

Show Up the Counter-Revolutionary Features of Sholokhov

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In the "Summary of the Forum on the Work in Literature and Art in the Armed Forces With Which Comrade Lin Piao Entrusted Comrade Chiang Ching" (see "Peking Review," No. 23, 1967), an important fighting task assigned to us was to wage a struggle in the field of literature and art against modern revisionism with Soviet revisionism as its centre.

Revisionist literature and art are a variant of bourgeois literature and art. They peddle bourgeois wares under a socialist coating. The international historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat tells us: Revisionist literature and art are poison used by the bourgeoisie and its agents against the working people, as well as tools for the restoration of capitalism. They are a mouthpiece for the modern revisionist political line.

To safeguard Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, to reveal the reactionary nature of revisionist literature and art and to eliminate their pernicious influence, we must hold aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought during the unparalleled great proletarian cultural revolution and wage a resolute struggle against the revisionist literature and art of foreign countries.

Soviet revisionist literature and art are at the centre of foreign revisionist literature and art. The works of Sholokhov, Simonov, Ehrenburg, Tvardovsky and company, particularly some of the works by Sholokhov, father of Soviet revisionist literature and art, have spread a great deal of poison. In opening fire on revisionist literature and art, we should first of all "catch the big ones, catch Sholokhov" and criticize and repudiate the main works of these ringleaders of Soviet revisionist literature and art and eliminate their pernicious influence.
(Excerpts from "Renmin Ribao" editor's note.)

FOR 40 years, Sholokhov has been lauded as a "great writer" by the revisionists and the bourgeoisie in the Soviet Union and in other countries. Khrushchov praises him as "an excellent example," while China's Khrushchov regards him as a demigod. But when we take a look at the role he has played in the class struggle in the Soviet Union at each important historical moment, we can strip him of the cloak of "proletarian revolutionary writer" and show him up as a counter-revolutionary.

Mortal Enemy of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

After the death of Lenin, the Bolshevik Party headed by Stalin staunchly defended the road of the October Revolution, smashed the frenzied attack of the anti-Party clique and consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat. At this critical moment, Sholokhov sided with the anti-Party clique and took the lead in hoisting the black revisionist ensign of turning against the road of the October Revolution in the field of literature and art. He attacked violent revolution by the proletariat and the dictatorship of the proletariat, and worked vigorously to create public opinion so that the Trotsky-Zinoviev counter-revolutionary revisionist clique could usurp Party and government leadership.

The story *Road*, which he included in his first collection of short stories published in 1926, was in fact a self-portrayal of his renegade features when he, a grain collector, was captured by a bandit gang in 1921. When he recalled this episode 40 years later, he said: "I was too hard on the kulaks," "but they later turned me free. . . . How I wished to stay alive." From that time on, he has travelled a road of betraying the October Revolution.

In the novel *And Quiet Flows the Don*, written between 1926 and 1939, Sholokhov maliciously depicted the October Revolution and the revolutionary civil war to defend the proletarian political power as a "great tragedy" which ruined the "quiet and rich life" of the Don Cossacks, as a "greater anguish and calamity" than the imperialist war. The novel lavished praise on the blood-thirsty counter-revolutionary Gregory and the well-to-do Cossacks he represented, while viciously attacking Soviet power established by the October Revolution as a "new and worse system." Lenin pointed out after the October Revolution that those who cursed the Soviets set up for the first time in history by the toiling classes in Russia were "all the bourgeois scoundrels, the whole gang of blood-suckers, with Kautsky echoing them." And Sholokhov was precisely

echoing these bourgeois scoundrels and blood-suckers overthrown by the October Revolution.

Our great leader Chairman Mao said: **"We definitely do not apply a policy of benevolence to the reactionaries and towards the reactionary activities of the reactionary classes."** **"With regard to such reactionaries, the question of irritating them or not does not arise."** In a letter to Gorky in 1931, Sholokhov brazenly attributed the Cossack rebellion during the civil war to what he called "excessive actions" on the part of the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet political power. He did everything to defend the Cossacks' counter-revolutionary rebellion in the same manner in *And Quiet Flows the Don*. He portrayed the counter-revolutionary rebel Gregory as a "wavering middle character" who was "disgusted with both the revolution and counter-revolution." He tried hard to make people "believe" the "true words" of Gregory, the mortal enemy of Soviet power: "If the Soviet regime didn't oppress me, I wouldn't have opposed it." By preaching counter-revolutionary rebellion and demanding that the Soviet power renounce its right to suppress class enemies, Sholokhov was aiming at creating public opinion for counter-revolutionary restoration and the subversion of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Immediately after publication, *And Quiet Flows the Don* was sharply criticized by the revolutionary masses in the Soviet Union as "defending the rebellion of the Cossack white bandits" and as a work "hostile and opposed to the proletariat." They said that its author was "in no way a proletarian writer" but "a representative of the Cossack kulaks and foreign aristocrats." The bourgeoisie and revisionists, on the other hand, were filled with joy and hailed the publication of the novel as "the birth of a Soviet classic," a work which, they said, "leaves little to be desired." The heated debate which developed around the novel was in essence a reflection, in Soviet literature and art, of the acute struggle between the forces for and against restoration, centring on the question of political power.

During the counter-revolutionary rebellion in Hungary in 1956, Sholokhov, because of his reactionary stand, again jumped forward to acclaim and defend the ghosts and monsters of the Petofi club, saying that they were "wavering" characters who, like Gregory, "joined the White Guard movement casually and blindly." All this shows that Sholokhov is indeed the father of the revisionist literature and art with which he has carried out counter-revolutionary activities under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Faithful Disciple of Bukharin

Chairman Mao said: **"Without socialization of agriculture, there can be no complete, consolidated socialism."** The collectivization of agriculture represented a great decisive battle, a most extensive and penetrating socialist revolution, in which socialism defeated capitalism in the countryside. The Right opportunists rep-

resented by Bukharin did everything they could to oppose collectivization of agriculture and the elimination of kulaks. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) headed by Stalin waged an irreconcilable struggle against these representatives of the bourgeoisie within the Party and defended and upheld Lenin's line for the collectivization of agriculture.

In this sharp class struggle, Sholokhov served as the spokesman of the Bukharin Right opportunist clique on the literary and art front. The novel *Virgin Soil Upturned* (Book I) which he began writing in 1930 was a representative work which, under the cloak of opposing "Left" opportunism, eulogized the Right opportunist line and negated the movement for collectivization of Soviet agriculture. Stalin pointed out that, in the movement for collectivization of agriculture, **"the Right danger has been, and still is, the chief danger"** and that a fight against the errors of the "Left" distorters was **"a pre-condition for a successful fight against Right opportunism and a distinctive form of this fight."** But Sholokhov, in this novel, left no stone unturned to exaggerate the so-called "excessive actions" in the collectivization movement and described the "Left" deviation as the chief danger, presenting the vigorous collective-farm movement as devoid of mass support, as an "error" resulting from "coercion and orders." He openly portrayed Davidov, chairman of a collective farm, who actually implemented the Right opportunist line of excluding poor peasants, relying on rich middle peasants and shielding kulaks, as a representative of the "correct line." The novel also heaps praise on a hidden counter-revolutionary kulak. All this shows that Sholokhov is proceeding from the reactionary position of the Right opportunists in attacking the correct line for elimination of the kulaks and for all-round collectivization, lauding Bukharin's opportunist line and paving the way for the restoration of capitalism.

Sholokhov himself is an outright Right opportunist. Back in 1929 when the movement for collectivization began on a large scale, he was exposed in the press for protecting kulaks. In a letter to Stalin in 1933, he viciously attacked the collectivization movement, the socialist system and the Party's leadership, and described the collective farms during Stalin's time as "darker" than the villages under tsarist rule. He was severely criticized by Stalin for this. While he was hostile to socialist collective farms, he lauded the "useful, precious achievements" of "advanced capitalist farming" and shamelessly campaigned for "learning" from the capitalist countries, following his visits to Denmark, Sweden, Britain and France in 1935.

Renegade to People's Revolutionary War

Sholokhov utterly betrayed his ugly features of opposing people's war during the rigorous test of the war waged against the German fascists by the Soviet people under the leadership of Stalin during the 1940s, a war which concerned the future of socialism and the

destiny of mankind. Instead of praising the revolutionary heroism of the Soviet army and people, he did his best to spread pessimism and despondency in the political commentaries and novels he wrote during the war years. In his "Letter to American Friends," published only two years after the war began, he implored the United States to use its troops, pinning his hopes entirely on U.S. imperialism.

At a time when the revolutionary struggles of the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America were surging forward after World War II, he echoed Khrushchov in wildly opposing people's war. Scared out of his wits by U.S. imperialism's nuclear blackmail, he raved that the "shadow of the hydrogen bomb" was "ruining the sunshine of joyful life." He clamoured that "the major objective of mankind today was to strive for peace," thereby totally negating the basic task of carrying the world proletarian revolution through to the end. Chairman Mao taught us that "every just, revolutionary war is endowed with tremendous power and can transform many things or clear the way for their transformation" and that "only with guns can the whole world be transformed." But Sholokhov yelled: "Say 'no' to war." He raved: "No war can produce anything. Wars are destroyers." In order to "stay alive" he went so far as to collaborate with the imperialists and reactionaries of all countries and shouted about opposing people's revolutionary war "collectively."

The big poisonous weed *The Fate of a Man*, which he dished up hastily after the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U., was evidence of his crime of opposing people's revolutionary war. Through the "miserable lot" of the renegade Sokolov during the Patriotic War, Sholokhov painted a lurid picture of the "sufferings" and "horror" of the war while glorifying the traitor who surrendered to the enemy and vilifying the great anti-fascist war as "burying" the Soviet people's "last joy and hope." At present when the people's war is surging high in Asia, Africa and Latin America, this piece of pacifist and capitulationist propaganda by Sholokhov and the film adapted from it by the Soviet revisionist clique to spread poison throughout the world constitute the greatest betrayal of the world revolution. After this novel was published, a host of poisonous weeds including *An Inch of Soil*, *Song of a Soldier* and *The Living and the Dead* which opposed Stalin and reviled revolutionary wars have been put out. It was precisely Sholokhov who stirred up the ill wind in Soviet revisionist literature and art of opposing revolutionary wars.

Storm-Trooper for the Restoration of Capitalism

Completely discarding his mask, Sholokhov further revealed his counter-revolutionary features at the important historical moment when the socialist Soviet Union once again confronted a decisive battle between two destinies and two futures after Stalin's death.

Chairman Mao taught us: "To overthrow a political power, it is always necessary, first of all, to create

public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere." Sholokhov was a storm-trooper in creating public opinion for Khrushchov's usurpation of Party and government leadership. In the second year after Stalin's death, Sholokhov took the lead in completely negating the achievements of the revolutionary literature and art of Stalin's time at the Second Congress of the Union of Soviet Writers. He levelled his attacks directly at Stalin whom he had once called "dear father whom I warmly love throughout my life." At the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U., he came out into the open and called for dismissing the Party leaders in the field of literature and art of Stalin's time.

While energetically opposing Stalin, he frantically cheered Khrushchov's revisionist line and wildly eulogized the restoration of capitalism. He lauded to the skies the out-and-out revisionist Programme of the C.P.S.U., saying that it was a "refreshing breeze," "a light shining upon mankind" and "an indestructible monument." He acclaimed the series of revisionist policies taken by Khrushchov in the economic field, such as material benefits and material incentives, and said that these policies opened up "a bright future for state farm workers and collective farmers." He even had the effrontery to describe the great regression and calamity resulting from the restoration of capitalism in industry and agriculture by Khrushchov as "magnificent events without parallel in history." He shamelessly praised Khrushchov's reactionary rule as "a fine period full of daring and creative spirit."

Chairman Mao said: "In the world today all culture, all literature and art belong to definite classes and are geared to definite political lines." "To keep step with Khrushchov" after the 20th Congress, Sholokhov hastily brought out his *Virgin Soil Upturned* (Book II) to serve the Soviet revisionist clique's revisionist political line and advocated the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. In this novel, the Party leaders of the collective farms were guided by the concepts spread by Khrushchov of "everything for man and his happiness" and "man and man are friends, comrades and brothers." These Party leaders were presented as conniving at the spontaneous capitalist tendency among the collective farmers, allowing it to spread unchecked. They showed no vigilance against or even shielded those hidden reactionary officers and kulaks who wildly sabotaged the collective economy. Such "collective farms" negating the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism have indeed degenerated completely into capitalist farms.

Sholokhov has also made use of the privileged position granted him by the Soviet revisionist clique to systematically peddle Khrushchov's revisionist line on literature and art.

He has actively advocated "a literature and art of the whole people" in direct opposition to Lenin's principle of the Party spirit of literature and Chairman Mao's orientation of literature and art serving the workers, peasants and soldiers. To cover up the

class nature of Soviet revisionist literature and art which serve a handful of old and new bourgeois elements, he has described literature as a "cause of conscience" and said that everything done by the artists is "for man, for mankind."

In order to maintain the privileged positions of Soviet revisionist writers, he vigorously opposes the ideological remoulding of writers. He lives in a villa and openly declares that there is no need for him to go to the "countryside," for it "wastes time and affects creative work."

He frantically opposes the criticism and repudiation of bourgeois literature and art and has made great efforts to foster new and old ghosts and monsters in literary and art circles. The big renegade Pasternak is, in his eyes, a "talented poet" and a large number of reactionary young writers who call themselves "offspring of the 20th Congress" are regarded by him as "real asset."

He has consistently opposed the method of combining revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism in writing; while he is against literature and art portraying the heroic images of workers, peasants and soldiers, he fanatically preaches a whole series of revisionist literary concepts, such as "truthful writing" and "writing about waverers," which are aimed at defaming socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Sholokhov's painstaking efforts to serve the Soviet revisionist leading clique's political line for restoring capitalism over the past decade and more has won its favours in return. Khrushchov paid him a visit in 1959, and later bestowed on him all kinds of medals and titles including Member of the Party's Central Committee and Deputy to the Supreme Soviet. After coming to power, the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique conferred on him the title of "socialist labour hero." He has, in fact, become the biggest representative of the bourgeoisie in the Soviet revisionist literary and art circles and the No. 1 representative, in the field of literature and art, of the privileged stratum of Soviet revisionists.

Faithful Lackey of Imperialism

Chairman Mao said: "The existence of bourgeois influence is the internal source of revisionism and surrender to imperialist pressure the external source." While actively campaigning for the restoration of capitalism at home, Sholokhov works hard abroad in the service of Khrushchov's general line of "peaceful co-existence" of which "Soviet-U.S. co-operation" is the soul. According to incomplete data, he has been to capitalist countries on some 30 occasions to engage in shameful dealings in the capacity of "plenipotentiary representative of Soviet cultural circles" bestowed on him by Khrushchov.

In August 1955, after the four-power summit conference ended in Geneva the month before, Sholokhov

proposed the convocation of a "round-table conference" of the world's writers. He urged the instilling of the so-called "Geneva spirit" into every aspect of international life, and showed particular interest in "Soviet-U.S. cultural exchange."

In 1959, he accompanied Khrushchov to the Camp David talks with Eisenhower which opened the criminal record of overt Soviet-U.S. collaboration in opposition to the world revolution. To mould public opinion, Sholokhov said on the eve of the talks, "Let us visit each other! We have nothing to argue about and no reason to fight one another." After the talks, he joyously acclaimed Khrushchov's wholesale sell-out as "excellent, wonderful!"

In 1963, the Soviet revisionist clique joined the United States and Britain in signing the pact on the partial ban of nuclear tests, thus openly entering into a counter-revolutionary "Holy Alliance" with imperialism, headed by the United States, and all reaction. On the very day the pact was signed, Sholokhov hastily peddled the "Moscow spirit" at a conference of European writers. He urged the writers to "find a common language," "reach agreement" in the same manner as the "important statesmen and diplomats" of the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union, and rig up a "Holy Alliance" of imperialist, revisionist and reactionary writers.

From the "Geneva spirit" to the "Moscow spirit," Sholokhov followed in the footsteps of his boss Khrushchov along a road of increasingly dirty betrayals, thus becoming a faithful lackey of imperialism.

His efforts as a lackey were eventually "rewarded" by his masters. In 1965 the Royal Academy of Sciences of Sweden awarded him the Nobel prize for literature "reserved for Western writers and Eastern traitors." This has all the more exposed his renegade features to the broad daylight.

History is the best witness. At every important historical moment in the class struggle in the Soviet Union, Sholokhov has invariably played the ignominious role of betraying the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

China's unprecedented, great proletarian cultural revolution has greatly inspired and pushed forward the revolutionary struggles of the revolutionary people of the world. The Soviet people, who have the glorious tradition of the October Revolution, will one day rise up to rebel against the Soviet revisionist leading clique. Today we expose Sholokhov to the bright light of Mao Tse-tung's thought, and tomorrow Sholokhov will be brought to trial before the revolutionary people of the Soviet Union. It is certain that the Soviet people will sweep him and Brezhnev, Kosygin and their like all into the dust-bin of history.

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