doesn't know about secret liaison stations, who never saw the Contacts Map — a likely story. It's plain you don't want to tell the truth. Kao Po, take him away.

**Kao Po:** March.

**Luan** (*agitatedly*): I'm a dog for trying to fool you, officer. I'll tell you the whole story. There is a map showing Horse Cudgel Hsu's secret contacts all over the northeast, three hundred of them. That map is now in my wife's hands. Let me go, and I'll find her and get the map and give it to you. I want to earn lenient treatment.

**Yang:** Beside those three hundred places, where else did you have contacts?

**Luan:** Tiger Mountain. But for a long time Eagle has been trying to get control of northern Manchuria, and he and Horse Cudgel Hsu were only friends on the surface, so I had very little dealings with him. Last year, Eagle invited me to a Hundred Chickens Feast to celebrate his birthday, but I didn't go.

**Yang** (*listens with attention to his confessions and decides to end the questioning*): You'd better think it over. I want a detailed report on all your contact points. Take him away.

**Kao Po:** March. (*He escorts Luan out.*)

(*Shao enters from other room.*)

**Yang:** He's a crafty devil.

**Shao** (*humorously*): The craftiest fox can't escape the skilled hunter. Anyhow, his story about the Contacts Map is the same as Tuft Cheek's.

**Yang:** And he let slip a mention of the Hundred Chickens Feast. In that letter, Eagle is again inviting him to the one this year. There's something funny here.

**Shao:** I agree.

**Sun** (*enters*): Report.

**Shao:** Come in.

(*Sun comes into the room.*)

**Shao:** What's up, Comrade Sun?

**Sun:** We've been here several days already, 203. The comrades have written requests for a battle assignment.

**Shao:** Are you at the head of this movement?

**Sun:** Well....

**Shao** (*laughs*): I can understand how the comrades feel. The situation is this. Other troops of ours have sealed off all the roads to the fording point at the Peony River. Eagle can't get away. Our main army is already driving south. In order to secure its rear, we must wipe out this gang of bandits.

**Sun:** That's why we're so eager for action.

**Shao:** Eagle is a wily bird, comrade. Haven't we discussed it several times? If we sent a large force after him, it would be like trying to hit a flea with your fist. The bandits have a sophisticated defence system on Tiger Mountain — so a direct assault like the one on Breast Mountain wouldn't be any good. Since the task is urgent, we haven't the time to lure them down the mountain and destroy them piece by piece. Ours is a special mission. We must remember what Chairman Mao tells us — strategically we should despise our enemy, but tactically we should take him seriously. Call another meeting of the comrades and talk it over again, in the light of the latest developments.

**Sun:** Right. (*Exit.*)

(*Yang starts to leave.*)

**Shao:** What's your idea on how we should take Tiger Mountain, Old Yang?

**Yang:** I haven't thought it out yet.

**Shao:** You never take the lid off the pot till the heat's just right.

**Yang:** I want to question Tuft Cheek again and find out more about that Hundred Chickens Feast.

**Shao:** Go ahead. I'll be waiting to hear your proposal.

**Yang:** Right. (*Exit.*)

**Shao** (*sings*): *We've learned much about the enemy in the past few days,  
We've analysed carefully and pondered over our plan;  
Eagle has a system of bunkers and tunnels,  
So the right course is guile rather than force.  
Select a clever comrade to slip into the enemy's heart,  
Then strike together from without and within;  
Who should we choose for this critical task? (Thinks.)  
Yang has all of the qualifications.  
Born of a hired-hand peasant father,  
From childhood he suffered in poverty;  
The landlord oppressed their family so cruelly,  
His pa hung himself, his ma died of epilepsy.  
Burning with hatred, Yang found his salvation  
In the Communist Party and took the revolutionary road;  
He joined the army vowing to uproot exploitation,  
A veteran in battle, he's been decorated many times.  
Single-handed, he blew up an enemy fort,  
He burned down an enemy ammunition dump;  
He's brought back intelligence from enemy territory,  
Killed traitors and rescued comrades from prisons.  
He's clashed several times with the bandits out here,  
Caught Yust Cheek and Luan Ping as well as Hu Piao;  
I'm sure if I send him on this dangerous mission.  
With a heart red as fire,  
A will strong as steel,  
He'll defeat the Eagle.*

(*Sun enters.*)

**Sun:** 203.

**Shao:** How did your meeting go?

**Sun:** We analysed the situation and decided that guile is the only answer. We shouldn't try force. The best way would be to get a comrade into the enemy stronghold —

**Shao:** You're absolutely right.

(*Yang enters and waves his hand in a bandit greeting, as Shao scrutinizes him. Sun looks on in surprise.*)

**Yang** (*acting the role*): Hu Piao is here to present the map.

**Shao:** Hu Piao? Have you thought it over carefully?

(*Yang nods and smiles.*)

**Shao:** Sit down, you two, let's talk this over. (*All sit.*) 'Tell me, quick, what's your idea?

**Yang:** The best way to take Tiger Mountain, 203, it seems to me, is by guile.

**Shao:** Right.

**Yang:** The Hundred Chickens Feast is a good opportunity.

**Shao:** Do you know what it's all about?

**Yang:** I do. The last day of the last month of every lunar year is the Eagle's birthday. He gives himself a feast of chickens extorted from a hundred different families. That's what they call the Hundred Chickens Feast. I suggest we send a comrade up there in disguise to find out how the tunnels and bunkers are laid out. Then when the bandits are all drunk at the Hundred Chickens Feast —

**Shao:** The detachment will attack and take them before they know what's happening!

**Yang:** Right. I'm a veteran scout, 203. Give the mission to me.

**Sun:** Our comrades also propose Old Yang.

**Shao:** Exactly what I was thinking myself. (*Laughs.*) Comrade Sun, (*giving him the Contacts Map*) make a detailed copy of this while I talk things over with him.

**Sun:** Right. (*Exit.*)

**Shao:** So you want to disguise yourself as a bandit and get into the stronghold on Tiger Mountain. What makes you think you can carry it off?

**Yang:** I've four things in my favour.

**Shao:** What are they? Let's hear.

**Yang:** First, I've learned their bandit double-talk thoroughly and I know all about what the situation was on Breast Mountain, so I'm fully prepared.

**Shao:** Second?

**Yang:** Horse Cudgel Hsu and his Breast Mountain gang have just been defeated. His adjutant Hu Piao is in our hands and Eagle has never seen him. So it's safe for me to take his name.

**Shao:** Good.

**Yang:** Third, if I present Eagle with the Contacts Map as an entrance gift, he's sure to believe me.

**Shao:** Right.

**Yang:** The fourth condition is the most important, namely —

**Shao:** The heart of a revolutionary soldier dedicated to the Party and the people.

**Yang:** You understand me completely, 203.

**Shao:** This is no ordinary task, Old Yang.

**Yang:** Comrade Shao. (*Sings.*)

*A Communist always heeds the Party's call,  
He takes the heaviest burden on himself;  
I want only to smash the chains of a thousand years  
And open a freshet of endless happiness for the people.  
Well I know that there's danger ahead,  
But I'm all the more set on driving forward;  
No matter how thickly troubled clouds may gather,  
Revolutionary wisdom is bound to win.  
Like the Foolish Old Man who removed the mountains,  
I shall break through every obstacle;  
The flames that blaze in my red heart  
Shall forge a sharp irresistible blade.*

**Shao:** I believe in you entirely, Old Yang. You can take Horse Cudgel Hsu's black-maned steed and ride northeast along the trail Hunter Chang has pointed out —

**Yang:** And wind my way up the mountain.

**Shao:** The detachment will go to Chiapi Valley and mobilize the masses, practise skiing and prepare for battle. We'll wait for word from you.

**Yang:** I'll put a message for you in the pine grove southwest of Tiger Mountain. The tree will be marked in the agreed manner.

**Shao:** I'll send Sun on the twenty-sixth to pick it up.

**Yang:** I guarantee it will be there on time.

**Shao:** Good. The detachment will set out as soon as we've heard from you. We'll strike from within and without and destroy Eagle and his gang.

**Yang:** Our plan is complete then, 203. That's how we'll do it.

**Shao:** Be bold but cautious, Old Yang. (*Sings.*)

*I'm confident you can fulfil this important task,  
Every move counts, this is of great significance;  
We'll call a Party committee meeting to approve the plan,  
With collective wisdom we'll defeat the enemy.*

**Yang:** Right.

(*The lights slowly dim. Curtain*)

## SCENE FIVE

### IN THE MOUNTAINS

A few days after the previous scene. A snowy forest in the foothills of Tiger Mountain.

**Yang** (*sings offstage*): Boldly I press through the snowy forest... (*In disguise, he spurs his horse onward against the wind.*)  
*Determined, the mountains I staunchly face. (Dismounts.)  
We must plant red flags all over the land,  
Undaunted by dangers however great;  
I wish I could order the snow to melt,  
And welcome in spring to change the world of men.  
The Party gives me wisdom and courage,  
Risks and hardships are as naught;  
To wipe out the bandits I must dress as a bandit first,  
And slip into their stronghold like a knife.*

*I'll bury the Eagle in these hills, I swear,  
Shake the heights with my will.  
With my courage the valleys fill,  
At the Hundred Chickens Feast my comrades and I  
Will make a shambles of the bandits' lair.*

*(A tiger roars.)*

**Yang:** A tiger!

*(He shoots. The tiger howls and falls dead. The horse whinnies.  
Other shots are heard. Yang gazes alertly in the direction of the sound.)*

**Yang:** Ah, shooting. That means the bandits have come down the mountain. *(Calmly)* I've just killed one tiger, and now a whole pack is coming. They're all due for the same fate.

*(Big Pockmark shouts: "Halt!" and advances with a gang of bandits.  
Yang walks forward coolly and gives a bandit salute.)*

**Big Pockmark:** What road do you travel? What's the price? *(Bandit double-talk for "Who are you? Where are you from?")*

*(Yang, head high, does not reply.)*

**A bandit** *(seeing the tiger Yang has killed, but not knowing it is dead):* Help! A tiger! *(Bandits hastily retreat.)*

**Yang** *(laughs):* Brave, aren't you? That tiger is dead.

**A bandit** *(examines the beast cautiously):* A beautiful shot. Right through the head.

**Big Pockmark:** Did you kill it?

**Yang:** It got in the way of my bullet.

**Big Pockmark:** Where's your gun?

**Yang:** Don't be scared. *(Tosses his pistol to one of the bandits.)*

**Big Pockmark:** Quite a man. Which gang are you from? What are you doing here?

**Yang:** I suppose you fellows are from Tiger Mountain?

**Big Pockmark:** That's obvious. *(Realizes he has made a slip.)* Where are you from?

**Yang:** That's not for you to ask. I want to see Brigadier Tsui in person. I've important business with him.

**Big Pockmark:** How is it you don't know the rules of the mountains? You're not one of the brotherhood. You're a fake.

**Yang:** If I were a fake, would I dare come barging into Tiger Mountain?

**Big Pockmark:** Moha? Moha? *(Who sent you here?)*

*(Yang does not reply.)*

**A bandit:** Speak up.

**Yang** *(haughtily):* I'm not saying anything till I see Brigadier Tsui.

**Big Pockmark:** All right, then, let's go. *(Sticks his pistol in his belt.)*

*(Yang points at the tiger and the horse, then strides off.)*

**Big Pockmark:** Carry the tiger. Lead the horse.

*(The bandits comply.)*

*(Curtain)*

## SCENE SIX

### THE BANDITS' LAIR

Immediately after the previous scene. A muffled gong strikes as the curtain rises. The interior of Tiger Hall, brightly lit by many lamps.

*(Eagle sits on an arm-chair covered by tiger skins, his lieutenants — the "Eight Invincibles," stand on either side in a disorderly fashion. Other bandits stand on the left rear side of the hall. Eagle signals to Big Pockmark to summon the newcomer.)*

**Big Pockmark** *(calls):* Bring him in.

**Bandits:** Bring him in!

*(Yang enters, head high.)*

**Yang** *(sings):* *Though I've come alone to the dragon's den,  
Millions of class brothers are by my side;  
Let the Eagle spew flames ten thousand leagues high,*

*For the people I'll battle fearlessly against this monster. (Advances and gives a bandit salute.)*

**Eagle (suddenly):** The lord of the heavens covers the earthly tiger.  
(How dare you come and offend your god?)

**Yang:** Precious pagoda represses the river sprite. (If I have done so, cast me from the cliff or drown me in the river.)

**Invincibles:** Moha? Moha?

**Yang:** Speak exactly at the stroke of noon. No one has a home.  
(I was on the mountain of Horse Cudgel Hsu.)

**Eagle:** Why is your face so red?

**Yang:** My spirits are flourishing.

**Eagle:** Why so yellow again?

**Yang:** I smeared it with wax to ward off the cold.

*(Eagle shoots out an oil lamp with his automatic. Yang takes a pistol from Big Pockmark. With one shot he knocks out two oil lamps. The bandits whisper among themselves.)*

**Eagle:** According to you, you're one of Brigadier Hsu's men?

**Yang:** I am his cavalry adjutant, Hu Piao.

**Eagle:** Hu Piao? Since you are Brigadier Hsu's man, let me ask you — when did you join his ranks?

**Yang:** When he became chief of police.

**Eagle:** What possessions does he prize the most?

**Yang:** There are two.

**Eagle:** What are they?

**Yang:** A fast horse and a sharp sword.

**Eagle:** What does his horse look like?

**Yang:** It has a curly coat and a black mane.

**Eagle:** What kind of sword has he?

**Yang:** A Japanese officer's sabre.

**Eagle:** Who gave it to him?

**Yang:** The Japanese Imperial Army.

**Eagle:** Where was it presented?

**Yang:** In the Five Prosperities Pavilion in the city of Peony River.

**Eagle (pauses):** If you really are Brigadier Hsu's cavalry adjutant, why did I see only Luan Ping and not you at the last meeting called by Commissioner Hou?

**Yang:** I didn't rate very high with Brigadier Hsu. How could I compare with a big shot like Luan Ping? He went to all the important functions.

**Eagle:** Why have you come to Tiger Mountain?

**Yang:** I want to join Your Excellency and rise in the world. This is the first time I've crossed your threshold, but none of you big brothers seem to trust me. Aren't you being a bit ungallant?

**Eagle:** We have to think of our stronghold's safety.

*(He signals, and one of the Invincibles brings Yang a bowl of wine, while another hands him a pipe and tobacco. Yang accepts them ceremoniously in the bandit manner.)*

**Eagle:** If you want to join me you still have to present an entrance gift even though you are at the end of your tether.

**Yang:** I've brought you Brigadier Hsu's prize horse and a fierce tiger I happened to kill at the foot of the mountain — thanks to the power your nearness gave me.

**Invincibles:** Fine presents for Your Excellency's fiftieth birthday.

*(They laugh. Eagle is very pleased.)*

**Eagle:** When did the Breast Mountain stronghold fall, Hu Piao?

**Yang:** The third day of the twelfth lunar month.

**Eagle:** What took you so long to get here?

**Yang:** It hasn't been easy. When Breast Mountain was taken, I fled from Candlestick Ledge and hid out in Pear Valley.

**Eagle:** Pear Valley?

**Yang:** In the home of Luan Ping's uncle.

**Eagle:** Did you see Luan Ping?

**Yang:** Yes.

**Eagle:** And Tuft Check?

**Yang:** Tuft Check? No.

**Eagle:** He's been gone over two weeks. What can be keeping him? You've come, Hu Piao, but why isn't Luan Ping with you?



**Yang:** Ah, don't ask.

**Eagle:** What do you mean?

**Yang:** Well....

*(Eagle signals and all the bandits except the Invincibles leave.)*

**Eagle:** Now, what's wrong with Luan Ping?

**Yang** *(swings his fist in a distressed gesture)*: It's a long story. *(Sings.)*

*Just talking about him enrages me —*

**Eagle:** What did he do?

**Yang** *(sings)*: *He cares nothing for our code of honour.*

**Eagle:** But he's one of our fraternity. How could he go back on our code?

**Yang** *(sings)*: *We fled together when Breast Mountain fell,*

*I urged him to come with me and give service to the Tiger Mountain.*

*(Invincibles look at each other with satisfaction.)*

**Eagle:** Is he coming?

**Yang** *(sings)*: *Every man has a right to make up his own mind,*

*But he shouldn't have —*

*He shouldn't have said such awful things.*

**Eagle:** What did he say?

**Yang:** He said....

**Eagle** *(impatiently)*: Out with it, Old Hu, be quick.

**Yang** *(sings)*: *Eagle takes his orders from Commissioner Hou.*

**Eagle** *(leaps to his feet)*: What! I take orders from him!

**Invincibles:** Rubbish. That dirty dog.

**Yang:** That wasn't all he said.

**Invincibles:** What else?

**Yang** *(sings)*: *The Eight Invincibles are a pack of worthless rats.*

**Invincibles** *(enraged)*: What! That son of a bitch.

**Yang** *(sings)*: *He said he's a phoenix who wants a high branch to perch on,*

*That Commissioner Hou is a big tree and his roots are deep.*

**Invincibles:** To hell with him.

**Yang** *(sings)*: *He showed me a map —*

**Eagle:** A map?

**Yang** *(sings)*: *He was intending to take it to Commissioner Hou to earn a promotion.*

**Eagle:** Was it the Contacts Map?

**Yang:** Yes, the secret Contacts Map.

**Eagle** *(worried)*: 'Then he's given it to Commissioner Hou?

**Yang:** Don't get upset. *(Sings.)*

*Pleased with himself, he grinned all over,*

*And laid out drinks for the two of us;*

*I filled him eight bowls, one after the other,*

*I got him so drunk he couldn't see.*

I thought to myself — If I'm going to do it, I should go all the way.

**Invincibles:** That's right. Swipe it from him.

**Yang:** So, taking my chance while he was dead-drunk, I —

**Eagle:** Killed the dog!

**Yang:** I couldn't do that. We've been pals for years.

**Eagle** *(changing his tone)*: Of course, of course. Friendship is important. Go on, Old Hu, go on.

**Yang:** He had his plans, but I had ideas of my own.

**Eagle:** What did you do?

**Yang:** I — *(Sings.)*

*I changed tunics with him while he was drunk,*

*Then jumped on the black-maned horse, and through*

*The snowstorm galloped directly to Tiger Mountain.*

**Eagle:** You mean you've got the map?

**Yang** *(laughs lightly, sings)*: *Please accept, oh, brigadier, (Holds up the map.)*

*The map I present to you here.*

*(Eagle takes the map and examines it avidly while the Invincibles crowd around.)*

**Invincibles:** You're a marvel, Old Hu, a hero.

**Eagle** *(laughs wildly, sings)*: *The map I've thought of day and night,*

*Today is in my hands;*

*This makes me master of the whole secret network*

*In all of the Peony River region;*

*What you have done, Hu Piao, dear friend,*

*Is of unusual merit.*

Bravo, Old Hu!

**Yang:** With the map in our possession, the Peony River region is ours.

**Eagle:** Right. Well said. When our Kuomintang army returns, I'll be a commanding general. The rest of you will head brigades and divisions.

**Invincibles:** We rely on your beneficence, Excellency. (*Laugh wildly.*)

(*Yang laughs coldly.*)

**Eagle:** Because of what you've done for Tiger Mountain, Old Hu, I proclaim you the Ninth Invincible.

**Yang:** Thank you, Excellency.

**Eagle:** That's not all. (*Pauses.*) As part of the Kuomintang army, we have grades and ranks. I appoint you full colonel and deputy regimental commander in the Fifth Peace Preservation Brigade of the Eastern Heilungkiang Region.

**Yang** (*gives a bandit salute*): Your Excellency is too kind. (*To Invincibles*) I shall rely on you brothers for guidance.

**Invincibles:** You shouldn't be so modest.

**Big Pockmark:** Bring wine!

(*A bandit enters and fills the bowls.*)

**Big Pockmark:** Drink, everyone. Drink to congratulate Old Ninth.

**Invincibles:** Congratulations, Old Ninth.

**Eagle:** He deserves high reward for delivering the Contacts Map.

**Yang** (*sings*): *Let me take a hearty drink to celebrate the merit today,  
I shall never rest until my bold task is completed.  
The day is yet to come for me to show my skill,  
I'm willing to shed my blood to write the history. (Smiles triumphantly,  
drains his cup.)*

(*Lights dim. Curtain*)

## SCENE SEVEN

### MOBILIZING THE MASSES

Chiapi Valley. A house with two rooms, home of Li Yung-chi. Walls show signs of having been charred. Noon. A snowstorm is raging.

(*Yung-chi's mother stands beside the stove. She removes the lid from the cooking pot and finds it empty. She shakes her head and sighs. As the wind roars outside, she totters to the table.*)

**Mother** (*sings*): *Bone-biting snow blows through the walls,  
Our clothes are thin, our grain is gone;  
Neither my son nor my daughter-in-law can bear me,  
Deep is my hatred for the crimes against us.*

(*Chang Ta-shan enters.*)

**Ta-shan:** Aunt.

**Mother:** It's Ta-shan! (*Opens door.*)

(*Ta-shan comes into the house.*)

**Ta-shan:** Are you feeling any better today?

**Mother:** I was dizzier than ever when I got up this morning.

**Ta-shan:** You're worried and hungry — that's what's wrong with you. We've still got some sweet potato roots. At least they'll take the edge off your hunger.

**Mother:** I'm always such a nuisance to you and your wife. I'm really sorry.

**Ta-shan:** When Yung-chi's here, he looks after you. When he's away, you can rely on us neighbours. (*Ta-shan sets water to boil on the stove.*)

(*Mother takes potato roots into next room. Yung-chi enters. Pushes open door and comes into house.*)

**Ta-shan** (*surprised*): Yung-chi!

**Yung-chi:** Ta-shan!

(*Mother emerges from side room.*)

**Yung-chi:** Ma!

**Mother:** Son! (*Sings.*)

*Can I be dreaming that you've returned?*

*It pains me to see you so bruised and battered;*

*I cried myself ill when they took you away.*

**Yung-chi** (*sings*): *In the bandits' lair, I thought of you day and night.*

**Mother** (*sings*): *I haven't been well but*

*Our neighbours have looked after me.*

**Yung-chi** (*sings*): *I'm very grateful.*

**Ta-shan** (*sings*): *It was only right.*

**Mother** (*sings*): *How did you escape from the tiger's den?*

**Yung-chi** (*sings*): *I jumped down a cliff and scaled the mountains.*

**Mother** (*sings*): *I'm overjoyed to see you but I grieve*

*For my daughter-in-law and grandson.*

**Yung-chi** (*sings*): *The many crimes to be avenged are all*

*Engraved upon my heart.*

*Today I've preserved my life,*

*Some day I'll kill my foe with might.*

(*Voices offstage cry: "Soldiers are entering the village!"*)

**Ta-shan:** Another raid by the Eagle?

**Yung-chi:** Are they after me?

**Ta-shan:** Hide, quick. I'll go out and take a look. (*Exit.*)

**Mother:** What shall we do!

**Yung-chi:** If it's me they're after, I'll fight them to the death.

**Mother:** I don't know what I'd do if anything should happen to you, son. Hide yourself.

**Yung-chi:** Hide? Where? It's better to fight it out. At least

I can take one or two of them with me.

**Mother** (*pleads*): Yung-chi, you mustn't.

(*Tung and Li enter.*)

**Li:** Let's visit this family.

**Tung** (*knocks on the door*): Anybody home?

**Yung-chi:** Yes. We're not all dead yet.

**Mother:** Yung-chi.

**Tung:** Neighbour, old mother, open the door.

(*Yung-chi wrenches the door open. Li and Tung enter, accompanied by a cold gust of wind. Tung closes the door behind him. The old woman is alarmed. She moves closer to Yung-chi protectingly.*)

**Li:** Don't be afraid, old mother. We're only....

**Yung-chi:** Come to the point.

**Tung:** You've got us wrong, neighbour. We're the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

**Yung-chi:** Liberation Army? (*Looks them over.*) This "army" and that "army," I've seen plenty. Who knows what you really are! Speak out, whatever you want. If it's money, we haven't got any. If it's grain, your gang has already robbed us clean. If it's our life —

**Li:** We PLA are the people's soldiers. We protect the people.

**Yung-chi:** That's what you say.

**Mother:** Yung-chi! (*She wavers, dizzy.*)

**Li:** Are you ill? We'll send for our medic.

**Yung-chi:** Who are you trying to fool? (*Supports his mother into next room.*)

(*Tung and Li look at each other, go out, close door. Shao and Kao Po enter.*)

**Shao:** How are you doing?

**Tung:** We've called on several families, but they're all the same. The man in this house is particularly bitter.

**Li:** The old mother there is sick.

**Shao:** Call our medic. Tell her to bring some grain.

**Li:** Right. (*Exit.*)

**Tung:** It's certainly tough getting close to these people.

**Shao:** Impatient again, Young Tung? They don't understand us. They've probably been fooled before. Don't you remember — Tuft Cheek pretended to be one of our scouts. Once they understand, their hatred will change into strength.

**Tung:** I know that, 203, it's only....

**Shao:** We must be concerned about the troubles of the masses. If we don't mobilize them, we won't be able to get a firm foothold and wipe out the Eagle. On the other hand, unless we destroy the bandits, the masses won't be really aroused.

**Tung:** I realize that.

**Shao:** Tell our men to explain our Party's policy patiently. We must strictly carry out the Three Main Disciplines and Eight Points for Attention. We've got to mobilize this place by the example of our own behaviour.

**Tung:** Right. (*Turns to leave.*)

**Shao:** By the way, find out if Hunter Chang has returned.

**Tung:** Right. (*Exit.*)

(*Pai Ju enters.*)

**Pai:** I've brought the grain, 203. (*Hands him a sack.*) Where's the patient?

**Shao:** In the house. Let's take a look at her, Comrade Pai Ju.

**Pai:** Right. (*Knocks at door.*) Hello, neighbour.

**Shao:** Our medic is here, neighbour. Open the door.

(*Yung-chi rushes into outer room, a dagger in his hand. His mother follows, trying to stop him.*)

**Mother:** Yung-chi, you mustn't....

**Yung-chi:** What do I fear? I can fight it out with them with this. (*Stabs dagger into table.*)

**Mother** (*very upset*): Yung-chi, I beg you. (*Faints.*)

**Yung-chi** (*supporting her*): Ma. Ma.

(*Shao forces open the door. Goes in with Pai Ju and Kao Po. Protecting his mother, Yung-chi glares at them.*)

**Shao:** Look after her, Pai Ju, quick.

(*Pai Ju slips off her overcoat and wraps it around the old woman, then helps her into inner room, followed by Kao Po and Yung-chi. Shao pours some grain into pot and sets it to boil. Yung-chi comes out for some water. Shao goes into inner room.*)

**Yung-chi** (*discovering pot of gruel*): The PLA? (*Sings.*)

*These soldiers worry about the people and cure*

*Their ailments; they're considerate and kind.*

*But soldiers and bandits have always oppressed us;*

*This certainly is very strange.*

Can the saviours we've longed for have really arrived?

(*Mother calls from inner room: "Water."*)

(*Yung-chi fills a bowl with gruel. Kao Po emerges and takes it in. Shao comes out.*)

**Shao:** Your mother has revived, neighbour. It's not serious. Don't worry.

**Yung-chi:** Oh.

**Shao:** What's your name? What do you do?

**Yung-chi:** I'm Li Yung-chi. I used to be a railway worker.

**Shao:** A worker? Fine. So we're no strangers then. How long has your family been living here?

**Yung-chi:** For two generations already.

**Shao:** How many of you are there?

(*Yung-chi looks upset. Sighs.*)

**Shao** (*takes up the sack*): I hear you have nothing to eat. Here's a little grain. (*Yung-chi doesn't accept it. Shao puts it on the table. Sees dagger.*) You don't need this against us, neighbour. We're all one family.

**Yung-chi** (*looks him over carefully*): Whose troops are you, anyhow? What are you doing here in our mountain forests?

**Shao** (*sings*): *We're the sons of workers and peasants, come*

*To destroy the reactionaries and change the world.*

*We've fought all over China in the last few decades,*

*With the Party and Chairman Mao leading the way,*

*A red star on our army caps, two red flags*

*Of the revolution on our collars.*

*Where the red flag goes dark clouds disperse,*

*Liberated people overthrow the landlords,*

*The PLA shares the people's hardships,*

*We've come to sweep clean Tiger Mountain.*

**Yung-chi** (*moved, sings*): *Our eyes are nearly worn out, looking for you, and today*

*You've come, to fight the bandits and save the poor.  
Our own army, I should have known you, I'm ashamed  
To have mistaken a friend for an enemy.  
For thirty years we've been enslaved, soothing our wounds,  
Suppressing our rage, struggling in a bottomless pit.  
The people of Chiapi Valley hate the bandits  
Of Tiger Mountain, they've suffered without end.  
Who would have believed an iron tree could blossom,  
That we would at last live to see this day.  
I'll go with the Party to drive out those beasts,  
Whatever the danger, be it fire or water,  
When Tiger Mountain is being swept clean and free,  
I, Yung-chi, in the front ranks will be. (He grasps Shao's hand.)*

*(His mother comes out, supported by Pai Ju and Kao Po.)*

**Mother:** This girl cured me, Yung-chi.

**Yung-chi:** They've brought us some grain, too.

*(The old lady is moved to tears. Shao helps her to a seat. Li enters.)*

**Li:** These neighbours have come to see you, 203.

*(Villagers swarm in, headed by Tung and Ta-shan, together with Hunter Chang and his daughter Pao.)*

**Tung (to Chang):** This is our detachment leader.

**Shao (comes forward and shakes the hunter's hand):** So you're Chang the hunter. Have you come from the valley?

**Chang:** We couldn't stay in the valley. We've moved in with Uncle Ta-shan, here.

**Shao (pats Pao on the shoulder):** Good girl.

**Chang:** So you've guessed.

**Yung-chi (greet him):** Brother Chang.

**Chang (hails him and his mother):** Ah, Yung-chi, and you, aunt. We've our saviours here at last.

**Ta-shan:** Commander, we're all burning with one desire — to attack Tiger Mountain.

**Shao:** Our PLA is winning big victories at the front, neighbours. The Peony River area has been liberated. Eagle has no place to flee.

**Ta-shan:** Let's destroy his nest. Give us guns, commander.

**Villagers:** Yes. Please, give us guns, commander.

**Yung-chi:** If we had guns, there isn't a man in Chiapi Valley who couldn't bring down two or three of those bandits.

**Shao:** We'll definitely give you weapons. *(Touches their ragged clothing.)* But none of you have any warm winter clothes and every family is short of grain. How can you go after the bandits in the deep mountain forests?

**Villagers:** What can we do?

**Shao:** There are plenty of medicinal herbs in Chiapi Valley and lots of timber. If we get the little train running again, we can ship them out and buy clothing and grain in return.

**Chang:** That's right. We have a saying in these parts: "When the train whistle blows, the grain here flows. When the locomotive runs, we've clothing in tons."

**Villager A:** That's only what everybody wished for. But what usually happened was "When the locomotive thunders, the Eagle comes down and plunders. We got poorer and the Kuomintang got richer."

**Yung-chi:** But we've got the PLA with us now. We're not afraid of ten Eagles.

**Shao:** Right. We're here now, and you can organize a militia. We'll get the little train running again and you'll have food and clothing. When we fight the Eagle, you'll be all the stronger.

**Yung-chi:** When can we start repairing the railway?

**Shao:** What about now? We'll work with you.

**Ta-shan:** It's heavy labour, commander.

**Tung:** Who do you think we are — little gentlemen? We're all from poor families. When we've guns in our hands, we fight; when we've tools in our hands, we work.

**Yung-chi:** We really are all one family, commander. *(Sings.)*

*We mountaineers mean what we say,  
Our words are straight, our hearts are true,*

*To seize a dragon we'll go with you under the sea,  
To catch a tiger we'll follow you up the heights.  
With the thunders of spring the earth will shake!*  
Then Eagle — beware.

**Villagers** (*sings*): *Your days are numbered.*

*(The stage darkens. Curtain)*

## SCENE EIGHT

### SENDING OUT INFORMATION

Dawn. A clearing on Tiger Mountain. A fork in the trail, its right branch leading to the only road down the mountain. Forts are visible in the rear distance. Yang's dwelling is to the rear left. Path in left foreground leads to Tiger Hall.

*(As curtain rises, Eagle and Big Pockmark are walking on from left.)*

**Eagle:** Is this where Old Ninth usually does his traditional shadow boxing?

**Big Pockmark:** Yes.

**Eagle:** Where else has he been?

**Big Pockmark:** He's made a tour of the forts on our five peaks.

**Eagle:** What! You even let him inspect our nine groups of twenty-seven forts?

**Big Pockmark:** He's one of us, isn't he? Why not show him how strong we are?

*(Eagle gives a dissatisfied grunt.)*

**Big Pockmark:** Old Ninth is as loyal as he's tough and clever. Why don't you trust him?

**Eagle:** I don't like the look of things. There's a lot of activity down below, and Tuft Cheek still hasn't returned. Why should Hu Piao show up at a time like this? We've got to be careful.

*(Flatnose enters from right.)*

**Flatnose:** We've prepared everything as you've ordered, Excellency.

**Eagle:** Good. Put him to the test, the way I told you last night. We'll soon see whether he's true or false.

**Big Pockmark:** Hu Piao isn't a man to be trifled with, Excellency. Besides, he's loyal to you. If you make him lose face, it'll be bad.

**Flatnose:** You never met him before he came here, brother. We don't know really what's in his heart.

**Eagle:** That's right. None of us ever saw Hu Piao before. Adjutant, proceed according to plan.

**Flatnose:** Yes, sir. *(Exit.)*

*(Eagle, Big Pockmark, seeing Yang approaching, leave quickly.)*

**Yang** (*sings, offstage*): *It's hard, operating in the heart of the enemy;*  
*(Enters.)*

*But when I look off into the distance and think of my  
Comrades-in-arms and the people, awaiting my signal  
To attack these wolves, my spirits soar.*

*The Party has placed limitless hope on me,  
The comrades in the Party committee, by their*

*Exhortations and advice, have warmed  
My heart with their kindness and concern.*

*I must never forget to be bold yet cautious,  
And succeed through courage, but mostly through guile.*

*Each word of the Party is victory's guarantee,  
Mao Tse-tung's thought is eternally glorious.*

*Tiger Mountain is heavily fortified  
With forts above and tunnels below,*

*Our leader's order to use guile is right,  
A direct attack would mean heavy losses.*

*After seven days here I know the layout well,  
I have the secret report concealed upon my person.*

*Now at daybreak, pretending to take a stroll, I'll send it out....  
(Notices something.)*

Why have the guards suddenly been increased? Something's up. But if I don't get this message out, I'll be ruining our attack plan, and letting down the people and the Party. (*Sings.*)

*New Year's Eve is fast approaching*

*I mustn't hesitate, I must push on,*

*Though the grass be knives and the trees*

*Be swords, and get to the foot of the slope.*

*What though the mountain be tall? I'll melt*

*The ice and snow with the sun that is in my heart.* (*Thinks.*)

Today is the twenty-sixth. I've got to get this message out.

(*Offstage voices: "Hurry up." "I'm coming as fast as I can."*)

(*Yang removes his coat and pretends to be practising traditional shadow boxing. Two guards walk by. They hail him and exeunt. Yang ends his performance. A shot rings out.*)

**Yang:** Shooting!

(*Shouts in the distance: "Charge!" "Kill!" Nearer voices cry:*

*"The communist forces are coming!"*)

(*The firing increases.*)

**Yang:** What? Can my comrades be here? Impossible. 203 wouldn't have come without receiving my message.

(*The shooting becomes more intensive and the sound of shouting draws nearer.*)

**Yang:** The sound of the firing isn't right. Ah, another test. I'll reply to their trick with one of my own and get this message off. (*Calls towards the left.*) Brothers. (*Four bandits enter.*) The Reds are here. Get down there and fight.

(*The bandits rush off to right. Eagle and Big Pockmark enter stealthily. Flatnose comes forward to greet them.*)

**Eagle:** Not so fast, Old Ninth.

**Yang** (*shouts to bandits offstage*): Stay where you are.

**Flatnose** (*in same direction*): Cease firing.

(*Bandits shout acknowledgment of order.*)

**Yang:** What's up?

**Eagle:** It's a practice manoeuvre I've ordered.

**Yang:** A good thing you stopped me. If I fired this clip I'd have killed a few of them.

(*Eagle laughs.*)

**Yang:** Why didn't you tell me you were arranging this manoeuvre, Excellency?

**Eagle:** Don't let it bother you, Old Ninth. I didn't tell anybody about it. If you don't believe me, ask him.

**Flatnose:** It's true. I thought the Reds were coming, myself.

**Yang** (*chuckles*): I wish they would. I'm just waiting for them.

**Eagle:** You're quite a man, Old Ninth. (*Laughs.*)

(*Bandit captain, offstage: "March!" Enters, escorting another bandit.*)

**Captain:** This guy bumped into the wall outside, Excellency.

**Eagle:** What!

**Big Pockmark:** How did it happen?

**Bandit** (*trembling*): I went down, under orders, with a few of the boys. Far off, we saw the little train running again. But before we got to Chiapi Valley, we ran into some Red soldiers.

**Eagle:** Chiapi Valley, eh? (*Thinks.*) How many of them were there?

**Bandit:** A lot. Hundreds.

**Eagle** (*suspiciously*): And you're the only one who got away?

**Flatnose:** Nine out of ten you were captured by the Reds and they let you go.

**Bandit:** No, no.

**Eagle** (*draws his gun and points it at bandit*): You son of a bitch.

**Yang** (*intervenes*): Why get excited, Excellency? If he really had been a prisoner of the Reds he wouldn't dare come back.

**Big Pockmark:** That's right. Everyone knows how Your Excellency hates any man who lets the Reds capture him.

(*Eagle grunts.*)

**Yang** (*to bandit*): Get out of here. Can't you see you're making His Excellency angry?

**Bandit:** Yes, sir.

**Big Pockmark:** Beat it.

**Bandit** (*softly, as he goes out*): That Old Ninth is a good fellow.

**Big Pockmark** (*to captain*): Give the order — tighten all defences.

**Captain:** Yes, sir. (*Exit.*)

**Eagle:** Threatening my prestige again. I won't stand for that.

**Big Pockmark:** It's only a few days till New Year's Eve, Excellency. I'll send some men down on a raid. That will uphold our prestige and be something to celebrate at the Hundred Chickens Feast.

**Eagle:** Not a bad idea, but those Reds can't be trifled with. It's not safe to venture into Chiapi Valley. But since the train has started running we can attack the train outside the village.

**Big Pockmark:** Very well. (*Exit.*)

**Yang** (*his plan thought out*): I'm afraid the Reds are there for the purpose of attacking us, Excellency. Of course we've nothing to worry about with the defences we've got on Tiger Mountain. But we shouldn't just sit here and wait for them to come after us.

**Eagle:** What do you think we should do?

**Yang:** Whoever strikes the first blow has the advantage, as the old saying goes. We ought to practise charging, and get our soldiers into top shape. Then, after the Hundred Chickens Feast, we'll roll down into Chiapi Valley.

**Eagle** (*pleased*): You're a clever fellow. (*Sings.*)

*You're brave and clever, really sharp,  
Of all my men, you are the best,  
And loyal to me, absolutely —*

Take command, Old Ninth. Put the men through some practice charges.

**Yang:** Right.

**Eagle** (*sings*): *Steadily, I'll raise your rank,  
This I guarantee. (Laughs. Exit with Flatnose.)*

**Yang:** That dumb cluck. (*Sings.*)

*A fool and cheat, who thinks he's intelligent,  
Gives me my chance with his "clever" plan.  
While we're "charging" I'll send off my message —*

And add a line about the Eagle's plan to raid the train. (*Sings.*)  
*Pick it up, Comrade Sun, I'm counting on you.*

(*Curtain*)

## SCENE NINE

### SURPRISE ATTACK

Morning, a few days before New Year's Eve. As the curtain rises the whistle of the little train is heard. The scene is the clearing outside Yung-chi's house.

*(Smiling villagers, with sacks of grain on their backs, watch as the train sets out again, then they exeunt. Yung-chi's mother puts down her sack of grain.)*

**Mother** (*sings*): *Soldiers and people are one family,  
Happiness reigns in our mountain village.  
A good snow falls, everyone smiles,  
Sharing food and clothing, they celebrate emancipation.*

*(Shao enters.)*

**Shao:** Have you got enough to eat and use for this time of the year?

**Mother:** Plenty. Who would have dreamed that Chiapi Valley could have such a good New Year? If you PLA boys hadn't come, I don't know what we'd have done.

**Shao:** The best is yet to come.

**Mother:** We owe it all to the Communist Party and Chairman Mao.

**Shao:** I'll carry the grain in for you.

**Mother:** I can manage.

*(Shao puts the sack of grain on his back. Yung-chi enters.)*

**Yung-chi:** Commander.

*(Mother snatches the sack from Shao and takes it into house.)*

**Shao:** Comrade Yung-chi.

**Yung-chi:** The bandit prisoners Luan Ping and Tuft Cheek have been led away and our PLA reinforcements have arrived. Does that mean we're ready to attack Tiger Mountain?



**Shao:** Just about. It's only a question of days.

**Yung-chi:** How we've been longing for it.

**Shao:** Is your militia prepared?

**Yung-chi:** Yes. We've divided into two groups, as you've suggested. One will stay here to guard the village, the other will march with the detachment. You must let me be your guide.

**Shao:** We'll be depending on you, militia leader. You know these mountain trails well. I'm afraid we'll be putting you to a lot of trouble.

**Yung-chi:** Not at all. We're only doing what we should. All our militia want to go and destroy the Eagle. Pao is making an awful fuss. She refuses to stay with the guard unit. We can't do a thing with her.

**Shao:** That girl has a lot of drive. Defending the village is also important, Comrade Yung-chi. You have another talk with her.

**Yung-chi:** Right. (*Exit.*)

*(Shao paces to and fro, thinking. Li and Tung enter.)*

**Tung:** New Year's Eve is nearly here, 203, but Sun still hasn't come back with the message. Are we supposed to just hang around, waiting?

**Shao:** What do you think we should do?

**Tung:** We've all learned how to ski and can move quite fast. We've Yung-chi to guide us....

**Li:** And we've been sent reinforcements and more ammunition....

**Tung:** So, if you ask me, even if we don't get the message, we ought to set out immediately. We can win anyhow.

**Shao:** Comrades. (*Sings.*)

*Eagle can't escape his doom,*

*You must be patient when problems arise.*

*Return to quarters and wait for orders....*

**Tung:** Right. (*Exit with Li.*)

**Shao (*sings*):** *Although I've urged patience*

*I'm impatient myself.*

*Time is fleeting and the appointed day is nearing.*

*But there's no sign of Sun.*

*If anything's gone wrong...*

*I've another idea. We mustn't miss*

*Our chance at the Hundred Chickens Feast.*

*Yung-chi says there's a dangerous*

*Trail up the back of the mountain,*

*With courage we'll climb up and*

*Charge into Tiger Hall.*

*(Yung-chi and Hunter Chang enter.)*

**Yung-chi:** Everything's ready, commander. Are we starting right away?

**Shao:** Wait a little, Comrade Yung-chi. If we take that back trail, are you sure we can reach the top in a day and a night?

**Yung-chi:** It's eighty *li* longer that way, but the bandits have no defences there. And now that all the comrades can ski with great speed, I guarantee we can do it in a day and a night.

**Chang:** That route is full of bluffs and cliffs. It's rough going.

**Shao:** No matter how rough it is, it can't stop the PLA.

*(Chang is about to reply when Pao and Pai Ju enter.)*

**Pao:** I applied long ago to go with the detachment to attack Tiger Mountain, uncle. Today, you're setting out. Why are you leaving me behind?

**Shao:** The militia also have to protect the village.

**Pao:** I hate that Eagle. I've got to kill him with my own hands. You must let me go!

**Shao:** So this is a complaint against me. It's only because you're too young, Pao.

**Pao:** What do you mean — young? I'm sixteen. See, I'm not much shorter than her. (*Indicates Pai Ju.*) Sister, talk to him, please....

**Pai Ju:** Pao has class consciousness, 203, she skis well, she's a good shot, and she can help me look after the wounded. Let her go.

**Shao:** Ah, so you two are in league.

**Chang:** Let her come along, commander.

**Shao:** What do you say, Yung-chi?

**Yung-chi:** All right.

**Shao:** Very well, then. Since your militia leader approves, you can go and get ready.

**Pao:** You've agreed. (*Jumps for joy. Exit with Hunter Chang.*)

(*Chao-chia enters.*)

**Chao-chia:** Sun is back, 203.

(*Sun enters.*)

**Shao** (*hurries forward*): Comrade Sun.

**Sun:** Report. Here is the message. (*Hands it over.*)

**Shao:** You're back at last. You must be tired. Get some rest.

(*Exit Chao-chia, Sun, Pai Ju and Yung-chi.*)

**Shao** (*eagerly reads message*): "...A steep trail up the back of the mountain leads directly to Tiger Hall.... Enemy defences are weak there.... Burning pine torches will be the signal...."  
(*Excitedly*) Old Yang, you're a hero.

(*Yung-chi enters.*)

**Shao:** Does that trail up the back of the mountain go directly to Tiger Hall, Comrade Yung-chi?

**Yung-chi:** Yes, directly.

**Shao:** We're depending on you to take us there.

**Yung-chi:** Don't worry, commander. When I escaped from Tiger Mountain I took that trail. I know it well.

**Shao:** Good. Assemble your militia. Get ready to go.

**Yung-chi:** Right. (*Shouts in all directions.*) Militia, assemble. Militia, assemble. (*Exit.*)

(*Militiamen gather.*)

**Shao** (*continues reading message*): "... The bandits are going to raid Chiapi Valley in a few days and wreck the train...." (*Startled*)  
What!

(*Kao Po calls "203" and enters running, followed by soldiers, Ta-shan, Hunter Chang, Yung-chi's mother and villagers.*)

**Kao Po:** Reporting to 203. When the train reached Two Branch River, the bridge was down. We got out to repair it and were attacked by bandits. We drove them off, but the train was blown up.

**Shao:** What about those two prisoners?

**Kao Po:** Tuft Cheek was killed in the blast.

**Shao:** And Luan Ping?

**Kao Po:** He escaped while we were chasing the bandits.

**Shao:** If he runs up to Tiger Mountain, that'll be dangerous for Comrade Yang, and it may ruin our plan. Chao-chia, assemble the detachment.

**Chao-chia:** Right. (*Exit.*)

**Shao:** Comrade Ta-shan, I give the job of repairing the train to you and Comrade Chang.

**Ta-shan:** Right.

(*Soldiers and militiamen enter.*)

**Shao:** Comrades. (*Sings.*)

*Every second counts in our*

*Plan to smash the enemy.*

*Fully armed, let's fly forward*

*To Tiger Mountain and wipe out the foe.*

(*Shao and soldiers say goodbye to villagers. Shao mounts a rock and waves his arm.*)

**Shao:** Forward, march.

(*Soldiers and militia set out quickly.*)

(*Dark change*)

(*A snowstorm. Two or three soldiers move forward as an advance guard.*)

(*To the tune of "March of the Chinese People's Liberation Army," Yung-chi leads the soldiers and the militia along a trail. It is heavy going through the snow, but they push on indomitably.*)

(*At the foot of a cliff, they remove their skis and start climbing.*)

*(Boldly, they scale height after height, then again ski confidently through the snowstorm.)*

*(The lights slowly dim. Curtain)*

SCENE TEN

THE HUNDRED CHICKENS FEAST

New Year's Eve. In Tiger Hall on Tiger Mountain. Eagle is seated on his "throne." His Eight Invincibles stand beside him.

*(As curtain rises a bandit is reporting to Eagle.)*

**Bandit:** He says he's Luan Ping, adjutant on Breast Mountain.

**Eagle:** Luan Ping?

**Invincibles:** So he's come. We won't let him off.

**Eagle:** Bring him in.

**Bandit:** Bring the guy in.

*(Two bandits enter with Luan Ping.)*

**Luan:** Your Excellency.

**Eagle:** What brings you here, adjutant?

**Luan:** I've come — to wish you a long life.

**Eagle:** Pretty brazen, aren't you?

**Luan:** But, Excellency —

**Eagle:** Answer me. Where have you been?

**Luan:** I... I...

**Invincibles:** Speak!

**Luan:** I...

**Invincibles:** Out with it!

**Luan:** I... I've come from Commissioner Hou.

**Eagle** *(laughs coldly)*: So you've been with Commissioner Hou.  
Summon Old Ninth.

**Big Pockmark** *(to a bandit)*: Call Old Ninth!

**Bandit:** Old Ninth, you are asked to go in.

*(Yang enters.)*

**Yang** *(sings)*: I'm exultant for having made preparations for the Hundred Chickens Feast.

*Lighting the torches will be the signal for the bandits' end.*

Everything is in readiness for the feast, Excellency.

*(A silence falls on the assembled bandits.)*

**Eagle:** Look who's here, Old Ninth.

**Yang** *(startled at the sight of Luan, but controls himself immediately. Decides to take the initiative)*: Why, Brother Luan. It's been a long time.

*(Luan's jaw drops.)*

**Yang:** Hu Piao got here before you, brother. How did you make out with Commissioner Hou? I'll bet he gave you a high post. Congratulations.

**Invincibles** *(mockingly)*: What are you now — a colonel? *(They laugh.)*

*(Luan is bewildered.)*

**Eagle:** That's right. What kind of post did he give you? Why bother coming to me?

**Luan** *(understands. Looks at Yang and smiles wickedly)*: Hu Piao, my eye. You're mistaken if you think —

**Yang** *(sternly)*: You're the one who's mistaken. As a friend I advised you to join His Excellency, but you tried to drag me off to Commissioner Hou. You can't say I wasn't a true friend. *(Menacingly)* Answer His Excellency. Be quick. What post did the commissioner give you? What official business brings you here?

**Luan** *(tries to get away from Yang)*: Excellency, listen to me —

**Yang:** Don't be so long-winded. Today is His Excellency's fiftieth birthday. He's no time for your chatter.

**Luan:** Excellency....

**Eagle:** Come to the point. I want to know why you've come.

**Luan:** To join Your Excellency's forces.

**Yang:** Then why did you ask an appointment from Hou?

*(Luan gets confused, hesitates.)*

*(The hall is silent. Eagle and the others glare at him.)*

**Yang:** Why has the commissioner sent you here? The truth, now!

**Invincibles:** Right. Why have you come?

**Luan:** I haven't been sent by Commissioner Hou.

**Big Pockmark:** He certainly changes his tune fast. Quite a bird.

*(The bandits laugh uproariously.)*

**Luan:** What are you laughing about? You've been hoaxed. He isn't Hu Piao. He's a communist army man!

*(Invincibles draw their guns and point them at Yang.)*

**Yang** *(tenses, then relaxes, laughs):* Good. So I'm a communist army man, since you say so. Now tell His Excellency and his Eight Invincibles more details about this communist army man.

**Eagle:** Yes. You say he isn't Hu Piao. How did you come to know a communist army man?

**Luan:** He ... he ... he....

**Yang:** All this fellow can do is stammer and contradict himself. He's up to some trick, Excellency.

**Big Pockmark:** I'll bet he was caught by the Reds, and then released and sent here.

**Luan:** No ... no....

**Yang:** Did the Reds let you go? Or did they send you here?

**Luan:** I ... I....

**Flatnose:** The Reds sent you, didn't they?

**Invincibles:** Speak, speak.

*(Luan stares, tongue-tied.)*

**Yang:** Our defences on Tiger Mountain are absolutely watertight, and the Reds can't get in. But now this fellow has come. There's something fishy about this.

**Luan** *(bastily):* There isn't. I swear!

**Yang:** It doesn't matter what you say. *(Sings.)*

*Inconsistent, sinister fellow,*

*His evasiveness surely conceals tricks.*

*To our fortress he came, leaving his tracks*

*In the snow for the Reds to follow.*

Captain —

**Captain** *(comes forward):* Here.

**Yang** *(sings):* Strengthen the guard and keep a close watch,

*Let no one off duty without my order.*

**Eagle:** Right. Without Old Ninth's order, no one is to leave his post.

**Captain:** Yes, sir. *(Exit.)*

*(Invincibles nod approvingly.)*

**Eagle** *(comes down from his seat):* You treacherous dog. First you try to get Old Ninth to go with you to Commissioner Hou. Now you come here, scheming to lead the Reds in after you. This is too much.

**Luan:** He's not Hu Piao, Excellency. He's a communist army man. *(Kneels.)*

*(Bandits gaze at him contemptuously.)*

**Yang** *(menacingly):* What a snake you are, Luan, trying to turn His Excellency against me. I'm sorry I didn't kill you in Pear Valley.

**Invincibles:** That's right.

**Yang:** Excellency, I've never let myself be pushed around by little men. Because, for your sake, I offended this mad dog, he attacks me viciously. If you believe that I'm a communist army man, then finish me off, at once. If you believe that I'm Hu Piao, then permit me to leave this mountain. It's either him

or me; one of us has to die. You decide, Excellency. (*Removes his officer of the day sash and tosses it at Eagle's feet.*)

**Bandits:** You mustn't leave, Old Ninth, you mustn't leave.

**Invincibles:** Stay with us, Old Ninth.

**Eagle** (*hesitates, then breaks out irritably*): Don't be childish. It's not worth getting yourself worked up over this mad dog. (*Picks up the sash.*) Wear it, wear it. I will treat you right.

(*Big Pockmark takes the sash from him and puts it on Yang.*)

**Luan** (*realizes the situation is against him, pleads*): Excellency....

**Eagle** (*brushes him aside*): Humph! (*Returns to his seat.*)

**Luan** (*prostrates himself before Yang*): Brother Hu Piao!

(*Yang ignores him.*)

**Luan** (*slaps his own face*): I'm trash, I'm not even human.

**Yang** (*not looking at Luan, shouts to the assembled bandits*): The hour has come. Let everyone congratulate His Excellency on his birthday.

(*Bandits noisily assent.*)

**Big Pockmark:** You're fifty today, Excellency. You mustn't let this cur spoil the event.

**Flatnose:** It will be bad luck for Tiger Mountain if you don't blot out this evil star, Excellency.

**Bandits:** Right. He must be killed.

**Luan:** Old Invincibles, Brother Hu Piao, Excellency, spare me.

(*A frightening silence falls in the hall.*)

**Eagle:** If I don't kill you, I'll be spoiling my fiftieth birthday and letting Old Ninth down. Destroy this evil star, drive away the bad luck, kill this ill-omened owl, and I'll live well and long. Ha! Ha! Ha!...

**Luan:** Excellency, spare me....

**Flatnose:** Take him away.

**Yang:** I'll do it. (*Seizes Luan, who is paralysed with fright.*)  
(*Sings.*) *You've murdered and slaughtered*

*For dozens of years. To avenge  
The people, in the name of our country,  
I sentence you to death.*

(*Drags him out. A shot is heard. Yang re-enters.*)

**Yang:** Everything is ready for the celebration. Allow us to offer our respects, Excellency.

**Eagle:** You're officer of the day, Old Ninth. You officiate.

**Yang:** Light the lamps in the hall, brothers. Burn torches outside. Let's offer out best wishes for His Excellency's birthday.

(*Bandit captain repeats the order.*)

**Invincibles:** Best wishes to you, Excellency.

(*Invincibles and other bandits bow to Eagle.*)

**Yang:** Brothers, let's celebrate together, masters and disciples. Let everyone eat and drink his fill. Get good and drunk.

**Bandits:** Right. We'll get good and drunk.

**Yang:** Please be seated at the table, Excellency.

**Eagle:** After you, brothers.

**Yang:** It's your fiftieth birthday, Excellency. You must be seated first.

(*Eagle laughs complacently. Leaves for adjoining cave room. Bandits file in after him and begin feasting.*)

**Yang:** Call in the brothers on guard and let them drink their fill.

**Captain:** Yes, sir. (*Exit.*)

(*Bandits can be heard playing rowdy drinking games in adjoining cave room.*)

**Yang** (*surveys the scene, sings*): *New Year's Eve and the mountain is  
A blaze of light — my signal to our troops.*

*The Hundred Chickens Feast has started as planned,*

*The bandits are drunk and befuddled.*

*I hope my comrades will come quickly*

*And smash this den of stubborn enemies.*

*How time drags, what makes our men so slow?  
I long to go out and have a look —  
But I must keep calm at this critical moment  
And block this secret tunnel. (Points at spot below Eagle's throne.)*

*(Eagle, Big Pockmark and others enter, staggering drunk.)*

**Eagle:** Why don't you join the feast, Old Ninth? Although you're new here, you've done a lot of work for our mountain fortress. Everyone wants to drink to your health.

**Yang:** Today's your fiftieth birthday. It's your health we should be drinking to. Fill His Excellency's cup.

*(A bandit pours wine for Eagle.)*

**Eagle** *(very drunk):* I've really had too much, Old Ninth.

**Yang:** It's your birthday, Excellency. You must drink up.

**Eagle:** All right, all right. I'll have this one more.

**Yang:** And now three more for the chief of staff to drink up.

**Big Pockmark:** Right.

*(Everyone drinks.)*

*(Shots are heard. Bandits throw down their cups. One of the Invincibles, wounded, enters, running.)*

**Invincible** *(shouts):* The Reds have sealed off the entrance to Tiger Hall with a machine-gun.

*(PLA men, offstage, yell: "Surrender your guns and live.")*

**Eagle:** Into the tunnel with me, Old Ninth, quick. *(Pushes over throne, but Yang shoves him aside.)*

**Yang:** Nobody move!

*(PLA men charge in shouting: "Surrender your guns and live.")*

**Eagle:** What! Who are you?

**Yang:** A member of the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

**Eagle:** Ah!

*(Eagle draws his gun. Yang knocks it out of his hand. Eagle runs off. Bandits follow.)*

**Yang:** There's a secret tunnel here, comrades. Nab the Eagle and rescue the captured villagers. *(Runs to pursue Eagle.)*

*(PLA men follow.)*

*(Sun fights with an Invincible. Kills him with a thrust of his bayonet. Big Pockmark enters. Sun stabs and wounds him. Big Pockmark flees, with Sun in pursuit.)*

*(Chao-chia chases in after another Invincible. They fight.)*

*(Pao pursues a bandit. They wrestle. She subdues him. She and Chao-chia lead him off.)*

*(Yung-chi, Pai Ju, soldiers and militia, with villagers the bandits had been holding captive, walk across stage and exit.)*

*(Bandit captain enters, running. Yung-chi shoots him dead.)*

*(Eagle, followed by two bandits, enters, fleeing wildly. Yang pursues them. Shoots the two bandits dead. He and Eagle lock in struggle.)*

*(Tung and soldiers chase on Flatnose and bandits. They fight.)*

*(Yang grabs a gun and kills several bandits.)*

*(Sun, Yung-chi, Pai Ju, Kao Po and militia come running on. They capture all the bandits. Yung-chi, raging, wants to hit Eagle. Sun holds him back.)*

*(Liberated captives enter and embrace their militia neighbours.)*

*(Detachment Commander Shao enters.)*

**Shao** *(pumps Yang's hand, very moved):* Old Yang! *(Introduces Yung-chi to him.)*

*(The two warmly shake hands.)*

*(Curtain)*

## A Fine Peking Opera on a Revolutionary Modern Theme

The revolution in Peking opera, an event of great historic significance, has brought fresh life to the Chinese opera stage where splendid new flowers are now blooming. One of the most magnificent of these is *Taking the Bandits' Stronghold*.

This opera was born and matured in the fierce struggle between Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art and the counter-revolutionary revisionist line, as a result of the warm concern and personal guidance of Comrade Chiang Ching combined with the efforts of the revolutionary literary and art workers. *Taking the Bandits' Stronghold*, which eulogizes Chairman Mao's great thinking on people's war, has created glorious images of worker, peasant and soldier heroes and has received warm praise from the revolutionary masses for its lofty political content and superb artistic form. This is one of the great operas of all time. It constitutes an important victory for Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art, and

deals a lethal blow at the counter-revolutionary revisionist line on literature and art.

I

Chairman Mao has said that a just war is **"a most lofty and glorious undertaking for the salvation of mankind and China, and a bridge to a new era in world history."** The presentation and praise of people's war are one of the glorious tasks of proletarian literature and art.

*Taking the Bandits' Stronghold*, which presents people's war on the stage, is the best opera we have yet produced eulogizing Chairman Mao's correct line and thinking on people's war.

After the victory of the War of Resistance Against Japan, when many of our Party cadres and troops first arrived in the northeast, a struggle took place between two lines for developing the work and winning victory in the revolution. The right policy, according to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, was to "leave the high road alone and seize the land on both sides," work painstakingly to mobilize the masses, and build stable base areas to surround the cities from the countryside. Comrade Lin Piao firmly carried out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. But Peng Chen, the counter-revolutionary revisionist head of the former Peking Municipal Party Committee, followed the capitulationist line of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, opposed Comrade Lin Piao's correct proposals for setting up bases and made no preparations for war, wanting to remain in the cities and dreaming of peace. The struggle between two lines in the northeast at this time actually epitomized that throughout the entire Chinese revolution.

*Taking the Bandits' Stronghold* gives a stirring portrayal of the heroic revolutionary history of the northeastern battlefield in those days under the guidance of Chairman Mao's correct line. It presents a PLA detachment assigned the task of rounding up brigands. New to the region and to the local people, they carry out careful mass work. Their reliance on the people and their application of Chairman Mao's strategy and tactics in their struggle against the bandit chieftain, the

Eagle, give concentrated expression to Chairman Mao's great strategic thinking regarding building up stable base areas in the northeast.

This detachment, only thirty-six strong, goes deep into the snowy mountains. It has only a very short time in which to capture by "guile" a mountain closely guarded by twenty-seven bunkers, and to mop up the Eagle's gang of bandits who have the numerical superiority. This is a dangerous struggle. With a plot of this kind, there is a temptation to play up the thrilling episodes, as was done in many previous dramas and films. During the revision of *Taking the Bandits' Stronghold* the counter-revolutionary revisionists poured cold water on the opera and made many underhand attempts to drag it down this wrong path, in order to oppose the central theme of giving prominence to people's war. But the proletarian revolutionaries resolutely smashed this counter-revolutionary revisionist plot and rejected this wrong method, basing the hazardous battle for Tiger Mountain on the strength of the masses.

Chairman Mao has said: **"The revolutionary war is a war of the masses; it can be waged only by mobilizing the masses and relying on them."** *Taking the Bandits' Stronghold* embodies this glorious concept. In particular, Scene Three, "Asking About Past Bitterness," and Scene Seven, "Mobilizing the Masses," vividly express the flesh-and-blood relationship between the people's army and the masses, highlighting the nature of our army which comes from the people, relies on the people and fights wholly to liberate the people.

In the scene "Asking About Past Bitterness," Chang Pao's anguished accusations express the people's deep hatred for the Eagle and arouse Yang Tzu-jung's fury, strengthening his determination to avenge the people. It thus throws into relief the common class feeling shared by the revolutionary fighters and the oppressed people, underlining the just nature of the war. With the help of Hunter Chang and his daughter, Yang captures Tuft Cheek, gains possession of the Contacts Map and learns about the dangerous track up the back of Tiger Mountain. In this way the "guile" with which the bandits'

stronghold is captured is placed on a firm, reliable mass basis, showing the source from which a revolutionary war draws strength.

This concept is further developed in the scene "Mobilizing the Masses." The villagers of Chiapi Valley, represented by Li Yung-chi, are in fearful peril, "suppressing their rage, struggling in a bottomless pit." They have nearly worn out their eyes looking for a saviour. But when the detachment first enters the valley, the villagers mistrust it. Shao Chien-po and the others patiently explain Party policy and show concern for the people's sufferings. Their utter devotion to the people dispels Li Yung-chi's suspicions and he sings with feeling:

*Our eyes are nearly worn out, looking for you, and today  
You've come, to fight the bandits and save the poor.  
Our own army, I should have known you....*

The men of the detachment help the villagers to repair a small train to ship out timber, and organize a militia. This makes the people look upon the revolutionary war as their own cause and transforms their hatred for the enemy into tremendous strength. They promise the commander and the men:

*To seize a dragon we'll go with you under the sea,  
To catch a tiger we'll follow you up the heights.*

Thanks to this all-out mass support, the detachment is able to make a powerful attack on the Eagle and his bandits so long entrenched in the snowy mountains and, despite numerical inferiority, win a brilliant victory.

Chairman Mao has said: **"The army must become one with the people so that they see it as their own army. Such an army will be invincible."** *Taking the Bandits' Stronghold* fully exemplifies this brilliant thesis.

The outstanding success of *Taking the Bandits' Stronghold* refutes various counter-revolutionary revisionist fallacies about the portrayal of war subjects. Counter-revolutionary revisionists strongly oppose "the smell of gunpowder" and praising people's war. When they do write about war they depict the wrong line, instead of Chairman



Mao's correct line. They do not express the class nature and just character of revolutionary war but elaborate on the horrors of war and destructiveness, disseminating bourgeois humanism and pacifism. Dramas and works of literature and art of this sort can only have the reactionary effect of undermining the people's revolutionary resolve and disarming them ideologically.

**"Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."** It was with guns that we won our glorious red New China. Without guns the people have nothing. Our literature and art should give great prominence to people's war. Opposing people's war means opposing the seizure by arms of political power and the proletarian revolution. *Taking the Bandits' Stronghold* not only makes revolutionary war its theme but fervently eulogizes Chairman Mao's thinking on people's war, graphically presenting the just nature of revolutionary wars. While exposing enemy atrocities, unlike those pernicious dramas and films which dwell on the horrors of war and contrive a tragic ending for the chief characters, it lays stress on the people's resistance and firm resolve to wipe out the enemy. While describing the arduousness of war, unlike those pernicious dramas and films which dwell on the sufferings caused by war, it lays stress on the fearlessness and unparalleled heroism of the revolutionary fighters and masses, expressing their great revolutionary daring and revolutionary optimism. This is why it has the great educational power to arouse the people to struggle with one heart and one mind for the revolution, why it is a powerful weapon to unite the people and to attack the enemy.

2

Revolutionary literature and art should create heroic images of workers, peasants and soldiers, using their communist spirit to educate the people and encourage them to go forward.

*Taking the Bandits' Stronghold*, brimming over with fiery ardour, gives a concentrated yet detailed portrayal of the communist spirit and lofty qualities of the hero Yang Tzu-jung. The fearlessness with which Yang goes alone to the bandits' lair and the revolutionary

passion with which he sings, thrown into relief by the characters around him, graphically depict his loyalty to the revolution, his communist heroism, calmness in the face of danger and resourcefulness in turning the tables on his enemies. Although Yang goes up the mountain disguised as a bandit, to the audience he remains throughout a revolutionary hero. Although he is single-handed in this trial of strength with the sinister, wily bandits, he retains the initiative and justice triumphs over evil on the stage. Yang's purpose, ostensibly, is to join the bandit gang; but whether killing the tiger or talking with Big Pockmark he remains in complete control of the situation and stands high above the bandits, able to lead them by the nose. When he gives the Eagle the Contacts Map, he exploits the bandit chief's lowered vigilance in this moment of elation to get the upper hand of the gang and fool it. When the crafty Eagle tries to trap him, Yang proves more than a match for him, pulls the wool further over his eyes and sends out information. Even Luan Ping's unexpected arrival fails to shake him; he seizes the initiative and, attacking with splendid revolutionary spirit, gets the better of Luan Ping. All these episodes reveal him as a perfect, lofty proletarian hero.

*Taking the Bandits' Stronghold* does not confine itself to describing Yang Tzu-jung's courage and fortitude; it gives prominence to the source of these heroic qualities by showing how he has been nurtured by Mao Tse-tung's thought and has a firm class basis. In the opera, Shao Chien-po describes the sufferings and hatred of Yang's family and his revolutionary past — "a veteran in battle, he's been decorated many times." At the same time we see how the people's class hatred strengthens Yang's determination to liberate all the oppressed. It is clear that it is Mao Tse-tung's thought that has given him infinite strength, enabling him to "melt the ice and snow with the sun that is in his heart."

Yang Tzu-jung's intelligence and resourcefulness do not spring from a vacuum but have their source in Mao Tse-tung's thought, in the wisdom of the masses. In the scene "Drawing up a Plan," Shao Chien-po and Yang Tzu-jung act on Chairman Mao's instruction: **"Strategically we should despise all our enemies, but tactically we should take them all seriously."** After careful investigation



Yang Tzu-jung going up Tiger Mountain

and analysis of the situation, after hard thinking and democratic discussion in the meeting called by Sun Ta-teh, all come to the same conclusion: "The right course is guile rather than force." Together they draw up a plan of campaign. This shows that our army is a fighting collective relying on mass wisdom and strength, so that Yang declares:

*Though I've come alone to the dragon's den  
A million of class brothers are by my side.*

Thus when he sallies boldly out alone to Tiger Mountain, it is clear to us that heroes come from the masses and that Yang has the powerful backing of the whole collective.

Great pains have also been taken in the opera over the heroic figure of Shao Chien-po, presented as a revolutionary commander who uses Chairman Mao's thinking on people's war. Fully mobilizing the masses, he is skilled at concentrating their wisdom, able to direct operations under difficult conditions and in a rapidly changing situation. The opera also gives forceful representations of such other heroic soldiers and villagers as Li Yung-chi, Chang Pao and Sun Ta-teh.

Yang Tzu-jung, Shao Chien-po and the other heroes in this opera are typical proletarian heroes. Representatives of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line on literature and art oppose creating proletarian heroes, advocating writing about "middle characters," in other words about backward or reactionary characters. Sometimes they are forced to pay lip-service to the policy of creating heroic characters, but they stress writing about the "faults" of heroes, about the "seamy side" of their mentality, alleging that otherwise it would not be truthful. Taking truthfulness as their pretext, they proposed giving prominence to Yang Tzu-jung's "reckless daring," making him akin to the bandits. This fantastic proposal showed that they were taking a reactionary bourgeois stand, to vilify the image of a proletarian revolutionary hero.

Chairman Mao has said that life as reflected in works of literature and art "can and ought to be on a higher plane, more intense, more concentrated, more typical, nearer the ideal, and therefore

**more universal than actual everyday life.”** In our country there are tens of thousands of heroes of the calibre of Yang Tzu-jung, nurtured by the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung. The Yang Tzu-jung on the opera stage is simply the personification of countless heroes in actual life. He comes from actual life, but is on a higher plane than actual life. He is a living artistic image expressing in a concentrated form the magnificent qualities of countless heroes. For this reason he is completely authentic, highly typical, nearer the ideal. And for this reason he serves as an example for the masses.

**To find men truly great and noble-hearted  
We must look here in the present.**

The appearance on the stage of a hero as noble-hearted as Yang Tzu-jung makes all so-called heroes of the past pale by comparison. Those emperors and kings, generals and ministers who lorded it for a time on our stage cannot avoid the fate of the Eagle and are being swept, one and all, on to the rubbish heap.

3

The foremost achievement of *Taking the Bandits' Stronghold* is that, with its revolutionary political content, it has succeeded notably in serving the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, in serving Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. At the same time it has broken new ground regarding the problem of renovating and taking over the Peking opera art.

Although Peking opera is a relatively polished art form, for a long period of time it served landlords and the bourgeoisie, presented emperors and kings, generals and ministers, talented scholars and beauties, and was ruled by rigid conventions. Until these were changed it was impossible to portray our new society and new people. Hence a revolution and innovations were needed to enable Peking opera to portray workers, peasants and soldiers and to serve socialism.

The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road maintained, "The standard of Peking opera is so high that we must not slight it or introduce changes at random." He forbade any tampering

with Peking opera. A handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists and their followers took up this cry, insisting that "Peking opera must remain Peking opera" and no revolution in it could be allowed.

**"There is no construction without destruction, no flowing without damming and no motion without rest."** *Taking the Bandits' Stronghold*, putting "destruction" first, boldly broke with the old restrictions and conventions of Peking opera and dared to uphold what is new — socialism, and establish what is distinctive — the proletariat. This has made an important contribution to our renovating and taking over Peking opera. Resolutely taking actual life and the political content as the point of departure, it overrode the restrictions of the old Peking opera, firmly discarding those artistic conventions only suited to conveying the privileged position and so-called splendid bearing of emperors and kings, generals and ministers, as well as the light airy tunes conveying the leisurely indolence of feudal officials and the feudal literati. At the same time it adapted other useful artistic forms to serve the creation of heroic images. It made full use of the rousing tunes and rich music of Peking opera, evolving a whole gamut of fine tunes to convey the revolutionary spirit and spiritual world of heroes through splendid musical images. This opera uses the artistic exaggeration of Peking opera to play up the contrast between the positive and negative characters and thus emphasize the stature of the heroes. By borrowing from other art forms, such as modern music and dancing, it has created many new forms to portray revolutionary content. Thus Yang Tzu-jung's movements as he rides up the mountain owe much to Mongolian cavalry dances, while the movements of the soldiers skiing through the snow and the final bayonet fighting are based on life in the army and modelled to some extent on modern dancing. In a word, the composition of the tunes, the stage management, acting, even the lighting and scenery, are based down to the last detail on life and serve the fundamental prerequisite of expressing the revolutionary political content.

Chairman Mao has said: **"Nor do we refuse to utilize the literary and artistic forms of the past, but in our hands these old forms, remoulded and infused with a new content, also become something revolutionary in the service of the people."**

*Taking the Bandits' Stronghold* has put this teaching into practice, setting a splendid example for the revolutionizing of Peking opera as well as all other old art forms.

Different classes react differently to this opera. The broad revolutionary masses consider that in addition to its excellent political content it has attained a very high artistic level. But the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists and their followers sneer that this opera lacks "flavour." There is nothing strange about this. All art criticism is based on class criteria. Chairman Mao has said: **"The bourgeoisie always shuts out proletarian literature and art, however great their artistic merit."** In the view of the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists, "drama," "art" and "flavour" can only come from boosting the prestige of emperors, kings, generals and ministers, glorifying renegades, presenting the romantic adventures of talented scholars and beauties, and propagating low tastes. But "art" of this sort is a poison and opium to corrupt men's minds. To the proletariat, only artistic forms which genuinely express the fiery struggles of the workers, peasants and soldiers, only music, singing, dancing and acting which fully express the lofty thoughts and feelings of proletarian heroes, are real art which has the greatest flavour. *Taking the Bandits' Stronghold* is popular with the broad masses because of its successful achievements in these respects.

The struggle on the Peking opera stage centring round *Taking the Bandits' Stronghold* and other revolutionary operas on contemporary themes is a fierce struggle between two classes and two lines, one aspect of the struggle for and against a capitalist restoration in the period of socialism. The counter-revolutionary revisionists and their backer, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, opposed the revolution in Peking opera in a criminal attempt to use the Peking opera stage to spread counter-revolutionary revisionist poison to sabotage the socialist economic base and prepare public opinion for a capitalist restoration. For revolutionary Peking opera, like all other revolutionary literature and art, fires the people's fighting resolve and revolutionary spirit, serving to strengthen the socialist economic base and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Chairman Mao has said: **"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."** By portraying workers, peasants and soldiers from the vantage-ground of Mao Tse-tung's thought, *Taking the Bandits' Stronghold* uses artistic images to educate the workers, peasants and soldiers with Mao Tse-tung's thought, making the Peking opera stage a classroom for its vivid propagation and making the Peking opera art a powerful weapon to consolidate the socialist economy and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The revolution in Peking opera rang up the curtain of the great proletarian cultural revolution, of which it is an important component part. The appearance of *Taking the Bandits' Stronghold* and other operas on modern revolutionary themes has given impetus to the revolution in all literature and art; it provides a fine example for "struggle-criticism-transformation" in the field of proletarian literature and art as well as in all positions in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Comrade Chiang Ching has said that the revolution in Peking opera is "a serious class struggle, and at the same time an extremely difficult task requiring painstaking efforts." The remarkable success achieved in a few brief years by *Taking the Bandits' Stronghold* results from ceaseless revision and polishing by the revolutionary comrades of the Shanghai Peking Opera School led by Comrade Chiang Ching, who mastered the correct orientation, persevered in the face of many difficulties, and displayed a proletarian fighting tenacity. The experience of its revision and staging shows us that if only we raise high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and persistently spare no efforts to improve the standard of our writing and acting, we can overcome all difficulties and scale the heights of dramatic art.

## Celebrations of the 25th Anniversary of the "Talks"

While rejoicing over victory after victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution personally initiated and led by our great leader Chairman Mao, during the nationwide revolutionary struggle to criticize and repudiate the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, the proletarian revolutionary masses all over China have held huge gatherings and parades in solemn celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the publication of Chairman Mao's brilliant work *Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art*.

In May, for days in succession, from the east coast to the Tianshan Mountains, from Heilungkiang to the Yunnan-Kweichow plateau, a festive spirit pervaded the whole country. The broad masses of workers, peasants, soldiers, Red Guards, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary literary and art workers, filled with infinite love, respect and veneration for our great leader Chairman Mao, holding bright red copies of *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* and carrying large



Reprints of *Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art*, *Mao Tse-tung on Literature and Art* and *Chairman Mao's Poems*

portraits of Chairman Mao, thronged the streets, dancing and singing revolutionary songs to acclaim the great victory of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art, and of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

During these celebrations, the *Talks* has been reprinted in all newspapers and magazines, which have also published Chairman Mao's five militant documents on literature and art: *Letter to the Yanan Peking Opera Theatre After Seeing "Driven to Join the Liangshan Mountain Rebels"*, *Give Serious Attention to the Discussion of the Film "The Life of Wu Hsun"*, *Letter Concerning Studies of "The Dream of the Red Chamber"*, and *Two Instructions Concerning Literature and Art*. In addition they have published *Comrade Lin Piao's Letter to Members of the Standing Committee of the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee*, written on March 22, 1966, and the *Summary of the Forum on the Work of Literature and Art in the Armed Forces with Which Comrade Lin Piao*



A PLA cultural team propagates Mao Tse-tung's thought in a village

*Entrusted Comrade Chiang Ching.* This forum was held from February 2 to 20, 1966. The proletarian revolutionaries of the People's Literature Publishing House in Peking worked with might and main for several days to republish three precious works: Chairman Mao's *Talks*, *Mao Tse-tung on Literature and Art* and *Chairman Mao's Poems*. These works provide millions of the revolutionary masses with the most powerful ideological weapon for fierce criticism against and repudiation of the sinister counter-revolutionary revisionist line on literature and art and its chief boss behind the scenes.

Amidst nationwide rejoicing over the anniversary of the *Talks* in this red month of May, the radiance of Mao Tse-tung's thought on literature and art cast a brilliant red light on the art stage, where a hundred flowers were blooming in full splendour.

In the capital, Peking, eight works which are revolutionary models were staged concurrently. They were the Peking operas *Taking the Bandits' Stronghold*, *On the Docks*, *The Red Lantern*, *Shachiapang* and *Raid on the White Tiger Regiment*, the ballets *The Red Detachment of Women* and *The White-Haired Girl*, and the symphonic music *Shachiapang*. This was a grand review of the glorious fruits of Chairman Mao's

proletarian line on literature and art. All these works, born in the midst of serious class struggle, are gleaming pearls in the treasury of proletarian literature and art, which make all the so-called art of the bourgeoisie, revisionists and feudalism seem pale by comparison. At the same time, *Renmin Ribao*, *Guangming Ribao* and other major newspapers published the texts of *Taking the Bandits' Stronghold* and other model revolutionary operas.

In Peking, the People's Liberation Army, which has a fine revolutionary tradition, organized some of its literary and art workers into small troupes to perform in the factories, streets and villages. The proletarian revolutionaries of Peking's factories and the surrounding countryside are not only models in taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production, but are also propagandists of Mao Tse-tung's thought. Like the young Red Guards, brimming over with love for our great leader Chairman Mao, they have taken up new fighting positions and plunged into commemorative activities, busily rehearsing all kinds of short, lively items filled with revolutionary fighting spirit. It was in this militant atmosphere that performances

A Mao Tse-tung's thought propaganda team of workers performs revolutionary items on Tien An Men Square



were put on by the workers, peasants and soldiers of the capital in their spare time.

The proletarian revolutionaries of Shanghai's literary and art circles also held a great festival of revolutionary dramas on modern themes to commemorate the *Talks*. This festival was put on almost entirely by young revolutionary fighters who had written new dramas and music which they directed and staged themselves. In addition to such model operas as *The Red Lantern* and *Shachiapang* and the revolutionary symphonic music *Shachiapang*, they put on the full-scale song-and-dance dramas *January Storm*, *Long Live the Brave Red Guards* and *Red Lanterns*, the play *Compound Where Rent Was Collected*, and other new revolutionary works on modern themes. All these fervently praised our workers, peasants and soldiers and the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, depicting the splendid achievements of the workers, peasants and soldiers who are the makers of history, and their immortal feats during the great proletarian cultural revolution. These performances were warmly acclaimed by the broad revolutionary masses.

The spare-time literary and art workers of Harbin joined forces with the Red Guards and revolutionary literary and art workers of that city to stage an impressive parade and performances. Together they composed a number of fine works with a clear-cut proletarian stand and a powerful revolutionary feeling. Their spirited new full-length song-and-dance drama *New Dawn in the Northeast* presents the glorious stages in the fearless struggle of the red rebels of Heilungkiang against the handful of persons in authority in the Party taking the capitalist road. It has created heroic images of workers, peasants, soldiers and Red Guards during the great proletarian cultural revolution, who dare to think, dare to speak, dare to act, dare to break through and dare to make revolution. It fervently eulogizes our great leader Chairman Mao and the great victories of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

In Tsinan on May 23, revolutionary literary and art workers, revolutionary workers, as well as literary and art workers in the PLA and Red Guards organized several dozen propaganda teams to perform revolutionary dances and songs in the streets and public squares,

turning them into positions for propagating Mao Tse-tung's thought. This was warmly welcomed by tens of thousands of spectators.

The cinemas of all China's cities and towns showed four revolutionary films radiant with Mao Tse-tung's thought: *Chairman Mao Is the Red Sun in Our Hearts*, *Chairman Mao Reviews the Mighty Contingent of the Cultural Revolution for the Fifth and Sixth Times*, *The People of the World Love Chairman Mao* and *Chairman Mao Resolutely Supports the Revolutionary Rebels*. These revolutionary films inspire the masses, who rushed to buy tickets to them all. Some of the better films made since liberation were also shown, among them *Fighting up and Down the Country*, *Tunnel Warfare* and *Guerrillas on the Plain*. June 2 saw the release of six pernicious films: *Nightless City*, *The Lin Family Shop*, *A Thousand Li Against the Wind*, *Two Families*, *The Life of Wu Hsun* and *Prairie Fire*. The revolutionary masses will thus be able to carry out a thoroughgoing criticism and repudiation of these "poisonous weeds," and this is an important part of the mass movement to criticize and repudiate the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, an important means of developing and deepening the struggle between two lines on the literary and art front.

Newspapers in Peking and elsewhere also devoted considerable space to publishing musical scores for quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung, as well as illustrations for these quotations. The Ministry of Posts and Tele-Communications issued a set of three commemorative stamps, two carrying quotations from the *Talks*, the third showing a literary and art team propagating Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Mao Tse-tung's thought sheds its light over the whole world! The Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau in Peking, on May 31, sponsored a seminar in commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*. More than eighty writers and friends from thirty-four countries and regions throughout the world took part in this great gathering. The convening of this international seminar to study and discuss Chairman Mao's works is a concrete expression of the fact that the world is entering a completely new epoch in which Mao Tse-tung's thought

is the great banner. It shows that the boundlessly brilliant thought of Mao Tse-tung and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and theories on literature and art are becoming a powerful ideological weapon for the revolutionary people of the world against imperialism, revisionism and the reactionaries of every country and are illuminating the militant road of the revolutionary and progressive writers in Asia and Africa.

### 革命的思想斗争和艺术斗争, 必须服从于政治的斗争

## The Revolutionary Struggle on the Ideological and Artistic Fronts Must Be Subordinate to the Political Struggle

革命的 思想 斗争 和艺术 斗争  
 Keh ming ti szu hsiang tou cheng he yi shu

斗争, 必须 服从于  
 tou cheng, pi hsu fu chung yu

政治的 斗争, 必须 服从于 政治的  
 cheng chih ti tou cheng, pi hsu fu chung yu cheng chih ti

斗争, 因为 只有 经过 这  
 tou cheag, yin wei chih yu ching kuo cheng

治, 阶级 和 群众的 富 要  
 chih, chieh chi he chun chung ti hsu yao

才 能 集中 地 表 现 出 来  
 tsai neng chi chung ti piao hsien chu lai.

The revolutionary struggle on the ideological and artistic fronts must be subordinate to the political struggle because only through politics can the needs of the class and the masses find expression in concentrated form.



# 我們還要有文化的軍隊

We Must Also Have a Cultural Army

我 們 要 戰 勝 敵 人， 首 先 要  
Wo men yao chan sheng di ren, shou hsien yao

依 靠 手 里 拿 槍 的 軍 隊。  
yi kao shou li na chiang ti chun tui.

但 是 僅 僅 有 這 種 軍 隊 是 不 夠  
Tan shih chin chin yu che chung chun tui shih pu kou

的， 我 們 還 要 有 文 化 的 軍 隊，  
ti, wo men huan yao yu wen hua ti chun tui,

我 們 還 要 有 文 化 的 軍 隊，  
wo men huan yao yu wen hua ti chun tui,

這 是 團 結 自 己， 戰 勝 敵 人 必 不 可  
che shih tuan chieh tzu chi, chan sheng di ren bi bu ke

少 的 一 支 軍 隊。 一 支 軍 隊。  
shao ti yi chih chun tui. Yi chih chun tui.

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.

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