

MIND-MURDER IN MAO-LAND

By
SITA RAM GOEL

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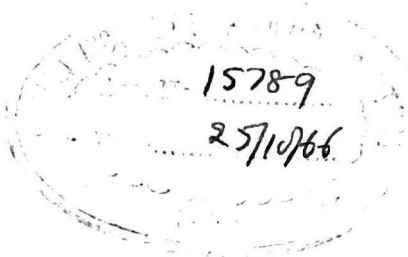
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INTRODUCTION

"There are signs of all round regimentation by the State. Regimentation of thought is being attempted by a movement known as thought-reform. Many intellectuals have migrated to America", stated Acharya Narendra Deva, on his return from Red China.¹

A few days later he made another statement :—

"Text-books, particularly of history have been re-written from the communist angle and in many cases facts and events have been presented with disregard for the objective truth. Another unfortunate trend in Chinese life is the extent of indoctrination that prevails and which does not allow free-growth and development of the intellect."²

Dr. Amarnath Jha, another visitor to China, did not like the changes in the universities of Red China. He said : "I was disappointed at what we found in Chinese Universities. Practically all foreign teachers have disappeared."³ He repeated his complaint in another statement : "The delegation was, however, disappointed with the standard of education in the Universities. They have huge libraries, some containing more than four or five thousand volumes,

1. National Herald of Lucknow, dated June 18, 1952.

2. Hindustan Times of Delhi, dated June 29, 1952.

3. Hindustan Times of Delhi, dated June 11, 1952.

but in most of them they teach nothing except the writings of Lenin, Marx and Mao Tse-tung.”¹ Regarding art and literature, Dr. Jha commented that “no artist can draw if it did not deal with either a peasant or worker or a soldier. In the same way no literary man or poet can deal with subjects that do not speak of those three things.”²

Mr. S. N. Bendre, an Indian artist included in our cultural delegation to China, regretted that, “artists do not seem to know what they are expected to produce.....the freedom of the soul is lacking, and I for one prefer the liberty enjoyed by artists in India.”³

A study of the Chinese press supports what Acharya Narendra Deva, Dr. Jha and Mr. Bendre felt about Red China’s cultural “transformation” during their few weeks’ stay there. We give below a few statements directly taken from the Chinese press to show what is exactly taking place.

The newspaper *Chieh Fang Jih Pao* published from Shanghai contained the following news-item in its issue dated August 6, 1952 :

“The East China Committee for Readjustment of Faculties in Higher Educational Institutes has announced a complete plan for readjustment.

“After the readjustment, the higher educational institutes march towards planned education. *A system of political work will be initiated in higher educational institutions in a planned manner, and education on political ideology will be reinforced.* On the teaching

1. National Herald of Lucknow, dated June 25, 1952

2. National Standard of Bombay, dated August 8, 1952.

3. Times of India, Bombay, dated June 25, 1952.

side, we shall march gradually towards collective teaching, and research organs for teaching will be opened one by one to enable people's teachers of New China to elevate incessantly their political and academical standards and to shoulder the responsibility of *rearing well trained, virtuous and healthy backbones with Communist ideology for national construction.*"

New China News Agency from Hankow reported on August 15, 1952, that :

"The literary and arts reform campaign in literary and arts organs, bodies and schools of the Central-South region and Wuhan has formally started. On August 8, over 800 literary and arts workers of Central-South region and Wuhan municipality held a mobilization rally for ideological reform and study. At the rally, a mobilisation report was presented by Chen Huang-mei deputy director of the Propaganda Department of CCP Central-South Bureau.

"Chen Huang-mei pointed out that the *fundamental and the most widespread short comings existing in the literary and art work of the Central-South region is the serious estrangement from politics, from practical activities and from the masses. The art leadership organs and some leading cadres relax their struggle against all modes of non-proletarian literary and arts ideologies. Secondly, they neglect the ideological reform of literary and arts workers. Thirdly, they lack an over-all view of the construction of literary and arts campaign which is in a thriving state of development. Fourthly, in literary and arts organs, bodies and schools the study of Marxism-Leninism is not regularly conducted, nor is satisfactory work done to experience life and conduct technical studies.*

"In our study this time we must see to it that a clear ideology and viewpoint of the working class is built up by all literary and arts workers and that the leadership of the working class is firmly established. We require every literary and arts worker to have a high sense of responsibility for literary and arts work and bring into full play the active strength of the literary and arts workers in their struggle for the development and consolidation of the ideology of the working class."

The important Shanghai magazine, *China Monthly Review* stated in its September, 1952 issue that :

"For some time China's historians have been engaged in the absorbing task of re-interpreting the country's history.

"They have found that China has followed a historical process similar to that of other peoples, passing through definite stages in the development of production relationships, i. e., through primitive communism, the slave system, the feudalistic system, etc.

"Last July, the China History Society was inaugurated in Peking, in order to give unified leadership to the collective effort of China's historians. The new direction in history, pointed out by Kuo Mo-jo in his inaugural speech, includes the following principles : (1) from idealism to materialism : (2) from individual to collective study : (3) towards the study of history as a mass enterprise : (4) from neglect to intensive study of modern history ; (5) from concentration upon the Hans to study of the minority races ; and (6) from study of European and American history to the study of Asian history.

"China's historians are now working along these lines to construct China's science of history."

New China News Agency again reported a "thought-reform" movement in its despatch from Peking on September 29, 1952. It said :

"Three years ago, when the capitalist ideological system was still in a dominant position here, the greater part of the teachers displaying a 'subjective' attitude were suspicious of the Communist Party, and were preoccupied with their knowledge and technical skill without giving a thought to politics. Though a certain amount of political studying was carried out during the initial period after the liberation, it was however fundamentally a study of dogmatism. In the spring of 1950, Professor Ai Ssu-ch'1 visited Tsinghua thrice to give lectures. Thereafter, *the reactionary and the decadent capitalist ideology of the teachers began to be shaken. In the course of these three years, the ideological state of the teachers became much improved as a result of the land reform, resist-U. S. and aid-Korea and suppression of counter-revolutionary movements.*

"Another important accomplishment in Tsinghua lies in criticism of individualism. Formerly, numerous Tsinghua professors with high scholastic standing never bothered themselves with politics and considered administrative work to be beneath them. In Tsinghua the saying was 'scholarship first, teaching second, and administrative work third'. They have now realized that it was all due to individualism thus to attach different degrees of importance to different phases of the working of the people.

"Following the criticism of individualism, the political enthusiasm of all the teachers became universally

heightened, and professors of established standing can always be found attending indoctrination classes with the students." The prestige of the Communist Party has risen to new heights among the teachers."

Chieh Fang Jih Pao of Shanghai contained a more detailed account in its issue dated October 20, 1952. It read :

"After acquiring experience in the 1st group of institute of higher learning in Shanghai, the 3-anti and ideological reform campaigns were started in early May and early July respectively and concluded at the end of September by the 2nd and 3rd groups of institutes of higher learning and colleges under various technical departments.

"This movement represents the close co-ordination of ideological reform and the 3-anti campaign, starting with 3-anti work and aimed principally at ideological reform. Under the strong leadership of the various school committees, *democracy was fully manifested, the masses were freely mobilized, popular criticism and self-criticism were carried out and one and all made solemn and systematic self-examination.*

"*Having been subjected to criticism, the teachers succeeded in drawing a line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves and universally came to acknowledge the greatness and loveliness of New China. Many professors drew a cross on their diplomas received in the U. S. and for long treated as a 'golden signboard' and turned over to their organizations the 'golden keys' presented to them by U. S. 'scientific societies', using concrete action to demonstrate their determination 'to teach in the interests of the fatherland, to work in the interests of the fatherland'.*

"Further, the various erroneous thoughts of the bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie were subjected to stern criticism, an ideological line of demarcation was drawn between the working class and the bourgeoisie, the dominant position of bourgeois ideology in the institutes of higher learning was ended and the leading position of the ideology of the working class was initially established.

"After self-examination, the teachers came to realize the necessity of taking the firm stand of the working class, decided on the direction of their future efforts and asked to study Marxism-Leninism and Mao-Tse-tung thought and asked for strengthening of the political leadership of their schools.

"Finally, on the foundation of ideological criticism, the teachers, students and staff members consciously and voluntarily made a clean breast of their historical and political problems, demonstrating their determination to reform themselves thoroughly. Many teachers, having laid down their historical and political 'baggage', were profoundly grateful to the Party and the Government for their salvation, grateful to the comrades for their enthusiastic help and were happy at their own re-birth.

"With their political consciousness rapidly enhanced, the college teachers, students and staff members applied for membership of the CCP and NDYL in large numbers. Apart from this, an upsurge of Russian language study has been started for the purpose of studying the experience and advanced scientific technique of the Soviet Union."

Another *New China News Agency* report from Peking on October 26, 1952 stated that :

"The National Committee of the Educational Trade Unions held its 4th plenary session in Peking on October 13-19. The agenda of the meeting centred around discussions on how, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, to conduct the pedagogical work in collaboration with the educational administration by developing the movement for ideological reform and self-education of the teachers.

"Chairman of the Committee Wu Yu-chang called on the educational workers to recognize their responsibilities at this time, to undergo seriously an ideological reform, to acquire the concept of specialization, to learn hard and to do good pedagogical work."

That the "reform" movement is not confined to education, art, literature and history only, but also affects science is confirmed by yet another report in *New China News Agency*, Peking on November 21, 1952. It stated :

"The ideological remoulding and study movement of the scientific workers of the China Academy of Sciences in Peking has now been brought to a successful conclusion.

"Through the study movement, the scientific workers in general have *subjected themselves to serious criticism for their bourgeois revisionism, sectarianism, liberalism, indifference to politics and the people's interest, and incoordination of theory with practice.* Many of the scientific workers blindly worshipped the European and American bourgeoisie in the past, believing that 'knowledge is above all', 'science is supreme', and 'science is supra-politics and supra-class.' Through study movement, they have gained a comparatively better understanding of the menaces of these mistaken concepts and bad style of work. *Many of them have begun*

to pay attention to the study of Marxism-Leninism and advanced Soviet Science, while others after examining their erroneous thoughts organized themselves for the study of the Marxist Leninist theories. Many higher research personnel niapped out concrete plans for the study of Marzism-Leninism and Mao-Tse-tung thought.

"Throughout the study movement, the scientific workers in Peking conducted serious criticism and self-criticism, which has become a regular practice now of these workers in their research work. Their arrogance and self-complascency are completely rectified."

Those, who have kept contact with the ideas of the Chinese communists regarding culture and who know the history of frequent "cultural purges" in Soviet Russia, are not surprised by this spiritual tragedy taking place in China. They knew that such things were bound to happen once the communists seized power in China. Mao Tse Tung had given the warning in his book CHINA'S NEW DEMOCRACY when it first appeared in 1940. He had clearly stated :

"A given culture is the ideological reflection of the politics and economy of a given society. In China there is imperialist culture which is the reflection of the control or the partial control of imperialist politics and economy over China. This kind of culture, besides being advocated by the cultural organisations run directly by the imperialists in China, is also advocated by some shameless people. All cultures with 'slave ideology' belong to this group. There is also a semi-feudal culture in China which reflects the semi-feudal politics and economy of the country. Those who advocated the worship of Confucius, the study of ancient classics, the practice of old rules of propriety and old thoughts and the

*opposition of new culture and new thoughts are the representatives of this kind of culture. The imperialist and the semi-feudal cultures are intimate friends. They have formed an alliance of the reactionary cultures to oppose the new culture and served the benefits of the imperialists and the feudal class, and they should therefore be unquestionably overthrown. Without the overthrow of these reactionary cultures the new culture can never be established. One cannot be established or extended if the other is not stopped or crushed. The struggle between the two is a struggle of life and death."*¹

On May 23, 1942 Mao had delivered his famous *Address at the Yenan Round Table Discussion on Literature and Art*, now available in a pamphlet named PROBLEMS OF ART AND LITERATURE, published by the People's Publishing House, Bombay in 1950. We give below some significant portions to indicate the main trend of Mao's argument.

Mao's address began with a clear-cut statement that, "we have called this meeting for the express purpose of *making literature and art part of our revolutionary machinery* so that they may become a *powerful weapon* with which to unite and educate our people, to *attack and destroy the enemy* and to help our people fight the enemy unitedly."²

Mao went on to define the class-basis of all art and literature in the following words :

"All culture or all present day literature and art belong to a certain class, to a certain party or to a certain political line. There is no such thing as art for art's

1. China's New Democracy by Mao Tse Tung, page 29, People's Publishing House, Bombay, October 1950.

2. Problem of Literature & Art, page 4.

sake, or literature and art that lie above class distinctions or above partisan interests. *There is no such thing as literature and art running parallel to politics or being independent of politics.*"¹

In a further statement he placed politics above art and literature :

"Furthermore, when we say that literature and art are subordinate to politics we mean class politics and mass politics, not the so-called politics of a few politicians. Politics, whether revolutionary or counter-revolutionary, represent the struggle between two opposing classes, not the behaviour of isolated individuals. *The war of an ideology and the war of literature and art, especially the war of a revolutionary ideology and the war of revolutionary literature and art, must be subordinate to the political war* because the needs of a class and of the masses can be expressed in concentrated form only through politics."²

The Chinese leader also formulated a "united front" policy in art and literature. This is significant in view of the fact that the Chinese Communists obtained substantial support from the leading writers and artists in China by the time they gained political supremacy on the mainland. Many of these writers and artists are now under fire as the following reproductions from their "confessions of error" would show. In 1942 Mao had said :

"Let us now consider the problem of a united front in literature and art. Since literature and art are subordinate to politics and since the key problem of Chinese politics to-day is that of resisting Japan,

1. Ibid, page 26.

2. Ibid, page 27.

*it becomes the prime duty of our Party workers in literature and art to unite on an Anti-Japanese platform with all writers and artists outside the Party (from Party sympathisers, petty-bourgeois writers and artists to writers and artists of the bourgeois and landlord classes).”*¹

When the Japanese were defeated, the same sort of “United Front” was successfully mobilised against the Kuomintang Government. Whether the people of China were with the Communists or not, it can be safely stated that the Chinese intellectuals and writers etc., were actually or psychologically with the Chinese Communists on the eve of the communist victory in China. Perhaps they did not notice Mao’s warning when he said in 1942 :

“ ‘Will not Marxism-Leninism destroy the creative spirit ?’ Oh yes, it will. *It will destroy the feudal, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois creative spirit ; the creative spirit that stands for art for art’s sake and is aristocratic, defeatist and pessimistic.* It will destroy any brand of creative spirit which is not of the masses and of the proletariat. And is it not right that these brands of creative spirit should be destroyed as far as proletarian writers and artists are concerned ? I think so. They should be extirpated to make room for the new.”²

Mao Tse-tung kept in mind his “promise” regarding the “promotion” of a “new” culture when the People’s Republic of China was founded. The Common Program of The Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference adopted by the First Plenary Session of the Chinese People’s PCC on September 29th, 1949, in Peking, defined Red China’s “Cultural and Educational Policy” in Chapter V which includes Articles 41 to 49. Some of the articles are as follows :-

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1. Problems of Literature & Art, P. 27-28.
 2. Ibid, P. 37.

Article 41. The culture and education of the People's Republic of China shall be New Democratic, national, scientific and popular. The main tasks of the People's Government in cultural and educational work shall be the raising of the cultural level of the people, the training of personnel for national construction work, the eradicating of feudal, compradore and fascist ideology and the developing of the ideology of service to the people,

Article 44. The application of a scientific-historical view-point to the study and interpretation of history, economics, politics, culture and international affairs shall be promoted.

Article 45. Literature and art shall be promoted to serve the people, to *awaken their political consciousness, and to enhance their enthusiasm for labour.*

Article 46. The method of education of the People's Republic of China shall be the *unification of theory and practice.*¹

On may 23, 1952, Communist China celebrated the Tenth Anniversary of Mao Tse-tung's *Address* at Yen-an. There were many Commemoration rallies and special articles all over Red China. The important paper *Jen Min Jih Pao* published an editorial, "Continue the Struggle for Mao Tse-tung's Literary and Art Drive", portions of which we give below :

"For the past 2 years, though the new situation created as a result of nation-wide revolutionary victory has enabled the literary and art movement to make big

1. The Important Documents of the First Plenary Session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conf. P. 16 17 Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1949

advances, it too gave birth to numerous new problems. Large numbers of un-reformed bourgeois and petty-bourgeois literary and art workers have since joined the revolutionary literary and art ranks to bring with them the ideological remnants of the old. Literary and art workers of the old liberated areas, on their entering the urban districts, became corroded and influenced by bourgeois ideology into losing their direction, and numerous leading personnel of the literary and art circles further gave up or became tired of the work of ideological leadership, and thereby fell into the trap of 'administrationism' (preoccupation with administrative affairs).

"Numerous revolutionary literary and art workers have adopted an attitude of liberalism in the unprincipled toleration and neglect of the propaganda activities of non-proletarian ideology, or even shamelessly praised and extolled such ideology. The ideological line of demarcation and class standpoint in literature and art has thus been distorted to further the growth of bourgeois ideology. As we all know, the thorough implementation of the literary and art policy of Comrade Mao Tse-tung is only possible through incessant ideological struggle.

"In the second place, though seemingly just the opposite of the above tendency, nevertheless there is the tendency for formularisation and indulgence in concepts, (trans. note : By formularisation is meant the tendency to depend upon the concept instead of upon the percept) which is also a manifestation of isolation from the masses and estrangement from life. This tendency is in the main the result of a vulgar interpretation of the political mission of literature and art,

Aside from indulging in slogans and concepts, compositions of this sort are absolutely empty, with characters without flesh and blood and without personality, and contents without life.

“They have neither made a faithful study of actual life nor engaged themselves faithfully in artistic creation, but have only closed their eyes to deal with the realities and art in a coarse manner. They may be said to be loafers in literary and arts work, and we cannot expect a loafer to make any real contribution to the people and to politics. Consequently, though their compositions may seem to be strongly politically inclined, yet actually they can only nullify the real service of literature and art to politics.

“Among our numerous compositions, a character still remains to be created who can truly serve as an example to be emulated by the teeming millions of the people. Such a character is badly needed in actual life to serve as a leading force in improving our lives. It is accordingly the duty of the artist to express this force with the greatest of enthusiasm, thus turning such a character into the example to be emulated by the teeming millions, and encouraging the people to struggle for their beautiful ideal. Apparently it must be totally beyond the capacity of formula-and-concept inclined compositions to fulfil such a mission.

“The thorough ideological reform of literary and art workers is indispensable for the fundamental rectification of the above-mentioned mistakes and other mistakes. The current nation-wide literary and art remolding movement is designed to solve this important problem.

"On the occasion for commemorating the 10th anniversary of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's address at the *Yenan Round Table Discussion on Literature and Art*, it behooves every single literary and art worker to examine his own work on the basis of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's instructions, so as to gain the necessary experience, rectify mistakes, and heighten our sense of political and artistic responsibility, so that we are better prepared to face our future tasks with increased courage."

There were special articles by Mao Tun, the Minister of Cultural Affairs and Kuo Mo-Jo who wrote under the title "Remain Forever A Cultural Advanced Guard under the Banner of Mao Tse-tung": ¹

"The literary and art workers of the whole country joined forces at the First All-China Conference of Writers and Artists which took place in July 1949. At the Conference all the representatives raised their hands to accept the literary and art line as given in Chairman Mao's *Address*. Definite accomplishments have since been achieved by those who were prepared to exert themselves in the correct direction; as for instance, certain literary and art workers have played an effective part in furthering the patriotic oppositions. However taken as a whole, our literary and art activities have upto now failed to meet the actual needs. The slow progress in rapid advances made in the fields of military, political and economic construction. In all phases of literary and art work, whether in creating writing, criticism, the teaching of literary and art theories, or in administrative leadership, there seems to be a total suspension of activities thus resulting in the

1. Peking Jen Min Jih Pao, May 23, 1952.

possibility for mistaken or even reactionary literary and art productions to flood the market. That it was possible for the motion picture 'The Story of Wu Hsun', which advocates the education of enslavement and distorts the historical truth, to be produced, shown, and, to a certain extent, praised should undoubtedly be considered as nothing less than the 'insane attack of bourgeois ideology.'

"This warning is very much to the point, and I am a very good example. As a literary and art worker who was formerly engaged in creative writing and criticism and is now charged with literary and art administrative work, I have failed to accomplish anything in the course of the past 2 years. The cause for this lies in my isolation from the masses and from the actual way of living. In failing to 'live among the workers, peasants and soldiers masses for long periods, unconditionally and whole-heartedly, to enter the heat of the struggle', I lost the source of creative activities and became deprived of material and half-finished products for processing.

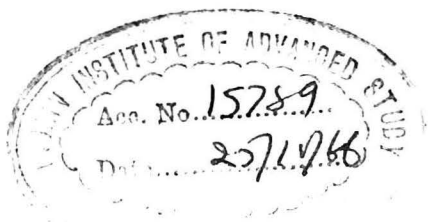
"Let our friends increase their sense of vigilance. I have long been struck by feelings of shame. I sincerely hope to be able to carry out reforms incessantly and to change completely 'from one class to another'. Since 'it will definitely take 8 to 10 years before this problem can be fully solved', then starting from today I am fully prepared to spend another '8 to 10 years.' As long as I keep on breathing I shall incessantly keep up my vigilance, keep up my studies, and reform myself and improve my work incessantly.

"I shall fight to remain for-ever a cultural advanced guard under the banner of Mao Tse tung."

On May 26, 1952 Chou Yang wrote a long article calling attention to persistence of "*major defects (formalism abstraction and dogmatism) in contemporary artistic work in China.*" At the same time there were some personal statements by some leading literary figures in Communist China, expressing regret at their "past mistakes and their failure to be faithful to the common people of China." We reprint here a sample selection of these "confessions of error". It is our belief that these "confessions" would receive serious thought from our intellectuals, artists and writers, especially those who hobnob with the "Indian Progressive Writers and Artists Association" and similar communist fronts in the field of education and culture. They should also stop the glib talk about India's cultural ties with China. Such loose talk has become a fashion amongst our fashionable gentry who hardly know what is culture, far less Indian or Chinese culture, but who must say something on current topics after they have had their sumptuous dinners.

The fortnightly English magazine *People's China* published from Peking had a regular section named "Cultural Front" reporting various cultural activities in Red China. This section was suddenly abolished and *People's China* No. 16 dated August 1, 1952 contained no cultural feature. This feature has not reappeared in any subsequent issue of *People's China*. It is significant that *People's China* No. 13, dated July 1, 1952 contained an article entitled, "*Chairman Mao's talks on Art Commemorated*". The article reported the celebration of the tenth anniversary of Mao's Address at Yen-an and gave a brief summary of how Chou Yang "urged intellectuals of petty-bourgeois origin to remould themselves". Perhaps the Chinese rulers do not want the outside world to know what is being done to the intellectual and cultural elite of China.

As we read these various articles, we get one unmistakable impression, that is, the Chinese communists treat the creation of art and literature in the same way as they plan their production of coal and steel. There is a long history behind this typical communist attitude rooted in Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism. Mao Tse-Tung is repeating in China only what has happened in Soviet Russia over the past two decades. In Stalinist Russia, there is place only for court poets who rhyme and sing to Stalin's eternal glory ; there are painters and sculptors whose brush and chisel are devoted to bestowing youth and beauty upon ugly and aging paymasters ; there are novelists, dramatists and cinema-directors who take orders from the Politbureau, revise, and rewrite and withdraw their work, confess errors and outdo each other in a maddening orgy of denunciation and chest-beating ; there are campaigners of hate who receive peace prizes ; there are charlatans whose scientific achievements are paraded in a thousand newspapers and periodicals ; there are patriots according to whom nothing was ever invented or discovered by non-Russians and there are party liners according to whom Comrade Stalin or whoever is the latest tyrant, is the greatest philosopher scientist, linguist, poet and artist of all ages.



CONFESSIONS OF A NOVELIST

First of all we give the statement of Lao She, published in Peking *Jen Min Jih Pao* dated May 21, 1952, under the caption, "Chairman Mao gave me a New Literary Life." Lao has been one of the most vigorous literary figures in modern China. He is well-known abroad as the author of *Rickshaw Boy*. He Wrote :

"Though I started writing as early as 1924, yet my motive then was no more than an urge to do as others were doing. I wanted to write and to publish in order to become a man of letters, but with no other thoughts.

"When I actually became an 'author', I wrote more for myself but less for the readers ; wrote for the readers not to educate them in any manner but rather to cater to their interests.

"I read the world's famous literary works and applauded them without giving any attention to their educational and artistic value. Though I also made some study of literary and artistic theories, yet since I had not a system of belief of my own, I could not gain a critical understanding of these theories.

"I depicted the laboring masses and the oppressed only to give vent to my own feelings and in protest against the hardship and persecution I received in my early days. I had the sense of righteousness of the petty-bourgeois, but I was afraid of the revolution, without knowing that I lacked any understanding of

and enthusiasm for the revolutionary struggles. *I drew a line of demarcation between literature and art and political struggle. I was engaged in literary and artistic work ; therefore I had nothing to do with politics. I never paid the least attention to the ideological quality and the belligerent aspect of literature and art.*

“On returning from abroad at the end of 1949, the first thing I did was to look at a copy of the *Selected Works of Mao-Tse-tung*, and the first piece I read was Chairman Mao’s *Address at the Yen-an Round Table Discussion on Literature and Art*. *I was overjoyed after having read this magnificent piece of writing. Not one of the works on the theories of literature and art I had read ever gave me such a clear picture of ‘whom does literature and art serve, and in what manner’.* Doubts began to creep up in mind. For 20 years my thoughts, life, and writings had been confined to the sphere of the interest of the petty-bourgeoisie. Everything was so simple. I wrote and the others read, no matter what I turned out. As has always been the case with the bourgeoisie, I was possessed of the vanity and ignorance of the petty-bourgeoisie which as Chairman Mao so aptly pointed out, prevented me from getting in touch with, understanding, making a study of, and making friends with, the workers, peasants and soldiers and from depicting them successfully.

“I again became bewildered on learning Chairman Mao’s principle of the subordination of literature and art to politics. My long contact with the petty-bourgeois class paralyzed my thoughts, life, and compositions. I thought that I could continue writing without taking in any new ideology or changing my way of life ; and any piece of writing would do provided it was smoothly written. I

held that it was not only possible but desirable to separate literature and art from politics.

“However, Chairman Mao pointed out to me that I was wrong, and that literature and art should comply with politics. *I therefore decided to look for my new literary and art life under the direction of Chairman Mao-Tse-tung.*

“Though I never succeeded in learning many new thoughts from the books (even now I remain afraid to read theoretical writings), yet as a result of incessant trials in writing and through listening to the opinions of others, *I gradually realized the importance of giving top priority to political ideology and the mistake of being satisfied with a couple of smart phrases. My serious leg trouble has so far prevented me from gaining experiences of life by living in the factories, villages, and among the armed forces. I have, however, started to realize the importance of learning from the workers, peasants, and soldiers through incessant study of popular literature.*

“I want to sing in praise of the new things of the new society and I become possessed of an unprecedented ardent love for this society and for our country. Some may say that as I can only applaud what I have seen ; I am still unable to take the initiative and turn out compositions of a high ideological and creative quality. But, as a man hailing from the old society, I would only be trying to fool myself and other people if I were to pretend to change into a present-day thinker overnight. I can only try my best to gain an understanding of the new society, and praise that part which I have gained an understanding of.

“I have always been proud of Peking, but now I am prouder of the city than ever. Peking belongs to

Chairman Mao, and I cannot but try to express my own gratefulness and the gratefulness of the people of Peking for Chairman Mao's part in turning the tables and thus bringing development and progress to Peking.

"Before the liberation I wrote all by myself without consulting others. Now I am prepared for revision as soon as I start to write. On completing my first draft, I always read out aloud to either a literary and art organisation or to a number of friends. Where others think there is still something to be said I try to re-write ; what others think to be worthless I discard. I may re-write even up to 7 or 8 times. When the ideological quality is found to be still weak at the end of all this revision I would discard the whole thing. My labours are not lost, I receive the benefit of re-writing all the same whether the writings are published or not. Thus I keep on writing incessantly every day, not caring a bit about publication.

"I am still far from being a writer schooled in the thoughts of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, but I shall forever try to advance step by step in accordance to Chairman Mao's instructions, as well as to rectify all my faults in thoughts and life. Only thus shall I be prevented from being impeded by the burdens of the 'old writer', enabled to accept all criticism with the utmost modesty, and given a new lease of life in literature and art.

"I am grateful to Chairman Mao.

"Long live Chairman Mao,"

II

CONFESSIONS OF A DRAMATIST

The second statement is by T'sao Yu, playwright, also published in Peking, *Jen Min Jih Pao* on May 24, 1952 under the title, "*For ever Forward.*" T'sao wrote :-

"As a literary and art worker born of the dark old society who has always aspired to brightness, my thoughts and ideology have been strongly influenced by bourgeois ideology. With the arrival of a new society, I, having for so many years been isolated from the revolutionary masses and estranged from the actual life of the people, suddenly felt myself unable to embrace the brightness which I had always longed for.

"A careful study of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's *Address at the Yenan Round-Table Discussion on Literature and Art* has convinced me of the workers' and peasants' desire to read compositions which offer a faithful reflection of their true life and sentiments, and of the fact that they have no use for characters posing as workers, peasants, and soldiers, or other substitutes. Anybody can have the objective wish to serve the workers, peasants and soldiers, but he shall be judged by the masses by the stuff he has to offer, his activities, and his compositions. Chairman Mao is altogether correct in telling us that 'The criterion for the examination of subjective wish lies in actual practice in society, while that for the examination of motive lies in the effect (result).'

"I gradually started to realise my inadequacy ; I am neither familiar with the workers, peasants and soldiers, not conversant with Marxism-Leninism ; and I am inexperienced in the realities of the new society, as well as unaccustomed to the language of the people.

"It was at such a juncture that I learned from Chirman Mao's *Address at the Yen-an Round-Table Discussion on Literature and Art* : 'to understand them and to be familiar with them (the masses) ; one's thoughts and sentiments should be integrated with those of the workers, peasants and soldier masses', and 'in order to become as one with the masses, it is necessary to have the determination, and to go through a long and painful period of trial.'

"I have always made known my hatred for the darkness of the old society, my dissatisfaction with the sanguinary exploitation of man by man, and my conviction that the vicious rule of the feudal forces and the bureaucratic compradores must be overthrown; but I also believed in the above-class interpretation of human nature. I believed that even in such a society of classes, human nature can still be universally good. I never gained a clear realization that every one is possessed of his own class characteristics, that subjectivity is determined by objective conditions, that ideology is determined by existence, and that our ideology and sentiments are determined by the objective facts of class struggle and national struggle.

"It is extremely difficult for an intellectual hailing from the petty-bourgeoisie who has not yet been thoroughly reformed to rid his mind of his long cherished characters, thoughts and sentiments. Thus, on first reading Chairman Mao Tse-tung's *Address at the*

Yenan Round-Table Discussion on Literature and Art, I was immediately convinced that literature and art must be for the workers, peasants and soldiers. However, on reading on about who are the people and whom does literature and art serve, I became inwardly elated on learning that literature and art can still be for the petty-bourgeoisie, that the kind of life and characters I had been used to could manage to get by provided they are viewed from the Marxist-Leninist angle.

“Ten years ago, Chairman Mao Tse-tung declared in his *Address at the Yen-an Round-Table Discussion on Literature and Art* that, ‘people hailing from the petty-bourgeoisie have employed devious means, including the medium of literature and art, to express themselves and publicize their opinions in the most obdurate manner, in the attempt to persuade everybody to reform the Party and the world according to the features of the petty bourgeois intelligentsia. Such being the case, it is our duty to call out to them, Comrades, your ways will never work, the proletariat and the people’s masses will never comply with your ideas, for to do so would amount to depending upon the landlord and big capitalist class, and would lead to the downfall of the Party, the country and ourselves.’

“*When I went to the Hwai River and took part in agrarian reform, I made numerous mistakes. Though all these had been rectified in time through the assistance of the masses, I have not yet been able to write anything. I feel so ashamed of myself whenever I think of Chairman Mao’s words,.....‘to proceed among the masses, live among the workers, peasants and soldiers for long periods. unconditionally and whole-heartedly, enter the heat of the struggle,.....’*”

III

CONFESSIONS OF A STORY WRITER

The third statement is by Chao Shu-li, a novelist and short-story writer, published in Hongkong, *Ta Kung Pao* on June 1, 1952. Chao wrote :

"I have not written much for the past three years because of estrangement from realities and isolation from the masses. On the present occasion of the 10th anniversary of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's Address at the Yen-an Round-Table Discussion on Literature and Art, I would like to examine myself and conduct an open discussion in the spirit of this epoch-making document.

"As demanded by Chairman, Mao, it is up to us writers to go among the masses for nourishment. I am hereby going to expose myself to a full examination in order to reveal what I am made up of, what is lacking in my mind-up, and what I intend to take in immediately

"(1) I was born and bred in a rural village. Coming from a middle peasant family which had clearly started to slip before I joined the revolution, I enjoy the advantage of knowing the peasants well.

*"(2) During the early days of the Anti-Japanese War (1938) I acted as *ch'u* Chief for 40 days to carry out the mobilization of the masses for opposing the Japanese and for self-defense. Later, I joined various cultural organs (newspapers, book-shops, etc.) to engage in local mass activities. During the interim period (1948) I was engaged for 8 months in agrarian reform.*

In all this this time, I was mostly in contact with the masses on political occasions (meetings etc.) but knew little of their daily life and work.

"In the winter of 1948 I went back to my home town for the New Year. During my two months stay there, I interviewed all the families in my village (52 families) and looked up 6 families of my relatives. The masses unreservedly furnished me with information about the changes during the last 10 years.

"The above is the whole of the nourishment I derived from the peasant masses before my arrival in Peking. *It is altogether correct for people to observe that in my writings the old personages and events are depicted in a clear and more faithful manner than new people and events.* All of my existing works have to do with the rural village. With the old personages, I naturally came to know everything about their environment, thoughts, and their way of life as dictated by their thoughts. On the other hand, I could not possibly gain a full understanding of the ideology, character and class relationship of the new personages by only meeting them now and then at political conferences. Though I learned a lot at these conferences, yet as I was only able to understand, certain aspects but not the whole picture of the life of the masses; I could only make use of this knowledge to write non-artistic reports but not artistic compositions with characters who are natural and life-like and who develop according to the laws of progress.

"In looking over my personal history since the start of the Anti-Japanese War, I now realize that I have gradually estranged myself from the actual life of the masses in the direction of total isolation. *If not*

rectified, this tendency will certainly put a stop to my creative activities. To change, I must follow Chairman Mao's words, 'to proceed among the workers, peasants and soldiers masses for long periods, unconditionally and whole-heartedly.....'

"In reminiscencing over my former writings, I now find that most of the mistakes can be traced to the experiences I gained when acting as ch'u Chief and while working at agrarian reform. It must thus be clear that, in order to continue to turn out more and better compositions, there can be no other way than to make up my mind to reform my present self by following the dictates of Chairman Mao-Tse-tung."

IV

CONFESSIONS OF A CINEMA DIRECTOR

The last and the longest statement we reproduce here is by Sun Yu, an American-returned movie-director, who wrote and directed the film "The Story of Wu Hsun.", produced by a private company—Kun Lun Motion Picture Studio of Shanghai. He wrote his "confession" in Peking *Kuang Ming Jih Pao*, on June 10, 1952, under the title "*Examining the Editing and Directing of the Motion Picture, 'The Story of Wu Hsun.'*" The campaign against the film was officially launched with an editorial in the *Jen Min Jih Pao* on May 20, 1951. The initial criticism was made by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China rather than by literary and art circles. Sun Yu himself had made a brief statement in *Jeh Min Jih Pao* on May 26, 1951. Obviously, that did not satisfy the authorities. So he wrote the lengthy self-criticism in June 1952. It reads as follows :-

"The serious mistake in principle of the motion picture 'The Story of Wu Hsun' may be summed up in these words of Comrade Chou Yang found in this speech 'Rectify the Literary and Art Ideology and Improve the Guidance Work' delivered at the Peking Literary and Art Rectification Study Mobilization Conference on November 24. He said : 'Politically it propagandizes reactionary revisionism and the line of individual struggle which are inconsistent with the people's democratic revolutionary ideology and the ideology of collectivism and heroism which we want to propagandize.' This summing up is extraordinarily objective

and correct. *Revisionism and the struggle of the individual are exactly the two most serious and most poisonously deceptive mistakes of the bourgeois reactionary ideology in the motion picture 'The Story of Wu Hsun.'*

"The ways the picture propagandized the reactionary bourgeois ideology of revisionism can best be seen from *my attempt to exalt and praise this, a hundred percent swindler and rascal of a feudal slave, Wu Hsun.*

"Wu Hsun has now been correctly and scientifically evaluated. Disregarding the historical fact of his having swindled many people and his numerous pro-feudal activities of exploitation and deceit, what did he stand for when I erroneously distorted history and reality to depict him in the picture as a sincere man who endeavoured to promote education by begging (in spite of my attempt to point out in the picture that his endeavour was a failure)? He still stands for the reactionary revisionism of the bourgeoisie, (which must of necessity head for capitulationism). *He negated armed struggle. He believed that the poor were bullied because they were illiterate, so he persisted in the bourgeois historical viewpoint of national salvation by education which is both unscientific and anti-popular.* In his article '*Criticism of the Motion Picture, The story of Wu Hsun*', Chou Yang remarked: 'The propaganda of this viewpoint is to disarm the masses ideologically and to spread the illusion, to give the masses a hallucination that under the old social system, their living conditions can be fundamentally improved by certain revisionist methods without resorting to the revolutionary methods of the masses. In the motion picture, *The Story of Wu Hsun*, art was used skilfully by Sun Yu as a means to propagandize this ideology. He described

the school-promoting endeavour of Wu Hsun as the most reliable way to liberation for the working people.

“Through my emphasizing the subjective design and belittling the objective result, I have completely neglected the criterion for literary and art work. A motion picture is produced to be shown to the audience. The response of the audience to a picture (the result) should be exactly what the director of the picture wants to say (the theme). All criticism became unimportant to me because I was set in praising Wu Hsun. Because I had spent myself in praising the selfless spirit of Wu Hsun in his thirty years of endeavour and his painstaking and plain ways of doing things, I could no longer make the audience believe that his school-promoting efforts had failed. An abstract spirit cannot exist independently, just like that school-promoting and Wu Hsun are inseparable. *Praising Wu Hsun is equivalent to praising his school-promoting efforts, and is in every respect equivalent to propagandising reactionary revisionism on the side of the bourgeoisie.*

“Under the overriding theme of praising the spirit of Wu Hsun, all supporting themes (like criticizing and describing the mistake and tragic result of school-promoting, the simultaneous resistance to feudal rule with pen and sword, the revelation of the tyranny of feudalism and the influence of individual landlord-despots) not only became themes of secondary importance, but also helped to aggravate the serious mistake of praising Wu Hsun.

“In what way have I propagandized the reactionary bourgeois line of individual struggle? I have given Wu Hsun all my sympathy and praise in the picture,

“With school-promoting set as his ideal, what line did Wu Hsun follow? Different from what he was in history, Wu Hsun was depicted in the picture as a ‘heroic character’ who sincerely followed the line of individual struggle. I described him as a kind-hearted man with an honest and virtuous character, and a sympathy for the poor and the oppressed. He was the injured and the insulted and was uneducated; but for the sake of school-promoting, he resolutely and unyieldingly led a life of struggle against the feudal rulers. I made a distinction between Wu Hsun and Wu Hsun in the picture in the same way as I did with my criticism of his school-promoting and my praise of his selfless spirit.

“Comrade Chou Yang correctly pointed out the mistake of my description of Wu Hsun by saying: ‘the key lies not only with the description of Wu Hsun by the author as the injured and the insulted, kneeling and begging everywhere, thus making him a character deserving sympathy and pity. The more important thing is the combination of his humble kowtowing and kneeling with his exalted ideal of promoting schools for the poor children and his thirty years of tireless efforts. In this way, *a feudal bondman and farcical clown became the hero of a tragedy who devoted all his life to resisting feudal oppression on his own*, and it was thus easy for him to win the praise and esteem of many of the audience, especially the intellectual elements.’

“In the motion picture ‘*The story of Wu Hsun*’, I made use of a school mistress to criticize the individualistic resistance of Wu Hsun as insufficient at the end of the picture. But because of my efforts in portraying his years of lonely trips with a bag and a

bowl in the wilds of the North, and *his persistence in subjective individualist effort and tragic resistance, I continued to praise his individualist heroism and worship his line of individual struggle in practical and objective effect. The spirit of Wu Hsun, the painstaking, humiliating never-say-die spirit and the spirit of tragic resistance*, (this I described as the exalted quality of diligence, bravery and intelligence of the Chinese race) *praised by the picture is exactly the spirit of individual struggle encouraged and praised by the bourgeoisie* (because it can never overthrow the rulers). Praising the line of individual struggle and revisionism is equivalent to propagandizing the reactionary bourgeois ideology, helping feudal rule, slandering the Chinese nation and damaging the people's democratic revolutionary ideology as well as the ideology of collectivism and heroism.

"In investigating, consulting and recognizing historical characters, and in observing and grasping the rules of historical development, *my whole ideological system was unscientific, non-dialectical-materialistic and non-historical-materialistic*. I fell subjectively in love with the dramatic story of Wu Hsun who begged to promote education. I made only a partial and superficial survey of the problem. I could only observe that he started as a poor peasant and that he strived painstakingly for the education of the poor children but I was unable to analyze his basic essence. Because I had erroneously and basically asserted myself, I naturally gave him my sympathy, pardon and praise in an erroneous, dramatic and exaggerated way. So all such ugly phenomena like kneeling, ridden by others like a pony, swallowing bits of tile, were explained as exalted sacrifices for the sake of welfare of the poor children, and all backward superstitions and profeudal reac-

tionary ideologies were pardoned and overlooked as the limitations of historical conditions. *At a time when the Chinese people have honourably stood up on their feet, I praised a bondman and clown who crawled on all fours like a horse.*

"When I conducted my self-examination today I could not help wondering why I was unaware of the ugly, malignant and reactionary character of Wu Hsun and his activities before. The deceptive power of Wu Hsun can deceive nobody now, but at that time, I failed not only to find out that he was bad, but felt that he was exceptionally good. The chief reason is because I did not seek to understand a problem from the side of the masses of the people, but viewed the problem from the view-point of the petty-bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie and my own erroneous and subjective prejudice. I based myself on my subjective need to choose historical material and to investigate the material. My exterior shooting team worked for five days at Lin-Lin chen, Tang-I hsien to shoot outdoor but we spent only one day in for preliminary interviews. This was a very careless working attitude. We embraced a subjectively acquired and positive prejudice in favour of Wu Hsun, and made no attempt to enquire about the true story from the ten odd elders we visited. Our way of working was negligent, careless and unscientific.

"I described the fictitious heroic character of Chou Ta as a fighter from the Taiping Army who associated himself with the great revolutionary struggle of the peasants. But on the screen, burning and slaughtering were described as typical of this brave bandit. In this way, the two words 'burning and slaughtering' were associated with the Tai Ping Tien Kuo, and their

contributions as a historical force against the rulers were thus wiped out in one stroke. Chou Ta was also used as a background to praise the greatness of the Wu Hsun spirit. *I" thus desecrated the history of China and the revolutionary struggle of the peasants in an intolerably rude manner.*

"Because I viewed a problem in ideological isolation and abstraction, and believed subjectively that the spirit could be separated from the essence, I made a distinction between the Wu Hsun in history and Wu Hsun in my picture. I erred greatly again and again and adopted the preposterous creative method of revising history.

"To present revised historical facts as true history in a biographical picture, is a distortion of history not permissible to literary and art workers. I overlooked completely that Wu Hsun was one of the oddest figures in modern history who, assisted by the sacred mantle bestowed on him by the rulers of several decades, had many deceived worshippers. I should have attached more importance to his objective condition. I should not have remolded and white-washed him with deliberate additions and deductions, neglected the historical reality and looked upon the audience as if they were nothing, thus revising the ideology, stand, and outlook to my subjective demand in the picture. This is an extraordinary risky decision. In an individual biographical, literary and art work, it is not advisable to lay on the colors too thickly even if the principal part is worthy of praise. But if the principal part is a negated character (like Wu Hsun) whom we have learnt to know to a certain extent, we should avoid basing ourselves on rumor, imagination and fabrication, acting against the rules of objective development and

subjecting the story to revision and praise simply because some of his superficial acts and statements appeal to us. The feudal corpse of Wu Hsun in a bogus revolutionary mantle has been employed to disseminate poison, and not a small number of the audience have been maliciously influenced. I should poignantly tell the audience here that I am determined to shoulder the responsibility of rectifying my mistakes. At the same time, I must point out that, aside from my standpoint and viewpoint, *the reason of my having committed these serious mistakes is due also to the prolonged influence of the reactionary American movies and my vulgar commercial point of view.*

“It can be seen from the above that all my mistakes of propagandising revisionism, the line of individual struggle, and the antipopular, unpatriotic and non-proletarian ideology, as well as my preposterous and mistaken ideological and creative methods are serious and *heart-breaking mistakes, which I must openly make a clean breast of before the broad audience.* In the great ideological remodeling movement of today, to know and to admit a mistake is only the beginning of a problem. What lies before me is the problem of unearthing the ideological root of these mistakes and to remold them.

“It should be pointed out carefully here that when discussing the picture ‘The Story of Wu Hsun’ and tackling its mistakes, emphasis should be given to the solution of problems ideologically, especially the ideology of the script writer and director. If the ideological problems were left unsolved, mistakes would occur sooner or later. I have come to learn profoundly that the simple examination of responsibility is not the way to solve problems. *Only the script writer and director should be held responsible for all the mistakes in the*

picture from beginning to end. Neither the mistake of know-how and of creative method, nor the excuse of having to maintain the production of an enterprise in the effort to surmount objective economic difficulties, nor the holding of ten odd large and small discussion forums could enable the script writer and director to pass the buck and reduce the principal responsibility he should shoulder. Without arming myself with Marxist-Leninist theories, without adopting the method and viewpoint of historical materialism, and without correctly understanding and grasping Mao Tse-tung's literary and art methods, I was bound to depart from politics and the masses, and my mistakes were inevitable. We must understand the ideological essence of a problem before we can hope to detect and solve it.

“An analysis will on the whole reveal that the root of my mistakes in ‘The Story of Wu Hsun’ is of necessity a problem of stand-point. It is useless for one to consider subjectively that he is right and that he is on the side of the masses of the people. When one's stand is wrong, and he believes in such non-proletarian ideologies and mistakes as subjectivism, revisionism, supremacy of art and departure from the masses, the committing of mistakes in the social practice of literature and art cannot be accidental.

“Because of my class background, my class consciousness was rather low. I had no experience of the cruel exploitation of the landlord class, nor had I any real class enmity against it. *When I was a boy, I had a deep impression of my landlord grandfather who started his life as a poor peasant and devoted his old years to repairing roads and giving away free medicine. This accounts for the fact why I had such a confused ideology and such an obscure class standpoint in the picture, ‘the*

Story' of Wu Hsun'. I believed that I was on the side of the people when I vigorously exposed the crimes of landlord despot Chang who was a 'second degree graduate'. I found myself on the side of the bourgeoisie at the same time when I described landlords Yang Shu-fan and Kuo Fen who helped Wu Hsun to promote schools as 'open-minded gentlemen', (when writing the script, I thought Yang was a scholar and never knew that he was an enemy of the people and a blood-sucking despot-landlord) and commended their generosity for making donations. This mistaken stand as shown in *'The Story of Wu Hsun' disseminated the idealistic poison of 'there are good and bad man', negated class consciousness and class hatred, diluted the exposure of the crimes of feudalism in the picture in a contradictory and chaotic manner, eliminated the class struggle between the peasants and the landlord class, and even obstructed the immediate land reform policy.*

"Because of my mistaken and obscure stand, and more important, because of the prolonged domination of subjectivism, *I was not conscious that the poisonous bourgeois ideology was deep in my blood, and believed that I was firmly established on the side of the people. I was idealistic, illusive and subjective.* I entertained a mistaken life and world outlook, and formulated a set of theories to deceive myself and others. I departed from the masses and reality, and confined myself to a narrow individual circle of self-purification and reticence. The warring warlord and the reactionary regime gave me the mistaken concept of 'dirty politics', I detested politics, and wanted to get away from it and to hear nothing of it. *My mind was shamefully preoccupied with the lofty ideals of Tao Yung-ming and the passive world-forsaking and refuge-seeking*

ideals of the Taoist. I worshipped heroes, but was unable to discern the force of the masses which was the peopul-sive force of history. I was satisfied with the superficial observation of the workers, peasants and the masses, and made no earnest attempt to mix myself with them and to become their loyal spokesman. I worshipped the lure of individual struggle, and I tolerated revisionism, though I shouted for struggle. This accounts for my attempt to praise reactionary revisionism in the picture 'The Story of Wu Hsun.' I limited my friends to a selected few who were lively sincere and naive. I brooded over my own virtue in solitude and shut myself up in compliance to my desire to become a 'conscientious artist.' I was fond of thinking of myself as anti-imperialistic and anti-feudalistic, always speaking for the laboring masses, for the sake of righteousness. As an onlooker bestowing his sympathy on the laboring masses, I chose to play the overbearing and false role of a humanitarian who took on the saving of the world and the people as his own duty. All this proves how I was hurt by the poisonous ideology of the bourgeoisie.

"In artistic ideology and expression, I consistently and abstractly encouraged in the pictures 'Dawn' and 'Highway', the vernal spirits of youth, optimism, bravery, union, and struggle for liberty and equality. I was fond of bragging of my having followed the most progressive trend of revolutionary romanticism in my description and praise of the new Chinese youths of tomorrow. Today, I must unreservedly and severely criticize the non-realistic artistic ideology and individual footing which are empty and subjective and isolated from the masses, and are not derived from the masses by way of objective practice and development of cogni-

tion. This is, as was pointed out by Chairman Mao in his *Address at the Yenan Round Table Discussion on Literature and Art*, the common drawback of the people from the petty-bourgeoisie. I was 'making use of literature and art in the stubborn attempt to express themselves, propagandize their views, and exhort the people to reform the Party and the world in accordance to the features of the petty-bourgeoisie'.

"As a result of my prolonged education through American movies and my indiscriminate absorption of the literature and art of western Europe, foreign dogmas and above all their artistic ideologies were usually blatantly included in my works. There are many such examples in the picture 'The Story of Wu Hsun'. The symbolism of 'never-say-die', the vulgar formula of heroism and beauty in decadent bourgeois literature and art, the sentimental note of peach blossoms and butterflies, withered grass and lonely grave, the scene of Wu Hsun in dream contaminated with an 'Inferno' like, idealistic, imaginative, and mysterious atmosphere and Freudian theories are exactly the result of prolonged education by the decadent literature and art of the bourgeoisie.

"In order to make the picture poetical and picturesque, I disregarded the true character of Wu Hsun, and devoted a scene depicting Wu Hsun in thought by the side of a well, reminiscing about a dead village girl, thus arbitrarily giving the sentimental feelings of a petty-bourgeois intellectual to a so-called worker. For the sake of dramatic exaggeration and comparison, I set Wu Hsun and Chou Ta side by side for praise and criticism. The criticism and negation of the revolutionary struggle of the peasants was used as a dramatic

reason for Wu Hsun to persist in begging to promote schools in the dialogue he recited in a dilapidated temple. Historical materials were revised by additions and deductions to "lift Wu Hsun off history to play the part in my subjectively written great tragedy of 'historical tradition'. The prolonged corrosion by the anti-historical and anti-realistic literary and art ideology above all made it possible for me to fall in love with school-promoting Wu Hsun, and to choose him as a subject matter for the story as 'a marvelous man and his marvelous deeds'. Similarly, the petty-bourgeois and bourgeois ideology and stand made it possible for me to edit and direct such a picture as 'The Story of Wu Hsun', to incur such serious mistakes and to learn such a painful lesson. *This is a shame. Mistaken stand and ideology must resolutely be corrected and eliminated. They must be eliminated as if they were germs.*

"Because I am still unable to grasp well the weapon of criticism and self-criticism, because I am still unable to elevant satisfactorily my class-struggle viewpoint, to grasp the correct method, to recognize and analyze problems for the purpose of criticising all the non-proletarian ideologies which are still deeply embedded in my mind, and in short, because I still have pressing need for ideological remolding, this survey can only be looked upon as a preliminary survey in all aspects, and cannot be expected to be penetrative. *I am ashamed that I am still incapable of producing a more significant thing, but I should express here my cordial concurrence and thanks to all the sober and penetrating criticism of the reactionary ideology and contents of the picture 'The Story of Wu Hsun' made by my comrades during the past year, because this is the way to clarify and solve problems ideologically.*

“There is another thing I should like to mention here. I recollect how I was tormented and perplexed by a small number of articles (like those attacking the script writer and director for consciously using Wu Hsun for reactionary propaganda) and how I lamented over my misfortune and entertained incorrectly a personal grudge that I was being wronged. My mistakes in this connection lie in : (1) I did not realise at the time that all the sober and sharply critical articles were directed at the motion picture ‘The Story of Wu Hsun’ for the remedy of my infirmity and were of necessity contributions and aid for the correction of my mistakes ; (2) I did not realize that the emphasis on Wu Hsun and *the discussion of the motion picture ‘The Story of Wu Hsun’ was an ideological struggle of historical and national significance and that it heralded the immediate ideological remolding movement of unprecedented greatness in which everybody should participate with earnestness.* Ideological remolding is an arduous and prolonged necessity in the course of the construction of New China. The wheel of history in its advance must of necessity crush all the reactionary ideologies of the bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie which obstruct it, and would bump against or push aside those ignorant people who try to hold it back. Its perpetual advance is worthy to be enthusiastically acclaimed by every one of us.

“My mistakes in the motion picture ‘The Story of Wu Hsun’ and the damage caused by them to the people’s democratic enterprise have been the subject of an endless torment to me. But it is never too late for one to learn a lesson and to remold oneself. *Hereafter, I should resolutely intensify the study of Marxism-Leninism and the teachings of Mao-Tse-tung from the start and take up the study of Chairman Mao’s literary and art*

methods so that I may become ideologically armed for the purposes of thoroughly criticizing and eradicating all non-proletarian ideologies and chastening myself in the '3-anti' and '5-anti' struggles. I should study the society, link myself with the masses, gain a definite grasp of the correct stand of the working class and cut myself resolutely from the bourgeois ideology. I should plunge myself into the literary and art remolding study movement to acquaint myself with the ideology and sentiment of the working class, so that I may serve the people correctly in the future."

V

APING THE SOVIET UNION

After reading the foregoing sections, some people might conclude that the Chinese communists are applying some abstract, theoretical principles in their judgements on art and literature. This would be a wrong conclusion. The Chinese communists have a very reliable and concrete guide in the Communist Party of Soviet Russia which has "disciplined" the Russian intellectuals, artists, writers, poets, scientists and pedagogues ever since Stalin came on top. The story of Mind-Murder in Russia would be told in subsequent pamphlets of this series. Here we want to point out that the Chinese communists want the Chinese intellectuals, artists, literatures and scientists to follow in the footsteps of their Russian "brethren."

Commemorating the 28th Anniversary of the Communist Party of China on July 1, 1949, Mao Tse-tung wrote :-

"The Chinese were introduced to Marxism by the Russians. Before the October Revolution, the Chinese were not only unaware of Lenin and Stalin but did not even know of Marx or Engels. The salvoes of the October Revolution brought us Marxism-Leninism. The October Revolution helped the advanced people of China and of the whole world to adopt a proletarian world outlook as an instrument for looking into a nation's future or for reconsidering one's own problems,

Follow the path of the Russians—this was the conclusion.”¹

“The Communist Party of the U. S. S. R. is our very best teacher, and we must learn from it.”²

Speaking at a ceremony marking the founding of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association in Peking, Liu-Shao-chi, Vice-Chairman of the Central People's Government of China and Mao-land's leading theoretician and intellectual, said :-

“We specially prize this friendship and co-operation between the Chinese and Soviet peoples because the path traversed by the Soviet peoples is the path which we Chinese people will soon take. The Soviet Union has now much scientific knowledge which is entirely new and unknown to the rest of the world. We can acquire such scientific knowledge only from the Soviet Union. Soviet culture is an entirely new culture. The pressing task before the Chinese people to-day is to absorb the new culture of the Soviet Union and to take it as a guide in building up New China. Hence we are especially in need of the friendly aid and co-operation of the Soviet people.”³

According to *New China News Agency* dated October 29, 1952, the Chinese people were asked by their communist rulers to learn from the Soviet Union in the following words :-

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1. Mao Tse-tung on People's Democratic Dictatorship, P. 7-8, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1950.
 2. Ibid, P. 25.
 3. 700 Millions for Peace And Democracy, P. 17-18, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1950,

“Educational workers : *Learn advanced Soviet educational theory and teaching methods*, instruct the youth in the spirit of patriotism and internationalism, struggle to develop the cultural and educational work, the training of personnel for construction and the raising of the people's cultural standards.

“Scientific and technical workers : *Learn from advanced Soviet science and technique* so that scientific research work is closely linked with the practical needs, and serves the interests of national construction work.

“Medical and health workers : *Learn from advanced Soviet medical knowledge* and Soviet experience in health work, develop hygienic work, continue to expand the patriotic health movement and work hard for the improvement of the people's health.

“Literary and art workers : *Study advanced Soviet theory on literature and art and the Soviet masterpieces*, become worthy heirs to the glorious tradition of our own literature and art, heirs to the doctrine that literature and art must serve the workers, peasants and soldiers, go deeper into reality, raise your artistic standards and struggle hard for the creation of literary works of high ideological consistence and artistic level.”

The 3rd anniversary of the signing of the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance was celebrated on February 14, 1953. A rally was held by more than 1000 representatives of all circles in Peking in the afternoon of February 13, 1953. Liu Shao Chi, President of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association said :-

“The cultural ties between the peoples of China and the Soviet Union have also developed during the past three years.

"During this period, China despatched to the Soviet Union 22 Missions who have undertaken various kinds of visits and studies in the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union also despatched to China 18 Missions, who came into close contact with the broad masses of the people of China.

"Especially during the Sino-Soviet Friendship Month in November and December of 1952, four Soviet Missions with a total of 300 members visited China, and carried out various activities and staged exhibitions in 26 cities in this country. They held 158 lectures and forums among all circles of the people in all parts of China, before a total audience of 170,000 ; staged 142 performances before 9,00,000 people in all ; and made 22 broadcasts to which more than 25,000,000 people listened. Of these various groups, the Film Workers Mission had 50 meetings with 1,10,000 people. During that month, Soviet films were shown in 67 Chinese cities, to an audience of more than 100,000,000.

"During the past three years, there were translated and published in China several thousands of Soviet books. One hundred and twenty Soviet films have been dubbed with Chinese dialogue, and these films have been enthusiastically received by the broad masses of the Chinese people.

"China has sent several hundred students to study in the Soviet Union, and will send large numbers there still. Many Soviet professors are teaching in the higher institutions in China. The curricula in Chinese schools are being gradually reformed with the adoption of Soviet advanced experience." ¹

1. New China News Agency, February 16, 1953

Those who talk of "New China" treading a "new" path towards a "new" heaven, owe it to the Indian people to provide evidence in support of their belief. If the history of nations in Eastern Europe after the Second World War is any evidence, we can safely conclude that the Chinese people must inevitably suffer the tragedies, deprivations and spiritual stagnation which the Russian people have known since the Bolshevik revolution. The Russian pattern of communism is not a free choice ; it is obligatory on all communist countries.

The people of India who inherit an ancient, rich and variagated culture, whose philosophy, religion, art and literature breathe the spirit of individual freedom and who believe in contributing to world culture without losing their national identity, have to decide what sort of "friendship" they can have with a regime which prides in aping a totalitarian tyranny across the borders.

