

Guiding Light for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

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

REVOLUTIONARY people throughout China are today ceremoniously commemorating 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 the whole country's 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 spread large amounts of 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 been clogged with stress on the ancient as against the contemporary, with worship of the foreign and scorn for the Chinese, with 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 countered 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 victory in revolution, and capitalism is being restored there. A major reason for the emergence of this huge historical retrogression is that the Khrushchov revisionist clique first of all carried out ideological work to create ideological confusion among the masses and prepare public opinion for the staging of a counter-revolutionary coup d'état 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 firmly take 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*)

*"Struggle-criticism-transformation" is the abbreviation of the tasks set forth in the famous 16-point decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party concerning the cultural revolution, which states: at present, our objective is to struggle against and overthrow those persons in authority who are 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 not in correspondence with the socialist economic base, so as to facilitate the consolidation and development of the socialist system.