

Wason

DS
701
4931+

JPRS: 35,713

TT: 66-32148

26 May 1966

TRANSLATIONS FROM HUNG-CH'I (RED FLAG)
No 7, 1966
- Communist China -
No. 27
(Criticism Of San Chia Ts'un--The Reactionary Nature Of
Yen Shan Yeh-Hua and San Chia Ts'un Tsa-Chi)

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

CLEARINGHOUSE FOR FEDERAL SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL INFORMATION

JOINT PUBLICATIONS RESEARCH SERVICE

Building Tempo E

Adams Drive, 4th and 6th Streets, S.W.

Washington, D.C. 20443

Price: \$2.00

F O R E W O R D

This publication was prepared under contract for the Joint Publications Research Service as a translation or foreign-language research service to the various federal government departments.

The contents of this material in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U. S. Government or of the parties to any distribution arrangement.

PROCUREMENT OF JPRS REPORTS

All JPRS reports may be ordered from the Clearinghouse for Federal Scientific and Technical Information. Reports published prior to 1 February 1963 can be provided, for the most part, only in photocopy (xerox). Those published after 1 February 1963 will be provided in printed form.

Details on special subscription arrangements for any JPRS report will be provided upon request.

All current JPRS reports are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U. S. Government Publications which is available on subscription at \$4.50 per year (\$6.00 foreign) from the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C. Both prices include an annual index.

All current JPRS scientific and technical reports are cataloged and subject-indexed in Technical Translations. This publication is issued semimonthly by the Clearinghouse for Federal Scientific and Technical Information and is available on subscription (\$12.00 per year domestic, \$16.00 foreign) from the Superintendent of Documents. Semi-annual indexes to Technical Translations are available at additional cost.

TRANSLATIONS FROM HUNG-CH'I (RED FLAG)

No 7, 1966

- Communist China -

No. 27

CRITICISM OF SAN CHIA TS'UN--THE REACTIONARY
NATURE OF YEN SHAN YEH-HUA AND SAN CHIA TS'UN TSA-CHI

Following is a translation of an article by Yao Wen-yuan (1202 2429 0337) in the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 7, 1966.

On 16 April Ch'ien-hsien (Front) and Pei-ching Jih-pao (Peiping Daily News) published some material entitled "Criticism of San Chia Ts'un (The Three-Family Village) and Yen Shan Yeh-hua (Evening Chatters on Mount Yen)," to which an "Editor's Note" was attached. In the latter it was said, "This periodical and newspaper made the mistake of publishing this article earlier without making a punctual criticism of it. The reason was that we did not practice the assignment of the commanding position to the politics of the proletariat and our heads were filled with the influences of the thinking of the capitalist and feudal classes, so that we lost our standing and vigilance in this serious struggle."

This was a big lie. The author of Evening Chatters on Mount Yen is Teng T'o (6772 2148) and San Chia Ts'un Tsa-chi (Notes on the Three-Family Village) represented a partnership of Teng T'o, Liao Mo-sha (1675 3106 3096), and Wu Han (0702 2498) in the presentation of a robbers' lair. Serving as the chief editor of Ch'ien-hsien and monopolizing the leadership of ideological and cultural work in Peiping Municipality, Teng T'o cooperated with his partners in the Three-Family Village in turning Ch'ien-hsien, Pei-ching Jih-pao, and Pei-ching Wan-pao (Peiping Evening News) into tools against the party and socialism, frantically implementing an anti-party and anti-socialist right-wing opportunist or revisionist line, and serving as the mouthpieces for the reactionaries and right-wing opportunist

elements in attacking the party. Are these merely questions of "losing vigilance" and not making "a punctual criticism"? After bringing forth so many serious anti-party and anti-socialist poison weeds, can it be said that there were merely these "influences" of capitalist thinking in their heads? This great deceit must be thoroughly exposed.

It can still be recalled that when the criticism of Hai Jui (3189 3843) Pa-kuan (Dismissal of Hai Jui) was first started, Teng T'o pretended to take the correct attitude. After some tense planning, he wrote under the pseudonym Hsiang Yang-sheng (0686 7122 3932) an article of great length entitled "From Dismissal of Hai Jui to the Theory of Moral Succession," which was published simultaneously in the Peiping Daily News and Front. This article, while taking the ostensible stand of "criticizing" Wu Han, came actually to his rescue, and was a serious anti-party and anti-Marxist poison weed from beginning to end. Did the newspaper and periodical merely "lose vigilance" by publishing this article? Did they "relax the class struggle on the cultural and academic front"? No, not at all. They had a very high degree of "vigilance." They had a very firm grip on their "class struggle" against the party and the people. Seeing that the question concerning Wu Han could no longer be concealed, they hastened to let Teng T'o pretend to make his "criticism." In thus disguising their roles, they could not help revealing themselves in their true light. Now that they can no longer protect Teng T'o, they have again made a hurried "criticism" in the name of the editorial departments concerned, showing an obstinate resistance and obstructing the further penetration of the struggle. However, the more they pretend, the worse it is and the more revealing they become. It was all sheer deceit to say that they "did not practice the assignment of the commanding position to the politics of the proletariat" and "did not make a punctual criticism." Their aim was merely to use the "criticism" of Teng T'o and The Three-Family Village as a pretext to show that they were still standing on the right side, thus trying to deceive their readers and the party.

How could the question be clarified by adopting such an attitude? How could "solemn criticism be launched"? In the Note referred to above, it is said that Wu Han "time and again" "supported openly right-wing opportunist elements who had been dismissed." They had endeavored to conceal this matter, but having failed to do so, they could only admit it. In the same Note it is also said that Liao Mo-sha is "a chief figure self-consciously against the party, socialism, and Mao Tse-tung's thinking," but at the end the Note referred to Teng T'o as "boosting the dead and obstinately advocating the emulation of the dead" and as having "extensively propagandized on the

thinking of the feudal and capitalist classes and against Marxism-Leninism and the thinking of Mao Tse-tung," without saying a single word about his anti-party and anti-socialist activities, thus making it difficult to believe everything said.

More than 150 articles are contained in Evening Chatters on Mount Yen and Notes on the Three-Family Village. Were all the numerous poison weeds represented by them merely confined to the "advocacy of the emulation of the dead" and "propaganda on feudal and capitalist thinking"? Was it merely a question of mistaken thinking, and not a political question? Of the "three families" forming the "village" two were anti-party and anti-socialist, and the third, which took up the largest part of the writing, was merely "advocating the emulation of the dead." Could this be regarded as logical? Is it not clear that it was all but a farce of "criticism" to resist the directives of the party Central Committee?

Though the article entitled "What Is Really Propagated by Evening Chatters on Mount Yen," which closely fitted into the above comments, covered more than two pages, it similarly concealed the acute political question involved. Some of the subtitles were "Distortion of the Party's Aim of Letting A Hundred Flowers Bloom and A Hundred Schools Contend and Advocacy of the Overflow of Capitalist Thinking," "Total Glorification of the Feudal Social System," "Restoration of the Soul of the Capitalist Class by Using the Corpses of Feudal Ancients," "Spread the Decadent Philosophy of Life of the Exploiting Class," and "Side Shows to Satirize the Modern World by Citing Ancient History." All these subtitles represent the tendencies and judgments of the editors. This maneuver of editing tells the readers sidewise that Evening Chatters on Mount Yen contains nothing or very little that is against the party Central Committee and Chairman Mao and in support of right-wing opportunist elements, and that in this respect it is different from Dismissal of Hai Jui. By placing the distortion of the aim of bloom-contend at the beginning of the article and taking up the "satirization of the modern world by citing ancient history" at the very end, the editors enabled the readers to see what a hard maneuver they were trying to make.

After some checking, we found that the whole thing was a complete farce. True, a large part of the political comments most harshly slandering the party Central Committee and Chairman Mao, supporting the right-wing opportunist elements, and attacking the general line and socialist work were either not included or minimized; and comments of an anti-party and anti-socialist nature openly aimed at the most sinister satirization of the Modern world by citing ancient history were

purposely relegated to other parts of the article. But there was not a single word about the evil influence of Evening Chatters on Mount Yen on the country as a whole. On the contrary a great deal was made of questions which are not vital so as to minimize matters and make believe. Especially is the fact concealed that the large number of articles attacking the party, which were written by Teng T'o, Wu Han, and Liao Mo-sha in this period, were not produced "singly" by each on his own, but thrown out from the partnership of the "three-family village," being led, planned, and very clearly linked together. Wu Han is the front-rank vanguard, Liao Mo-sha follows him closely, and of the three commanding officers Teng T'o is really the chief, i. e., the manager and controller of the robbers' lair, the "three-family village."

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has taught us thus: "We must insist on truth, and the banner of truth must be fresh and clear." (Talk to the Editorial Staff of the Chin-Sui Daily News). In the acute and complex class struggle there are bound to arise certain false phenomena. Only by holding aloft the fresh and clear revolutionary banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking, insisting on principle and truth, and clearly and unmistakably exposing the essence of things can we keep ourselves from being deceived by the said false phenomena. Since Ch'ien-hsien and Pei-ching Jih-pao have suddenly presented the questions of Evening Chatters on Mount Yen and Notes on the Three-Family Village and concealed the truth, it is naturally the responsibility of all revolutionaries to clarify their reactionary faces thoroughly.

Although the contents of Evening Chatters on Mount Yen and Notes on the Three-Family Village are very complicated, yet after some analysis we can see a black line running through them, an anti-party and anti-socialist black line directly traceable to those running through Hai Jui Ma Huang-ti (Hai Jui's Curse of the Emperor) and Dismissal of Hai Jui, which have in the political climate of China in the last few years called forth a body of black clouds. Now the time has come to expose further the internal situation of this robbers' lair, the "three-family village."

How Did Evening Chatters on Mount Yen and Notes on the Three-Family Village Start?

Evening Chatters on Mount Yen and Notes on the Three-Family Village started exactly where Dismissal of Hai Jui left off. They are big anti-party and anti-socialist attacks, which have been extremely well-planned and organized, with distinct objectives. If we look at the time-table, we can immediately obtain very deep impressions.

In January 1961 Dismissal of Hai Jui was published in Pei-ching Wen-i (Peiping Literature and Art). The reactionary nature of this play is more and more evident, and its spearhead is directly aimed at the Kuling Conference and the overthrow of the decisions reached at that conference as well as at the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung. Glorifying Hai Jui as Heaven itself, the play described his "dismissal" as "unjust" and embodied the wish that the right-wing opportunist would resume his control of "dynastic affairs" and implement his revisionist program. The support of the reinstatement of the right-wing opportunist and the restoration of capitalism were the pressing feelings of the author of Dismissal of Hai Jui. These feelings were also shared by the "brethren" of the "three-family village."

No sooner had the play been published than some people gave it their immediate support. The brethren of the "three-family village," thinking that their harbinger had won a tremendous success forthwith, ran wild with joy and were delighted beyond description. On 20 January 1961 Liao Mo-sha stated in the Peiping Evening News with great confidence, "With New Year's drums beating, spring grass begins to grow" and "We must start to act massively in the spring season." This was the early spring climate for the Three-Family Village. Thereafter, on 16 February, in an open letter to Wu Han, Liao Mo-sha "congratulated" him on his "breaking out of the door," "so as to inspire vigor," and suggested that there must be division of labor and cooperation between "history" and "drama." On 18 February Wu Han, in his reply, stated, as a vanguard, to his "elder brother," "I must also suggest to you, dear Elder Brother, that you also break out of the door. Why don't you do likewise?" Beating his breast, he said, "You say that I am breaking out of the door. This is the truth. What I intend to do is precisely to break out of the door. This door must be broken." What bracing for attack! What a fighting trim! They seemed really to mean business. At the time Wu Han believed that the time for the attack had arrived. After throwing out Dismissal of Hai Jui he and his colleagues intended to embark on massive action after New Year's drums.

On 25 February 1961, viz., one week after the cry that "this door must be broken," Wu Han, in his article on "The Meeting of the Immortals and the Contention of A Hundred Schools," cried aloud, "One level after another of meetings of immortals, until the basic level is reached," "because members of the basic level are all in practical work and come into contact with reality, the problems are more concrete, more sharply defined, and more centralized." He shouted aloud that at the basic level those who have ulterior motives should all plunge into action and that it was necessary to "wipe out all impediments to the contention of a hundred schools on the road

to its advancement." To boast of himself, he added, "After studying for more than forty years, teaching at universities for ten or twenty years, and writing several books, I seem to qualify as an intellectual." This shows that he was sure of his capital and backing at a time when anti-Communist capitalist intellectuals could well make their appearance and show their prowess.

It was at this juncture, when the dark clouds caused by Dismissal of Hai Jui turned into an "ardent" atmosphere and Wu Han had done some of his "cleaning", that immediately after March 1961 the principal character mounted on the stage. Evening Chatters on Mount Yen "broke out of the door" "in accordance with the suggestions of friends." Teng T'o said that he was "dragged on the horse." This was a mistake, because he was rather "invited to mount the horse." With a vanguard going before and "brethren" as his entourage, should not the chief commanding officer get on his horse?

The staging of Notes on the Three-Family Village closely followed Wu Han's preface to Dismissal of Hai Jui. In August 1961, when the reactionary class in the country intensified its attack, Wu Han, in his foreword to the play, pointed out, "This play stresses the straightforwardness and incorruptibility of Hai Jui and his strong will not to be bent by violence or frightened by failure and to try again after every failure," thus positively encouraging and supporting the launching of a new attack by a "dismissed" right-wing opportunist on the party. In his preface Wu stated how his "friends" had planned for him, and he expressed the wish that he could "attract jade with bricks," the result being that he had "attracted" a mass of poison weeds.

Then, on 5 October 1961, a couplet appeared in Evening Chatters on Mount Yen, to the effect that there should be concern with everything, including the sounds of wind, rain, and reading and the affairs of the home, state, and the world. Wu Han stated with great excitement, "This fully demonstrates the political ambition of the then Tung-lin party," and "the meaning of this couplet is relatively profound." The Tung-lin party was the "opposition party" within the landlord class in the Ming dynasty. The deep appreciation shown by Teng T'o of "the political ambition of the Tung-lin party" was due to his inner sympathy with the "opposition party." Quite evidently Teng T'o felt that the then round after round of the "sounds of wind and rain" and threatening storms and whirlwinds were disturbing, that "political ambition" should be furthered, that there should be "concern with everything," and that open attacks should be openly launched against the party and socialism! Only a few days later, in the 10 October 1961 issue of Ch'ien-hsien, edited by Teng T'o, the sign of the

Three-Family Village was openly posted, thus converting an underground plant into an open partnership and concentrating the firing power of the three families, which were enabled in the very first few issues to set off such very heinous projectiles as "Great Empty Words" in their attacks on the party Central Committee.

The appearance of Evening Chatters on Mount Yen and Notes on the Three-Family Village demonstrated the organized, systematic, and led continued attack after the emergence of Dismissal of Hai Jui. Only by intimately coordinating the productions of the "three families" can the internal situation of this robbers' lair be thoroughly exposed.

One Black Line, Several Diabolical Winds

Teng T'o himself said that the title of Evening Chatters on Mount Yen had originated thus: "I frequently think of, see, and hear a number of things and feel that any question can produce a title at all times." As a leader, what does Teng T'o "see" and what does he "hear"? Here he disclosed that Evening Chatters on Mount Yen had arisen from "questions" showing his discontent with the real life confronting him, and that some of the poisonous anti-party and anti-socialist contents of the book had been cast into writing by him after he "heard" about them. The starting point and theme of these writings are important questions in the prevailing political life, possess strong reality, and are not "glorifications of ancients" in general.

On the basis of the clue furnished by the author, we can see very clearly that through Evening Chatters on Mount Yen and Notes on the Three-Family Village runs an anti-party, anti-people, and anti-socialist black line, traceable to those running through Hai Jui's Curse of the Emperor and Dismissal of Hai Jui: the slander and attack of the party Central Committee, the attack of the party's general line, the effective support of the reversal of the attack on "dismissed" right-wing opportunist elements, and the support of the frantic attacks on the part of the forces of feudalism and capitalism. With changes in the situation of the class struggle in and out of the country and differences in the "questions" "thought of, seen, and heard," this black line selects different directions of attack, coordinates its actions with other agencies, stirs up one black wave after another, and causes one diabolical wind after another.

In January 1961 the party held the ninth plenary session of the eighth Central Committee. The session pointed out, "The great successes achieved by our country in the past three years have demonstrated that the party's general line of

socialist construction, the great leap forward, and the people's commune are consistent with China's actual conditions," and "In view of the serious natural calamities to which agricultural production has been subjected for two consecutive years the whole country must concentrate its strength on the reinforcement of the agricultural front in 1961." The Communiqué of the session acutely pointed out, "...the very small minority constituting only a limited percentage of the population, having failed to reconstruct successfully the landlord and capitalist elements, ...have always sought to bring about their restoration and made use of the difficulties created by the natural calamities and the defects in certain of our basic work to carry out destructive activities." (Communiqué of the Ninth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Chinese Community Party)

They stirred up the anti-party and anti-socialist black wind, tried their level best to slander the socialist cause of the party and the people, cursed the party Central Committee, and sought to overthrow the party's general line. Evening Chatters on Mount Yen, which followed closely on the heels of the above-mentioned plenary session, have served the political interests of the capitalist and landlord elements seeking their restoration, and made use of certain economic difficulties arising out of the serious natural calamities to stir up, in a concentrated manner, a demoniac wind against the general line and in support of the restoration activities of the landlord and capitalist classes.

On 26 March 1961 Teng T'ao adopted the slogan "Welcome to the 'Miscellaneous School.'" Who were the members of the "Miscellaneous School"? According to him, they were people "with wide knowledge" and "miscellaneously embracing everything." "Famous scholars of the olden times," he went on, "may be said to have belonged to this school to varying degrees." But he warned, "If we do not recognize now the important significance of the wide knowledge of the so-called 'miscellaneous school' to all our leading work and scientific research, it will be our great loss." Please take note of the important field of "leading work." Quite evidently, from what Teng T'ao has said above, we can see that this "miscellaneous school" consists of none other than the capitalist and landlord elements and class intellectuals, who have not been successfully transformed. In other words this school is composed of a handful of people whose political leanings are not clear, reactionaries who belong to the group of "scholars" of the landlord and capitalist classes. The emperors, kings, commanders-in-chief, and prime ministers, feudal reactionaries, and geomancers, who have been long dead and who have been referred to by Teng T'ao in his works as great gods, are all the ancestral tablets in the temple of the "miscellaneous school."

The modern versions of members of the "miscellaneous school", with their "knowledge" as their capital, are doing their level best to seize leading posts at all levels of leadership and change the nature of the dictatorship of the proletariat. By calling on us to attach importance to the "important significance" of the "miscellaneous school" to our "leading work," Teng T'ao is asking the party to open its door to them and permit them to seize the leadership of "all leading work," though it is clear that the road pursued by them is that of capitalism, and at the same time to grab hold of the leadership of the "work of scientific research," viz., of the academic and ideological circles, to prepare public opinion for the restoration of capitalism.

Teng T'ao himself has posed as a first-class member of the "miscellaneous school." Is it not true that once some capitalists were precisely seeking to "lead" and "attach importance to" the "wide knowledge" for carrying out capitalist exploitation? Did they not think of making use of their "knowledge" to convert socialist into capitalist enterprises? The slogan "Welcome to the 'Miscellaneous School'" was adopted by the "three-family village" for supporting the usurpation of leadership by elements of the exploiting class. It should not be treated as an empty phrase. Has not the "miscellaneous school" in the "three-family village" really arrogated to itself a certain amount of "leading work"?

On 13 April 1961, in his article on "Rather Open Up than Obstruct," Teng T'ao once more asked that "all things" be "opened up to make possible their development smoothly." "If the road to the development of the movement of things is obstructed," he went on, "they are doomed to failure." Please note that "all things" would include those reactionary dark things which are anti-party and anti-socialist. To persist in the socialist road, we must obstruct the road to the restoration of capitalism; to support all revolutionary new things, we must attack counterrevolutionary corrupted things. "Without destruction there is no construction, without obstruction there is no flow, without stopping there is no movement." To open up the revolutionary flood, we must obstruct the countercurrent of reaction. If Teng T'ao demands us not to "obstruct" "all things," including anti-socialist things, whose "smooth development" should also be "made possible," is he not asking us to bring about the liberalization of the capitalist class? It is thus the estimate of the "three-family village" that socialism is doomed to "failure," the restoration of capitalism will "inevitably win," and they can openly cast in their lot with the reactionary forces which "develop" capitalism.

On 30 April 1961, in his article on the "Theory of Pro-

tection of Working Strength," Teng T'o nakedly attacked us for "not protecting working strength, putting together the dictatorship of the proletariat and that of the landlord class. He said that "as early as the Spring and Autumn period and that of the Warring States and thereabout," the exploiting class, "through its own experiences in ruling," "discovered certain objective laws relating to the rise and decline of working strength" and could estimate the limits of "the working strength employed in all capital construction." Teng T'o asked that "we should obtain new enlightenment from the experiences of ancients, giving closer attention to the protection of working strength with effort on all sides."

As is well-known, we are most attentive to the protection of working strength, and all work of the Chinese Communist party proceeds from the basic interests of the broad masses of the people and is wholeheartedly devoted to their service. On the other hand all slave-owner and landholder classes in history have always been greedy and cruelly exploited the people without respite. This has aroused one rebellion after another on the part of the slaves and peasants. How could the exploiting class ever have recognized "objective laws" relating to the "rise and decline of working strength"?

What Teng T'o has done is to make use of the temporary difficulties created by our natural calamities to make the false accusation that the general line and great leap forward have the effect of not "protecting working strength," and to suggest that we abandon the general line of intensifying work vigor, striving for the upper stream, and constructing socialism in a more voluminous, faster, better, and more economical manner, give up the massive operation of agriculture, forsake the revolutionary aim of striving for the building of a strong country and revival through self-exertion, and make use of the "experiences in ruling" of the exploiting class to disintegrate the dictatorship of the proletariat. That is to say, you are unequal to the task of revival through self-exertion, and you should dismount and give up quickly and act according to the old methods of the "miscellaneous school" of the landlord class. Is this not a harsh attack linked with US imperialism and revisionism? If we took this line of action, not only would there be no Ta-ch'ing, Ta-chai, and nuclear bombs, but our country would be reduced to a colony of imperialism!

It was no mere accident that at about the time this article was published, Teng T'o did all he could to advocate the emulation of the Khrushchev revisionist clique. In his article on "The Way of Making Friends and Treating Guests" he took the stand that we should "welcome friends who are better than we" and "emulate" and "unite with" countries which are

"stronger than our own." In another article, "From Three to Ten Thousand," he said, "If we are self-conceited, see that it is very easy to get initiated, and thrust away our teacher with one kick, then we can learn nothing at all." This is a harsh attack against our struggle with modern revisionism and a suggestion that we open our door to admit revisionism, the wolf. We should learn from the experiences and lessons gained in the world which are favorable to socialist construction, but we should never learn from revisionism.

This series of attacks made by Teng T'ao have adopted the same tune that is sung by right-wing opportunist elements which contains the false accusation that the line of socialist construction is "unnatural" and that there can be an "outlet" only when the road of the Soviet revisionist clique is taken and revisionism is practiced in China.

In stirring up this diabolic wind, the "three-family village" has, on the one hand, done its level best to call out the deadly ghosts of bulls and serpent gods from their hiding, and, on the other, cooperated with reactionaries in and out of the country and modern revisionists in harshly attacking the party's general line of socialist construction, the great leap forward, and the people's commune, whitewashing modern revisionism, and seeking to manufacture public opinion for the restoration of right-wing opportunist elements.

In June and July 1961 the "three-family village" once more stirred up a diabolic wind. The 40th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese Communist party falling on 1 July, the great, correct, and glorious Chinese Communist party, headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, held aloft the red flag of socialist construction and the general line, and in the acute struggle with the reactionaries in and out of the country and with serious natural calamities, led the Chinese people to continue their victorious march on the road of socialism. At that time the forces of reaction in the country, the right-wing opportunists, who had been "dismissed" but who had not been fully convinced of their defeat, were further stirring up the "wind of reversal," seeking to deny the criticism leveled at them by the Kuling Conference and the fruits of all the important political struggles since the liberation. The "brethren" of the "three-family village" shot at the party Central Committee and in support of the right-wing opportunist elements concentrated poison arrows.

On 7 June 1961, in a gloomy article nominally dedicated to the memory of Yu Ch'ien (0060 6197), Wu Han again made a false accusation, greatly boosting Yu Ch'ien, a "dismissed official," and stating that he was "by nature straightforward", "born frugal", and "immortal", especially stating that his

"reputation had been restored" and that "Yu Ch'ien's enemies had again and again been defeated" and noting in addition that he had been appointed "President of the Board of War (Minister of National Defense)." "The restoration of reputation" is our language today, and the Emperor basically could not say this. Wu Han was using this phraseology to express one of his feelings, that is, that the revolutionaries of the proletariat would be "again and again defeated" and that the "reputation" of the right-wing opportunists would very soon be "restored."

On 22 June 1961, following closely the case of Yu Ch'ien examined by Wu Han, Teng T'o published his article on "The Cases of Ch'en Chiang (7115 4829) and Wang Keng (3769 5105)." This article was so harsh and outspoken that even the author himself felt it strongly and did not dare to include it in the collection of Evening Chatters on Mount Yen. We found this article in the Peiping Evening News, which published Evening Chatters on Mount Yen. The author said this "historical material" could open our eyes, and so we ransacked a mass of old books before we found it. The article referred implicitly to a "purposely exaggerated and fabricated case." It was only at the end of the article that the case was clearly presented thus: "In the Sung dynasty, during Queen Mother Ming-su's (2494 5126) regency, civil service had become increasingly corrupt. Above there were no enlightened and capable prime minister and associates of his to assume responsibility for the personnel and administration. Below the local officials could do whatever they wished." All this contributed to the "exaggeration and complexity" of this "case." In this instance the author made use of the counterrevolutionary tone of landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad elements, and rightists to slander our party harshly. Under the pretext of attacking "Queen Mother Ming-su" and the "prime minister" the author sharply abused our party Central Committee, and by referring to "the local officials," who "could do whatever they wished," he sharply abused the party's cadres at all levels, crying against the wrong done to right-wing opportunist elements and other anti-party elements. Even such a modern word as "exaggeration" was used! How would our "eyes" be "opened"? Was it not just to pave the way for the "reversal" of the cases against opportunist and other anti-party elements? Was it not just to pave the way for the attacks of deadly ghosts of bulls and serpent gods against socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat? What is most intriguing, Teng T'o pinned the hope for "reversal" on an "enlightened and capable prime minister," who could get on the stage and seize the leadership. Any clear-sighted person can see what kind of character he was conjuring up. It was indeed the language befitting a chief commanding officer. The exclusion of the article from the said collection was only a trick to attract more

attention.

At the same time, in an article on "The Rise and Fall of Two Temples," Teng T'io expressed deep feeling regarding the rise of one of them and the fall of the other. The former was renowned far and wide and was worshiped by a great many, while the latter was "abandoned," and "no one paid any attention to it." For fear that it was not understood, he asked us especially to extend our view to "other similar matters." This meant that we were too cold to the right-wing opportunist elements, for whom no incense was burned any longer. Teng T'io expressed strong dissatisfaction with the fact that "no one paid any attention" to the broken clay idols, which were anti-party and anti-socialist and which had fallen in the political arena, and he asked the party to "attach importance" to them again and to resume the worship of "abandoned" idols.

Closely following this, in his preface to Dismissal of Hai Jui, Wu Han cried out in a more outspoken manner that "though Hai Jui had lost his official position, he was unbowed and far from dejected," thus stressing the necessity for having the "strong will not to be frightened by failure and to try again after each failure." This was the common voice of the "three-family village" then, and it was no isolated incident. The group not only encouraged right-wing opportunist elements to "try again," but they themselves have also shown greater enthusiasm.

On 25 July the "three-family village" threw out an exceedingly harsh anti-Communist article entitled "Special Treatment for 'Amnesia'". This article severely slandered the party's responsible comrades for their "amnesia" charging that they "immediately forget what they have seen and what they have said," that they "eat their words and have no credibility," that they are "subject to irregular fits of pleasure and anger," and that they "beat a patient's head with a specially made club, causing a 'shock.'" Not only is this language the same as that used by right-wing opportunists in expressing their hatred for the party Central Committee and in calumnizing it, but the intention is to beat the revolutionary fighters of the proletariat to death. How cruel it is! This article discloses nakedly that they are filled with the most deepseated class hatred. It stands completely on the side of landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad elements, and rightists to attack our party!

The above chain of facts prove conclusively that Dismissal of Hai Jui not only represents the political attitude of Wu Han, but is the prelude adopted by the "three-family village" clique to the support of the anti-party and anti-socialist political activities of right-wing opportunist elements, who have

been "dismissed." A handful in this clique have pinned their hope on the power of the anti-party and anti-socialist elements to take over the party and the state and have stirred up a countercurrent. However, the slanders and attacks of the handful of anti-party and anti-socialist elements have not dimmed the bright light of the party to the slightest extent. On the contrary they can only unmask their criminal faces, arouse the wrath and hatred of the people, and invite the des-
pise of the party and the people and their abandonment.

From the staging of Notes on the Three-Family Village to the third session of the Second National People's Congress in March 1962, the attacks of the "three-family village" can be said to have reached a frantic degree. At that time international imperialism, the reactionaries of all countries, and modern revisionists had first of all further staged an anti-Chinese chorus, which proved to be arrogant for a time. At the 22nd Congress of the Communist party of the Soviet Union held in October 1961, the leadership of the Soviet Communist party built into an integral system the revisionist line it had begun at the 20th Congress to develop gradually, and extended it into a revisionist political line for splitting the international Communist movement and restoring capitalism. Within the country the reactionary class seeking its restoration and its political agents, taking advantage of the serious natural calamities to which we had been subjected for three consecutive years, have launched more frantic total attacks in the political, economic, and cultural fields, and, at a time when we are implementing the eight-character aim of "adjustment, consolidation, filling up, and improvement," have sought to overthrow the party's leadership and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

There are two articles which can best represent the estimate of the situation made by the "three-family village" during this period. One is Wu Han's article "On Waves," published on 1 January 1962. With unrestrained fanaticism, he made the cheerful outcry that "during the last half-year and more" a "wave" had struck at society, which he happily described as "very big really." In fact what he boosted was a countercurrent sweeping over the party's leadership and the dictatorship of the proletariat. His estimate of the situation thereafter was that "crests of waves" would become larger and larger." In his frenzy Wu Han believed that his group would win and that the revisionist countercurrent would at once be converted into a main current. Not long afterward, in an article dated 4 February, which Teng T'o did not dare to include in his collection and which was entitled "Spring Festival This Year," he stated more nakedly, "The severely cold season brought by the north wind will soon come to an end, and what

replaces it will be the east wind. The thaw of the good earth will be here very soon." Is the word "thaw" not thoroughly counterrevolutionary language used by the Khrushchev revisionist clique when it opposed Stalin? This group stupidly estimated that the socialist new China of 1962 would "come to an end very soon", that the dictatorship of the proletariat would be toppled by the anti-socialist countercurrent, that "what replaces it" would be the world of right-wing opportunists or revisionists, and that the men of the "three-family village" would be able to seize greater power and do whatever they wish. Comrades, please note how much the "three-family village" hopes for the emergence of the situation of a revisionist "thaw" in China!

Under this estimate the "three-family village" has frantically launched its total attack.

On 10 November 1961, in Notes on the Three-Family Village, Teng T'o made public his "Great Empty Words." Under the pretext of criticizing a child's poetry he branded as "empty words," "an eight-legged essay," "an outmoded tune," and "self-gratification" the statement that "East Wind is our benefactor and West Wind our enemy." Thus he has openly and boldly dubbed as "empty words" the Marxist-Leninist scientific conclusion that "East Wind prevails over West Wind."

Said Teng T'o, "These great empty words are unavoidable under certain extraordinary circumstances," hinting to his readers that far from criticizing the child's poetry, he was abusing the ideological weapon of our party for carrying on its struggle and educating the masses under "extraordinary circumstances," viz., in the course of the international and domestic class struggle.

What was the objective of Teng T'o? It is to regard as "empty words" the thinking of Mao Tse-tung guiding our advance and to ask us to do away with this thinking and abandon the Marxist-Leninist line in our political life. He even frantically called on our party to "say little and to rest when it is necessary to speak." If the thinking of Mao Tse-tung "rests," would it necessarily mean that revisionist thinking can flood the country? Their frantic abuse of Mao Tse-tung's thinking not only cannot damage it one whit, but on the contrary will show that this thinking is an ideological weapon which has unlimited revolutionary prowess and which makes all deadly ghosts of bulls and serpent gods tremble.

To show intimate collaboration, a number of articles were successively published in the Three-Family Village--articles denouncing Mao Tse-tung's thinking and slandering the revolutionaries. Evening Chatters on Mount Yen threw out an

article entitled "To Lay Down Is to Get on Firm Ground." The central point was to ask the party to "lay down" its general line of socialist construction and to satirize those who do not "lay down" as "the blind," who would "court misfortune." He called on the party to "loosen its grip as freely and as boldly as possible" and let itself fall down until it gets on so-called "firm ground," viz., the territory of capitalism.

On 25 November Liao Mo-sha published two articles simultaneously, one entitled "Where Is K'ung Chih-cho (1313 0037 0587)?" and the other, "An 'Elegant Joke' about the Fear of Ghosts." The former adopted the form of boosting Confucius, saying, "Confucius had a great deal of 'democratic' thinking and welcomed the criticism of his theories by others," implying that the party should boost capitalist "democracy" and let reactionary elements rise against Mao Tse-tung's thinking.

The second article was framed in a language of hate to bring false charges against Mao Tse-tung's thinking and slandered Marxist-Leninists as "braggers" and "in deadly fear of ghosts, while verbally denying it," the motive being to cause them to "show up their ugly faces in a hundred ways."

As is well-known, the great Chinese Communist party and the great Chinese people under the education of Mao Tse-tung's thinking are not only unafraid of any devils or demons, but determined to smash them to smithereens anywhere on earth. The heroic face of the undaunted and great Chinese is summed up in these two poetic lines: "Heroes drive away tigers and leopards, and they are unafraid of bears." This heroic attitude can prevail over any villainy. Liao Mo-sha went even so far as to write a book on Stories about the Fear of Ghosts. Was this not merely an attempt to cooperate with the reactionaries and modern revisionists in and out of the country in caricaturing the Chinese people, who are unafraid of ghosts, the party, and the revolutionaries insisting on Mao Tse-tung's thinking?

The day after the two articles mentioned above were published, Evening Chatters on Mount Yen printed "Two Foreign Fables," further attacking so-called "bragging." It was asserted that "Up to now such braggers have been met anywhere at any time." It made the unrelating outcry, "We can never let the boastful cheats get away lightly."

Do you want to have a revolution? Do you have the fatherland at heart and wish to extend your outlook to the world as a whole? Do you want to revive through self-exertion and overcome your difficulties? All this is "bragging," and the "three-family village" is ready to have a reckoning with you.

When the article just referred to was inserted in the collection, one sentence was omitted. It was to the effect that "not only can difficulties not be overcome, but they become more and more numerous and their seriousness greater and greater." You see how harshly they have derided our party's aim of revival through self-exertion adopted with a view to overcoming our difficulties! They even regard our difficulties as becoming "more and more numerous."

Not long afterward Wu Han, in an article on "Chao Kua (6392 2161) and Ma Su (7456 6204)," once more told a story about "talking boastfully," citing ancient history to satirize the present by reminding us of our "experiences of defeat" and our "lessons from the harm done to ourselves and others and to the country." Evidently Wu Han had the illusion that the great Chinese people had "had a precipitous fall," that the general line had "failed," and that the right-wing opportunists would soon rise to power.

The black wind started by Teng T'o's "Great Empty Words" coincided fully with the call for the rise of the right-wing opportunists. Today, when our socialist construction is entering a new high tide, the re-reading of such writings can only tell us that the anti-party and anti-socialist "heroes" can never see the great strength of the masses of the people! They are even blinder than the blind in their estimate of the political situation!

Comrades and friends, please note. Have not the slanders and attacks centering in the writings of Teng T'o gone through planned organization and coordination, when their objectives are so concentrated and their language so uniform within such a short period of time? How frantically anti-party and anti-socialist they are! How can our strong indignation be suppressed? How can we refrain from smashing them to smithereens?

The series of articles "breaking out of the door" immediately thereafter had their spearhead more openly pointed at the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung. The key point of their attacks was shifted from political to organizational questions.

On 22 February, in an article entitled "Is Clever Scheming Reliable?" Teng T'o called on the "Emperor" to "enlarge the circle of his counselors." He especially stressed that "Plans need not be self-laid," adding with some show of insight, "When plans are self-laid, they open the door to flattery, which seeks compliance." Far from asking the leading cadres to listen with humility to the views of their subordinates, the motive

was to tell the party Central Committee to accept the revisionist line supported by the writer. He and his group have frantically warned the party that if "ideas on everything are always self-formulated and an attempt is made to win through mystery" and the "good views" of the "lower level," viz., the "three-family village," are not accepted, "ultimately a big letdown will one day be met with." This is an open demand that the "scheme" of restoring capitalism become the party line and that harsh abuses be made of the Central Committee. Their "good views" relate to the practice of revisionism, that of the restoration of capitalism, and the subjection of over 90% of the country's total population once more to dark and painful oppression. This is indeed the worst view of all. Like fragrant flowers and poison weeds, the revolutionary people and the handful of anti-party and anti-socialist elements, so far as the distinction between "good" and "bad" is concerned, are diametrically opposed and can never speak a common language.

Only three days later, on 25 February, another article, on "The Way of Right and the Way of Might," made its appearance. The Marxist theory of state tells us that both "the way of right" and "the way of might" are the forces of tyranny appertaining to the dictatorship of the landlord class and counterrevolution. All landlord rule posing as "the way of right" is in fact "the way of might." So-called "benevolent government" is a mere camouflage to cover up the bloody counterrevolutionary force of tyranny. With great lucidity Lu Hsun (7627 6598) pointed out, "Though the way of right in China is something opposed to the way of might, in fact they are brothers, and sooner and later the way of might is bound to arise." (Lu Hsun Ch'uan-chi [Complete Works of Lu Hsun], Vol VI, page 10)

On the other hand Teng T'o has greatly boosted "the way of right" by saying, "Even in ancient times after all the way of right was far superior to the way of might." Why did he make this most fallacious eulogy of the dictatorship of the landlord class? To make "us" accept the "experiences and lessons" fabricated by Teng T'o, who said, "This makes people feel at first sight that at that time those who had been eager to become the most powerful lords created enemies everywhere and lost the people's hearts." In addition, he stated, especially "in our language (that of the "three-family village"), "The so-called way of might is dictatorial behavior based on subjective arbitrariness."

Have we not heard this tune many times? Modern revisionists have boosted as angels of peace US imperialists, who seek to establish their world hegemony. They harshly and falsely accuse China, which resolutely opposes US imperialism,

of being "warlike" and practicing the "doctrine of hegemony." The reactionaries within our country advocate peace with imperialism, the reactionaries of all countries, and modern revisionists, and the reduction of the aid to the revolutionary struggles of all peoples, attacking us for our "isolation" and for "creating enemies everywhere." If we make a comparison, we can clearly see that what Evening Chatters on Mount Yen has attacked harshly is none other than the revolutionary line of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is merely echoing the voice of the reactionaries in and out of the country. What it has done is much more than the "glorification of the feudal social system," referred to in the article of the Peiping Daily News.

On 29 March an article entitled "In Defense of Li San-ts'ai (2621 0005 2088)" appeared. The very title is very strange, since no one has attacked today this man who lived more than four centuries ago. What is the necessity of making a defense in his behalf? Li San-ts'ai was a historical character and a great hero, who "attacked the dark feudal political system." But according to Ming Shih (History of the Ming Dynasty), which presented facts altogether contrary to those appearing in the article just referred to, Li was an executioner, who, as a running dog of the landlord class, rigidly served the "dark feudal political system." He memorialized the throne more than once, attacking the peasants and protecting the landlord class. What was the motive in defending a man like that?

Li was originally an ambitious politician, who had an eye on the cabinet. Because his interests clashed with those of the then landlord class, he assumed the role of a member of the "opposition party" and attacked the party in power repeatedly. In his memorials he adopted the slogan "to appeal for the people." In this struggle Li lost his position. Boosting this "retired official" of the "opposition party," Teng T'o cast him into the role of a great hero. However, Teng T'o's aim was to "defend" the right-wing opportunist elements by making use of the dead man.

Teng T'o concentrated his story on the period after Li's resignation. "Even after Li San-ts'ai finally retired to his native village, he was charged with such crimes as 'the construction of a private residence with stolen imperial timber.'" "Li San-ts'ai memorialized again more than once, ...and the reign of Wan-li did not dare to go through with the investigation." This was clearly an untrue statement, because it is definitely recorded in history that a number of officials had been designated to make the investigation. In obscuring this fact purposely, Teng T'o merely sought to boost a right-wing opportunist element who had lost his position. He would in

this way obstruct the continued investigation of similar cases involving right-wing opportunist elements, strive to reverse such cases, and support their attacks on the party through their "memorials."

"In Defense of Li San-ts'ai" is the continuation of Dismissal of Hai Jui. Is it not clear that Li was the same "Heaven" that Hai Jui had once been called?

It is impossible to exhaust all the material contained in the Three-Family Village directly attacking the party Central Committee and Chairman Mao as well as the general line. From some of the writings published after Dismissal of Hai Jui alone we can see how dark the performances of those in the "three-family village" have been, how deep a hatred this handful of men can harbor against the party and the socialist cause, and how far they can go in boosting and supporting the right-wing opportunists or revisionists. They have hoped for the change of China's color--from red to black. This robbers' lair is an important base for the restoration of capitalism. In it are concealed poisonous snakes, which must be completely destroyed and wiped out. Let us all rise to smash the "three-family village" and carry on our revolution thoroughly. This is indeed an urgent task facing us today.

"Peaceful Evolution" by All Means

In addition to openly anti-party and anti-socialist productions, Evening Chatters on Mount Yen and Notes on the Three-Family Village contain a number of so-called "academic" and "research" works, which are poison weeds of another kind. Under the shield of "receiving and appreciating ancient and modern useful knowledge" they have launched a total attack on socialism. They do not merely "glorify the feudal social system" and "boost the dead" as a general proposition, but they have their political motives. On the one hand they act in unison with the black line which is openly anti-party and anti-socialist as well as anti-people, and making use of "history," "scholarship," and "interest," which serve as a camouflage, they numb the people's revolutionary vigilance, deceive a large number of people, and extend their influence. On the other hand, by employing the method of "cutting off heads with a soft knife," they totally oppose the insistence of the party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung on the proletarian line in all fields, to corrode the revolutionary cadres and revolutionary people with the thinking of the landlord and capitalist classes, to extend "peaceful evolution." Anyone who becomes addicted to these temptations can change into a capitalist element. Sharp poison weeds and sugarcoated bombs are the weapons in the hands of the "three-family village."

In the very first article in Evening Chatters on Mount Yen Teng T'o used the taking of "one-third of life" as his label, saying that he wished to "draw attention to the importance of saving this one-third of life and make everyone obtain some ancient and modern useful knowledge with "relaxation" after a whole day's work or labor." Superficially what the "one-third" was meant to convey was "spare" time. But the aim of the "three-family village" was decidedly not merely confined to the "one-third," but could include the total subversion of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the realization of the restoration of capitalism. Nevertheless the "one-third" could be used as a camouflage for taking up the remaining "two-thirds" of the total. To wish everyone to read Evening Chatters on Mount Yen with "relaxation" is to numb everyone's revolutionary vigilance. Their intention is to begin with the corrosion of "one-third" of the life of those whose revolutionary stand is not firm, until they are completely eaten up and become the organizational strength and social foundation for extending "peaceful evolution" under the tutelage of the "three-family village" clique.

Evening Chatters on Mount Yen has extensively adopted the question-and-answer formula. In addition, Teng T'o has, in his articles, discussed at length how to receive youths and how to obtain "enlightenments" and "suggestions" from "fellow-townpeople," "comrades," "friends," "children," "editors," "students," "teachers of culture," etc....and operational personnel performing "work" in the various departments, or answer their "questions." From this we can see how widely varied their activities are. The propagation of anti-socialist thinking goes hand in hand with the widespread activities. On the one hand some people are harmed and on the other, they are initiated. Under the cloak of "scholarship" youths are tempted to get into the "three-family village."

Two examples will suffice. In an article on "Poor men with Strong Wills," Teng T'o said, "A young student came to see me day before yesterday," and "he intended to render selectively into the vernacular P'ing-shih Chuan (Biographies of Poor Scholars), compiled by Huang Chi-shui (7806 1213 3055) of the Ming dynasty, and asked what I thought of it." Biographies of Poor Scholars is a book which contains the life stories of decadent landlord elements and which boosts especially the so-called "character" of the landlord class. For this reason it has a corroding effect on the people of today. This student was a victim of the serious corruption of capitalist thinking, but he had not yet made up his mind.

As the matter was broached to Teng T'o, however, he saw in it a priceless opportunity. Not only did he endorse the

student's suggestion, which he regarded as "very good," but he immediately made a political thesis out of it. To him the simplification of Biographies of Poor Scholars would be a gesture of "solemn respect" to the landlord class, which he linked with the emulation of their "lofty integrity." He hinted at the same time that their example could serve the purposes of certain personages "in the event of their encountering unexpected poverty and distress in future." Was this not taking advantage of the young student to serve the interests of the "poor scholars" of today, viz., the anti-party and anti-socialist elements?

In another instance "a student of the Peiping Radio Broadcast College wrote me a letter." This student was also under the control of capitalist thinking; and full of low-grade interest, he paid his sole attention to the length of "women's hair" "on buses." In his letter he asked Teng T'o to "say what enlightenment this long hair gives us. Forthwith Teng T'o wrote a rotten classical article, not only supporting the student, but digging up and depicting the "long hair of beauties" adorning the harems of the most corrupt emperors in history as an advertisement. In so doing, did he not lead the victims of capitalist thinking further toward corruption and degeneration and their evolution as new capitalist elements? All youths who have been harmed and initiated into the "three-family village" should bring it to book!

If we look at the works from the standpoint of their propagation of reactionary thinking, we can see very clearly their political significance.

They energetically extend the reactionary capitalist educational line and prepare the ground for the restoration of capitalism. They adopt the capitalist theory of human nature as the basis of education. They assert that "Basic endorsement should be given the view expressed by Mencius that "human nature is born good." They oppose the analysis and education of youths with the class viewpoint and cover up their crime of harming youths. They even declare that "the whole set of methods applied by the old school are consistent with the principles of education, and that "these methods should be totally adopted by society." They use "employment according to talent" to replace the class line, and they resort to the "planned" cultivation of large numbers of successors to the landlord and capitalist classes. They strongly advocate among the youths the "course of combining self-study with family transmission of learning," the production of "famous scholars" through "hard study," and the "building of the foundation" by the "exhaustive reading of all materials." It is not only a question of turning out famous capitalist scholars, but prin-

cipally one of corroding and bringing together a number of people, to convert them into "devout followers" of the "three-family village," spreaders of their anti-Communist statements, and tools for the restoration of capitalism. The use of "scholars" and "celebrities" as inducements shows sweet words but poisonous minds.

They insist on using the reactionary academic line of the capitalist class as the spiritual condition for the restoration of capitalism. They adopt the slogan "Much study but little criticism" and maliciously deride those who hold aloft the revolutionary flag as people who "are fond of finding fault," who "take the first opportunity to make sarcastic comments," and who "are bound to be badly let down."

What does it mean to have "much study and little criticism"? It means that they alone are permitted to abuse Mao Tse-tung's thinking and boost the culture of the landlord and capitalist classes and to serve with "scholarship" the restoration of capitalism, and that we are not allowed to criticize the culture of the landlord and capitalist classes. In other words the culture of the exploiting class should be totally accepted and regarded as the law, without its being touched to the slightest extent. The attack on the proletariat, the support of the capitalist class, the consolidation of the control of the academic department of the robbers' lair, the support of all poison weeds, especially the big poison weeds of the "three-family village," which should be subject to no hindrance in their large-scale production--these are the core of their reactionary academic line.

The same is true of literature and art. They have manufactured the slogan of so-called "equal treatment," which is similar to "much study and little criticism." "All plays are the same, be they modern or traditional. We should accord to them equal treatment." In a class society there is no such thing as super-class "equality" and the "equality" between the proletariat and the capitalist class basically does not exist, but there is only the question of who wins over whom. To support modern revolutionary plays of the proletariat, we must criticize the ancient plays of the capitalist class. On the other hand, if we boasted that in our "dramatic heritage" "there are good plays meeting today's requirements fully," we would have to attack and suppress modern revolutionary plays. "Equal treatment" is aimed at two things at the same time: (1) the suppression of any effective method of supporting modern revolutionary plays; and (2) upgrading and protection of a mass of poison weeds, without subjecting them to criticism, and the service of their anti-party and anti-socialist activities.

They insist on the reactionary morality of the landlord and capitalist classes, seeking to restore the rule of the exploiting class from the standpoint of social relations. They recommend to people a set of most rotten philosophy of life, including so-called "integrity," "purity," "tolerance," and "profit." They advise us to learn from the reactionary philosopher Chu Hsi (2612 3588) the "virtue of tolerance," from Chang Shih (1728 6108) the "spirit of resistance" in "belittlement of labor," from Confucius "self-denial and propriety." They even go so far as to suggest the resumption of the practice of bowing formerly resorted to by the landlord class. This is an invitation to step backward to the feudal and capitalist old China. Please think, Comrades, if all this came to pass, would it not wipe out all the new morality and new customs of Communism? Would not our society become a dark world maintained with a feudal order? If we had to show "solemn respect" to elements of the exploiting class, would it not mean the restoration of counterrevolution? Would not the broad masses of peasants, workers, and soldiers be once more under the cruel oppression of the "gentlemen" with "character" or the reactionary elements of the exploiting class?

As filial sons and grandsons of the landlord class, they are publicly demanding the compilation of biographies for that class. Please read this passage: "Formerly, when local chronicles were edited, a list of 'country worthies' had, according to precedent, to be prepared, and then their biographies written on the basis of material collected." If we were to compile the Chronicle of Peiping, we would evidently have to give appropriate space to such men as Mi Wan-chung (4717 5502 6945) and Mi Han-wen (4717 3352 7186)--bureaucrats of Wan-p'ing during the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties. If we were to write biographies for these "country worthies," we would have to place in their proper niches the landlords and wicked roughnecks deposed after the land reform and their ancestral tablets, and let the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants be regarded as the slaves of "country worthies." How preposterous!

In response to the call of the chief commanding officer the "three-family village" brought up this question a great many times and suggested that biographies be written for warlords, bureaucrats, landlords, etc. This would be restoration in the most profound sense. It would be the enlargement of the political capital of the landlord and capitalist classes and the creation of the conditions for the resumption of their rule over the Chinese people. The broad masses of peasants, workers, and soldiers would never permit their crimes to pass unpunished!

The above is only a very small part of the known mate-

rial. It can be seen, however, that under the cloak of "scholarship" and "knowledge" the propaganda of all sides is concentrated on this point: opposition to Mao Tse-tung's thinking, denial of everything under socialism, the change of the character of youths, and the total and thorough restoration of capitalism.

Said Comrade Mao Tse-tung, "The proletariat should transform the world according to its own world outlook, and the capitalist class should also transform the world according to its own world outlook." ("Concerning the Question of Correctly Dealing with the People's Internal Contradictions") In flavorfully portraying everything rotten and reactionary, the Three-Family Village manifests its reactionary world outlook. From this we can clearly see rotten souls of the officers and men of the "three-family village."

To Liao Mo-sha is attributed a "famous saying," "Spare time is the free world for the wide sway of the first interest." This statement lays bare the fact that their usual meetings, work, and reports under the outer cloaks of members of the Communist party are all pretentious and unnatural and do not belong to the "first interest," which comes only in their "spare time." Only then are the true faces at the "three-family village" revealed. Outside of minute plans for anti-party and anti-socialist activities, they can do anything in their spare time, including eating, drinking, playing, talking about pets, boosting landlords, having fun with antiques, playing majong, do business, pursuing what Soviet revisionist intellectuals engage in, reading Tu Fu's (2629 3940) poems, obtaining an enlightenment from women's long hair, etc. So, those in the "three-family village" have dual personalities. One side of them, cast in writing, is used to corrupt the people and our party.

Do you want to know what "peaceful evolution" is? Please look at this live specimen of the "three-family village." Their ugly statements and the formulas for their activities and their anticipated results are all geared to the realization of "peaceful evolution" in the most accurate sense. From these stunning teachers in reverse we can learn important lessons on the class struggle.

Tactics of Retreat

In September 1962 the tenth plenary session of the eighth Central Committee of the party was convened. At this session Chairman Mao issued to the whole party and all the people the great call for not forgetting the class struggle under any circumstances. This session held aloft the great red flag of Mao Tse-tung's thinking, made the clarion call for the waging of a resolute struggle against the forces of capitalism and

feudalism, which seek their restoration, and pointed out, "This class struggle will inevitably be reflected in the party." The deadly ghosts of bulls and serpent gods were stunned and badly shaken. Disheartened by the worsening situation, the "three-family village" began to beat its retreat. The first to draw back was the chief commanding officer. In October 1962, in a special notice "To the Readers," in Vol V of Evening Chatters on Mount Yen, Teng T'o said, "Because of a recent shift of attention to other directions in my spare-time activities, I have stopped to write for Evening Chatters on Mount Yen."

The last article in this collection, entitled "Thirty-Six Plans," was published on 2 September. "Of the 36 plans the best is to run," which indicated that he would run away. When the volume was being edited, the author was so jittery that he placed his article in the middle, and not at the end, as in the final arrangement, so that he would not betray his plan to leave. With deep meaning this article said, "The plans adopted by T'an Tao-chi (2905 6670 3444) covered more ground than "the best plan is to run," which indicated that he would run away, and but for other plans he had, he would not have been able to leave. It was only by means of such ruses as feints and pretenses that he succeeded in getting away. After the tenth plenary session of the eighth Central Committee, the "three-family village," in addition to the continuation of its attacks, did resort to "several tactics, which were coordinated," to make a "safe retreat," with the launching of counterattacks by the revolutionary people. Please note the "tactics."

(1) In Vol V of Evening Chatters on Mount Yen he pretended to tell its readers, "Formerly I was dragged on the horse to write the Evening Chatters. My dismounting now is to avoid a perpetual clash with myself. It will not be too late to resume writing when in future I have some enlightenment and cannot stop writing." On the one hand he indicated that he had not made conscious attacks and that "mounting" and "dismounting" had both been involuntary. On the other hand he hinted that on a certain "future" occasion, when the situation turned favorable, he could "resume writing" and try again.

(2) He continued to hold the battleground of the "three-family village." On the one hand he continued to launch his attacks, and on the other, he wrote a variety of articles, such as the "Eulogy of Petroleum," to show his endorsement of "Comrade Mao Tse-tung's aim of 'revival through self-exertion,'" to cover up his retreat.

(3) He incited the various parts of the country to "persist for the longer term in the publication of special columns

and miscellaneous features in newspapers" in response to Evening Chatters on Mount Yen, so as to maintain more theaters of operation.

(4) In May 1964 Teng T'o leveled his criticism at the "Theory of Harmlessness of the Existence of Ghosts" by Liao Mo-sha, and to avoid the total exposure of the "three-family village" by this work, he quickly laid up the label of Notes on the Three-Family Village in July 1964.

(5) He made Liao Mo-sha write a false survey, in which it was said, "The reasons for this error" were that "the capitalist world outlook" "still occupied a dominant position in my mind" and that "it is forgotten that in our socialist society there still exist classes, class struggle, and class contradictions." Please note that this is almost the same language employed by Wu Han in his subsequent "self-criticism." The article went on to say that the author unwittingly became a helper to the forces of capitalism and feudalism in their frantic attacks on the party and socialism." Since Liao Mo-sha was merely a helper to Meng Ch'ao (1322 6399), no action was taken to look into the "three-family village."

(6) After the criticism of Dismissal of Hai Jui, Hsiang Yang-sheng, viz., Teng T'o himself, soon followed up with another "criticism," saying that the "guiding thought" or "ideological basis" in that play was the "exaltation of the morality of the feudal ruling class," only the "exaltation of historical idealism." On the one hand he covered up the political objectives and the political reactionary nature of the play, throwing a life-buoy to Wu Han and seeking to lead the discussion into a dead-end. On the other hand Teng T'o indicated that the "three-family village" did not exist, "breaking" with Wu Han. At the end it was added, "If Comrade Wu Han has any further views, I hope that he will continue to write them out" and "make an analysis and study in a realistic manner." This told Wu Han about the next step to take.

(7) In immediate response to this call, Wu Han wrote one article after another to "thank" Teng T'o, continuing his frantic attacks under the pretext of "self-criticism," dauntlessly boosting himself, and turning to his own use the magic wand wielded by Liao Mo-sha by saying, "Correct thinking has not yet definitely assumed a dominant position in my mind," and adding, "In one word I have forgotten the class struggle" and "Hsiang Yang-sheng's criticism" "has caused me to recognize my mistake." All this seems to have been delusive enough.

(8) Finally, Teng T'o, like the cicada, has cast off his shells many times to cover up his retreat.

After so many "tactics, which are coordinated," he should have made his "safe retreat." What tricks he has played to deceive others! However, he and his group underestimated the revolutionary people's power of discrimination and the revolutionary determination of the proletariat. Did they succeed in running away? No, under the leadership and education of the party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung the broad masses of the people were determined to erase the anti-party and anti-socialist black line. The tactics the group adopted, which they themselves had considered clever, were actually stupid and had the effect of laying themselves bare. Could it have been made clearer that they have not only "common political thinking," but plans for common action, and that they are a handful who have formed an anti-party, anti-people, and anti-socialist clique?

In March 1962, when the "three-family village" reached the height of its attacks, Teng T'o wrote a poem, which was published in the Peiping Evening News, entitled "The Black Wild Goose," in which he extolled his own "prescience." But this time this "prescience" failed! On the other hand the revolutionary people possessing Mao Tse-tung's thinking are really the prescient. Can you not see that the internal situation of the "three-family village" has gradually been revealed by the broad masses of the people?

Thoroughly Uproot the "Three-Family Village"
and Clean Up Its Poison

People cannot stop asking: Why has the "three-family village," which has been so frantic and so harsh and so unrelentingly carried out its anti-party and anti-socialist activities, sustained itself for several years? Has it been because the politics of the proletariat has failed to assume the commanding position? If not the politics of the proletariat, what has been in the commanding position?

Since the criticism of Dismissal of Hai Jui the reactionary essence of this play, its support of the political objectives of the right-wing opportunist elements, and the ugly history of Wu Han's anti-people and counterrevolutionary activities have been exposed. However, it is only by examining Dismissal of Hai Jui from the standpoint of the Three-Family Village that we can clarify the roles played by that village in the intense class struggle of the last few years, uproot the village from its very depths, eradicate the big poison weeds, and completely destroy this robbers' lair.

Said Comrade Mao Tse-tung, "Anything reactionary will not fall until you attack it." ("The Situation after the Victory of the War of Resistance against Japan and Our Aims")

Since the criticism of Dismissal of Hai Jui, the tactics adopted by the "three-family village" of "simultaneous attack and retreat" has once more proved this universal truth. The reactionary class and its representatives will never voluntarily withdraw from the arena of history. Only with the rise of the broad masses of peasants, workers, and soldiers and after a hard struggle at every step can the proletariat be gradually taken from the hands of the "miscellaneous school" anew.

The tentacles of the "three-family village" have been stretched to a great many departments. Evening Chatters on Mount Yen has spread its evil influence throughout the country. Owing to its use of the pretexts of "knowledge" and "beauty of literary style," the book has attracted some who lack the power of political discrimination and is not devoid of its endorsers and followers in the newspaper, educational, literary and art, and academic circles. Teng T'ao has himself boasted, "Many of the viewpoints and proofs contained in the articles have obtained the endorsement of friends," "there are an increasing number of letters from distant readers," and "some newspapers in other parts of the country have also adopted the same form and published knowledgeable special columns and miscellaneous features, in order to meet the requirements of their readers."

There have also been a number of articles, which have "echoed" certain theses maintained in Evening Chatters on Mount Yen. On 9 September 1961 the Peiping Evening News used large types to advertize the publication of the book, stating that "The author has fully grasped some of the current problems," and that "The book is full of thought and can enrich knowledge," and doing everything possible to spread the poison among the people. As a result the corroding effect has been tremendous.

It is imperative that the broad masses of peasants, workers, and soldiers rise and thoroughly expose on all sides the great harm done by the above-mentioned two books and carry out more profound criticisms. Only thus can the evil influence of the works in question be eradicated.

From the criticism of Dismissal of Hai Jui to that of the Three-Family Village it has been a stunning class struggle as well as a great revolution in the political, ideological, and cultural fields. Faced with this tremendous fighting task, we must be bold enough to engage in revolution.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has encouraged us thus: "We can even drag an emperor off his horse if we are ready to sacrifice our lives." In the hour of our struggle for socialism and

Communism we must have the spirit of dauntlessness." ("Talk at the National Conference of the Chinese Communist Party on Propaganda Work") How we should advance this spirit of upholding the principle of proceeding from the Communist cause and the spirit of criticism!

All those who are opposed to Mao Tse-tung's thinking, all those who impede the progress of the socialist revolution, all those who are inimical to the interests of the revolutionary peoples of China and the world, be they "great teachers," "authoritis," or members of the "three-family village," however renowned, however prominent, by whomsoever guided, supported, or boosted, must be exposed and criticized and trampled underfoot. On questions of principle, if the West Wind will not prevail over the East Wind, the reverse will be the case. For the sake of the socialist revolution, the protection of Mao Tse-tung's thinking, and the Communist cause, we must dare to think, dare to speak, dare to force our way through, dare to act, and dare to carry on the revolution!

No matter how much mist has been spread by the "three-family village," it will surely be thoroughly cleared up in the struggle of the thousands upon thousands of peasants, workers, and soldiers, who wield the weapon consisting of Mao Tse-tung's thinking. The brilliant light of this thinking will shine on every dark corner and unmask the ugly faces of all deadly ghosts.

- END -

6096
CSO: 3530-D.

- 30 -