

# AMERICAN MASS'S LINE



The proletariat is the greatest class in the history of mankind. It is the most powerful revolutionary class ideologically, politically and in strength. It can and must unite the overwhelming majority of people around itself so as to isolate the handful of enemies to the maximum and attack them.

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## REMOLD WORLD OUTLOOK!! "FEAR NEITHER HARDSHIP NOR DEATH!"



AN INVINCIBLE SPIRIT. Nguyen Van Troi, a patriotic young worker in Saigon, fearlessly faced the executioners of the U.S.-puppet clique and denounced the U.S. aggressors. Executed for attempting to assassinate Robert McNamara, then Secretary of "Defense", he died shouting "Long Live Ho Chi Minh!" and is a national hero of the Vietnamese people.

### REVOLUTIONARY FIGHTERS ADVANCE ANTI-FASCIST STRUGGLE

Taking to heart Chairman Mao's revolutionary directive to "wholeheartedly serve the interests of the people", two of our young comrades have come forward in an exemplary manner to fight resolute battles against the fascists and to fight in a determined manner for the right of the people to organize politically. These comrades scorn the pacifist line of the trotskyites and revisionists, who cooperate with the rise of fascism by trembling before it and praying to the fascists to be "nice"! Instead, our comrades follow Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line: "FEAR NEITHER HARDSHIP NOR DEATH!" Everywhere they go, these comrades distribute Chairman Mao's works and sell the revolutionary literature, American MASS LINE and American Student. Because they openly stand for what is right, they inevita-

bly come into contradiction with the fascists who attempt to prevent the spread of the truth and to prevent the working and oppressed people in America from organizing themselves politically. Already, our comrades have developed the mass democratic struggles of the people against these Hitmites and sent them scurrying back into their holes!

For example, these comrades were out selling MASS LINE on a busy New York street corner. A big swaggering junior executive in a dandy business suit walked up and announced that he thought that "all commie chinks and gooks should be slaughtered". Comrade Jim firmly denounced him and promised that the American

MASS LINE is honored to reprint Chairman Mao's "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art." This year marks the 28th anniversary of the publication of this extremely important Marxist-Leninist document. Throughout China, and throughout the world, revolutionary cadres and masses are carefully re-studying this document in the course of struggle in order to remold their world outlook in the image of the proletarian vanguard and enable them to "FEAR NEITHER HARDSHIP NOR DEATH" and serve the working class and oppressed people heart and soul. MASS Line calls on the members and supporters of the American Communist Workers Movement (Marxist-Leninist) to follow this path. If we wash the dirt of bourgeois ideology from our souls, we will become bold fighters, persevere in struggle and overcome every difficulty.

"Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art" is not only a masterly summing-up of the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint on literature and art and a great program for writers and artists to follow in wholeheartedly serving the revolutionary people; it is also a clarion call and a guide to action for revolutionary cadres and masses to proletarianize their own thinking in order to transform both the objective and subjective worlds and make revolution. Chairman Mao teaches that "ONCE THE CORRECT IDEAS CHARACTERISTIC OF THE ADVANCED CLASS ARE GRASPED BY THE MASSES, THESE IDEAS TURN INTO A MATERIAL FORCE WHICH CHANGES SOCIETY AND CHANGES THE WORLD." This statement clearly illustrates the importance of remolding world outlook along the lines put forward by Chairman Mao. It shows that when the cadres and masses subjectively grasp Marxism-Leninism they can successfully transform the objective world by overthrowing the bourgeoisie.

Today we are engaged in the task of building the Marxist-Leninist Party, armed with Mao Tse-tung Thought, and preparing for a revolutionary civil war of unprecedented force which will bury the U.S. monopoly capitalists once and for all, establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, usher in socialism and put an end to the exploitation of man by man. We are fighting an ideological battle in preparation for this war, and thus it is of the greatest importance now to criticize and repudiate the bourgeois world outlook implanted by the imperialists and their agents in the ranks of the people, and to lead the genuine cadres and masses in wiping away all this filth, remolding their world outlook and releasing their revolutionary initiative.

In world outlook, Chairman Mao teaches us, "THE QUESTION OF 'FOR WHOM?' IS FUNDAMENTAL; IT IS A QUESTION OF PRINCIPLE." For the workers and oppressed people or for the fascists and exploiters; for the broad masses or for the individual --this is the dividing line distinguishing the

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# Deep Hatred Hardens Will of Heroic Palestinian Guerrilla

Cairo, June 17, 1970 (Hsinhua correspondent). Following is an account of a heroic Palestinian guerrilla fighter Abu Nasser:

One day when we were visiting a Palestinian guerrilla base in Jordan, we were warmly received by a guerrilla fighter. Holding our hands, he said: "I'm very glad to see Chinese friends here!" He paid his sincere regards to our great leader Chairman Mao. When we told him that Chairman Mao is in excellent health, he was overjoyed, excitedly shouting: "Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!" A responsible member of the base told us: "His name is Abu Nasser. He actively studies Chairman Mao's works and is an outstanding fighter."

Abu Nasser accompanied us that day to visit the trenches, shelters and "home for the fighters". He said: "All this is done in line with Chairman Mao's great theory on People's War. In a word, we are studying the experience of the Chinese revolution. Without the victory of the Chinese revolution led by Chairman Mao, there is no Palestinian revolution of today. It is no exaggeration in saying this."

In the evening, he led us onto a higher position at the base, where we saw the Israeli-occupied area on the western bank of the Jordan River. Pointing at the lights on the western bank, he said indignantly: "That is my hometown, but it is now trampled underfoot by the Israeli aggressors. We have taken up arms to fight with determination! But, U.S. imperialism and its followers are plotting a so-called 'peaceful settlement', that is to

say, Israeli aggression and occupation should be legalized, and we should lay down the arms in our hands and be subjected to oppression, aggression and enslavement forever. This is an out-and-out gangster logic!"

Abu Nasser said, "Chairman Mao is the greatest man and a man of the greatest wisdom. He supports the Palestinian people's revolutionary struggle most resolutely. 'Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun.' This great truth revealed by Chairman Mao is forever an encouragement to us in our forward march!"

He told us that the Palestinian people embarked on the road of armed struggle only after they had experienced numerous lessons in blood and studied Chairman Mao's works. The Palestinian guerrillas fired the first shot of their armed struggle in 1965.

He said that 1948 was a most distressing year which he would never forget in his life. It was in that year that the Zionists founded a so-called "state" of Israel on the land of Palestine. Like a dagger thrust by imperialism at the Arab nation, it made every Arab heart bleed. The unbending people rose in resistance. Abu Nasser's father was among them, but was unfortunately arrested and killed by the Zionists. The then 7-year-old Abu committed to memory this deep hatred and silently pledged in tears to fight to avenge the people.

In 1965 when he worked as a clerk in a bank in Jordan, the armed struggle broke out. He saw in it the hope of the liberation of his motherland. One year later, he joined the



Fighters of the People's Liberation Army led by the People's Front for Liberation of the Occupied Arabian Gulf studying "Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung" in connection with their actual struggles. (Hsinhua Radiophoto)

## To Become One With the Workers and Peasants, (cont. from page 8)

choice I faced. At first it was personal considerations that came up on top. My reasoning was that I had come back after graduation to work for the collective good without thinking of winning personal kudos or position. But the enemy had organized a group of people to struggle against me. It was really unfair to me. Perhaps I had better stay at home and keep out of sight. Maybe their attack would die away. Then I remembered Chairman Mao's words, "Never forget class struggle," and knew that my first thoughts were wrong. I joined the poor and lower-middle peasants and struggled against the class enemies. We wrote big-character posters to expose their reactionary deeds and in this way punctured their arrogance. This struggle taught me once again that class struggle is protracted, acute and complex; I must hold tight the gun in my hand to attack the enemy, safeguard the great cultural revolution and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

To develop my understanding of the struggle against the class enemy and between the two lines, I took an active part in the revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation of the enemies of socialism. I wrote scores of articles attacking the handful of capitalist-roaders and together with the others in our militia unit ran six wall newspapers making our charges against them. We repudiated the san tzu yi pao,<sup>\*</sup> the "four freedoms"<sup>\*\*</sup>, "exploitation has its merits", "material incentive", "the dying out of class struggle", and other counter-revolutionary fallacies spread by China's Khrushchev. We also launched mass exposure, accusation, criticism and repudiation of the crimes of the counter-revolutionary revisionist Lo Jui-ching

in opposing the study of Chairman Mao's works and in focussing the main attention in the army on big contests of military skill.

On November 13, 1967, while I was attending a meeting of representatives of the activists in the study of Chairman Mao's works in the Peking Military Area Command, we were received by our great leader Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Vice-Chairman Lin Piao. This was the most unforgettable day of my life, and also the happiest. What a wonderful experience for a girl from a poor peasant family like me to see Chairman Mao, who is the great teacher of the revolutionary people of the world. I made up my mind to do better in studying his works, in applying what I learned and passing it on so that our whole village and whole country will become a brand-new world red with the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

I lost no chance in spreading Mao Tse-tung Thought. Once, returning from the fields, we noticed some scattered manure on the road. I picked some up and threw it into the fields of the third team, but one girl took pains to throw the manure she picked up into the fields of the first team to which she belonged. I asked her why she did that. "When the third team harvest a good crop," she answered, "none of it will come to us in the first team. Why should I put the manure in their field?" It seemed a small thing but involved a big question: we are farming for what? For public welfare, or private interests? For our study class out in the fields I asked them to study together Chairman Mao's two famous articles, Serve the People and In Memory of Norman Bethune and we began a lively discussion in

guerrillas, realizing the wish he had long cherished since boyhood.

After joining the guerrillas, Abu Nasser and his comrades-in-arms studied Chairman Mao's great theory on People's War and conscientiously applied it in their heroic battles against the Israeli aggressors.

One evening when we returned to the base from a visit and took a rest near a pond, we saw Abu swimming in it. It was still very cold, but he said that "this is required by our struggle". After swimming, he sat beside us near the pond and told us some of his stories.

One time, Abu Nasser was ordered to blast an enemy arms depot. When he approached the target and was ready to take action, he was unexpectedly found by an enemy officer who was passing by. The enemy officer opened fire at once. Abu Nasser fell at the enemy shot, pretending to be dead. Foully cursing, the enemy officer came up swaggeringly, thinking to capture some "war spoils". As the enemy drew near, Abu Nasser summoned up all his strength to kick the enemy down to the ground and killed him.

Immediately afterwards, the staunch guerrilla fighter rapidly placed the dynamite pack and lit the fuse. Instantly, the arms depot burst into sky-high flames and became a heap of iron scraps at a peal of explosion. This is only an ordinary combat story of Abu Nasser, the heroic guerrilla. This is only a deed in his successive accomplishing of combat tasks by fearing no strong enemy and surmounting trials and hardships. He said: "It should be attributed to the great leader Chairman Mao who teaches us: 'Be resolute, fear no sacrifice, and surmount every difficulty to win victory. Whenever we call to mind Chairman Mao's teachings, we are imbued with revolutionary strength and mounting combat will and able to overwhelm any enemy.'"

Accompanied by guerrillas on another evening, we saw a newsreel at the base depicting the severe blows by the Vietnamese heroes at the U.S. air pirates. Abu was too excited to sleep after the film. He took us to the top of the house where they lived in to keep cool and have a chat. When asked what he thought of the film, he said: "U.S. imperialism is a paper tiger, and so is Israel. Chairman Mao's brilliant thesis that 'all reactionaries are paper tigers' encourages us to fight bravely!"

Upon our departure from the base, Abu Nasser gave us a photo of himself for a souvenir, bearing the words: "To the Chinese comrades--the most trusted friends. Yours, an earnest Palestinian guerrilla." With profound affection and friendship, he bid us good-bye: "Thanks to the great leader Chairman Mao! Wish Chairman Mao a long, long life! Thanks to the Chinese people for their sincere support. With the support of the great Chinese people, we are sure to win!"

We saw from Abu Nasser the whole of the Palestinian guerrillas and the courageous fighting spirit of the entire Palestinian people. The congregation of such heroic fighters and people, holding guns in hand, can certainly break through any hardships and obstacles, defeat U.S.-Israeli aggressors and win final victory.

connection with what had happened. The study was a good lesson to us all. "Chairman Mao teaches us to serve the people wholeheartedly," said the girl. "But I had only the small world of a single team in my mind. I wasn't thinking of the whole collective and the whole revolutionary cause. I have gone against Chairman Mao's instructions." Since then, our young people have devoted themselves heart and soul to the collective and in many ways have shown a fine spirit in their farming for the revolution.

During the past four years, because I followed Chairman Mao's teachings and took the path of integration with the workers and peasants, I won the trust of the masses. Not long after my return home I was elected an activist in creatively studying and applying Mao Tse-tung Thought and was recently elected a member of the County Revolutionary Committee. But I can't help feeling that I am still a long way from what Chairman Mao wants us to be. I am determined to raise still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung Thought, do better in creatively studying and applying Mao Tse-tung works and temper and remold myself more conscientiously in the practical struggles in which I am engaged. I am determined to remold myself into an educated laborer with proletarian class consciousness.

\*San tzu yi pao means the extension of plots for private use and of free markets, the increase of small enterprises with sole responsibility for their own profits or losses, and the fixing of output quotas based on the household.

\*\*Freedom of usury, hiring labor, land sales, and private enterprise.

# TALKS AT THE YENAN FORUM ON LITERATURE AND ART

by CHAIRMAN MAO TSETUNG

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<sup>1</sup> 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 bourgeois 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<sup>2</sup> 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 Kuomintang 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 inappreciable 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 unreformed 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 cow-dung, 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 25, 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 areas; and with the workers and peasants in these areas; the differences 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.

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".<sup>3</sup> 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 and the Communist Party and the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies, a few may be concerned who are with a only sympathy, but the overwhelming majority are working energetically for the common cause. By their own words, we have achieved a partial goal in the field of literature, drama, music and fine arts. Many of these workers and artists have been working since the outbreak of the War of Resistance, many others still much revolutionary work before the war, and many others still in the field of literature, drama, music and fine arts. Many of these workers and artists have been working since the outbreak of the War of Resistance, many others still much revolutionary work before the war, and many others still in the field of literature, drama, music and fine arts.

This question of "for whom" is fundamental; it is a question of principle. The controversies and divergences, the opposition and diversity among those 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 both unity and diversity. Generally speaking, these comrades and they have shown almost complete agreement to some extent, both to look down upon the workers, peasants and soldiers and to look down upon the workers, peasants and soldiers or to look down upon the workers, peasants and soldiers or to look down upon the workers, peasants and soldiers.

Who, then, are the masses of the people? The broadest masses 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 should be for the workers, peasants and soldiers, and urban petty bourgeoisie. This is the basic line of our literature and art. It is the basic line of our literature and art. It is the basic line of our literature and art. It is the basic line of our literature and art.

Our literature and art should be for the four kinds of people we have mentioned. To serve them, we must take the class line as our basic line. This is the basic line of our literature and art. It is the basic line of our literature and art. It is the basic line of our literature and art. It is the basic line of our literature and art.

years, to solve it thoroughly. But however long it takes, solve it must and solve it unconditionally. This is the question of principle. The controversies and divergences, the opposition and diversity among those 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 both unity and diversity. Generally speaking, these comrades and they have shown almost complete agreement to some extent, both to look down upon the workers, peasants and soldiers and to look down upon the workers, peasants and soldiers or to look down upon the workers, peasants and soldiers.

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

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## Once We Have Solved the Problem of Fundamental Policy...

Once we have solved the problem of fundamental policy, of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers and of how to write them, our 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 school, public relations 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 with variance will not be able to develop.

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## ing, they are inclined toward 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.

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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, believed and neglected popularization and laid aside our own raising standards. Some should be laid aside our own raising standards, but to do so unilaterally 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 unable to find the correct relationship between the two. Since our literature and art are based on 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? Popular literature is useful and can be

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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 have 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-Ningxia 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 roundabout 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 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 termines 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 protect 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 proletariat 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 Kuomintang areas, and in coming from those garrets of Shanghai, 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,"<sup>12</sup> 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 Debauché*<sup>13</sup> 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-braved, I coolly defy a thousand pointing fingers,  
Head-bowed, like a willing ox I serve the children.<sup>14</sup>*

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 literary and art movement in the revolutionary base areas and throughout China to a glorious new stage.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>The May 4th Movement was an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolutionary movement which began on May 4, 1919. In the first half of that year, the victors of World War I, i.e., Britain, France, the United States, Japan, Italy and other imperialist countries, met in Paris to divide the spoils and decided that Japan should take over all the privileges previously enjoyed by Germany in Shantung Province, China. The students of Peking were the first to show determined opposition to this scheme, holding rallies and demonstrations on May 4. The Northern warlord government arrested more than thirty students in an effort to suppress this opposition. In protest, the students of Peking went on strike and large numbers of students in other parts of the country responded. On June 3 the Northern warlord government started arresting students in Peking en masse, and within two days about a thousand were taken into custody. This aroused still greater indignation throughout the country. From June 3 onwards, the workers of Shanghai and many other cities went on strike and the merchants in these places shut their shops. Thus, what was at first a patriotic movement consisting mainly of intellectuals rapidly developed into a national patriotic movement embracing the proletariat, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie. And along with the growth of this patriotic movement, the new cultural movement which had begun before May 4 as a movement against feudalism and for the promotion of science and democracy, grew into a vigorous and powerful revolutionary cultural movement whose main current was the propagation of Marxism-Leninism.

<sup>2</sup>The Shensi-Kansu-Ningxia Border Region was the revolutionary base area which was gradually built up after 1931 through revolutionary guerrilla warfare in northern Shensi. When the Central Red Army arrived in northern Shensi after the Long March, it became the seat of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the central base area of the revolution. The Shensi-Kansu-Ningxia Red Area was changed into the Shensi-Kansu-Ningxia Border Region after the formation of the Anti-Japanese National United Front in 1937. Nearly thirty counties, i.e., Yenan, Fushien, Kanhsuan, Yenhsueh, Yenhsing, Anting (now Tzuchang), Ansi, Chihnan, Chingping, Shemo, Fuku, Ningxia, Chengning, Yenchi, Suich, Chingching, Wupao, Michi, Nianhsien, etc., were under its jurisdiction.

<sup>3</sup>See V. I. Lenin, "Party Organisation and Party Literature", in which he described the characteristics of proletarian literature as follows: It will be a free literature, because the idea of socialism and sympathy with the working people, and not greed or careerism, will bring ever new forces to its ranks. It will be a free literature, because it will serve, not some satiated heroine, not the bored "upper ten thousand" suffering from lazy degeneration, but the millions and tens of millions of working people—the flower of the country, in strength and in the future. It will be a free literature, enriching the last word of the revolutionary thought of mankind with the experience and living work of the socialist proletariat, bringing about permanent interaction between the experience of the past (scientific socialism, the completion of the development of socialism from its primitive, utopian forms) and the experience of the present (the present struggle of the working comrades). (*Collected Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1962, Vol. X, pp. 48-49.)

<sup>4</sup>Liang Shih-chia, a member of the counter-revolutionary National Socialist Party, for a long time propagated reactionary American bourgeois ideas on literature and art. He emphatically opposed the revolution and revised revolutionary literature and art.

<sup>5</sup>Chou Tzu-jen and Chang Tu-ping capitulated to the Japanese aggressors after the Japanese occupied Peking and Shanghai in 1937.

<sup>6</sup>Lu Hsun, "My View on the League of Left-Wing Writers" in the collection *Two Heres, Complete Works*, Chin. ed., 1937, Vol. IV.

<sup>7</sup>See Lu Hsun's essay, "Death", in the "Addenda", *The Last Collection of Essays Written in a Garret in the Quasi-Concession*, Complete Works, Chin. ed., 1938, Vol. VI.

<sup>8</sup>The "Little Cowherd" is a popular Chinese folk opera with only two people acting in it, a cowherd and a village girl, who sing a question and answer duet. In the early days of the War of Resistance, it was against and for a time found great favour with the public.

<sup>9</sup>The Chinese characters for these six words are written simply, with only a few strokes, and were usually included in the first lessons in old primers.

<sup>10</sup>"The Spring Snow" and the "Song of the Rustic Poor" were songs of the Kingdom of Chu in the 3rd century B.C. The music of the first was on a higher level than that of the second. As the story is told in "Sung Yi's Reply to the King of Chu" in Prince Chao Ming's *Antology of Prose and Poetry*, when someone sang "The Spring Snow" in the Chu Rustic Poor, only a few dozen people joined in but when the "Song of the Rustic Poor" was sung, thousands did so.

<sup>11</sup>See V. I. Lenin, "Party Organisation and Party Literature": "Literature must become part of the common cause of the proletariat, a cog and a screw of one single great Social-Democratic mechanism set in motion by the entire politically-conscious vanguard of the entire working class." (*Collected Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1962, Vol. X, p. 45.)

<sup>12</sup>The Great Rear Area was the name given during the War of Resistance to the vast areas under Kuomintang control in southwestern and northwestern China which were not occupied by the Japanese invaders, and distinguished from the "small rear area", the anti-Japanese base areas behind the enemy lines under the leadership of the Communist Party.

<sup>13</sup>*The Debauché* by the famous Soviet writer Alexander Fadeyev was published in 1927 and translated into Chinese by Lu Hsun. The novel describes the struggle of a partisan detachment of workers, peasants and intellectuals in Siberia against the counter-revolutionary brigands during the Soviet civil war.

<sup>14</sup>This couplet is from Lu Hsun's "In Mockery of Myself" in *The Collection Outside the Collection*, Complete Works, Chin. ed., 1938, Vol. VII.

# REMOLD WORLD OUTLOOK!

(cont. from p.1)

proletarian world outlook from the bourgeois world outlook. The core of the bourgeois world outlook is selfishness, and the imperialists do everything in their power to propagate this attitude among the workers, national minorities and petty bourgeoisie in order to keep them repressed, fighting each other and unable to unite against the bourgeoisie. The imperialists pay special attention to encouraging this attitude among the petty bourgeoisie by encouraging petty bourgeois individuals to make careers for themselves on the backs of the working class. Divorced from production and class struggle, the petty bourgeoisie more easily falls prey to bourgeois ideology than the workers and national minority people, and so it is among the cadres and masses of petty bourgeois origin that the question of remolding world outlook is the most critical. Cadres and masses from the proletariat and national minorities should not ignore this question, however; the imperialists have succeeded in implanting their outlook in everyone to one degree or another, and workers and national minority people should take the lead in repudiating it.

1. main forms in which the bourgeois world outlook expresses itself in the ranks of the people today are (1) Fear of U.S. imperialism, (2) Contempt for the masses and (3) Anti-communism. Each of these amounts to valuing one's self above the needs of the masses. These expressions of bourgeois world outlook are being resolutely combated by communists and revolutionary masses, who are displaying (1) Daring to struggle against U.S. imperialism, (2) Complete faith in the masses and (3) Complete faith in Mao Tse Tung Thought. These two camps are in absolute contradiction with each other and are locked in mortal struggle, reflecting the life and death struggle between the two hostile contending classes in imperialist society, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. While the question of which wins out, revolution or counter-revolution, is not settled yet, Chairman Mao points out that "REVOLUTION IS THE MAIN TREND IN THE WORLD TODAY" and the opportunist scum are definitely heading for their doom along with their masters.

What is the method to use in remolding world outlook? Chairman Mao writes in "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art" that revolutionaries "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." Cadres must plunge into the midst of these struggles and study and apply Mao Tse Tung Thought in a living way so as to repudiate selfishness, become one with the people and move their struggles to a higher level. In other words, they must come under the direct supervision of the masses and must study and apply Mao Tse Tung Thought as a concrete guide to action.

In smashing the fear of U.S. imperialism which the imperialists attempt to sow everywhere, communist revolutionaries are taking to heart Chairman Mao's thesis: "U.S. IMPERIALISM, WHICH LOOKS LIKE A HUGE MONSTER, IS IN REALITY ONLY A PAPER TIGER, NOW IN THE TRODS OF ITS DEATH-BED STRUGGLE." They are not fooled by the violence of these death-throes, but recognize them as a sign of inner weakness. These comrades are gaining the warm participation and support of the broad masses as they wage struggles against fascist attacks on the people's democratic right to organize politically. (MASS LINE and the Workers' Advocate have printed accounts of these struggles on numerous occasions.) As a result, the fascists are escalating their attacks and blatantly promoting their counterparts in the ranks of the people, the criminals of the trotskyite-revisionist-pacifist Holy Alliance. The Holy Alliance displays its craven fear of imperialism by organizing the "peace movement" as a "united front to reform imperialism" and training their own goons to protect the police and attack the communists and progressive masses. The Holy Alliance encourages people not to risk sacrifice in overthrowing imperialism but to indulge self in drugs, sex and decadent culture and build comfortable careers. This band of scoundrels is being denounced from coast to coast, and in many places communists are coming forward to lead the masses in applying Chairman Mao's strategy of launching resolute attacks against U.S. imperialism. Chairman Mao has shown how to defeat an outwardly powerful enemy by seizing the initiative, concentrating a superior force to defeat an inferior force and fighting battles one by one. This Marxist-Leninist line greatly encourages the revolutionary people to "FEAR NEITHER HARDSHIP NOR DEATH" and to destroy the bourgeois pessimist line completely.

Contempt for the masses is also being destroyed as the first red contingents of communist youth abandon everything that stinks of the exploiters and wholeheartedly plunge into the thick of the struggles of the working class and national minorities. The Holy Alliance has come forward obediently to wildly slander these youth and the masses, saying "the working class is racist and only cares about money," "Black people won't have anything to do with whites" and "the masses are alienated by

violence." The Holy Alliance looks down on the masses and believes they aren't "ready" for communist ideas. Communist revolutionaries and ordinary masses have given the lie to these slanders time and time again, finding a warm reception for revolutionary literature everywhere and full support for retaliation against fascist violence. Cadres have found out the truth of Chairman Mao's words: "PRIOR TO THE TASK OF EDUCATING THE WORKERS, PEASANTS AND SOLDIERS, THERE IS THE TASK OF LEARNING FROM THEM," and "THE STRUGGLE OF THE BLACK PEOPLE IN THE UNITED STATES IS BOUND TO MERGE WITH THE AMERICAN WORKERS' MOVEMENT." This has further stimulated their enthusiasm in studying Mao Tse Tung Thought and integrating with the working people in order to remold their world outlook.

Anti-communism is being totally smashed in the course of the wide-scale dissemination of Mao Tse Tung Thought being carried out by the American Communist Workers Movement (Marxist-Leninist) and its supporters. Frantically opposed by the Holy Alliance, this campaign has the warmest support among both working people and students. As the broad masses increasingly see that the People's Republic of China with Chairman Mao at its head is the reliable base area of world revolution and as they see the value of the LITTLE RED TREASURED BOOK OF CHAIRMAN MAO'S QUOTATIONS as a guide to revolutionary practice, any anti-communist sentiment among the working and oppressed people will be turned into its opposite and the more the imperialists will slander communism the more the masses will embrace it. In some cadres, usually of petty bourgeois origin, anti-communism is a more serious matter, showing up as an aversion to discipline

## Revolutionaries Advance Anti-Fascist Struggle (cont. from p.1)

people's bullets would get racists like him. Surprised at his militancy, this half-cocked dandy ran off for awhile only to return some minutes later with another professional racist and anti-communist to throw some punches. But our comrades, taking the interests of the broad masses to heart, stood their ground and forced them to run off.

A large mass democracy of fifty people followed in which the incident was thoroughly discussed and the fascists were exposed. "They oppose the people's democratic rights to distribute literature and organize themselves by trying to intimidate and attack people who are telling the truth about the monopoly capitalists and their Nixon-Agnew henchmen. The monopoly corporation owners are trying to force a fascist dictatorship on the American people, partly by getting these gangsters to carry out their anti-democratic policies for them", our comrade pointed out. One woman moaned that communism is "anti-American", but another woman denounced her and pointed out that the path that our communist comrades are taking of fighting resolutely for democratic rights is the only correct attitude! Another young man said that he completely agreed but that he feared for the lives of these two young revolutionaries. Our comrades proclaimed: "We fear neither hardship nor death. We will never yield to these fascists until they hang!" This attitude further lifted the spirits of the people and roused their hatred of fascism. They bought MASS LINE and pledged their support if our comrades were attacked again.

These two revolutionary comrades have carried through similar struggles in recent days. Every time the agents of the monopoly capitalists have attacked them, the fascists have been sent packing. Though they bluster of threats and attack our comrades, they can never hope to win the support of the masses, but can only win their hatred. Chairman Mao's view is right: "I have said that all the reputedly powerful reactionaries are merely paper tigers. The reason is that they are divorced from the people." Because of this dual nature of the reactionaries who appear threatening in order to cover up their weakness and so dominate the people, we have learned the important lesson: we must seize the initiative in our hands and attack the fascists vigorously in order to show their paper tiger essence and show the broad masses of the people that the fascists can be smashed. This strategy will mean the beginning of the end for these rats.

In summing up their most recent encounter with the fascists, our comrades have come to the conclusion that the only mistake they made was in not attacking these scum more quickly, thus temporarily losing the initiative to them. As comrade George pointed out, "We must remold our world outlook and cast away all illusions that the struggle between the broad masses of the people and the fascists over the right to organize politically can ever be resolved by peaceful means. The false idea of 'peace' with fascism comes from the revisionist line of placing self before service to the people. We must

and a belief that reality is a matter of definite each of which betrays their desire to go their own way and maintain the private property of their petty bourgeois soul. These people can only be "cured" through a long process of tempering in struggle, study of Mao Tse Tung Thought and direct supervision of the revolutionary masses and the Party.

Chairman Mao points out in "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art" that "THERE ARE MANY PARTY MEMBERS WHO HAVE JOINED THE COMMUNIST PARTY ORGANIZATIONALLY BUT HAVE NOT YET JOINED IDEOLOGICALLY." Every previous genuine attempt to build the Marxist-Leninist Party has failed and turned into its opposite because the leadership was unable to lead the cadres in completely remolding their world outlook and becoming communists ideologically as well as politically and organizationally. Therefore, MASS LINE calls on all comrades and progressive people to "LAUNCH A STRUGGLE OF PROLETARIAN IDEOLOGY AGAINST NON-PROLETARIAN IDEOLOGY," scientifically analyze and fiercely struggle against the bourgeois reactionary line in everything, and resolutely promote the proletarian revolutionary line in everything. For in the last analysis, the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and oppressed people against U.S. monopoly capital is a struggle between transforming the world according to the proletarian world outlook and transforming it according to the bourgeois world outlook. Comrades and friends! Let us "FEAR NEITHER HARDSHIP NOR DEATH," smash the bourgeois spirit of timidity, contempt for the masses, and anti-communism, resolutely integrate with the working class and national minorities and creatively study and apply Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought, in order to remold world outlook completely!

combat this idea by studying Chairman Mao's works, especially SERVE THE PEOPLE and THE FOOLISH OLD MAN WHO REMOVED THE MOUNTAINS in order to foster the attitude of "Fearing Neither Hardship Nor Death" and serving the people wholeheartedly. Arming ourselves with Mao Tse Tung Thought and seizing the initiative in our own hands is the only way to wipe out the fascists wholly, completely and thoroughly, which is exactly what the broad masses of the people desire."

This proletarian revolutionary attitude is exactly the opposite of that shown by renegades like Rennie Davis and his henchmen who have joined the trotskyite-revisionist-fascist Holy Alliance by trying to make "peace" with the fascists on "Honor America Day" These hacks are out to protect their careers by preserving imperialism while proletarian revolutionaries are out to serve the people by destroying imperialism, and neither one will change their basic nature. We must vigorously expose and repudiate the trotskyite-revisionist line both inside the movement and among the people in order to develop the revolutionary struggle in a step-wise fashion.

When the proletarian revolutionary line of the communist and anti-fascist cadre is linked with the struggles of the broad masses of the people, no force on earth, no matter how terrible it may appear, can stop the development of the revolutionary struggle. The development of the fight for the right to organize politically among the masses is paving the way for armed struggle to wipe out the fascists and overthrow the rule of the U.S. monopoly capitalists. As Chairman Mao has said of these reactionaries: "If they attack and we wipe them out, they will have that satisfaction; wipe out some, some satisfaction; wipe out more, more satisfaction; wipe them all out, complete satisfaction."

MASS LINE and the working and oppressed people of America salute these two young revolutionaries, who look forward towards the day when the broad masses of the American people will fight as one for "complete satisfaction"! And that day is not far off! The American people can never be cowed by some Nixon-Agnew pests. In his May 20 statement, Chairman Mao pointed out: "I am convinced that the American people who are fighting valiantly will ultimately win victory and that the fascist rule in the United States will inevitably be defeated." Our comrades and the rising tide of the American people's struggles prove this to be a sound statement!

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# TO BECOME ONE WITH THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS

## BY KENG HUI-CHUAN

(Editor's Note: MASS LINE reprints the following story from *Chinese Literature*, No. 11, 1968. Written in the course of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, it shows how the revolutionary cadres struggled to integrate with the workers and peasants and serve their interests and prevent the restoration of capitalism. It shows how the question of world outlook is fundamental for the revolution and can only be resolved by studying Mao Tseung Thought and uniting with the people to struggle against the enemy. This struggle to remold world outlook is the same one which today faces thousands of progressive and communist youth in the United States, and this struggle, too, can only be resolved and revolution can only be developed if these thousands of youth take the same road as Keng Hui-chuan.)

In 1964 before I graduated from middle school, a classmate said to me: "Let's sit for the college exams together, Hui-chuan. The thing to do is to get a good education, then we can't go wrong." Another said, "You are good in your studies, and come of good family origin. You'll be a sure bet in the college entrance." When they talked like that I had my own thoughts too. I was indeed born in a poor peasant family and all six adult members of my family are communists. My father Keng Chang-so is a well-known model worker in agricultural production. I was the first of my family to graduate from senior middle school. Should I go to college or return to the village to take part in the work on the land? I couldn't make up my mind and thought I'd talk it over with my father and hear his opinion.

One Sunday I took up the matter with my father. "I'm the first one in our family to finish middle school and am now on the eve of graduation..." I began. Before I could finish my father said seriously, "It's good that you are graduating. But I don't consider you a graduate, my daughter, even if you show me your diploma, you haven't graduated in your ideology." Father's criticism surprised me for I was a good student who never made any trouble at school and had been elected an activist in studying Chairman Mao's works. Instead of advising me on what to do, why was father criticizing me? I couldn't quite make it out.

The time of graduation drew nearer, and the battle of conflicting ideas became more acute in my head. Then I thought about a passage in Chairman Mao's brilliant writing *Orientation of the Youth Movement*, in which he tells us: "In the final analysis, the dividing line between revolutionary intellectuals and non-revolutionary or counter-revolutionary intellectuals is whether or not they are willing to integrate themselves with the workers and peasants and actually do so." Contrasting the things I had been thinking with what Chairman Mao had said, the answer to my problem became clear. I made up my mind to take up the path of integration with the workers and peasants and go home to do farm work. When I talked to my father about it again he seemed very pleased. "I'm relieved to hear that," he said. "As long as you are doing what Chairman Mao says, I'm all for it. In the old society, generation after generation of our family, was poor. I remember that terrible year of drought in 1943 when the fields didn't yield at all. I was so starved I had to spend all my time lying on the kang. Your mother had to take the whole family out to beg for food. She had to sell your eldest sister for only two measures of sorghum. If it weren't for Chairman Mao who led the poor in making revolution, would we have our happy life today? You would certainly not be in middle school; in fact, I don't know whether you'd be alive today. If you don't follow his teachings, we'd be forgetting our past."

What my father said roused my hatred for the old society and enhanced my deep feeling for Chairman Mao. It made me the more determined to integrate myself with the workers and peasants. Back in school I was the first to write an application asking to go back to the village for farm work after graduation. However, those in our school who upheld the old educational system and sabotaged Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line in education tried by various means to convince me that my decision to go back to the countryside was not "what the Party advocates" and repeatedly asked me to "consider carefully your own future." I wouldn't listen to them and firmly asserted, "Chairman Mao's instructions show what the Party needs and they are what the Party advocates. My future must be wherever the Party needs me." Thus, after a struggle, I eventually won out. After taking my finals, I went happily back to our village and became an ordinary peasant.

Now, could I say that just going back to the countryside and participating in farm work meant that I'd integrated with the poor and lower-middle peasants? No! To completely merge with the broad masses in thought and feeling, it was necessary to be steeled and tempered in the class struggle and the struggle for production over a long period of time.

My enthusiasm was high when I first stepped out of school. I was determined to do well in my new work. The day after I got home I went to harvest wheat among the rest of the commune members. Of course, I'd worked in the fields before, but compared with the work of the commune members what I could do made a very poor showing. We started reaping at the same point in different rows but when the others had already reached the end, I wasn't even halfway there and yet blisters had come upon both my hands. During the break, the others laughed and joked and were full of pep but I was too done in to say a word. In the evening my legs

wanted to help but didn't know where to lay my hands. As if they had noticed my hesitation, the two girls quickly emptied the pails, putting one hand on the handle and the other on the bottom. Some of the liquid splattered them in the face as they poured but they didn't seem to mind. Wiping it off with the back of one hand, they went on chattering and laughing and soon pushed off again with the cart. I was greatly stirred. I began to wonder: Why is it that they could do it and I couldn't? Aren't we all girls? I went home and opened Chairman Mao's works. He tells us: "The workers and peasants were the cleanest people and, even though their hands were soiled and their feet smeared with cow-dung, they were really cleaner than the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois intellectuals." My cheeks flushed when I came across these words and realized that my standpoint was still that of the petty-bourgeoisie. I had felt that the pails were dirty but actually it was my thinking that was dirty. If I were going to be thorough in



Educated youth Hsing Yen-tzu (3rd, left) of Faoti County in Hopei Province is shown talking to other educated young people about her experience in integrating herself with workers and peasants. Inspired by Chairman Mao's teaching: "All intellectuals who can work in the countryside should be happy to go there. Our countryside is vast and has plenty of room for them to develop their talents to the full." Hsing Yen-tzu went back to her native place to take up farming in 1958. She has been working with great enthusiasm in building a new socialist countryside and has set a fine example for the educated young people throughout the country. (Hsinhua Radiophoto, Peking, April 18, 1970.)

were sore and my back ached; I stretched out on the kang and didn't want to budge an inch. It was then that sarcastic remarks came to my ears. "Well, it's your own fault that you are suffering. You could have gone on to college," said one. "Your dad's a labor model. All he has to do is say the word and those upstairs will find you a job in the city," said another.

I was a bit upset. My father noticed my mood and said, "Never mind the hardships of labor. It is these aches and these stiff limbs that help to remold your ideology and temper your will-power. Any thought of dodging physical work would be going against Chairman Mao's advice. It would mean that you had stopped waging revolution." Then I remembered Chairman Mao's wise words: "In times of difficulty we must not lose sight of our achievements, must see the bright future and must pluck up our courage." I felt that this had been written specially for me. My resolve and courage rose. I would overcome difficulties and stick it out with the others until all the wheat was harvested.

Chairman Mao says: "This change in world outlook is something fundamental." After my return to the village and through being toughened up by physical labor, the gap between my thoughts and class feelings and those of the masses had narrowed but I was still a petty-bourgeois intellectual to a certain degree. I had to remold myself with the thought of Mao Tseung all the time so that my world outlook would be thoroughly changed. One day on my way back from the fields I met two young women pushing a cart of manure they had collected from the latrines of different households to empty into the cesspool at the end of the village. I put down my shovel to give them a hand. But no sooner had I approached the cesspool than I backed away again. The pails on the cart were not only filled to the brim but all splattered around the edges. I

changing my world outlook I had to make up my mind to get sweaty and mud-stained in physical labor at the side of the masses. After that I tried harder to remold my thinking.

In the course of integrating with the workers and peasants we must be prepared to stand the test and trials of the class struggle. My awareness of the class struggle was very feeble when I was in school. I thought it was not possible for a few enemies to stir up much trouble in our country of 700 million people. Why, our militia alone would be able to take care of them. During the great proletarian cultural revolution, when we launched face-to-face struggle against the class enemy, I came to see that "The enemy will not perish of himself," and "Everything reactionary is the same; if you don't hit it, it won't fall." With the development of the movement, the struggle between the two classes and the two ideas became more and more acute. Some class enemies came out into the open to sabotage the study of Chairman Mao's works by the militia. As I was the deputy commander of our militia battalion, I studied Chairman Mao's teachings on classes and class struggle with the militia and led them in an unrelenting struggle against the enemy, repulsing their attacks. They tried new schemes and proposed to "kick down the militia battalion and seize their guns." They claimed that the militia battalion is trying to maintain the old lot in control. Unless the battalion is demolished we won't be able to seize power from the Party branch." The spearhead of their attack was aimed at me, abusing me as a student who had come home to grab an official post and money. They said I was there to look after the interests of the Keng family in our brigade and swore that they would get rid of me or know the reason why.

To flinch when the enemy attacked, or to display a fearless revolutionary spirit and give them as good as they gave. That was the

(continued on p. 2)