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This serial publication contains translations of articles from the Chinese-language periodical Hung-Ch'i (Red Flag), No. 6, 1966. Complete bibliographic information accompanies each article. The article by Shih Shao-pin, beginning on page 23, has already been published in JPRS: 35,464 (12 May 1966).

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WORKER-PEASANT-SOLDIER MASSES CRITICIZE WU HAN'S ANTI-PARTY
ANTI-SOCIALIST POLITICAL STAND AND ACADEMIC VIEWPOINT

Following is a translation of an article in the Chinese-language periodical Hung Ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No. 6, 29 April 1966, pages 10-19.

Note by Editor of Hung Ch'i: Several comrades of our editorial department and the editorial department of Che-hsüeh Yen-chiu /Philosophical Studies/ recently went to Taiyuan, Tientsin, Soochow, Shanghai, Tsinan, Shenyang, Anshan, and Changchun and there, with the energetic support of the local Party committees and the Party committees of the local garrison forces, invited some workers, peasants, and PLA fighters to academic criticism forums. All comrades who attended the forums showed a high degree of concern over the current struggle to promote proletarian and destroy bourgeois ideology on the cultural front. With strong class feeling and applying the thought of Mao Tse-tung, they leveled effective criticism at Wu Han's anti-Party, anti-socialist political stand and academic viewpoint. They unanimously agreed that Wu Han's Hai Jui Re-proaches the Emperor and Hai Jui's Dismissal From Office were a deliberate, purposeful, and planned effort to support and bolster the rightist opportunists and an audacious attack on the Party and socialism. They also profoundly criticized the "theory of honest officials," "concession policy," and "theory of morality" which Wu Han advocated.

Owing to indigence of space, we publish here only part of the recorded speeches made at the forums, selected and edited under various headings. Full texts of the recorded summaries of these forums will be published in Che-hsüeh Yen-chiu, No. 3, 1966. We think that these speeches of the worker-peasant-soldier masses deserve to be read by all.

I. This Is A Serious Class Struggle

We Workers, Peasants, and Soldiers Must Resolutely,
Thoroughly Shatter the Attack of the Bourgeoisie

In recent months we have seen in the papers many articles exposing and criticizing Wu Han's reactionary political object in writing Hai Jui Reproaches the Emperor and Hai Jui's Dismissal From Office. These articles expose well and criticize effectively. This great debate is certainly not a general question of cognition, nor merely an academic question. It is a struggle to promote proletarian ideology and destroy bourgeois ideology, a class struggle in the ideological domain. (Li K'o-ch'in, Vice Political Instructor, General Consumer Goods Department, Ch'uan Yeh Emporium, Tientsin)

This is a major affair that concerns the defense of the socialist state. In this grave class struggle, we the working class must stand on the forefront and lay bare under the sun Wu Han's anti-Party, anti-socialist face. (Li Ch'ang-mao, Basic level Trade Union of Jen Li Woollen Textiles Mill, Tientsin)

Our debate with Wu Han is a struggle between the two classes -- the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, a struggle between the two roads of socialism and capitalism. We poor and lower middle peasants must actively take part in this acute class struggle, charge at the enemy position, stand at the forefront of the struggle, wage a verbal war against Wu Han to the end, and resolutely, thoroughly shatter the bourgeois offensive. (Li Chi-huai, of Shangpao production brigade, Fenyang hsien, Shansi)

Wu han has mounted an ideological offensive against us, trying to poison our younger generation and persuading us to abandon our guns. He wants to make our State change color and beget revisionism. U. S. Imperialism vainly hopes that capitalism will be restored in China and pins its hope on our third or fourth generation. By disseminating various kinds of poison, Wu Han acts in accord with U.S. imperialism. (Fan Shou-an, a deputy squad leader of the Good 8th Company of Nanking Road)

Through the mouth of a dead man -- Hai Jui, Wu Han rails at the Party and socialism. We must not acquiesce in that. A PLA fighter must have the spirit of daring to fight at close quarters on the ideological front too, and rout all kinds and forms of landlord and bourgeois ideas. (Ho Shao-yung, a member of the Lei Feng Squad of a certain unit of the PLA)

We have the great, all-conquering thought of Mao Tse-tung. No devils and demons and none of the many kinds of right opportunists can hope to slip pass us without our noticing. With the revolutionary spirit of daring to draw blood with our bayonets, we fighters will surely struggle to the end with anyone -- no matter who he may be -- who opposes the Party, socialism, and the thought of Mao Tse-tung. (Chang Chih-kao, purchaser, Good 8th Company of Nanking Road)

With the Thought of Mao Tse-tung as a Magic Demon-Unmasking
Mirror, We Must Show Up Wu Han's Reactionary Face as It Is

We have a magic demon-unmasking mirror in the thought of Mao Tse-tung. Wu Han may be able to talk in flowery and clever language, but he will not be able to deceive us. (Chang Ming-li, worker of Shenyang Air Pump Works)

A particular class speaks a particular language, a particular vine bears a particular fruit. Wu Han's class stand and class feeling are radically different from ours. No matter how Wu Han expresses -- through a dead man -- his feudal, capitalist political viewpoint and thoughts and feelings, we shall be able to uncover his reactionary essence by studying them with the method of class analysis which Chairman Mao has taught us. Wu Han tries to evade the issue by calling a political question an academic question, but he will not get away. (Li Ch'ang-mao)

Someone has said, "Without having read the History of 24 Dynasties, one is not qualified to assess historical characters." That was said to frighten worker-peasant masses. We will not read the History of 24 Dynasties written by the landlord class. We can utterly beat off the bourgeois attack by using Chairman Mao's works alone. (Hsu Wen-liang, of Chutien commune, Lich'eng hsien, Shantung)

We have not studied Chinese history. Our cultural level is low. We have never been to college and have never read big books. But we have the thought of Mao Tse-tung, and with its help we can see clearly the reactionary aspect of Wu Han. When I read about Wu Han's viewpoint in the papers last year, I knew at once that it was anti-Party, and anti-socialist. Wu Han sits on the side of the bourgeoisie. He tries his best to help bring about a capitalist restoration. If only we have grasped the viewpoint of class struggle, we shall be able to strip Wu Han of his skin and see his very bones. No matter what tricks he may play, he will not be able to deceive us. (Shen Su-ch'uan, sales clerk, Shenyang Garment, Shoes and Hats Store)

II. Hai Jui Reproaches the Emperor and Hai Jui's
Dismissal From Office Encourage Right Opportunists
To Oppose the Party and Socialism

Hai Jui Reproaches the Emperor and Hai Jui's Dismissal From Office Are An
Anti-Party, Anti-Socialist Question, Not Just an Academic Question

Wu Han knows his own guilt. When he was unmasked, he made a false criticism of himself. He contradicts himself in an attempt to mislead all. When we carry out struggle against him, he says slyly that he wrote

"about the ancients just as they were" and "wrote plays for the sake of writing plays," and that Hai Jui Reproaches the Emperor and Hai Jui's Dismissal From Office are not a political question. That is a sophistic trick. (Chang Yin-jung, Vice Political Instructor, Installation Workshop, Ch'iuhsin Shipyard of Shanghai)

In his "Self-Criticism Concerning Hai Jui's Dismissal From Office," Wu Han says that "for more than twenty years he has always been under the Party's education, fostering, and concern, and politically his class stand is firmly taken." Let us see what sort of stand it is that Wu Han has "firmly taken." When the right opportunists viciously slandered and launched attacks against the Party, socialism, and the three red banners, Wu Han wrote his Hai Jui Reproaches the Emperor. After the 8th plenum of the 8th Central Committee of the Party, the rabid attack of the right opportunists was smashed and they were "dismissed from office." At that juncture, Wu Han "broke out of the door" and wrote Hai Jui's Dismissal From Office, encouraging them to "try again after failure." What else could its purpose be if it was not written in defense of the right opportunists and as an encouragement to them to continue attacking the Party and socialism? If as Wu Han himself has said, "politically he has firmly taken his class stand," then obviously it is a bourgeois, and surely not proletarian, stand that he has "firmly taken." (Li Ch'ang-mao)

In his "Self-Criticism Concerning Hai Jui's Dismissal From Office," Wu Han says that he has "forgotten the class struggle." Wu Han has forgotten nothing of the sort, for he comes out to berate us, and that in itself is a class struggle against us. (Hsu Shu-jen, Deputy Political Instructor, Good 8th Company of Nanking Road)

Wu Han's Hai Jui Reproaches the Emperor and Hai Jui's Dismissal From Office are not an academic question, but an effort to demolish socialism, an attack against the Party and socialism. Therefore, on this question we must see clearly his essence and not be misled by the phenomena. (Sung Shuang-hsin, clerk, a certain PLA unit)

The Core of Hai Jui Reproaches the Emperor Is Censure of the Party.

In their attack on the Party in 1959, the right opportunists declared that people's communes were "set up too early" and were "a mess", that "the big leap forward was an expression of the hectic fervor of the petty bourgeoisie," that "the big scale iron and steel making was more a loss than a gain," etc. etc. It was at that juncture that Wu Han wrote his Hai Jui Reproaches the Emperor. He said, "It is good to vent one's feelings by uttering rebukes in a play." Was that not clear for whom he was speaking? (Chang Ch'ang-shan, fitter, Changchun First Automobile Works)

The core of Wu Han's Hai Jui Reproaches the Emperor is "reproach."

To be quite frank, it is reproach against the Party. In cooperation with the right opportunists who were attacking the Party, he kindled the fire and fanned the flames. We all know that in the feudal society, an official could not refuse to die if he was ordered by his sovereign to. No official would dare to reproach his emperor. To say he did would be a distortion of historical fact. The object was to encourage the right opportunists to oppose the Party and socialism. (Liu Ching-ying, Political Instructor of Dyeing and Finishing Workshop, Jen Li Woollen Textile Works, Tientsin)

Hai Jui's reproach of his emperor was not genuine. He was loyal to his emperor and loved him. But Wu Han reproach against the Party and socialism is genuine. (Wang Chih-wen, Personnel Security Section, Urban Public Utilities Equipment Company, Shanghai)

The Party is the life-root of us proletariat. Yet Wu Han points his spearhead at the great Communist Party of China so endeared to the people. His malevolence arouses incomparable indignation and wrath in us. We working people will certainly not tolerate that. We must hit back resolutely at Wu Han's vicious scheme. (Li K'o-ch'in)

Hai Jui's Dismissal From Office Encourages
Right Opportunists Who Have Been "Dismissed From
Office" To Try Again After Failure

After the Lushan Conference, we succeeded in beating off the attack of right opportunists, relieved them of their posts, and "dismissed them from office." Wu Han thereupon wrote his Hai Jui's Dismissal From Office for the purpose of bolstering the morale of the right opportunists and encouraging them to continue attacking the Party. He wants them to emulate the "Hai Jui spirit" by trying again after failure. (Ch'en Hung-pin, tempering worker, Seamless Tubing Plant, Anshan Steel Works)

Through the Peking opera, Hai Jui's Dismissal From Office, Wu Han opposes the three red banners. He writes in a song. "Kiangnan is a picture of hardship and misery; It wouldn't be long now if the annexed lands are not returned" and "There are many miscarriages of justice which must be corrected; the people can live in peace only if their land is returned to them." Thus he sings what is in his heart and in the hearts of the right opportunists who scheme to restore capitalism. We want to consolidate and develop people's communes, but Wu Han advocates individual farming, saying that "the people can live in peace only if their land is returned to them." What does he mean by "the people"? He means the small handful of landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, and bad elements. That is clearly a counter-attack and counter-reckoning. If these "people" were really allowed to live in peace, then our State would change color and the masses of the working class and peasant class would once more be exploited and oppressed by them. However, that is only a

vain hope. Under the brilliant leadership of the Party and Chairman Mao, we working people will certainly safeguard our socialist realm. (Liu Ching-ying)

Wu Han tries his utmost to apply make-up to the right opportunists who have been "dismissed from their office," saying "Hai Jui, though dismissed from office, gains reputation" and "Though relieved of his official post and unpardoned, his reputation for honesty will remain fragrant for all time." Who will remember the right opportunists "dismissed from office"? There is Wu Han as well as a small handful of people. They not only remember, but try to prettify them and sympathize with them. Wu Han says: "Hai Jui, though dismissed from office, gains reputation." Actually he opposes the Party. We laboring people know what to love and what to hate. For the right opportunists, we have only scorn and hatred. Their name will remain in bad odor for ten thousand years. Today it is the thousands and thousands of heroic characters like Chiao Yu-lu, Lei Feng, Wang Chieh, and others -- people who were loyal to the Party and faithful to the thought of Mao Tse-tung -- whose name will remain fragrant for all time. Wu Han, you have failed to see these good cadres who were wholeheartedly dedicated to the service of the people, but regards as "good officials" the right opportunists spurned by the people but supported by the class enemy. Is that not breathing the same breath with the class enemy? (Li K'o-ch'in)

III. Utter Refutation of Wu Han's Preposterous "Honest Official" Theory

"As There Is No Cat Which Does Not Eat Meat, There Is No
Official Who Is Not Avaricious Of Money." There Were
No "Honest Officials" Whatever in the Old Society

In the old society there was no official who was not greedy. All officials were bad ones who did not use their limbs and could not tell the difference between the five cereals, but who ate man's flesh and drank man's blood. Officials served landlords and capitalists. Not one of them was good. (Ma Ch'eng-lien, old poor peasant of Peikuan production brigade, Fenyang hsien, Shansi)

There was never any "honest official" in the old society. All officials of the dynasties of T'ang, Sung, Yuan, Ming, and Ch'ing down to the provincial governors, mayors, hsien magistrates, district chiefs, hsiang chiefs, pao and chia chiefs, and their jackals would "put out their hands from their coffins and demand money even though they were dead." As a vulgar saying of the past put it. "having been an official for one term, one will have enough to eat for ten years and more; having been an official for three terms, one's children and their children's children will not have to suffer poverty." The words on their lips were "Heavenly angels bestow blessings." but in their hearts they were "male robbers and

female prostitutes." In the old society all officials were rich people, because they could not even sit for their examinations if they had not at least 300 taels of silver. Poor men did not have enough to eat and could not afford an education. How could they be officials? There were no "honest officials" whatever in the old society. "As there is not cat which does not eat meat, so there is no official who is not avaricious of money." (Ts'ai Hsueh-fu, pedicab driver of Soochow Municipality)

So-called "honest officials" and corrupt officials were "the same in four things but different from each other in only one thing." They were the same in (1) their oppression and exploitation of laboring people; (2) their loyalty to their emperor and consolidation of the imperial rule; (3) their being spokesmen for landlords and rich peasants and defense of the interests of the landlord class; and (4) their desire for promotion and wealth -- higher and higher position and greater and greater riches. Their one difference lay in their method of oppressing and ruling the people: Corrupt officials did it openly while "honest officials" were covert. "Honest officials" spoke words of honey but were ready to use knives from their hearts. They were like cooked meat left over the night in June -- it looked all right but tasted nasty. (Ts'ao Yun-ya, woman member, 4th production team, Yinnan brigade, Shansi commune, T'ait's'ang hsien, Kiangsu)

"The Gates of the Yamen Face South; Do Not Enter if You Have No Money Though You May Be in the Right." The Interests of the Landlord Class Were Upheld in Settlement of Cases According to Feudal Imperial Law

Seen from the viewpoint of class struggle, all officials in history were tools of the dictatorship of the landlord bourgeoisie. They were all the same whether they were "honest" or corrupt. They were all faithful running dogs who served reactionary feudal dynasties and the landlord class and would sacrifice themselves for them. (Wang Yin-tse, political instructor, the Red 9th Company of a certain PLA unit)

As the vulgar saying goes, "One official turns toward another official, one government servant turns toward another government servant, and the tiger turns toward the doorkeeper." This means that when it came to litigation, although the officials might be different, a small landlaord would always turn toward a big landlord for help, a big landlord would always defend a small landlord and one official would always turn toward another official. Hai Jui could only speak for the feudal rulers. He could never have spoken for the poor people or helped them get justice. (Kao Chen-te, member of the Red 3rd Company of a certain PLA unit)

"The gates of the yamen face south; do not enter if you have no

money though you may be in the right." Was this saying invented by the peasants out of nothing? No, it was not. It was summed up by them through practice. They explained a truth in easily understandable language. (Li Su-wen, Vice Political Instructor, Ho P'ing Non-Staple Foods Store, Shenyang)

In the feudal society, "Imperial Law" was known and understood only to the lordly officials. The laboring people knew nothing at all what was written in it. In the courts of law, what the lordly officials said was "Imperial Law." "Of the ten ways decided by an official, nine were unknown to the people." Settling cases according to the "Imperial Law," their lordships would always pass judgment in favor of the rich. Wu Huai-ming, a peasant of our village, planted five trees on his own land near an irrigation canal. Chia Ch'ang-ming, the village headman (a local bully) said to him that the trees should belong to the public since their roots went down into the canal. Wu Huai-ming would not agree, and so the village headman sued him in court. Having received a summons to appear in court, Wu Huai-ming went to the yamen. He went far into an inner chamber, where he surprised his lordship plotting with Chia Ch'ang-ming. He said, "You two are in collusion privately with each other. There is no need to hear the case." Angered, his lordship said: "You Wu Huai-ming have intruded into the court. You are guilty of lese majesty. Even in the yamen you are so audacious. In the village you must be a scoundrel." Thereupon he sentenced Wu Huai-ming to eight months imprisonment and awarded the trees to the village. After that, Chia Ch'ang-ming used the trees for building a house and also made a coffin with the timber for himself. Let Wu Han see whether the lordly officials were just in trying cases and whether the laboring people were wronged or not. (Fan Jang-kao, deputy leader, Chiachiachuang brigade, Fenyang hsien, Shansi)

Some say the "honest officials" were those who were "just" in administering justice and acted according to law. Still, it depends on the class character of the law itself, on those who made it, and on whom it served. Law, after all, is a tool of dictatorship! Feudal law was made on the basis of upholding the interests of the landlord class. It was made for the purpose of maintaining the interests of the ruling classes and oppressing the people. It was a great injustice in itself. Whether officials acted according to law or not, and whoever they might be -- Hai Jui, Pao Kung, or any other -- we need not bother to find out. Even if they did act completely in accordance with law, they merely maintained the interests of the landlord class. In the old society poor people could not air their grievances, simply because law in the old society was not meant to protect poor people. (Sung Shuang-hsin)

"One Official Turns Toward Another, the People
Turn Toward Themselves. In All Dynasties It
Is Always Officials Who Oppress the People"

"One official turns toward another and the people turn to themselves.

In all dynasties it is always officials who oppress the people." We have never heard a case in which "officials acted for the people." There was class struggle in every dynasty. A man served the class to which he belonged. This was determined by the nature of class. (Hsiang Pen-hung, fighter, Red 3rd Company of a certain PLA unit)

"Each change of reign brought a change of officials, but each reign worked for the people in the imperial court." In the old society poor men could have no one to whom they might complain of their hard lot and air their grievances. How could there be officials who would speak and act for poor people? (Chang Wan-ch'ien, veteran worker, Taiyuan Metallurgical Company)

To say that "honest officials" would "speak for the people" or were even saviors of the people is a complete distortion of historical fact. Let me ask: Was there an "honest official" before the liberation who worked for the people's interest, spoke for them, and did things for them? For generation after generation the peasants toiled and milled till their backs were bent and bones broken, but still they could not earn enough to feed and clothe themselves adequately. There was never any "honest official" to relieve them of their poverty and difficulty. The words "to speak for the people" were only a mask in history used for prettifying the feudal ruling classes. Today, they have become a kind of reactionary propaganda. Today the people have become masters of their own destiny and the proletariat has become the leading class of the state. The world today belongs to the people. Let me ask Wu Han: Who do you think would be needed to speak for us? And to whom would he speak? Wu Han and his like want to speak for the former ruling classes who have been overthrown by the working people. They want to speak to the people. That is a fancy which can never come true. (Yuan Chen-hsiang, worker at Shulan Coal Mine, Kirin)

There was also struggle among feudal bureaucrats. They plotted and schemed against one another. It was struggle within the ruling classes - like one dog biting another dog or a large fish swallowing a smaller fish - and not one between two classes. When a corrupt official was too corrupt and encroached upon the interests of the feudal dynasty, the feudal imperial court would deal him a blow. Various cliques of feudal landlords struggled among themselves, and it was the common people who were made to suffer. (Yang Yao-tsung, worker, Heavy-Duty Machine Works, Taiyuan)

Wu Han's Theory of "Honest Officials" Is A Theory of Class Reconciliation That Combines Two Into One

Wu Han says that Hai Jui took up the case of the people and redressed their wrongs. That is disseminating the theory of class recon-

ciliation. Wu Han is trying to mislead the people by linking "officials" with them, and to do away with class struggle. (Yang Fu-chen, weaver, Shanghai State Cotton Mill No. 1)

Wu Han says that Hai Jui was loyal to his emperor and at the same time loved the people. That is trying to mix together the exploiting and the exploited classes. It is "combining two into one." (Hou Chih-kao, worker, Soochow Valve Works)

Someone says that "honest officials" too must be viewed by dividing one into two, that "honest officials" served the landlords on the one hand and the peasants on the other. That is completely a distortion. Landlords and peasants belonged to two classes hostile to each other. To regard "honest officials" as serving both landlords and peasants is to combine two into one, not dividing one into two. (Chou Fu-yuan, secretary of Party branch, Yungning brigade, Luch'u commune, Wuhsi hsien, Kiangsu)

We must analyze the enemy by dividing one into two, but we must not take out part of the enemy -- the so-called "honest officials" -- and put them on the side of the people. That will mix the enemy with us. (Yang Yao-tsung)

In a class society, one dividing into two means class struggle. There is no division of one into two from which class struggle has been extracted. If we divide one into two as Wu Han has done, we shall divide imperialism into its warlike and peaceful aspects, as the revisionists are saying that imperialism can be divided into a war faction and a wise faction. That is truly a revisionist viewpoint and also Yan Hsien-chen's two-combined-into-one viewpoint. (Chang Yin-jung)

Wu Han not only extols "honest officials," but would not allow others criticize them. He says that those who criticize "honest officials" blacken the faces of their ancestors. Our ancestors were laboring people, not "honest" or greedy officials. We want to criticize these officials and condemn them thoroughly. We also want to criticize and condemn thoroughly anyone like Wu Han who holds his viewpoint. (Wang Ying, fitter, Shenyang Rubber Machines Factory)

Only the Communist Party and Chairman Mao Are the
Saviors of the Laboring People

Wu Han says that honest officials were the saviors of the people. That is nonsense. We millions of laboring masses were assaulted and abused in the past. We had little to eat and to wear, and were even denied the right to live. Did any "honest official" appear to save us?

Before the liberation, my own family went every where begging. Did an "honest official" come out to inquire after us? This was true not only of my own family, but of all poor people. This shows that in the old society there were no saviors whatever. The real saviors are the great Party and Chairman Mao. (YU Ch'uan-yang, leader of the Lei Feng Squad of a certain PLA unit)

The true saviors of the laboring people can only be the Communist Party and Chairman Mao. The Communist Party and Chairman Mao have led the Chinese people in overthrowing imperialism and the Kuomintang reactionary clique and humbling landlords and local bullies. They have given us poor and lower middle peasants land, houses, cattle, and farm tools, and guided us to the collective way, so that we may completely stand on our own feet politically and economically. Even a three-year old knows who the people's saviors and malefactors are, but Wu Han says arbitrarily that "honest officials" were the people's saviors. As I see it, he is serving the landlord-bourgeoisie. (Chang Heng-fu, chairman of poor and lower middle peasants association, Fengchiachuang brigade, Fenyang hsien, Shansi)

IV. The Reactionary Classes Have Never Made Any "Concession" to the Laboring People. What They Have Done Was Counter-Attacking and Counter-Reckoning

The Exploiting Classes Did Not Concede A Little Bit to the Laboring People

Wu Han and Chien Po-tsan declare approvingly that feudal rulers at one time had carried into effect a "concession policy," by which they reduced their exploitation and oppression of the peasants. That is complete non-sense. Landlords would exploit and oppress the peasants to the utmost degree -- fighting for every bit of gain and never yielding an inch! In the struggle between landlords and peasants, neither side would make any concession. It was a life and death, tit-for-tat struggle. To say that the landlord class would make "concession" to the peasants is to stare at the facts and not see them. He who says that is trying to reconcile class contradictions and speaks for landlords. (Li Ching-ho, member of Hsintien brigade, Chutien commune, Lich'eng hsien, Shantung)

Wu Han and Chien Po-tsan claim that after a peasant uprising failed, the ruling classes would take a "concession policy" toward the peasants. According to this view, it is not necessary to carry through the revolution to the end. Would any ruler in this world be so benevolent? We revolutionary fighters know that the reactionary classes have only two counterrevolutionary tactics, but no such thing as benevolence. When the

suffer temporary defeat and setbacks, the reactionaries would only counter-attack and carry out counter-reckoning. They would only indulge more cruelly in slaughter, but never make any "concession" whatsoever! (Yü Pao-yüan, student-member, Red 3rd Company of a certain PLA unit).

The exploiting classes will exploit laboring people. As the vulgar saying goes, "A dog will eat excreta and a wolf will eat man no matter where they may be." The exploiting classes will not change their nature. It is impossible that they would adopt any "concession policy" toward the peasants. (T'ao Ming-pao, secretary of the Party branch of Chuangching brigade, Kangk'oy commune, Shachou hsien, Kiangsu)

The Overthrown Class Enemy Is Like "An Onion Hung on the
Eave, Whose Heart Would Not Die Though Its Leaves Have
Withered and Its Roots Have Rotted"

The reactionary ruling classes never made any concession when they had power in their hands. Even after power has come into our hands, they have never been willing to "concede." The landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, and bad elements in rural areas appear to be resigned, but in their innermost hearts they always want to seize power again and change everything. (Sheng Ken-ta, secretary, Party branch of Hsingkuang brigade, Tungt'ing commune, Wuhsien, Kiangsu)

The class enemy will really never give up hope. For example, there is a counterrevolutionary element in Yuehwang commune, T'ait's'ang, who has always cherished hatred for Party members, cadres, and activists. He imagined himself a "fox fairy" and set fire to everything he could. The first time he set fire to something, he watched to see who was going to extinguish it. The next day he would set fire to that person's house. This fact shows that the struggle between the class enemy and us laboring people is a life-and-death struggle. The class enemies will never "make concession." Even when they are overthrown by us, like an "onion on the eaves," their "heart will not die though the leaves may wither and the roots may rot." (Ts'ao Yun-ya)

There was a landlord in Shihtsaotou production team, Yungning brigade, who said to the cadres with great relish when Chiang Kai-shek was clamoring for an invasion of the mainland: "We are elements of the four categories now. When Chiang Kai-shek comes back, you will be the four categories. Cadres of the commune belong to the first category, cadres of the brigade to the second, Communists to the third, and leaders of the production team to the fourth. None of you will get away." He also said to Shen Chung-liang, a Communist and leader of the production team, "When Chiang Kai-shek comes, take care or you may go to worship Yang Shan (i.e., you may be shot dead on Yang Shan)." (Chou Fu-yuan)

The exploiting classes have never made any "concession" to the people. Not even Wu Han himself, to whom we have given a high position, has "conceded." On the contrary, he attacks boldly. That reflects his class nature. (Wang Chih-wen)

It Is Class Struggle, Not the "Concession Policy"
of the Reactionary Classes, That Promotes
Development of History

Wu Han and Chien Po-tsan have formulated a preposterous formula for the development of history in the feudal society: Peasant wars -- plus "concessions" by the ruling classes -- have promoted the development of history. This is opposition to Chairman Mao. History is created by the people, and class struggle is the motive power that promotes the development of history. That is what Chairman Mao has taught us long ago. Yet they say that "concessions" by the ruling classes were the motive power that promoted the development of history. It is distortion of history. (Wang Chih-wen)

The class enemy would never voluntarily go out of the stage of history. Our liberation was not a result of "concessions" by the exploiting classes. It was won with guns by us worker-peasant masses. Led by the Communist Party and Chairman Mao, we have taken up arms, and through bloody struggle, have overthrown the reactionary regime and established the people's government. The so-called "concession policy" is a fabricated lie intended to confuse our class viewpoint. We must brighten up our eyes, hold high the key of class struggle, and never be deceived. (Chang Hsiao-mao, secretary, Party branch of Chinsing 3rd brigade, Ch'ientun commune, K'unshan, Kiangsu)

V. By Promoting the Morality of the Landlord-Bourgeoisie,
Wu Han Serves the Restoration of Capitalism

Proletarian Morality and Landlord-Bourgeois
Morality Are Utterly Incompatible with Each Other. The Proletariat
Can Never Inherit the Morality of the Landlord-Bourgeoisie

Morality has a class character. The proletariat has its own morality, and so has the bourgeoisie. The communist morality of the proletariat is dominated by public spirit, whereas that of the bourgeoisie is dominated by selfishness. The two are opposite each other and utterly incompatible with each other. (Hsü Chen-chiang, fighter, the Lei Feng Squad of a certain PLA unit)

The morality of our laboring people is "to do good wholly to others and never to benefit oneself," whereas the morality of the bourgeoisie is "to do good solely to oneself and never to benefit others." Our morality is "revolution first, work first, and others first," whereas that of the bourgeoisie is "exploitation first, money first, the ego first." We laboring people work hard, live simply, and are industrious and courageous, while the landlord-bourgeoisie gain without laboring, and enjoy the comforts of life by doing nothing. In the old society, landlords never carried any load on their shoulders or in their hands, but they lived in tall houses and mansions, ate precious food from mountains and the sea, and wore clothes made of silk or other valuable material. We peasants were busy all the year round, always hoping for a better life next year but always wearing the same threadbare tunic when the new year came. Our sweat dropped into fields owned by others, but our tears were shed in our own homes. For the landlords, there was different scenery in spring, summer, autumn, and winter. As for us peasants, our wives and children were separated from us all the time and everything was dreary. That was the landlords' morality of exploiting peasants and sucking their blood. (T'ao Ming-pao)

Wu Han says that what he means by inheritance of bourgeois morality is inheritance of what is good. We say that the morality of landlords and the bourgeoisie is utterly rotten -- with carbuncles on top and festering sores at foot. There is nothing that is good. (Li Chi-huai)

What landlords and the bourgeoisie advocate superficially is "benevolence, righteousness, and virtue," but actually "the men are robbers and their women prostitutes." What is there that should be inherited? In the old society, the exploiting classes caused the death of countless numbers of our class brothers, yet Wu Han wants us to inherit their morality! What is that for? (Li Wen-shan, worker, Taiyuan Iron and Steel Works)

All Morality of the Exploiting Classes Is Man-Eating Morality

The morality of the landlord-bourgeoisie is a murderous broadsword and a big counting machine to help exploit the people. The 10,000-man graves and pagodas of bleached bones of the old society were the best testimony to the morality of the landlord-bourgeoisie. (Jen Chih-shun, fighter, the Lei Feng Squad of a certain PLA unit)

"Men who do not take care of their own interests will be destroyed by Heaven and earth." That is the morality of the landlord-bourgeoisie. From our point of view, it is amorality. (Ch'ui Chien-wen, deputy leader of the Lei Feng Squad of a certain PLA unit)

The morality of the landlord-bourgeoisie is morality that teaches "eating poor people in order to get fat and killing poor people in order to get rich." (Ho Shao-yung)

Feudal morality was like feudal imperial law -- they were both shackles with which the landlord-bourgeoisie ruled the laboring people. They differed from each other only in manner -- one was civil and the other brutal, one was a means of repression and the other a means of deception, one restricted man's action, the other bound his thought. (Ma Ch'eng-lien)

Wu Han says that the landlord class had the virtue of being "industrious" and "hard-working and able to endure hardship." He is trying to prettify the landlord class. He is more foolish than even a three-year old, because a three-year old knows landlords earned money without doing labor and lived by exploiting others. If landlords were "industrious" and "hard-working and able to endure hardship," then how could they be distinguished from peasants? (Li Kuei-fen, courier, Taiyuan Posts and Telegraph Bureau)

All exploiting classes gained without laboring and lived a licentious, shameless, parasitic life. Where was their industry and hard-work? Industry and working-hard are qualities that belong solely to the laboring people. The exploiting classes were not industrious but "diligent in making money." Day and night they "industriously" thought of better ways and means to exploit poor people. They used a big measure for grain that came to them and a smaller one for grain they gave others, and their interest bred interest. How could they have thought of such things had they not been thinking "industriously" of them? (Yu Ch'ang-ho, fighter, the Lei Feng Squad of a certain PLA unit)

Wu Han! Check the Family Records of Your Landlord-Bourgeoisie. Was There Such Morality of Wholeheartedly Serving the People as Comrade Lei Feng Possessed?

Wu Han says that if the proletariat does not inherit the morality of the landlord bourgeoisie, it will have to "create a morality out of nothing," which is impossible. These words consist of several turns and twists, but they amount to a denial that we the proletariat have no morality of our own. It is a slander against the proletariat. (Yu Ch'ang-ho)

Our former squad leader Comrade Lei Feng, a great communist soldier, worked wholeheartedly for the revolution and the people. He did not care for fame or gain and feared neither hardship nor even death. He listened to the words of the Party and Chairman Mao, and would do anything the Party told him to do. Lei Feng regarded the people's difficulties as his own. He was a servant of the people everywhere he went. As he wrote in his diary: "Man's life to the limited, but service for the people is limitless. I must give my limited life to the limitless 'service for the people'." Are not the

communist thoughts and qualities of squad leader Lei Feng and many other heroes the highest morality of our proletariat? (Feng Fu-ch'en, fighter, the Lei Feng Squad of a certain PLA unit)

Our old squad leader Comrade Lei Feng was a well-known great communist soldier whom everyone -- man or woman, old or young -- emulated from the heart. Why could he become a communist fighter and acquire the communist style of selfless dedication to the public cause? Did he learn it from Hai Jui? Wu Han, examine the family records of your landlord-bourgeoisie. Can there be such morality? You can skin Hai Jui and break his bones, but you will not be able to find in him a little bit of such morality. (Ch'ü Chien-wen)

To Establish Communist Morality, It Is Necessary To Study
And Apply Chairman Mao's Works Creatively and Go Into
the Three Major Revolutionary Movements for Tempering

Squad leader Lei Feng said: "Having studied Volumes 1, 2, 3, and 4 of the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, what impresses me most is the fact that I now know how to conduct myself and for whom I live.... I think that the object of keeping myself alive is to enable others live even better." That shows that only the great thought of Mao Tse-tung can beget a great communist morality, that only those armed with the thought of Mao Tse-tung can have true proletarian morality. Only those who do not think of the ego and who have ridded themselves of all selfish and impure thoughts can be pure and moral men. Such morality is the greatest and noblest in the history of mankind. It was possessed by no other class. Only those armed with Marxism-Leninism and the thought of Mao Tse-tung have such morality. Noble morality comes from noble thought, which in turn comes from Chairman Mao's teachings. The thought of Mao Tse-tung is the peak of contemporary Marxism-Leninism, the highest and most dynamic Marxism-Leninism. To establish communist morality, it is necessary to study and apply Chairman Mao's works creatively and go into the three major revolutionary movements for tempering. (Hsu Chen-chiang)

Without demolishing the morality of the feudal landlord class and the bourgeoisie, it will be impossible to establish our communist morality. Our viewpoint is exactly the opposite of that of Wu Han. He says that the proletariat cannot create its morality "out of nothing," but must imbibe the "fine moral qualities" of the landlord-bourgeoisie. We say that, in order to set up the proletarian morality, we must utterly smash and utterly criticize the morality of the landlord-bourgeoisie. Without criticizing the old morality, our morality will not be established. (Sung Shuang-hsin)

VI. Hold High the Great Red Banner of the Thought of
Mao Tse-tung, Carry Through to the End the
Socialist Cultural Revolution

Chairman Mao has said: "All erroneous ideas, all poisonous weed, all devils and demons should be criticized and must not be allowed to spread freely." The landlord-bourgeois writers and scholars must not be allowed to take possession of the ideological positions. If the proletariat does not occupy them, the bourgeoisie will surely do. The struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie to decide who will win in this respect is not yet decided. We must not only hold firmly our guns, but occupy the academic positions as well. (Li Te-hui, fighter, the Good 8th Company of Nanking Road)

In the past, all characters on the stage were emperors, princes, generals, and great ministers, there was no place for workers, peasants, and soldiers. Now workers, peasants and soldiers have entered the stage. It is a good thing to let them occupy the stage. The question of orientation also exists in the study of history: Should it be praise for emperors, princes, generals and great ministers, or for the laboring people? History students, like dramatists, should also carry out a revolution and study the history of the struggle of the laboring people. (Sung Shuang-hsin)

We the working class must occupy the positions of history, philosophy, and art and literature, and foster our own intellectuals of the working class. (Li Hsin-pao, veteran worker, Light Industrial Machine Works, Shanghai)

We workers are highly concerned for the great affairs of state. We must also show the same concern for the class struggle on the cultural front. We must not allow bourgeois ideas to go on the rampage and change the color of our State and breed revisionism. We must creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's works -- applying them not only in production, but also to the class struggle on the ideological front. We must hold high the great red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, take an active part in the class struggle on the ideological front, and carry through to the end the socialist cultural revolution. (Hu Ch'un-ch'in, worker at a certain industrial plant in Taiyuan)

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PARTICIPATION BY WORKER-PEASANT-SOLDIER MASSES IN
ACADEMIC CRITICISM IS AN EPOCH-MAKING EVENT

[Following is a translation of an article by Hung Ch'i Commentator, in the Chinese-language periodical Hung Ch'i, (Red Flag), Peiping, No. 6, 29 April 1966, Pages 20-22.]

For several months, a great polemic has been going on in Chinese academic circles beginning with their criticism of Wu Han's Hai Jui's Dismissal From Office. Particularly encouraging in this great polemic is the enthusiastic participation in the struggle by the broad masses of workers, peasants, and soldiers. Recently, they have held discussions, expressed views, and written articles in many places criticizing Wu Han's anti-Party, anti-socialist political and academic viewpoints. They say that this great polemic is a struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the socialist and capitalist roads, that it is a big issue concerning the destiny of the country, an issue which we the working class, poor and lower middle peasants, and soldiers of the PLA cannot afford to ignore or neglect, that they must take an active part in this class struggle in order to crush the ferocious attacks by the bourgeoisie and win complete victory in this great polemic.

Participation by worker-peasant-soldier masses in academic criticism is something without precedent in world history. In the old society -- whether it was in feudal society or capitalist society -- the academic forum was completely monopolized by a handful of feudal literati and bourgeois scholars. Their academic endeavors served the interests of the exploiting classes. Workers and peasants were deprived of the right to an education and had no access to academic work. Whenever academic or theoretical matters were raised, they were invariably regarded as the business of a few intellectuals alone. After the victory of the people's revolution in our country, the worker-peasant masses have become masters in the economic and political spheres, and must be masters of culture too. The knell has sounded for the exploiting classes with regard to their monopoly of culture and academics. An era has begun in which worker-peasant-soldier masses directly master theory and directly ascend the academic forum. This

is an event of great historical significance.

Participation by worker-peasant-soldier masses in academic criticism is a result of their creative study and application of the thought of Mao Tse-tung. Facts show that, having mastered the powerful weapon of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, the worker-peasant-soldier masses can use it not only for improving their own work, but also in their participation in the class struggle in the realm of ideology.

Participation by worker-peasant-soldier masses in academic criticism is a matter of joy and inspiration for all revolutionaries. But intellectuals who cling tenaciously to the bourgeois reactionary stand feel that the foundation on which their fate rests is approaching an end. Accordingly, they are creating various pretexts against participation by worker-peasant-soldier masses in academic criticism. Taking an aristocratic and lordly attitude, these bourgeois intellectuals declare that "people who have not made a thorough study of the 24 Classics of History have no right to pass judgment on historical personalities." They say, "Workers, peasants, and soldiers know nothing about history!" In their view, worker-peasant-soldier masses are not qualified to speak on academic matters.

The worker-peasant-soldier masses have effectively refuted these absurd arguments. They say that although they have not read the 24 Classics of History written by the landlord class, they have Chairman Mao's works, their own practice in revolutionary struggle, and their own "four histories" -- histories of families, villages, factories, and communes. With these, they can utterly refute all the deceptive, absurd arguments of the feudal classes and the bourgeoisie.

That is completely true! The thought of Mao Tse-tung is the most powerful weapon that will enable us to defeat all kinds and forms of feudal, bourgeois academic viewpoint. Practice in revolutionary struggle and the "four histories" are valid grounds for demolishing the evil theories of the exploiting classes.

It is said that "workers, peasants, and soldiers know nothing about history." We want to ask: What after all is history? Who after all know nothing about history?

Comrade Mao Tse-tung says: "In class struggle, some classes triumph, others are eliminated. Such is history, such is the history of civilization for thousands of years." ("Discard Illusions, Prepare for Struggle," Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Vol. 4, People's Publishing House, 1960 edition, p. 1491) Histories written by literati of the landlord class and bourgeois scholars distort the truth of class struggle and cover up the facts, completely obliterate the position and role of the working people, but solely eulogizing emperors, princes, generals, great ministers, and bourgeois rulers. Under their pens, history is represented completely upside down. Therefore, from the Marxist point of view, one cannot be

regarded as knowing history well even if he can recite from memory the 24 Classics of History backward.

Who really know history? It is not those feudal, bourgeois historians who regard the 24 Classics of History as the Golden Law, but the worker-peasant-soldier masses and proletarian revolutionary cadres.

Workers and poor and lower middle peasants remember their miserable family histories. They are familiar with their own village and factory histories. In these histories there were exploitation and oppression and opposition to exploitation and oppression. They are full of violent class struggle. Only the working people, who have been exploited and oppressed, know the history of class struggle best.

Through reading Chairman Mao's books, listening to his words, and creatively studying and applying his ideas, the worker-peasant-soldier masses have greatly increased their class awareness. They have a keen sense of smell and sharp eyes by which they can distinguish fragrant flowers from poisonous weeds and see them clearly. In this issue, we have published material from an academic criticism forum of worker-peasant-soldier masses. It effectively illustrates this point.

An important feature of the participation by the worker-peasant-soldier masses in academic criticism is the prominence given to politics. Having mastered the thought of Mao Tse-tung and regarding the Party and socialism as their own life root, the worker-peasant-soldier masses are able to see and find out the various anti-Party, anti-socialist, wily tactics adopted by Wu Han and the others. They can tersely show up their reactionary political aims.

Armed with the thought of Mao Tse-tung, the worker-peasant-soldier masses can express profound and correct views even on highly complex academic matters. In their speeches at forums and their writings published in the press, they have said many revolutionary, scientific truths which many intellectuals have not said and cannot say. The masses can grasp the essence of a question directly and make a concise explanation that is clear-cut and thorough.

The so-called question of "honest officials" has bewildered many. But with the histories of their own families, villages and factories, the worker-peasant-soldier masses prove that there was no such thing as an "honest official" at all in the old society. They say: "There is no cat that does not eat meat; there is no official who is not avaricious of money," and "An honest magistrate, after three years in office, would have amassed 100,000 [taels] of white silver." The so-called "honest official" is completely a fabrication of the landlord class intended to fool and deceive the people.

The so-called "concession policy" has been a prevalent idea among historians for a long time. But as soon as they heard the absurd theories of Wu Han and Chien Po-tsan about this "concession policy," the worker-peasant-soldier masses pointed out clearly that this was a complete distortion of historical fact. They say: "Dogs will eat excreta and wolves will eat man no matter where they are." The essential nature of the landlord class would never change. Even now, when landlords are already overthrown by us, "their heart does not die, though like onions on the eaves their leaves may wither and their roots may rot," and will not "concede a step." How could the landlord class be imagined to adopt a "concession policy" toward the peasants after the failure of peasant revolutions?

With regard to the question of so-called moral inheritance, landlord-bourgeois scholars describe the morality of the exploiting classes as something very beautiful and perfect. The worker-peasant-soldier masses, on the other hand, with their family histories so full of blood and tears, charge that landlord-bourgeois morality was man-eating morality -- one which claimed that "one can not get rich without killing poor people." They say that landlord-bourgeois morality is utterly rotten -- "with carbuncles on top and festering sores at the foot," and that there is nothing good in it whatever.

See! How positive is the class viewpoint of the workers, peasants, and soldiers! How bright their banner! How thorough their argument!

In our entire revolutionary cause, we have to rely on workers, peasants, and soldiers for waging struggle in the political and economic realms. We also have to rely on them for the cultural revolution and the struggle to promote proletarian ideology and destroy bourgeois ideology. The worker-peasant-soldier masses are the main force not only in class struggle, production struggle, and scientific experimentation, but also in the socialist cultural revolution. Without their participation, no revolution can be completely victorious. Only by relying on the worker-peasant-soldier masses and mobilizing them will it be possible to insure that the great socialist cultural revolution will be carried through to the end and that the ideological roots of feudalism, capitalism, and revisionism will be thoroughly removed.

In the cultural revolution as well as in revolutions in other spheres, intellectuals have an important role to play. But they must integrate themselves with the worker-peasant-soldier masses. Comrade Mao Tse-tung says: "If they do not integrate themselves with workers, peasants, and the masses of people, intellectuals will be able to accomplish nothing. The ultimate line of division between revolutionary, non-revolutionary, and counter-revolutionary intellectuals lies in whether they are willing to and actually integrate themselves with the workers, peasants, and the masses of people." ("May Fourth Movement," Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Vol. 2, People's Publishing House, 2nd edition of 1952, p. 546) This directive from Comrade Mao Tse-tung is absolutely true. The current academic criticism proves once again that intellectuals can make themselves useful in the cultural revolution only by taking the proletarian stand, integrating themselves with the

worker-peasant-soldier masses, and fighting by their side.

The thought of Mao Tse-tung is the highest directive for all our work. Armed with the thought of Mao Tse-tung, the worker-peasant-soldier masses are an irresistible and invincible force. Their participation in the class struggle on the cultural front is an epoch-making event. Holding high the great red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, the worker-peasant-soldier masses and revolutionary intellectuals together will surely win complete victory in the cultural revolution.

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