

The Class Struggle in China's Ideological Sphere

FROM the time of the founding of New China, the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi and his gang have seized upon the field of ideology and the superstructure, exercising counter-revolutionary dictatorship over the proletariat in the various departments they controlled and wildly spreading poisonous weeds. Their criminal aim was to create counter-revolutionary public opinion in preparation for the overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Our great leader Chairman Mao personally led the entire Party and the broad revolutionary masses in waging a tit-for-tat struggle that scored one great victory after another in the many major campaigns launched to criticize the bourgeoisie. Chairman Mao further initiated and is personally leading the current Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution which has attacked the counter-revolutionary positions in which Liu Shao-chi and his gang were entrenched, and which has brought about an all-round proletarian dictatorship in the superstructure, including all spheres of culture. This has consolidated and strengthened the socialist economic base and ensured China's rapid advance along the socialist road.

"Historical experience merits attention." In order to increase the masses' consciousness of the struggle between the two lines and their ability to distinguish between them and enable the working class to firmly occupy the cultural and educational positions and thoroughly transform them by using Mao Tsetung Thought, it is essential that we review the various important campaigns that have taken place in the ideological sphere since countrywide liberation.

Criticism of the Film "The Life of Wu Hsun"

Under Chairman Mao's direct command, the Chinese people finally overthrew the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism in 1949 and won nationwide liberation after protracted struggles. However, the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes were not reconciled to their defeat. They launched fierce attacks in every field against the young proletarian dictatorship. The reactionary films, plays and operas, songs and books and journals which then flooded the cultural and art fields were important instruments used in co-

ordination with the other activities of the class enemies to stage a come-back.

Not long after the birth of New China, just at the time the revolutionary storms of the great land reform movement and the movement to suppress the counter-revolutionaries swept across China and the proletariat was firmly establishing its dictatorship, representatives of the bourgeoisie and feudal remnants, organized and backed by Liu Shao-chi, collaborated to produce the big poisonous weed *The Life of Wu Hsun*. This was a film which the Kuomintang's Central Film Studio did not have time to finish, but which was "inherited" and completed by the counter-revolutionary revisionists Chou Yang and Hsia Yen, who had wormed their way into the Communist Party. It fervently lauded the overthrown landlord class and its running dogs, viciously slandered the Chinese people's revolutionary struggles and openly advocated the most shameless capitulationism and slavishness in a vain attempt to overthrow the new China which was under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Liu Shao-chi and his follower Chou Yang took the lead in praising it as "one of the best Chinese films" and ordered their henchmen inside and outside the Party to release several hundred articles about it in the press. These played up the so-called "Wu Hsun spirit" and whipped up an evil wind for the restoration of the reactionary forces.

The great leader Chairman Mao set off the first great struggle after liberation on the cultural and ideological fronts against this counter-revolutionary offensive. He wrote an editorial for *Renmin Ribao* entitled "Give Serious Attention to the Discussion of the Film *The Life of Wu Hsun*" (May 20, 1951) which sharply pointed out:

"The questions raised by *The Life of Wu Hsun* are fundamental in character. Living in the era of the Chinese people's great struggle against foreign aggressors and the domestic reactionary feudal rulers towards the end of the Ching Dynasty, people like Wu Hsun did not lift a finger to disturb the tiniest fragment of the feudal economic base or its superstructure. On the contrary, they worked fanatically to spread feudal culture and, moreover, sedulously fawned upon the reactionary feudal rulers in order to acquire the status they themselves lacked for spreading feudal culture.

Ought we to praise such vile conduct? Can we ever tolerate such vile conduct being praised to the masses, especially when such praise flaunts the revolutionary flag of 'serving the people' and is underlined by exploiting the failure of the revolutionary peasant struggle? To approve or tolerate such praise means to approve or tolerate reactionary propaganda vilifying the revolutionary struggle of the peasants, the history of China, and the Chinese nation, and to regard such propaganda as justified." Chairman Mao sternly told Liu Shao-chi and his gang which supported and acclaimed *The Life of Wu Hsun*: "Is it not a fact that reactionary bourgeois ideas have found their way into the militant Communist Party? Where on earth is the Marxism which certain Communists claim to have grasped?"

In response to Chairman Mao's great militant call, a vigorous campaign to criticize reactionary bourgeois ideas took place throughout the country. Chairman Mao then initiated and organized a "Group to Investigate Into the History of Wu Hsun." This group waged resolute struggles against the counter-revolutionary rightists sent out by Liu Shao-chi and his gang and wrote the "Report on the Investigations Into the History of Wu Hsun" after extensive and deep-going investigations. Revised by Chairman Mao, the article was published in *Renmin Ribao* in July 1951. It gave iron-clad evidence that Wu Hsun had been nothing but a big scoundrel, money-lender and landlord who served the landlord class and the reactionary government by his drive for "free education." The article solemnly declared: "Now that we are in the era of the People's Republic of China, it is high time to put an end to this malicious trick of using Wu Hsun, who is only a corpse, to dupe the Chinese people." This was the best summing up of this great debate.

Criticism of "Studies of 'The Dream of the Red Chamber'"

1954 marked an important period in the deepening of China's socialist transformation. Guided by the general line mapped out by Chairman Mao of realizing step by step socialist industrialization and the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce, new socialist phenomena constantly appeared on every front while new-born Marxist forces in the ideological sphere also boldly criticized the bourgeoisie and hit them hard. Two "nobodies" published an article in a journal which criticized the reactionary academic authority Yu Ping-po's reactionary bourgeois idealism, formalism and scholasticism embodied in his *Studies of "The Dream of the Red Chamber."* Greatly mortified, the revisionist clique in the literary and art field represented by Chou Yang and Co., which was under the wing of the arch renegade Liu Shao-chi, came out openly to back the

bourgeois "authorities" and praise them in journals and papers which they monopolized. Like overlords, they suppressed and persecuted the new-born Marxist forces. They gave their full support to the extremely reactionary idealism of the Hu Shih school and served the bourgeoisie in resisting socialist transformation.

Once again Chairman Mao started the criticism against the *Studies of "The Dream of the Red Chamber"* and Hu Shih's reactionary ideas. In a letter to the comrades of the Political Bureau of the Party's Central Committee and other comrades concerned, Chairman Mao profoundly and sharply criticized Liu Shao-chi and his gang's crime in suppressing criticism of the bourgeoisie. He vehemently pointed out:

"The whole thing has been set going by two 'nobodies', while the 'big shots' usually ignore or even obstruct it, and they form a united front with bourgeois writers on the basis of idealism and become willing captives of the bourgeoisie. It was almost the same when the films *Inside Story of the Ching Court* and *The Life of Wu Hsun* were shown. The film *Inside Story of the Ching Court*, which has been described by certain people as patriotic but is in fact a film of national betrayal, has not been criticized and repudiated at any time since it was shown all over the country. Although *The Life of Wu Hsun* has been criticized, up to now no lessons have been drawn; what is more, we have the strange situation in which Yu Ping-po's idealism is tolerated and lively critical essays by 'nobodies' are obstructed. This deserves our attention." This letter was the proletariat's battle order in the ideological sphere. It was most incisive in criticizing the crime of Chou Yang, one of the revisionist chieftains in literary and art circles, who publicized reactionary bourgeois ideas, and it thoroughly exposed the reactionary bourgeois line which attacked the revolutionary forces. Breaking through the barriers and blockade set up by Liu Shao-chi's counter-revolutionary clique, a great struggle to criticize the *Studies of "The Dream of the Red Chamber"* and Hu Shih's reactionary ideas swiftly developed. It ended in victory for still one more campaign on the ideological front.

Criticism of the Hu Feng Counter-Revolutionary Clique

Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, China's socialist revolution made continuous advances from 1954 to 1955 on the political, ideological, economic and cultural fronts, winning one great victory after another. Unreconciled to their defeat, the imperialists and reactionaries of all countries and the Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang, as well as the counter-revolutionary cliques which they secretly set up on the mainland and their lackeys, resorted to frantic actions. Internationally, following the death of Comrade Stalin, the adverse current of modern revisionism began to spread and ghosts and monsters came into the open one after

another. Under such circumstances, Hu Feng, the counter-revolutionary element who had wormed his way into the literary and art circles, came up with his so-called 300,000-character "proposal" concerning literary and art questions which was addressed to the Party's Central Committee. This "pile of grenades" openly attacked our great leader Chairman Mao and great Mao Tsetung Thought and venomously compared the correct proletarian revolutionary line—the advocacy of the study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, integration with workers, peasants and soldiers, the ideological remoulding of the intellectuals, service to proletarian politics, and the Chinese national forms loved by the masses—to "five cleavers hanging over the heads of writers and readers." This counter-revolutionary programme was a sinister signal flare raising up all ghosts and monsters and hidden counter-revolutionaries to seize back power from the proletariat. Directed by Liu Shao-chi, Chou Yang and company feverishly praised Hu Feng, calling his reactionary programme "excellent" and flattering him as a "Bolshevik outside the Party." They also handed over to him the platform and market-place to spread his poison. This again revealed their fierce counter-revolutionary features.

The proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao dealt severe head-on blows to the reactionary forces that made wild challenges. It thoroughly exposed, criticized and overthrew the Hu Feng counter-revolutionary clique, and dug out the hidden counter-revolutionaries on all fronts. Playing dead, Hu Feng in January 1955 came up with a phoney self-criticism. In May and June, *Renmin Ribao* made public in three instalments materials about the Hu Feng counter-revolutionary clique. Chairman Mao wrote an introduction and many very penetrating and very important editor's notes for these materials, and issued the militant call to criticize the Hu Feng counter-revolutionary clique. Hitting the nail on the head, Chairman Mao pointed out: **"The task of this counter-revolutionary faction and underground kingdom is to overthrow the People's Republic of China and restore imperialist and Kuomintang rule."** He incisively taught the whole Party and the whole nation: **"In the era in which classes and class struggle still exist both at home and abroad, the working class and the masses who have seized state power must suppress all counter-revolutionary classes, groups or individuals resisting the revolution, stop their activities aiming at a come-back and prohibit all counter-revolutionaries from exploiting freedom of speech for counter-revolutionary purposes."** This instruction enormously raised the revolutionary vigilance of the revolutionary people throughout the nation. A great struggle was then immediately launched to eliminate all hidden counter-revolutionaries.

The momentous mass movement, which was a shattering blow to the social base of the Liu Shao-chi counter-revolutionary clique, purged the handful of

counter-revolutionaries who had sneaked into the revolutionary camp, and scored great victories.

Drawing his conclusion from the struggle to criticize the Hu Feng counter-revolutionary clique, Chairman Mao pointed out: **"If there is anything positive the Hu Feng clique can give us, it is the marked raising of our political consciousness and sensitiveness through the present soul-stirring struggle and the consequent resolve to suppress all counter-revolutionaries; this will help greatly to consolidate our revolutionary dictatorship so that we can carry the revolution through to the end and achieve the objective of building a great socialist state."**

Criticism of Liu Shao-chi's Bourgeois Idealism And Metaphysics

In 1962, at the crucial moment in the fierce struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines at home and abroad, the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi republished his big poisonous weed, the sinister book *Self-Cultivation*, which he had written in 1939. This book liquidated revolution, discarded class struggle, betrayed the dictatorship of the proletariat, opposed Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and disseminated reactionary bourgeois idealism and metaphysics. **By republishing this evil book, Liu Shao-chi launched an attack against our Party, the proletariat and the revolutionary people.** He never talked about waging struggle against imperialism, revisionism and reaction or consolidating the state power of the proletariat in his sinister *Self-Cultivation*. On the contrary, he spared no efforts to peddle feudal landlord class ideology, asking Communists to "ponder over their mistakes behind closed doors" in isolation from the great revolutionary practice and engage in idealistic "self-cultivation." At the same time, he also energetically advocated the decadent bourgeois philosophy of life, such as "losing a little to gain much." He tried to turn Communists into "docile tools" surrendering to the evil gust of restoring capitalism and to change the political colour of our state under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Chairman Mao was the first to perceive the danger of the counter-revolutionary plots of Liu Shao-chi and his gang, and put forward at the working conference of the Party's Central Committee in January 1962 the question of guarding against revisionism. Then, Chairman Mao made public in May 1963 his brilliant writing — *Where Do Correct Ideas Come From?* which thoroughly criticized the reactionary bourgeois idealism and metaphysics spread by Liu Shao-chi in his sinister *Self-Cultivation* and in a series of his other poisonous weeds. Chairman Mao pointed out: **"They [correct ideas] come from social practice, and from it alone; they come from three kinds of social practice, the struggle**

for production, the class struggle and scientific experiment. It is man's social being that determines his thinking. 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." "It is . . . necessary to educate our comrades in the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge, so that they can orientate their thinking correctly, become good at investigation and study and at summing up experience, overcome difficulties, commit fewer mistakes, do their work better, and struggle hard so as to build China into a great and powerful socialist country and help the broad masses of the oppressed and exploited throughout the world in fulfilment of our great internationalist duty." This great call of Chairman Mao's shattered Liu Shao-chi and company's attempt to use reactionary bourgeois ideology to lead our Party on to the revisionist road.

At the same time, Chairman Mao, aiming at Liu Shao-chi's plot to restore capitalism, once again warned the entire Party in the "Draft Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on Certain Problems in Our Present Rural Work" (i.e., the 10-Point Decision), which was worked out under his personal direction: If classes and class struggle were forgotten and if the dictatorship of the proletariat were forgotten, "then it would not be long, perhaps only several years or a decade, or several decades at most, before a counter-revolutionary restoration on a national scale would inevitably occur, the Marxist-Leninist party would undoubtedly become a revisionist party, a fascist party, and the whole of China would change its colour. Comrades, please think it over. What a dangerous situation this would be!" Chairman Mao led the entire Party and the broad masses of the people to carry out the socialist education movement in a deep-going way and on a wide scale in all spheres and wage a fierce and tit-for-tat struggle against the capitalist and feudal forces represented by Liu Shao-chi, that were attacking frantically. As a result, their counter-revolutionary arrogance was suppressed.

Criticism of Literary and Art Departments Controlled by Liu Shao-chi

Making use of the power he usurped after the liberation of the country, Liu Shao-chi recruited renegades and turncoats to control the cultural, art, educational, journalistic and health departments in the superstructure and pushed the revisionist line in literature and art in an all-round way. Their aim was to create counter-revolutionary public opinion in preparing for the overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the usurpation of Party, army and government leadership.

During the three years of natural calamities from 1959 to 1961, a frenzied anti-Party adverse current

rolled across the ideological field alongside with the evil wind to reverse previous correct decisions and restore capitalism that had been set loose by the ghosts and monsters in society, and the big imperialist, revisionist and reactionary anti-China chorus in the international arena. Liu Shao-chi openly babbled in 1961 that *Yang Yen-hui Visits His Mother* (a Peking opera in praise of a renegade), *The Emperor Flirts With the Waitress* and *The Two Faithful Courtiers* (two reactionary gutter Peking operas) should be "kept" and "inherited." Next, sinister anti-Party and anti-socialist dramas such as *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office* and *Hsieh Yao-huan* and other poisonous numbers were rushed forward. The stage was filled with all kinds of plays and operas about emperors and kings, generals and ministers, talents and beauties, ghosts and foreign mummies from the 17th and 18th centuries. A foul stench covered the stage.

Chairman Mao on many occasions thoroughly exposed and severely criticized these serious phenomena in the literary and art departments. He pointed out sharply in 1963: "Problems abound in all forms of art such as the drama, ballads, music, the fine arts, the dance, the cinema, poetry and literature, and the people involved are numerous; in many departments very little has been achieved so far in socialist transformation. The 'dead' still dominate in many departments." As to the Ministry of Culture, "if it refuses to change, it should be renamed the Ministry of Emperors, Kings, Generals and Ministers, the Ministry of Talents and Beauties or the Ministry of Foreign Mummies." Likewise, the Ministry of Health should be renamed the "Ministry of Health for Urban Overlords." Chairman Mao sternly asked: "Isn't it absurd that many Communists are enthusiastic about promoting feudal and capitalist art, but not socialist art?" Hitting the nail on the head, he once again pointed out in 1964: "In the last fifteen years . . . by and large the people" in the literary and art departments "(that is not everybody) have not carried out the policies of the Party. They have acted as high and mighty bureaucrats, have not gone to the workers, peasants and soldiers and have not reflected the socialist revolution and socialist construction. In recent years, they have slid right down to the brink of revisionism. Unless they remould themselves in real earnest, at some future date they are bound to become groups like the Hungarian Petofi Club."

Under the personal guidance of Chairman Mao and the direct leadership of Comrade Chiang Ching, the proletariat first launched a revolution in the fields of Peking opera, the ballet and symphonic music, fields that the landlord and capitalist classes had regarded as "sacred and inviolable." Comrade Chiang Ching solemnly declared: "We must create literature and art that protect our own socialist economic base." Despite every possible kind of resistance and sabotage by Liu Shao-chi and his gang, the proletarian revolutionary

fighters in the literary and art fields led by Comrade Chiang Ching finally scored important successes after arduous struggles. *Taking the Bandits' Stronghold, On the Docks, The Red Lantern, Shachiapang and Raid on the White Tiger Regiment* (Peking operas), *The Red Detachment of Women* and *The White-Haired Girl* (ballets), and *Shachiapang* (symphonic music) — model revolutionary theatrical works shining with the brilliance of Mao Tsetung Thought have emerged. The heroic images of the workers, peasants and soldiers finally stood up on the stage. This great earth-shaking change ushered in a new era in proletarian literature and art. It is a great victory for Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line in literature and art and the great beginning of China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Criticism of the New Historical Drama "Hai Jui Dismissed From Office"

Under Chairman Mao's personal concern, Shanghai's *Wenhui Bao* published Comrade Yao Wen-yuan's important article "On the New Historical Drama *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office*" in November 1965. Its spearhead was aimed at the den of the revisionist clique — that impenetrable and watertight "independent kingdom" under Liu Shao-chi's control, the old Peking Municipal Party Committee. This is the militant prelude to the great political revolution carried out under the dictatorship of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes.

Hai Jui Dismissed From Office was a counter-revolutionary political missile used by Liu Shao-chi's bourgeois headquarters to oppose Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line in a fruitless attempt to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat. Wu Han, author of the play, is a bourgeois representative whom Liu Shao-chi, Peng Chen and their gang had long protected and given important posts. When the Peng Teh-huai anti-Party clique launched a wild attack in 1959 on the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao, Wu Han could wait no longer and dredged up *Hai Jui Scolds the Emperor* and other poisonous weeds to reinforce Peng Teh-huai's attack. After his anti-Party activities had met with utter failure and he was dismissed from office, Peng Teh-huai, instigated by Liu Shao-chi and Peng Chen, openly jumped up to reverse the correct verdict passed on him. Simultaneously, in co-ordination with this occasion, Wu Han and some anti-Party and anti-socialist bourgeois representatives, following the sinister instruction of Liu Shao-chi and Peng Chen, worked out the new historical play *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office* in 1961 after seven rewrites. In it, they blatantly demanded that the "dismissed" "justice-upholder Hai Jui" (i.e., the incarnation of Peng Teh-huai) "take office again so as to put the state in order."

At a conference of the Party's Central Committee in 1965, Chairman Mao issued the militant call to the whole Party: "We must criticize reactionary bourgeois ideas." He also clearly stated that it was necessary to criticize the reactionary bourgeois "authority" Wu Han and criticize his anti-Party and anti-socialist *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office*. Guided by Chairman Mao, Comrade Yao Wen-yuan wrote the revolutionary critical essay "On the New Historical Drama *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office*," to declare war on the bourgeois headquarters.

The publication of this article was a vital blow to the Liu Shao-chi counter-revolutionary revisionist clique. They made furious counter-attacks in a futile effort to stubbornly hold the bourgeois reactionary positions. Liu Shao-chi directed the old Peking Municipal Party Committee, the old Propaganda Department of the Party's Central Committee and the old Ministry of Culture to launch open resistance, and Peng Chen issued the order for all Peking newspapers not to carry Comrade Yao Wen-yuan's article. Seeing that they were unable to hold back the revolutionary tide, they stepped forth with the counter-revolutionary "February Outline" after careful plotting, and actually carried out connivance under the disguise of phoney criticism in a vain attempt to lead serious political criticism astray into "pure academic discussion." But the great leader Chairman Mao saw through their plot in time and pointed out in one of his talks: "The crucial point [of the play *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office*] is 'dismissed from office.' The Emperor Chia Ching dismissed Hai Jui from office, and in 1959 we dismissed Peng Teh-huai. And Peng Teh-huai is 'Hai Jui.'" Chairman Mao personally presided over the working out of the great historical document the Circular of May 16, 1966. The Circular, which thoroughly criticized the "February Outline" aiming at undermining the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, issued the fighting call to the entire Party: "Hold high the great banner of the proletarian cultural revolution, thoroughly expose the reactionary bourgeois stand of those so-called academic authorities who oppose the Party and socialism, thoroughly criticize and repudiate reactionary bourgeois ideas in the sphere of academic work, education, journalism, literature and art and publishing, and seize the leadership in these cultural spheres." Guided by invincible Mao Tsetung Thought, the working class and the broad revolutionary masses have destroyed the obstacles of the bourgeois reactionary line set up by Liu Shao-chi and his gang, shattered the "Palaces of the Rulers of Hell" such as the old Propaganda Department of the Party's Central Committee and the old Peking Municipal Party Committee, and rushed forward along the broad revolutionary road. With the momentum of an avalanche and the force of a thunderbolt, the mammoth Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has swept all China and shaken the entire world.