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This serial publication contains translations of articles from the Chinese-language periodical Hung'ch'i (Red Flag), No. 5, 1966. Complete bibliographic information accompanies each article.

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**GIVE PROMINENCE TO POLITICS, PUT MAO-TSE TUNG'S
THINKING IN COMMAND OF EVERYTHING**

[Following is a translation of an article by Wang Jen-chung in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 5, 5 April 1966.]

Comrades: The major theme of the current conference of responsible comrades from various countries held by the Hupeh Provincial CCP Committee is to discuss how to give prominence to politics and, with the view of letting politics take command of economic work, professional work, and technology, to discuss measures for giving further prominence to politics and to launch the movement for studying Chairman Mao's works.

Our comrades criticized the provincial committee for failing in the past to attach adequate importance to this aspect of the work. Their criticism is correct. The inspections conducted by our comrades in various county committees showed that the political and ideological work had not been properly grasped in the past.

In this connection, the provincial committee should first of all take the responsibility. There may be 100 or 1,000 defective factors in leadership work on the part of the provincial committee, yet the most important one is failing to give sufficient prominence to politics. This defect must be corrected resolutely and promptly. In particular, leading cadres at the county level and above must make efforts to overcome this defect and mistake.

The provincial committee has already issued a directive on giving prominence to politics, calling for putting in the first place the task of giving prominence to politics and vigorously studying Chairman Mao's works in guiding our work throughout the year. However, by saying this, we do not mean that in the past we have not

given prominence to politics or failed to have politics take command at all; we mean that we have not done this task effectively and sufficiently.

It is a good thing and also necessary for our comrades to be strict with themselves about the defects and mistakes found during the inspections and to solemnly criticize the defects and mistakes in our work. We should by no means find excuses for ourselves and ignore our defects and mistakes, especially such an important defect, merely because we have made certain achievements in work in the past. However, on the other hand, this matter should in no way be exaggerated. In dealing with this problem, we must also follow Chairman Mao's instructions and review our work in an overall manner with the method of "dividing one into two."

Quite a few comrades still fail to thoroughly understand the relationship between political work and economic work, professional work, and technology. They fail to put these in a correct position and therefore tend toward eclecticism and other mistaken ideas. Some comrades always show great interest in the progress of production and the figures in manure-gathering but find less interest in class struggle and ideological work among party members, cadres, and the masses of people. To discuss production only while we are engaging in production work, see only the growth of the crops, and ignore class and class struggle is in essence an expression of pragmatism.

Certainly this does not mean that our comrades are adhering to eclecticism, pragmatism, or revisionism. As far as the great majority of cadres of our party are concerned, this is not the problem. Their problem is the understanding of the matter. In other words, some of our comrades, including myself, have not studied hard enough Chairman Mao's works, have failed to maintain the required political and ideological level, and have done more metaphysical thinking and less dialectical thinking. Some comrades have worked blindly on certain problems and have been "dull of smelling." Therefore we must do our utmost to avoid working blindly and to raise our consciousness.

Now, in the light of the opinion put forward by you, I am going to talk about the following several questions:

Why must prominence be given to politics and politics be used to command everything?

Giving prominence to politics, placing politics in command, and having politics command everything is not a suggestion of a certain individual nor a policy established or slogan made at random.

What is politics? Chairman Mao gave politics this definition: Politics, whether revolutionary or counterrevolutionary, is a struggle of one class against another class. The struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie is proletarian politics, and the struggle of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat is bourgeois politics.

Ours is a proletarian party which always grasps the proletarian struggle and insists in having proletarian politics guide and command everything. Before the liberation of the whole nation, our party led the masses of the people to engage in the new democratic revolution against imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism and gained state power by force. This is certainly politics.

After 1949 when the CPR was founded, China entered a new era of socialist revolution and socialist construction. We engaged in land reform, suppressed the counterrevolutionaries, and carried out the "san fan" and "wu fan" [three and five] movements. These all constitute revolution and politics. From the confiscation of bureaucratic capital to agricultural cooperation and to the socialist transformation of capitalist industry, commerce, and handicraft, it was a great socialist revolution. This revolution was carried out by the masses of workers and peasants led by the CCP under conditions of the proletarian dictatorship. In the course of this revolutionary movement, not only the ownership system was changed and the socialist economic foundation laid, but at the same time a socialist revolution was carried out on the political and ideological fronts.

In 1957 when the bourgeoisie launched a frantic attack on us, we carried out the struggle against the rightists and launched the rectification campaign within the party. This was done to make the upper strata meet better the requirements of the economic foundation. All this is revolution and a life-or-death struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the two roads of socialism and capitalism.

The above revolutionary movements were all carried out under the leadership of the party and the command of proletarian politics.

We began the great leap forward in 1958. In January that year, Chairman Mao pointed out that our comrades should not become "politicians with a false front," but should become Red and expert. "Red" means to be good politically and "expert" means to be good in professional work. Chairman Mao pointed out that one must learn to do professional work and economic work. He also pointed out that one must not ignore politics and ideological work and become a practical-minded man who loses his bearings simply because he wants to learn

some professional work or technology. He urged our cadres to be Red and expert and to guide expert with Red.

In 1957 Chairman pointed out in his "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" that "Not to have a correct political point of view is like having no soul." (note one) Politics is the supreme commander, the very soul of our work. Chairman Mao has also repeatedly taught us: Socialist society is an extremely long historical period of transition from capitalism to communism (this period may last several scores of years, over a hundred years, or even longer). There still exist different classes, class contradictions, class struggle, and the struggle between the two roads of socialism and capitalism during this protracted historical period.

Does it necessarily mean that there will be no struggle whatsoever if you forget and overlook the objective coexistence of classes and class struggle? The answer can be obtained from an old Chinese saying: "The twigs of a tree may stand still, but the wind will continue to blow unceasingly." Should we overlook or forget the class struggle. The capitalist forces and the remnant feudalist forces will launch a wanton attack on us, and the class enemy will corrupt and demoralize our party through the methods of dragging our cadres into the enemy camp or sneaking into our ranks; meanwhile, they will also corrupt and demoralize the masses of workers and peasants. As a result, as was pointed out by Chairman Mao: "It would not take long, perhaps only several years, or a decade, or several decades at most, before a counterrevolutionary restoration on a national scale inevitable occurred. The Marxist-Leninist party would undoubtedly become a revisionist party or a fascist party, and the whole of China would change its color."

In his works and talks Chairman Mao had more than once touched upon the question of class struggle. In 1962 he once again talked about classes, class contradiction, and class struggle. From that time on we began to maintain a firm grip on the socialist education movement. Three years have passed since then and we shall continue to work on it. We shall carry through the socialist revolution to the end until the three differences are eliminated and communism is realized. To carry out the socialist education movement means to carry out class struggle. This is politics and it means to place politics in command of everything.

In class society the motive force for developing the society is nothing other than class struggle. This is the basic theory of Marxism. Classes remain existent in socialist society. Therefore, the motive force for developing the society remains to be class

struggle. This is an extremely important development and a significant contribution made by Chairman Mao on Marxist-Leninist theory.

By placing politics in the fore and maintaining a firm grip on the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the road of capitalism and the road of socialism, we shall be able to smoothly develop China's socialist revolution and socialist construction and guarantee a completion of socialism, creating conditions for the transition to communism.

If the struggle between the two classes, between the two roads and this main contradiction are not given proper attention, revisionism will prevail, capitalism will stage a comeback, and China will return to its miserable days of semifeudal and semicolonial society.

Therefore, the only way to carry through the socialist revolution to the end, to triumphantly complete socialist construction, and to move from socialism to communism is to maintain a firm grip on and thoroughly resolve this main contradiction by waging a firm struggle between the two classes and between the two roads.

The relations between politics and production are what we have always talked about: promoting production by engaging energetically in revolution.

You comrades have all gone through practices. These are all you have experienced. Please think it over. Isn't it true that our production is developing well when we place politics in the fore and carry out the revolution well, and that our production and our work are poor when we pay less attention to politics and revolution?

The great leap forward in 1958 was brought about on the basis of the struggle against rightists in the urban areas, of the development of the socialist education movement in rural areas, of the struggle between the two roads, and of the rectification campaign during 1957. The broad masses of cadres and people were imbued with high revolutionary enthusiasm, creating countless miracles at that time.

Just as Chairman Mao had described in his poem, entitled "Chase Away the God of Plague," that "thousands of willows bask in spring breeze, and the 600 million Chinese people are wise and capable," and that "shiny plows move up and down in high mountains, and the wavering of sinewy arms shake the ground," these are all the results of placing politics in the fore.

Were there any questions in our work during 1958? Yes. Due to our overenthusiasm, a number of mistakes of this kind or that

kind appeared in our work. In 1958 Chairman Mao mentioned that it is necessary to wipe out blind faith, liberate our ideas, go all out, do things practically, alternate work with rest, carry out political-ideological work well, avoid the issuance of rigid orders, concern ourselves with the livelihood of the masses, and pay attention to our work methods.

We committed mistakes simply because we did not listen to Chairman Mao's words well, and faithfully act upon his instructions.

To truly give prominence to politics means to put Mao Tse-tung's thinking in command of everything. We committed mistakes because we did not give enough prominence to politics. It was definitely not because we overemphasized politics.

It was in 1961 and 1962 that we did not do a good job in placing politics in the fore or we did not give prominence to politics at all. It is completely correct that during that stage we had corrected the mistakes and shortcomings in our work, conscientiously implemented the various policies mapped out by the CCP Central Committee on people's communes, and greatly aroused the activism of the broad masses. During some discussion meetings some people held that these policies of the party were no longer useful. This was erroneous.

Prior to the eighth session of the 10th CCP National Congress from 1961 to 1962, we only paid attention to the implementation of the party's policies, and to solve problems in production and in livelihood, while neglecting the class struggle and the struggle between the two roads. Therefore, capitalist and feudalist elements took that opportunity to attack us. The class struggle in the society was also reflected into the party. A number of party members and cadres were corroded.

During the two years our biggest mistake was that we did not maintain a firm grip on class struggle and emphasize the reliance on poor and lower-middle peasants. Naturally we talked about placing politics in the fore and maintaining a firm grip on class struggle. Talking was one thing while doing was another.

At that time we talked about three areas of perseverance: socialist direction, class line, and technical innovations. But, when you talked about them, it did not mean that you were free from responsibilities. You claimed that you wanted to hold fast to the three areas of perseverance. But how, and what things do you have to watch out for? There were no investigations and nobody went to work and live at lower levels. We did not realize the seriousness,

complexity, and protractedness of the class struggle. We thought that the problems were not serious.

In the fall of 1962, Chairman Mao taught us about classes, class contradiction, and class struggle. But some of our comrades did not understand Chairman Mao's teachings well, saying that the problems in Hupeh were not serious.

After conducting the socialist education for a few years, we realized more and more that there was class struggle in Hupeh and it was quite serious in a certain part of the province. We realized more and more that the struggle between the two roads and class struggle would be protracted, and that politics must be given prominence after the completion of the socialist education movement. We must take a firm grip on this main contradiction, the struggle between the two classes and the two roads, in order to carry on the revolution continuously.

Since the winter of 1962 we stressed the significance of maintaining a firm grip on class struggle. But we did not do well in 1963 or in the early part of 1964. We did comparatively better in the late part of 1964. But we could not say that we agreed with each other on the question as to whether class struggle was really serious or not.

At present many comrades still fail to realize the seriousness, complexity, and protractedness of class struggle. Chairman Mao said that grasping class struggle will produce effective results. This is invulnerable truth.

Hupei increased production and reaped good harvests in 1962. But, Hupei increased production most rapidly during 1963, 1964, and 1965.

Have any of you comrades ever thought why we made such a big development in production? This was only because we actively developed the socialist education movement, maintained a firm grip on class struggle and revolution, aroused the enthusiasm of the broad masses of cadres and people, and promoted production. Could we produce the same results without the socialist education movement? I think that it is absolutely impossible.

We recall that in 1953, Hupei also registered comparatively rapid development in agricultural production. Why did we do well in production that year? It was because we carried out land reform, suppressed counterrevolutionary elements, and conducted "san fan" and "wu fan" movements in 1951 and 1952.

A big flood was recorded in 1954. The situation in 1955 was not too good due to rightists' ideas. In the winter of 1955, in accordance with the directives of the party Central Committee and Chairman Mao, we organized agricultural collectivization, opposed "restrictions," made a 12-year plan in line with the 40 articles of the national program for agricultural development, strengthened technical renovations, and greatly promoted the development in production.

Experience gained from practical work proves the truth of Chairman Mao's words: Revolution is to liberate productive forces and to promote the development of productive forces; class struggle works well whenever it is properly grasped: This is the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism. If we now admit that we did commit mistakes in the past, make some detours, suffer some setbacks, lack sufficient knowledge, and work blindly, we must now, by summing up our experience accumulated from practical work, try to understand the truth taught us by Chairman Mao: Political work must be put in the first position and politics must take command of everything.

How to use politics to command everything?

Some comrades said that they do understand the theory of putting political work in the first place and having politics take command of economic work, professional work, and technology; but they are at a loss as to how to put it into practice. It is quite justifiable for them to bring forward this question. However, the main thing is whether the theory of having politics take command of everything is thoroughly and truly understood. Once this theory is truly understood, concrete measures can be worked out in the course of practical work. We have already accumulated quite a few good experiences in this respect. A number of advanced units and outstanding individuals have emerged from our armed forces and various localities.

The deeds of Comrade Chiao Yu-lu, former secretary of the party committee of Lankao County in Honan, which have been reported in the newspapers recently, have set a brilliant example for us in creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's works and in leading the people to work painstakingly to transform the natural outlook of Lankao. I was told that you were deeply moved at his deeds and that, after comparing his thinking and work style with yours, you realized that you have not worked hard enough. This is very good. We must have this kind of spirit.

Chairman Mao called on the whole party to learn from the PLA. But what shall we learn? We must learn from the PLA how to give prominence to politics, how to carry out political and ideological work properly, and how to creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's

works. We must learn from the lively and good examples set by numerous advanced figures of the PLA. We must also learn from the outstanding industrial unit Taching and the outstanding agricultural unit Tachai. How to learn from Taching and Tachai, and what shall we learn from them? Comrade Li Hsueh-feng told me that Tachai experience can be summed up in a few simple words: It is the Tachai-type party branch and the Tachai-type men -- the socialist-minded advanced peasants -- that created the Tachai-type advanced unit.

In their discussions some comrades often put politics and production in opposite positions. It seems to them that attaching importance to politics may result in the slackening of production, and that production may be affected if political work is tightly grasped. This is an one-sided and metaphysical view. Politics and production are the unity of opposites; when politics truly takes the command, things of the mind will become material things and production will be successfully carried out. They are not opposites. I do not believe there is a way to carry out collective production successfully while the political work is poorly done. On the other hand, I do not believe either that production fails in a production brigade which has a good party branch doing good political and ideological work and a group of socialist-minded and enthusiastic cadres and members. Do any of you believe in the existence of this strange situation? If you do, please cite an example!

As far as rural work is concerned, what is the proper way to interpret the relationship between politics and economic work, professional work, and technology. I think we may put it in this way: Raising high the great red banner and Mao Tse-tung's thinking and with class struggle and the struggle between the two roads as the core, take a firm grip on the three great revolutionary movements. In accordance with the unified plan and under the unified leadership of the state, boldly mobilize the masses to develop the Tachai spirit, go all out, aim high, and achieve more, faster, better, and be more economical stressing class struggle, carrying out the class struggle, struggling for production, and scientific experiment. Is the interpretation above applicable? Is it practicable? Please consider the matter.

Some comrades argued: What is the objective after all? It is politics or production? If we say production is the objective, what is politics then? Other comrades said: Politics is the means and production is the objective, therefore politics serves production. Still other comrades said that politics is the objective and production is the means.

Generally speaking, politics, the superstructure, serves the economic base, and at the same time politics is a contracted form of

economics. If we simplify the definition to mean that politics serves production and that production is the objective and politics is the means, this is wrong. We serve production. What kind of production do we serve? We are communists, who have our own targets for our struggles. What are our final objectives? Our final objectives are to build the CPR into a powerful socialist state, to give full support to world revolution, to topple imperialism and all reactionaries, and to bring about a new world without imperialism, capitalism, or exploiting system. We place politics in the fore and strengthen our economic constructions for these purposes.

In short, we not only have to build our own country, but also give full support to world revolution, liberate all mankind, and realize communism in the whole world. These are our final objectives.

Some comrades put forward the relations between man and materials. Our comrades in the army know this question most clearly. Chairman Mao also mentioned this question many times. Comrade Lin Biao wrote an important article last year, "Long Live the Victory of People's War," elucidating Chairman Mao's teachings on revolutionary war that the human factor is the most important. We had millet plus rifles, but we defeated the KMT who were given weapons, including airplanes, big guns, and money by the Americans. We had fewer troops and inferior equipment, but we defeated the powerful KMT reactionaries.

What are the reasons? It is because we are revolutionary people and we have revolutionary troops, and we give prominence to politics and hold fast to the principle of human factor first. What we carry out is revolutionary war and we bring into full play man's subjective initiative.

The same thing happens in South Vietnam. Isn't it true that the people's forces and guerrilla troops with inferior equipment defeated strong U.S. imperialism and South Vietnamese reactionaries? At present and in the past, in China and abroad, all revolutionary wars have corroborated the truth that the human factor is of decisive significance. Naturally we cannot negate the role of material such as weapons, ammunitions, and so forth in a war, but as compared with the role of material, the human factor should be given first priority. It is necessary to rely on man to fight a war.

Isn't the human factor of decisive significance also in building socialism? In production we also do not negate the importance of material. How can we produce anything without land, seeds, fertilizer, farm oxen, farm tools, and other necessary means of production? But we must realize that productivity is determined by both workers and by means of production. Productivity itself is a unity of opposites of man and material, but man's factor is the most prominent and decisive.

Under the exploiting system, workers are not only the exploiters' slaves but also the slaves of the means of production. The enthusiasm of the workers is greatly hampered. Only by carrying out socialist revolution and realizing the collective ownership of system of means of production so that workers become masters of the society and of the means of production will their enthusiasm and awareness be brought into full play. This is the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism.

You comrades all know examples in which sometimes different yields are reported on the same farmland with the same kind of farm tools and under the same weather condition. In some farmlands a per mou yield of ginned cotton of 200 catties is reported while others only register a per mou yield of several score catties. Isn't this because of the man's factor? First the objective conditions for Taching and Tachai are unfavorable, but they have become outstanding examples and the targets of emulation throughout the country.

What else can it be if it is not the man's factor which plays the decisive role. What should we stress the significance of political and ideological work among the people? Because we want to educate the peasants to carry out farming for promoting revolution, for building China into a powerful socialist country, and for supporting the world revolution. We must never confine our views to China only, but should see the world as a whole. We must educate peasants with socialist and revolutionary ideas to struggle against the spontaneous influence of capitalism. This is the important content of our political and ideological work which we must carry out among the peasants.

How can we heighten people's enthusiasm? We must do this by relying on political and ideological work and by concerning ourselves with the people's livelihood. Which of the two is important? Raising peasants' socialist consciousness and their consciousness of farming for the sake of the revolution are important and should be given top priority. This means placing politics in the fore.

At the same time, we must also adhere to the principle of "to each according to his work" and "exchanging labor on equal basis" (in the socialist stage). This is what Chairman Mao said: Politics must be given first priority while adhering to the principle of "to each according to his work."

Here we have differences in principle with revisionists. Khrushchev revisionists always talk about material stimulation and about putting money in command of everything. They never talk about revolution and politics. If they do talk about politics, it is only revisionist politics. It can only disintegrate the socialist economy in the Soviet Union and make it slip back to capitalism.

Some comrades said that since politics must be given prominence, things like work credits, accounting work in production teams, and improvement of the people's livelihood are no longer required. This is misinterpretation. It is erroneous.

In socialist society we develop production and economy. What else can we do if we do not improve the livelihood of the people? We have an objective to carry out production.

How can we demonstrate the superiority of the socialist system if the livelihood of the people cannot be improved? The systems of collective ownership and ownership by all the people have helped the working people become the masters of the means of production. They carry out production for themselves, for the collective, for the state, as well as for world revolution. Our party's policy calls for the correct handling of the relations between the state, the collective, and the individual.

This is a question of distribution and also of politics. Only by correctly implementing this policy can we help the masses see more clearly the compatibility between the individual interests and the collective interests so they will love their socialist fatherland still more and establish an even stronger idea of patriotism and internationalism. Only by correctly implementing this policy can we arouse the enthusiasm of the masses in socialist production and consolidate the worker-peasant alliance.

Turning material into spirit and spirit into material is unity of opposites and the mutual transformation of opposites. You comrades must not misunderstand this question.

Enthusiasm must be aroused instead of dampened. The question is, what kind of enthusiasm should we arouse? We must whip up the correct kind of enthusiasm, not the wrong kind of enthusiasm. We must whip up the enthusiasm of the people in line with the party's lines and policies and be adept at combining revolutionary enthusiasm with the spirit of being practical.

Of course, those who lack revolutionary enthusiasm and who are content with the status quo or with their backward conditions will never capture the spirit of being practical.

Comrade Chiao Yu-lu enthusiastically explored the real conditions in Lankao County, and adopted correct measures through investigation and research so that the leading cadres and people struggled against the "three disasters" and improved the outlook in Lankao County.

If we do things like Comrade Chiao Yu-lu, we place politics in the fire and put Mao Tse-tung's thinking in command of everything. If we fail to do so, we possibly put individualism in command of everything.

A party has the problem as to what should be given prominence. An individual has the same problem. If proletarian ideas are not given prominence, the bourgeois ideas will be given prominence. If a party, a leading organization, and an individual are not guided by these ideas, they will be guided by those ideas. Do you comrades understand now?

In Hupeh there are a number of comparatively advanced counties, districts, people's communes, and production brigades. There are also a number of comparatively backward counties, districts, people's communes, and production brigades. Three conditions always exist in all things: advanced, middle, and backward. This is inevitable. But we must work hard to incessantly change them so the advanced will become more advanced, the middle will catch up with the advanced, and the backward will improve and catch up with others.

Why is it that some areas are always advancing while the others lag behind? This question calls for a summing-up of the past experiences and lessons among the comrades. In my opinion, to find an answer to the question, we have to first ask whether each area had made efforts to put struggles in command. Is politics really in command and is class struggle and the struggle between the two opposite roads being carried out in the area?

It has been true that capitalist thinking flooded the backward areas because they lack the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and hard struggle and the necessary ambition to alter conditions.

The provincial party committee issued a slogan way back in 1959 which reads: "Big reform means big production increase. Slight reform means slight production increase. No reform means no production increase." This slogan was correctly oriented. But in the ensuing course we pursued some reform programs which did not seem to fit the actual conditions and we made mistakes. Later on in 1960, the provincial party committee again summed up its experiences and lessons and found it necessary to add one sentence: "Indiscriminate reform will reduce production" to complement the slogan. Facts have proved that the areas which have correctly realized all the achievements and mistakes they made in the process of the great leap forward, accepted their experiences and lessons, raised aloft the red banner of general line, and followed the four-sentence slogan have rapidly restored and developed their production over the recent years, while other areas, where the people have not done so well because they are afraid to reform and prefer to play safe by avoiding changes and

have given up their technical innovations in seed improvement and water conservancy, have made little or no progress and even moved backward.

Of course, the provincial party committee is responsible for the backward areas because it has not given enough assistance to these areas.

Now I hope that our comrades are not depressed and overly worried about the situation. We should muster up and carefully sum up our past experiences and lessons. We must follow Chairman Mao's instructions, have a clear understanding of the situation and firm determination, and carry on our job with correct working methods.

The provincial party committee has repeatedly called upon the party committees at province, special district, and county levels to put politico-ideological work above everything else, urging them to give prominence to politics by grasping the politico-ideological work, instructing them to pay less attention to the practical details of farm chores. Detailed work such as the distribution of farm machines and chemical fertilizers should be of main concern to the administrative department. I have specifically stressed that cadres at these levels should not be interested in keeping tabs on farm chores such as finding out how much manure has been collected and so forth.

Some comrades have misunderstood my statement. They say: Since you put it that way, we county party committees are not required to grasp production. Who would say that county level party committees do not have to take charge of production? Has it not been the rule that cadres should be Red and expert and should learn something about agriculture and sciences? Since we have to lead agricultural production, we have some basic knowledge about agricultural production.

What I have said is that the responsible comrades of our party committees must devote more time to politico-ideological work and pay less attention to daily production routine and technical work. This means we should handle less routine work on the farm and this does not mean that county party committees should not grasp and lead agricultural production. We must carry out the three major revolutionary movements at the same time.

How can it be said that county party committees are not required to handle production? Is it not so that Comrade Chiao Yu-lu did well in leading agricultural production? We must do the same as Chiao Yu-lu by grasping the major problems of production, not the insignificant

problems. County level party secretaries should by no means replace "production team leaders." Our socialist education movement takes class struggle as its major objective and it requires us to step up production and scientific experiments at the same time. From now on, we must set up more basic points of agricultural production and work at these basic points. And this is a standing rule.

I will not go into details on the question of what party committees should do in carrying out the politico-ideological work. To sum it all up in a nutshell, I should like to remind you of the five important points, known as the five "forget nots," laid down by the CCP Central Committee and Chairman Mao, namely: do not forget class struggle; do not forget proletarian dictatorship; do not forget to rely on the poor and lower-middle class peasants; do not forget the policies of our party; and do not forget party work.

Only by keeping these five points in mind forever can the party committees succeed in putting politics in command. We should exchange views and review the results of our work in these five specific fields. If we can do a good job in these five respects, we can also arouse the initiative of the broad masses of cadres and people and bring their creativeness into full play and produce good results in production. If we fail to grasp the work related to these five points, we cannot do well in production, no matter how hard we try to solve the production problems.

In the past we have not done well in leading agricultural production at the basic level. You have reviewed your past experiences and we are also required to do the same. From now on, we will go down to the basic level units to see their production results, to find out which ones have failed, and to ask the backward units why they have failed in production.

We must conduct investigations with the low-level party branches and among the poor and lower-middle peasants to see for ourselves to what extent the class struggle has been carried out in each area, to verify the political consciousness of the local cadres and party members as well as their style of work, and to see if the poor and lower-middle peasants have any ideological problems or other problems concerning their livelihood.

It is through these approaches that we can find the cause of their failure in production. We must not limit our discussions to production problems. We must look at the political and ideological aspects and find out the reason for their failure by investigating whether the local leaders have paid enough attention to the livelihood of the masses. It is also necessary to review our policies to

verify those regulations which prevent the masses from taking the initiative in production. We must solve the problem as soon as we find out the reason for their production failure so the production situation of these backward units can be changed quickly.

Aside from the ideological problem, production techniques are, generally speaking, the secondary problems. If we can solve the problems related to the above-mentioned five points, we can leave the problems of production techniques to the masses of cadres and peasants, who are capable of solving them through joint discussion. If we stay aloof from the masses of cadres and poor and lower-middle peasants and ignore their ideological problems, suppose we pay attention only to the purely production problems and do not grasp the living ideas, if we do not concern ourselves with the poor living conditions of poor and lower-middle peasants, we will not be able to solve the production problems even if we find ways to improve their production skills.

On the question of production techniques, there also exists the ideological struggle between the advanced and backward ways of thinking. We must simply have to first solve the ideological problems of the majority of cadres and masses by means of persuasion, discussion, and experimentation. This achieved, we can go ahead to solve the problems of how to improve our production techniques.

Questions concerning "five good" and the "compare with, learn from, catch up, help, and surpass" campaign were discussed at the conference.

In order to launch this campaign on a broader basis and "make Red" everywhere, we may put forward this slogan: "Compare, learn, catch up, help, and surpass, with 'five good' as the goal."

In carrying out this campaign, "one helps one to make Red two-some" and extend it from areas to counties.

Advanced units must help those who lag behind. You catch up with me, and I help you, in the hope that you may surpass me.

In comparing with, learn from, catch up with, help, and surpassing others, the "five good" should be taken as our goal. As to who is the advanced and who is the less advanced, the "five good" should also be used as the criterion.

Among the "five good's," to be good politically and ideologically should be regarded as the first condition. Do not regard the quantity of output as the first condition. This means that we grasp at

the same time the political and ideological work, and the three great revolutionary movements stressing class struggle, instead of putting them in the opposite positions and isolating them one from the other.

On the study of Chairman Mao's works:

The Chinese revolution and socialist construction, and the current world revolution, have proved and will continue to prove that Mao Tse-tung's thinking is the universal truth of contemporary Marxism-Leninism.

Throughout the history of our party, during the periods when Mao Tse-tung's thinking took command, the revolution gained progress and marched toward victory; but during the period when Mao Tse-tung's thinking did not take command, the revolution met with setbacks and suffered defeats. The history of the past 10 years or so since liberation has also proved this truth.

In every area, every department, and in carrying out every kind of work, whenever Mao Tse-tung's thinking takes command, work is successfully completed, otherwise it fails. Without placing Mao Tse-tung's thinking in command one is bound to go astray.

Placing politics in command means placing the thinking of Mao Tse-tung in command. We must link together the giving of prominence to politics, the study of Chairman Mao's works, the socialist education movement, and the training of successors to the revolutionary cause, and regard them as one thing.

What this means is to give prominence to politics and place politics in command. Without studying Mao Tse-tung's works and placing Mao Tse-tung's thinking in command, to place politics in command would mean empty words or to place bourgeois politics in command.

Mao Tse-tung's thinking is the apex of the development of contemporary Marxism-Leninism. It is the highest instruction for carrying out all kinds of work in our country, and is a guide for us to observe and handle the question concerning world revolution.

How shall we observe our domestic problems and world problems? How shall we analyze the international situation? We must use Mao Tse-tung's thinking as our ideological weapon to make analysis and judgment. Otherwise we shall be unable to have a correct view.

At present the class relations and class struggle in the world are undergoing a great upheaval. U.S. imperialism, modern revisionism

and reactionary nationalism are engaging in the anti-China chorus.

We must bear in mind Chairman Mao's teaching that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers, revisionism is a paper tiger, and the atom bomb is also a paper tiger. Baring their teeth and indulging in saber rattling, they look strong outwardly, yet they are all feeble inwardly and on their last legs.

We must keep in mind: It is a good thing, not a bad thing, for our enemy to oppose and blame us. The more severe is the way they blame us, the more distinct is the proof that we are correct and revolutionary and are genuine Marxist-Leninists.

If the revisionists did not blame us and instead praised us, then there would not be much difference between us and them, and we would also become revisionists or semirevisionists.

Imperialism, revisionism, and all reactionaries constitute only a small percent of the world population. The more they blame us, the more they expose themselves. Their people may think: Why should China be blamed? Is China good or bad? In this way the people may raise their consciousness.

U. S. imperialism is now shifting the focus of its global strategy from Europe to Asia and directing the spearhead against us. Well, this shows that we are the genuine Marxist-Leninists. The Khrushchev revisionists give up the revolution, oppose other people to carry out revolution, and become an accomplice of U.S. imperialism, in an attempt to dominate the world through Soviet-U.S. collaboration. In my opinion, this is also a dream.

But U.S. imperialism has its own internal contradictions. How could it expect to cooperate well with the modern revisionists?

Chairman Mao has repeatedly taught us not to panic, no matter what turmoil takes place in the world. We must have confidence in the people. Over 90 percent of the people throughout the world favor the revolution. A few of them have already stood up for the struggle and the others will stand up sooner or later. The downfall of all imperialists and reactionaries is a matter of time and they will not live very long.

Chairman Mao's analysis and prediction were proved to be correct in the past and are being proved so at the present time; and based on the objective circumstances, they will also be proved correct in the future.

Of course, world revolution and the Chinese revolution are alike. Revolution cannot be all plain sailing. It will run into countercurrents and meet with serious setbacks at time.

But at long last the revolution will win. This is an unalterable law of social development. Those who do not have faith in this truth are neither historic materialists nor Marxist-Leninists.

Comrade Lin Piao has called upon us to study Chairman Mao's writings and creatively apply the advice from these writings to solve our problems. He has stressed that we must particularly strive to "apply" Chairman Mao's works. Comrade Lin Piao's instruction has shown us how to study and apply Chairman Mao's writings.

Some comrades claim that they do not know how to apply Chairman Mao's writings or what kind of problem can be referred to his writings for solution. I myself cannot very well say that I know all the techniques when it comes to applying Chairman Mao's writings. But I would not say I know nothing about them.

As to the questions of what, how, and why, I would like to sum up all the answers according to my own opinion. I would say that the study and application of Chairman Mao's writings have a twofold meaning, that is to say, we must consult his writings when we have ideological or work problems with the aim of reforming our thinking and improving our work. When it comes to the question of ideological reform, we are not only required to remold the minds of our fellow countrymen but our own minds as well. We must remold our thought in accordance with Mao Tse-tung's thinking, and there will be no exceptions. As a Chinese saying goes, "it takes a strong man to forge iron." We must first be mentally strong by remolding our thinking before helping others to do so.

If we implant Marxist-Leninist ideology into the minds of the people while we ourselves favor liberalism in our own actions, we cannot do well in our ideological work. Erroneous ideas exist constantly in our minds. As Chairman Mao has said: As we have to wash our faces, sweep the floors, and dust our houses everyday, so also must we remold our thinking for as long as we live.

The imperialists slander our thought removing as "brainwashing." So, what is wrong with washing the brains? If filthy ideas exist in our minds, then we must clean our minds, eradicating nonproletarian ideas, removing the bad, and making room for the good ideas. This is also a form of unity of contradiction. Without destruction there can be no room for new construction.

What should be changed in the course of thought removing? We must follow Chairman Mao's instruction to turn the capitalist world view and methodology into the proletarian world view and methodology.

Of course, by world view we mean the logic that deals with principles of procedure. World view cannot be separate from methodology though sometimes we do discuss world view and methodology separately.

It is necessary to educate our cadres and party members to serve the people and devote themselves wholeheartedly to the revolutionary cause, training them to work not for their own credit and profit and to not be afraid of hardship and sacrifice; this means the spirit of serving the people wholeheartedly and the thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit of the proletariat; it also means the communist ideology and communist world view or world outlook upheld by our party members and revolutionary cadres.

The question of world outlook is one in which we learn our stand and viewpoint. It is very important that every comrade must understand that throughout the whole historical era of socialist revolution and construction, it is our duty to eradicate capitalist thinking and promote proletarian thinking. We must constantly remold our thought in this manner and help others to do the same. We should not let capitalist thinking and proletarian thinking stand together in a manner of "peaceful coexistence."

Chairman Mao has said that when the party's internal struggle ceases to exist, the party itself comes to the end of its life. If a man who has no conflicting ideas in his mind, that means he ceases thinking or is dead. If one does not move ahead, he moves backward. If we do not gradually advance toward proletarianism, we will unconsciously fall into the peaceful evolution toward capitalism. It is like a boat going upstream. If it does not make headway, it flows downstream. The ideological evolution of man is exactly like this.

Why is it that we have to eradicate capitalist thinking and promote proletarian thinking? When we say proletarian thinking, we mean collectivism, patriotism, internationalism, and communism. Confronting proletarianism are individualism, particularism, localism, nationalism, or great nation chauvinism. These represent capitalist thinking. The essence of proletarian thinking is communism while the essence of capitalist thinking is individualism.

We must eradicate capitalist thinking and develop proletarian thinking. If we do not hold the proletarian stand, we will have no way of solving the problem of working methods. At the same time, we would not say that as long as we uphold proletarian thinking we will have no problems resulting from erroneous working methods. There are times when the motive is good but the working method is wrong and we fail to achieve our objective dialectics and oppose metaphysical ways of thinking and dislike to employ dialectics. As a result, in

their work they incline to attend to trivial details. When it comes to writing a report, they give a lengthy report of tens of thousands of words. Moreover, they attach statistical charts. Then there are the comrades who complain about the unnecessary meetings, documents, and reports which they have to attend to.

We accept this criticism, and we, the provincial party committee, want to remedy this situation. So, you must comply with the new regulations by not wasting your time to fill our those useless reports. But some cadres, having eliminated all these report forms, work out a new form of report they call the outlines of investigation, which is even more complicated than the old statistical charts. We must adopt effective measures to replace these time-consuming reports.

In order to prepare yourselves to solve the problems related to ideological training and working methods, you should study four of Chairman Mao's philosophical writings, particularly the article "On Contradiction," which explains the use of dialectics and is considered to be the most comprehensive and systematic writing on the subject. Anyone who reads the article will grasp the meaning of dialectics.

With regard to the problems arising from erroneous working methods, I suggest that you read the following three articles: "Be concerned with the livelihood of the masses, pay attention to methods of work;" "Regarding the questions of methods of leadership;" and "The methods of work of party committees." We must also study Chairman Mao's writings on democratic centralism, which is the basic principle of our party. Party committees at province, special district, and county levels must adopt concrete measures to improve their working methods based on the principle of democratic centralism. Cadres must study Chairman Mao's writings, conduct investigations, and improve their leadership.

In short, party cadres, when encountered with problems in their work, must consult Chairman Mao's writings. They must acquire proletarian world views and adopt proletarian working methods to oppose capitalist world views and capitalist working methods.

While studying Chairman Mao's writings, one must study Chairman Mao's stand, viewpoints, and working methods, so that he will be able to change subjective world views while trying to change the objective world.

What do we mean when we say that we have to study Chairman Mao's writings in order to find the solution for the problems we have in mind? I would explain this by giving the following example:

Chairman Mao has always stressed that we should look at both the good side and the bad side of a matter. This is called the two-point theory or one-divided-into-two method. Chairman Mao has taught us that whenever we discuss a matter or evaluate a person, it is necessary to use the one-divided-into-two method. We have to look at the good points and also consider the weak points. When we look at the difficulties, we must also notice the bright side.

If we only look at one side, we are using the metaphysical approach. We have committed such mistakes in the past and we may repeat the same mistakes in the future. When we have made a mistake, we should correct it. Would it be too difficult to correct our mistake?

The poor and lower-middle peasants in the countryside use the one-divided-into-two method to analyze their problem. Their political consciousness is considerable. But some of our cadres cannot keep their level of political consciousness as high as that of the poor and lower-middle peasants because they fail to have a clear picture of the problems, and they think they are always right and do not listen to the suggestions put forward by the masses. Thus, they cannot avoid mistakes and run into opposition.

We must heighten our self-consciousness and learn how to apply the one-divided-into-two method when judging a matter or evaluate a person. We must not jump to conclusions without first trying to study the case completely. In this respect, we have a lot to learn from the masses of workers, peasants, and soldiers.

It is beyond doubt that our party and our leading cadres are responsible for educating the peasants, workers, and soldiers and carrying out political and ideological work among the masses. It is exactly for this reason that we must first learn from the merits of the masses.

At present, a mass movement for the study of Chairman Mao's writings is under way. Many workers, peasants, and soldiers have really done well and have become ardent students of Chairman Mao's works. They also have applied what they have learned to their daily work. Some of them have even become excellent writers. Many of our intellectuals have not been able to catch up with them.

Chairman Mao has repeatedly pointed out that we must not readily accept the words of the professors, great writers, and philosophers. Some of these so-called philosophers do not understand philosophy. They are pseudophilosophers. Chairman Mao has advocated that philosophers should step out of the classrooms and libraries. He said

that we should follow those who hold the truth in their hands. We should follow the nightsoil scavenger if they hold the truth in their hands. Has Shih Chuan-hsiang, a nightsoil scavenger of Peking, become a worthy model for our emulation? He surely has.

We must humbly learn from the peasants, workers, and soldiers. I have visited the exhibition on the good work of PLA fighters Liao Chu-chiang, Feng Fu-sheng, and Huang Tzu-shih in the study of Chairman Mao's works and the exhibition has been a great education to me. The masses of workers, peasants, and soldiers have joined the study of Chairman Mao's writings and remolded their thought according to what they have learned. This is a way of transforming the world. It is a revolutionary movement to eradicate capitalist thinking and promote proletarian ideas. Such a movement has been a great impetus to new China's socialist construction.

Some comrades have said that the poorly educated people would not be able to read Chairman Mao's writings and therefore, would not apply his theories. This is not true because they can ask other persons to read to them and they can ask somebody else to explain to them when they have difficulty in understanding the words. By so doing they can also raise the cultural level. As to the question whether or not they would link their thinking and production with Chairman Mao's instruction, I would say that depends on how much effort they have made. How strong is their determination? How high is their revolutionary fervor? How high is their class sentiment? Anybody who sets his mind to studying and applying Chairman Mao's writings can achieve his goal. The only differences lie in the degree of understanding and in the length of time spent for the study.

There is nothing in the final analysis that cannot be learned and applied. There is always some way to learn and apply it unless one is lazy and absolutely does not want to learn. I have read a letter of a high school student. She said: There is always an answer given in Chairman Mao's works regarding ideological problems in learning. This was said by a high school student. I think it is the truth.

Armed with Mao Tse-tung's thinking, the Chinese table tennis team has won the world championship. Is there an article on how to play table tennis in the selected work of Mao Tse-tung from volume one to volume four? No, but Comrade Hsu Yin-sheng, armed with Chairman Mao's works, has written a good article on how to play table tennis.

Comrade Hsu Yin-sheng is in his 20's. Most of our comrades here today are over 30 years old. Some are 40 or 50 and will lag

behind if they do not learn. Therefore, for the cause of the revolution, comrades must study Chairman Mao's works with enthusiasm, study problems, apply Mao Tse-tung's thinking in practice after studying, and in particular, do their utmost to apply them. Comrades must really master Mao Tse-tung's thinking and work diligently. Comrades must work and study until an old age.

If we want to carry out a revolution to the end we must study Chairman Mao's works to the end. Each comrade must try to be Chairman Mao's good student, fighter, and propagandist. This is our duty.

Workers, peasants, soldiers, cadres, and revolutionary intellectuals are all revolutionary fighters. When one works for the cause of revolution and struggles for the sake of revolution throughout his life, he must stand firm, devote himself to the cause of revolution, and serve the people wholeheartedly. He must desire a good reputation and profit and not fear hardships or death.

When one wants to be a good propagandist of Mao Tse-tung's thinking, he must play an exemplary role in propagating his thinking. He must publicize Mao Tse-tung's thinking at meetings, talks, at home and other places, as well as chats with poor and lower-middle peasants.

Like Lei Feng and Wang Chieh, one must propagandize not only by talking but also with deeds. To teach by deeds is much more important than to teach by talking.

Comrades: We urge you to do things the right way and also hope that you supervise us to do things similarly. If we have not done them properly, please criticize us.

Methods of work:

We have introduced to you this year the methods of work adopted by the Hsiaokan CCP County Committee which have been summed up in eight characters: "On duty, stay at basic-level posts, work, and study."

On duty means that the leading party members and government organs at various levels of the counties, chu, people's communes, production brigades, and associations of poor peasants -- including brigade leaders and duty brigade leaders -- should report on duty by rotation and take responsibility to handle the daily routine.

Those who are not on duty should go to the basic level and stay there to take part in labor. They should not simply take part in

but should carry out mass work and scientific experiments through labor so as to integrate themselves with the mass of workers and peasants and share their fate with them.

Those who are on duty at their respective organs must study Chairman Mao's works. Those who stay at the basic level must also study his works, study together with the masses and lead them to study.

We have added two Chinese characters -- democracy -- to their original 8 characters so as to have 10 Chinese characters. By democracy, we mean that in implementing all programs it is necessary to bring about democracy. We should follow democratic practices first and then adhere to centralization.

Those who go to the basic level and stay there to work should not take command of the masses arrogantly but should consult with them. They must consult with the masses, including poor and lower-middle peasants and basic-level cadres, about the feasibility and order of things that are to be done.

They must really carry out consultations and listen to the opinions of the masses first and then they express their own ideas.

When the masses have different ideas, it is necessary to repeatedly consider and adjust as well as study their ideas. Those who go to the basic level to work cannot impose their own ideas on others. They cannot take the attitude of being teachers upon their arrival. The party committees must carry out the system of democratic centralization. No one is allowed to give orders. The relationship between the secretary and members of a party committee is on the basis of equality, not a relationship between an upper level and a lower level. Regarding the above-mentioned 10 characters "On duty, stay at basic-level posts, work, study, and democracy", do you think they will work or not when suggested to various counties to follow?

Some comrades have put forward the question of how to deal with the contradictions which sometimes exist between the actual conditions and the instructions from the upper levels. The measures should be: First, the instructions may be temporarily suspended, and, second, it is necessary to report to the upper levels.

With regard to some trifles, such as time for transplanting seedlings and time for accumulating fertilizer, the upper levels should not be concerned. If their ideas are not in agreement with the actual conditions of the lower levels, the labor levels may not carry

out their ideas or make reports. This cannot be considered lack of organization or lack of discipline. Problems concerning policies and principles must be reported to the upper levels, to the provincial and central committees. Comrades, democracy is a big topic. If democracy is not practiced and one's words are final, then where will be mass line be?

When we err in our work, besides the fact that we have not conscientiously understood and resolutely carried out Chairman Mao's instructions, I am of the opinion that the mistakes are mainly due to two things: 1) We fail in staying at the basic-level posts, and 2) democratic practice is not properly carried out. If we go to the basic level and stay there to work and practice democracy properly, we can reduce our mistakes or discover and correct them earlier and quicker. When we stay at the basic-level posts and carry out democratic practices better, we can better understand the actual conditions and it will be relatively easier for us to understand Chairman Mao's thinking.

Comrade Lin Piao has advocated the full understanding of two extremes. It seems that if one cannot fully understand the "lower extreme," one can hardly understand fully the "upper extreme," and vice versa. Chairman Mao stands high and sees far. We often cannot really understand his thinking without practice and failure. We are now performing things in accordance with the above-mentioned 10 characters and making efforts to "fully understand the two extremes." Our work can be thus done better.

Another major problem in the methods of work is how a county CCP committee can better implement the system of division of labor under collective leadership. There are many, many things that the county CCP committee members should handle: Deal with other departments, do routine work, go to the basic level and stay there, take part in labor, study, and so forth. If a secretary of the CCP county committee cannot have some slack hours for reading, investigating and studying, chatting with lower level cadres and with poor and lower-middle peasants, and thinking about problems, no matter how hard he works he still will be unable to carry out his work properly. The only way is to further improve the system of division of labor under the collective leadership of the CCP county committee.

Responsibility can be divided in several fields under the unified leadership of the CCP county committee. The operational department should be held responsible for those things in its scope. Leading cadres of the county committee should be on duty by rotation. The county committee secretary takes care of general affairs. In addition

to presiding over the conferences of the county committee and grasping study, he should go to the countryside and stay at the basic-level posts. He may travel around the country when he has time. He should not always stay at his office. Do you think all these measures will work out well?

"This side cannot rest assured while that side is worried." When the secretary of the CCP county committee himself does not grip production operations directly, he cannot always rest assured and let somebody else take care. The comrade who is responsible for production through the system of division of labor worries himself for being unable to do a good job. In my opinion, the secretary should rest assured while the comrade responsible for production should not worry.

So long as you carry out the party's policies and principles and rely on the masses, you will do a good job. Even when there are some errors, you should not be afraid. Comrades must understand that 100 errors with concrete things do us little harm, but one mistake with a major administrative policy (such as political-ideological work of important measures in production) will put us in a passive position as a whole.

If you do not keep a grip on major administrative policies but do miscellaneous work everyday, including supervision of sowing, harvesting, and the delivery of crops, you still cannot do a good job. Furthermore, the handling of every concrete thing does not link up with major principles. Some concrete things can be handled this way or that way. Comrades responsible for different work should be brave in taking their responsibility. Whenever they handle a thing erroneously, it will be all right as soon as they correct it. We have told comrades of various departments: You should make reports on important things and ask for instructions, but you should be told to handle daily routine. When you make mistakes, the provincial CCP committee will shoulder the responsibility for you.

In short, in order to do a good job with the system of a division of labor under the collective leadership of the party committees, it is necessary to carry out Chairman Mao's eight sentences: "Only the party committees assume full power; minor authorities are diversified; the party committees make final decisions; different fronts take the assignments; those who take the assignments also can make their own decisions, but they must adhere to the principles; work must be inspected; and the party committees are responsible for the inspection." Problems will be solved when things are done according to the eight sentences.

No problem I am talking about today is a fresh one. As the people in Hupeh Province say, I am "frying the rice which has already been cooked." Cooked rice is not bad. It tastes good when oil is added and it is fried with salt! We must talk class struggle everyday, every month, and every year. We must also talk of politics taking command and the study of Chairman Mao's works everyday, every month and every year. However, I have not added much oil and salt to the cooked rice, and it may not taste good. Fortunately, the conference will be in session for a few days more. Whenever you have any ideas, you should speak them frankly. Do not be silent because I have talked. You must speak and, in particular, you must criticize the shortcomings and mistakes of the leadership of the provincial CCP Committee. When I make mistakes in my speech, you should criticize me and then I will correct them.

Note one: Selected Readings of Mao Tse-tung's Works (No. 1 copy)
People's Publishing House, Second Edition, 1965, P. 477.

Note two: Quote from "On Khrushchev's False Communism and Its Lessons in World History," RED FLAG, No 13, 1964.

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"HAI SHUI CURSES THE EMPEROR" AND "THE DISMISSAL OF HAI SHUI"
ARE TWO GREAT POISONOUS WEEDS

Following is a translation of an article by Kuan Feng (7070 6912), and Lin Chieh (2651 2638), in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No. 5, 5 April 1966.]

In 1846 Marx and Engels scorned a mediocre German, an idealist, in this way: "One day there was a hero who thought that men drowned because they were bewildered by thoughts concerning gravity." 1

Comrade Wu Han summarized the reasons which caused him to commit mistakes as because he was controlled by his own ethical theory. Perhaps why he sank into the mud was also because he was "bewildered by thoughts concerning gravity." But with Comrade Wu Han, it was not simple idealism. What is important is he played a trick by avoiding political questions, avoiding his fatal point, shifting his political question into the so called academic realm, and by diverting people's attention so that he could sneak out of the problem. This can not be done.

Social existence determines social consciousness. The roots of the poisonous weeds must be sought in class struggle. The two great poisonous weeds, "Hai Shui Curses the Emperor" and "The Dismissal of Hai Shui" by Comrade Wu Han, represent those who insist upon the stand of the capitalist class in attacking the Party and socialism and serve the rightist-opportunist. Wu Han is not "bewildered by thoughts concerning gravity," but "bewildered" by the anti-socialism stand of the capitalist class.

"You are suppressing people with a political hat!"- Friends, do not lose your temper. The debate here needs to bring out facts, to reason, and to calmly search for truth. Please read our analysis of "Hai Shui Curses the Emperor" and "The Dismissal of Hai Shui," and see if they are anti-Party, anti-socialism stuff. Truth brightens through debate. Truth can not be overcome by argument. If it is overcome, it can not be truth. It is the responsibility of a Communist to insist upon truth, to protect truth, and to be ready at all times to correct his own mistakes. All are equal before truth. We

are publicizing our opinion and inviting comrades who oppose it, disagree with or partially disagree with it, to rebut and to criticize. We are willing to argue to the end with those who oppose us, and to discuss with those who partially disagree with us. If our opinion is proved to be partially wrong, or completely wrong, we are willing to re-examine it.

I. To Cover Is To Expose And To Play
Smart Is To Show Foolishness

Following the sharp political criticism of "The Dismissal of Hai Shui" by Comrade Yao Wen Yuan, Comrade Wu Han hastily published a "Self Criticism Concerning 'The Dismissal of Hai Shui'." On the surface of this article of the so called "Self Criticism," Comrade Wu Han gave himself some meaningless hats, such as "this is not an academic question but a political one;" this was "a question of class stand," and was "dictated by the thinking of the capitalist class," and so on. But actually he was twisting the facts, covering up the problem, and trying his best to avoid the substance of the problem and the fatal point of "The Dismissal of Hai Shui." He finally concluded that he himself was "on a firm political ground of class stand," and by implication further attacked those comrades who criticized him on political grounds.

But the events are beyond what Comrade Wu Han originally expected. His so called "Self Criticism" has on the contrary helped people to recognize the fatal point of his problem, to realize his purpose in praising Hai Shui, and the reactionary substance in his "Hai Shui Curses the Emperor" and "The Dismissal of Hai Shui."

Under the subtitle of the first section of Comrade Wu Han's article, "Why I Study Hai Shui," he chronologically listed his works on Hai Shui. The purpose of such a listing was to prove that "The Dismissal of Hai Shui" was written in 1960 and therefore had nothing to do with "the current of individualism." But in so doing, he connected his works on Hai Shui with the Lu Shan Conference. Thus what he tried to cover up was further exposed. His efforts to play smart only demonstrated his foolishness.

Comrade Wu wrote: "The question associated with the time of writing is why I wrote 'On Hai Shui,' and what does 'The Dismissal of Hai Shui' want people to learn?" To this he himself replied: "A communique was issued after the 8th Plenary Meeting of the 8th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China held on the Lu Shan in Kiangsi from August 2-16, 1959. The communique pointed out "The Plenary Meeting requests the Party Committee at every level to persistently criticize and overcome the erroneous thinking of rightist-opportunism among certain cadres." Following that, on August 27 The People's Daily published an editorial entitled "Oppose Rightist, Boast Spirit, Struggle to Accomplish The Second Five Year Plan This Year." No. 17 Hung-ch'i

also published an editorial "The Great Call." "My 'On Hai Shui' was written after the communique and the editorials had appeared. It was completed on September 17- twenty days after The People's Daily had published its editorial. ... This article was at that time opposed to rightist-opportunism, and opposed to counterfeiting and misrepresenting Hai Shui." This paragraph deserves special notice.

We approve very much of clarifying why Comrade Wu Han wants to write essays and plays about Hai Shui by "associating them with the time they were written." Comrade Wu Han has associated "On Hai Shui" with the Lu Shan Conference and has said that his article was anti-rightist-opportunism. Thus whether you recognize this thesis or not, you must analyze and examine it in connection with the Lu Shan Conference; since Comrade Wu has made this association himself, we must therefore make our analysis and criticism in the same way. But first, let us discuss his "listing."

Since the listing was done under the title "Why I Study Hai Shui," it seems reasonable for the author to talk about the purpose of writing each of the articles listed even in a simplified manner. But for the first essay "Hai Shui Curses the Emperor," it was only stated in one sentence: "It was published in the People's Daily, June 18, 1959, and was later included in The Stories of Hai Shui." May we ask Comrade Wu: Was that not you who at that time repeatedly stated that a historical essay must be written to make "the ancient serve the present"? Did you not want people to learn the "virtues" of Hai Shui? Have you not said that the works of a writer should be analyzed in connection with "the time he wrote"? Your "Hai Shui Curses the Emperor" was published on the eve of the Lu Shan Conference. How did it serve the present? Which of today's classes did it serve? And what "virtues" did you want people to learn from "Hai Shui"? Why should you say nothing at all about these?

However, for the second article, "On Hai Shui" published in the People's Daily, September 21, 1959, Comrade Wu Han gave an elaborate explanation. Special emphasis was placed on the fact that it was published after the Lu Shan Conference, and that the publication of this essay was to oppose rightist-opportunism. For evidence Comrade Wu Han presented a paragraph of anti-rightist-opportunism language at the tail end of "On Hai Shui." But these words, as pointed out by certain comrades, were not correlated basically with the entire context. They were an artificial addition. At that time those rightist-opportunists were calling themselves Hai Shui; and "On Hai Shui" was doing its best to praise him. Comrade Wu Han made anti-revolutionary Hai Shui the "savior of the people," and wanted people to learn the so called virtues of Hai Shui: his "above-class" spirit, his "persistence in justice," his opposition to ignorance" and his "non-submission." It would only be a fairy tale to speak

of such stuff as opposed to rightist-opportunism. Actually, "On Hai Shui" is also a poisonous weed. We shall further analyze this point in Section IV.

Lies are always inconsistent and vulnerable to cross-examination. If Comrade Wu was conscious at the time he wrote "On Hai Shui" that it was written to oppose the rightist-opportunism, and to serve politics, then, it should be so also when he wrote "The Dismissal of Hai Shui," which immediately followed "On Hai Shui" and as Comrade Wu stated himself, "was written on the foundation of 'On Hai Shui'." (See "Self Criticism Concerning 'The Dismissal of Hai Shui'.") But "The Dismissal of Hai Shui" was too self-evident to be covered with an excuse. Thus, with a complete reverse, he said that he was all of a sudden "muddled" when he wrote "The Dismissal of Hai Shui," that he "did not at all think of" its practical meaning, and that he was all of a sudden "entirely ancient for ancient, play-writing for play-writing!"

Well, let us discuss his so called "being muddled" and the so called "being entirely ancient for the ancient, play-writing for play-writing!"

Let us see what Comrade Wu Han himself said during and around the time he wrote "The Dismissal of Hai Shui":

(1) For his explanation of "The Dismissal of Hai Shui," Comrade Wu Han in 1960 said that people today should learn the "virtue" of Hai Shui who "lost his office," "but did not submit, and was not discouraged."

(2) In his preface to the publication of "The Dismissal of Hai Shui," as in an independent book, Comrade Wu Han said: "What is the meaning of writing a historical play and of propagating reformism in history (Note: this relates to using returning land as the theme) today? I have considered and reconsidered this question." You see, Comrade Wu Han himself proved that at the time when he wrote "The Dismissal of Hai Shui," he was not "did not at all think of" its realistic meaning, but had "considered and reconsidered it many times."

(3) As soon as "The Dismissal of Hai Shui" was performed, Comrade Wu Han made his purpose in writing that play crystal clear by discussing historical plays and propagating the play in Peking Wan Pao (Peking Evening News). He said: "A historical personality in a history book, or in a historical play, must not be a mere resurrection of a corpse. In writing and performing such a personality, one must give emphasis to the certain aspects in him or her that will have an enlightening effect upon later generations... In short, it must serve the living, not the dead." 3

(4) In his "Talk About Historical Plays," Comrade Wu Han said: "In view of the dramatic arts being the best instrument of educating the people, a historical play must be distinguished from a story play." This article was published in Wen Hui Pao (The Literary Newspaper) on December 25, 1960. According to

Comrade Wu Han himself, the final draft of "The Dismissal of Hai Shui" was made at this time. In writing this historical play then, he must have consciously pursued the purpose of making it the "best instrument for educating the people."

(5) In his "More Talks on Historical Plays," Comrade Wu Han said: "The effect of a drama is far greater than a book;" "the important meaning and effect of a historical play is to strike the virtue of certain historical personalities, (Please note that Comrade Wu Han thinks that the exploited working people in history did not have ethics of their own. See his "On Ethics" and "More on Ethics."- Quoter's note) especially the heroic spirit of our ancestors- modesty, bravery, and faith unshaken by material conditions or force- deep into the heads of the people to form a constituent part of the socialism-communism ethics." He further stated that a historical play ought to "meet the practical needs of the present day." These words were expressed when Comrade Wu Han was conceited after "The Dismissal of Hai Shui was performed," and they represented his experience and self-expression in writing the play.

(6) In his article "On Historical Play" published in Wen Hsioh Ping Lun (Literary Critic) No 3, 1961, Comrade Wu Han said that a correct historical play is "the best instrument for carrying out the education of historicism and patriotism."

(7) Comrade Wu Han published his replies to a correspondent in Hsi Chu Pao (Dramatic Journal), in its combined issue No 9 and No 10, 1961. (The replies were made on May 18). This article began with an introduction saying "Historian Wu Han has written a historical play "The Dismissal of Hai Shui," which has stirred up great interest among many people. ..." In his replies to the questions asked by the correspondents, Comrade Wu Han lectured freely about the concept of "using the ancient to serve the present." He said it was "to cause the spectators to absorb certain experiences and teachings, and to take in the good and to avoid the evil; to reach the purpose of raising the spirits, and to strengthen the will so as to contribute to the construction of socialism." He also stated: "The function of a historical play is social. It is a kind of social education. Everyone- old and young, educated and uneducated- all may receive the education of a historical drama." This was also Comrade Wu Han's self-expression in writing "The Dismissal of Hai Shui."

(8) Just before Comrade Wu Han undertook the writing of "The Dismissal of Hai Shui" in the end of 1959, he also clearly stated that a historical play must "produce the best educational results." He admitted also that in the past he had "often scolded others indirectly." 4

All of the above listed points were said and put in order by Comrade Wu Han himself.

It was not only Comrade Wu Han himself who spoke in this

way. His friends, those who cheered and applauded the play when it was performed, were also very aware of the practical meaning of the play. They energetically propagated it. They all congratulated him for the opening of the new play and demonstrated their intimacy to him, and advertised its practical meaning. Fan Hsing wrote that "The Dismissal of Hai Shui" was a "good, fresh play." Thus having secured a good seat in the theater he was "doing a lot of thinking and soul searching while watching the play." He was so moved by the plot of the play that he could not restrain his tears. But we were not told what he was thinking. It was inconvenient for him to tell us this in detail. So he went to "discuss it in private."⁵ Shih Yu (Meng Ch'ao) remarked that "The Dismissal of Hai Shui was "very exciting." The characters it created "appeared lively and moving on the stage," and "gave its readers and spectators the historical teaching and guidance for practical struggle."⁶ Fang San also said that "The Dismissal of Hai Shui" "inspired and nourished the spirit of its spectators."⁷ Teng Yun Chien admired Comrade Wu Han as "a historian who was skillful in blending together a historical survey and participation in practical struggle"; "who used the technique of suggesting to the present through an ancient context." Now a "new path" was opened for that purpose.⁸

At that time Comrade Wu Han and his supporters were utilizing every chance, adopting every measure to make the practical meaning of "The Dismissal of Hai Shui" known, lest the readers and spectators miss the point of his style of impeaching the present through the ancient. But today, Comrade Wu made a hasty turn. Despite the fact that what was put in print was undeniable, and disregarding his own words and facts, Comrade Wu Han played foolish. Now he was saying that the question of "using the ancient to serve the present was not even thought of" at the time the play was written; and that he completely forgot the principle that "arts must serve political expediency;" and at the time he was "being ancient for the sake of being ancient, and play-writing for play-writing." "The Dismissal of Hai Shui" thus was a play, according to Comrade Wu, "without any spirit of the time," and "had no practical political meaning whatsoever."

The readers may ask why should Comrade Wu call himself a "fool" and severely blame himself for "withdrawing from politics and withdrawing from present reality."

Comrade Shih Han Jen opposed the thesis that Comrade Wu Han was pretending to be a fool.⁹ Let him analyze and rebut the above facts we have presented and prove that when Comrade Wu Han wrote "The Dismissal of Hai Shui" he was muddled and was actually "being ancient for the sake of being ancient, and play-writing for the sake of play-writing." Our discussion needs facts and reasoning. To present an argument in abstract is useless however plausible its logic and eloquence may be!

Comrade Wu Han! Did you not say that "The Dismissal of Hai Shui" was written on the foundation of the anti-rightist-opportunism article "On Hai Shui"? Did you not say your writing of history, of historical plays, of Hai Shui, and of "The Dismissal of Hai Shui" were all for constructing socialism, and for cultivating the socialism-communism ethics? How right are these words? If so, why did you not rise and defend your own viewpoint in an affirmative manner like a hero instead of excusing yourself by pleading momentary "foolishness," and having forgotten "to make the ancient serve the present" and merely "being ancient for the sake of being ancient, and play-writing for the sake of playwriting."?

We say: This is a deceptive scheme. It was because there was something dirty and unspeakable in his mind that he was fearful. Comrade Shih Han Jen strongly objected to this view. Then we would like him to bring out facts, and logic, and give a reasonable explanation for what we have mentioned above. Such an explanation, in our view, is impossible.

After all, history cannot be canceled and revised as Comrade Wu Han wishes. History is emotionless. One who distorts history purposely will surely be punished one day by history. In a sense, one's personal history is written by himself. But this history once written can not be rewritten as one wishes. Of course, Comrade Wu Han can not rewrite the history he has written for himself. History will testify to the people as to who is honest, who is dishonest, who stands on the side of the proletariat, and who stands on the side of the capitalist class, who is loyal to the Party, loyal to socialism, and who is anti-Party and anti-socialism.

Comrade Wu Han did not at all forget "to make the ancient serve the present." He did not "withhold from politics." The problem is that his "politics" is the politics of the capitalist class, and his "present" is the capitalist class. Prior to the Lu Shan Conference, Comrade Wu Han wrote "Hai Shui Curses the Emperor." After the Lu Shan Conference, when our Party dismissed the rightist-opportunists from their offices, Comrade Wu Han again rose courageously and wrote "The Dismissal of Hai Shui." All these represented the backward current for restoration of the capitalist class and were coordinated with the anti-Party, anti-socialism political activities of the rightist-opportunists. This was the fatal point in Comrade Wu Han's problem. This was why he did not now mention "Hai Shui Curses the Emperor" at all. And this was the secret why he insisted that "The Dismissal of Hai Shui" did not have "any practical, political meaning."

We shall in the following make a concrete analysis of "Hai Shui Curses the Emperor" and "The Dismissal of Hai Shui."

II. The Intention of "Hai Shui Curses the Emperor"

When Comrade Wu Han chose the word curse in "Hai Shui Curses the Emperor,"¹⁰ whom was he cursing, after all?

If it was a true study of the history of Hai Shui memorializing the Emperor, then one should use the method of class analysis to examine the situation of class struggle of the time, to expose the internal contradictions of the ruling classes, and to point out why Hai Shui cursed the Emperor- its class content- (even if the analysis is not well done or contains errors). But Comrade Wu Han's "Hai Shui Curses the Emperor" was written in a completely different way. He did not mention one word about the class struggle of the time. He exposed neither the contradictions between the landlord class and the peasants, nor the contradictions within the landlord class. He even did not concretely describe the corruption within the ruling circle of the time. The entire play centered around the word curse. It repeatedly emphasized the "satisfaction of cursing," such as: "Hai Shui satisfied himself with cursing the Emperor," and "the satisfaction springs from the fact that the Emperor can not be cursed," and "it is good to curse the Emperor even if only in a drama and gain some momentary satisfaction." Thus "As Hai Shui severely cursed the Emperor, he earned sympathy and support among the people everywhere and his reputation rose further."

For the "satisfaction of cursing," Comrade Wu Han had fundamentally rewritten history and recreated Hai Shui.

The phrase "Hai Shui Curses the Emperor" is itself a distortion of history. The essence of Hai Shui's the "Memorial for Public Peace and Order" was to advise the Emperor and to love the Emperor. There was advice, criticism, and warnings in strong terms. But the essence is still the fulfillment and expression of Hai Shui's loyalty to the Emperor and not cursing him let alone gaining satisfaction from that.

The purpose of Hai Shui's submittal of the "Memorial for Public Peace and Order" (for which he dared to speak very frankly to the Emperor) was as indicated in the Memorial to "define the way of the ruler, clarify the duties of his minister, and search for lasting public peace and order." The Memorial contained a number of criticisms of Emperor Chia Ching, Chu Hou-t'ung.

But while criticizing the Emperor, Hai Shui clearly demonstrated his loyalty in words. He first of all praised the Emperor by saying that he was absolutely gifted and might become a sage-king and that during the earlier years of his rule he had accomplished reforms and brought the country into a new era. Emperor Chia Ching was thus far better than Emperor Wen of the Han Dynasty, and public peace and order could be

expected within days. Hai Shui further excused the Emperor by stating that even a sage might err, and that his ministers had neglected their duty of advising him on what was wrong. They thus had committed the grave crime of having deceived the Emperor and that was where the problem lay.

From the beginning to the end in the "Memorial for Public Peace and Order," there was the expression of "loyalty." Hai Shui felt that because he was given "great favor from the Emperor," he ought therefore to "speak out frankly even though he might offend the Emperor." For even if those words may offend the Emperor, they would still be the expression of loyalty. In fact, even Chu Hou-ts'ung was aware of this point. His feeling from reading the "Memorial for Public Peace and Order" was very complicated. At first he was "very angry and throw the Memorial to the ground. Then he picked it up and put it on his desk and as he read it repeatedly, he was much moved by the Pi Kan-like loyalty of Hai Shui." 11 Chu Hou-ts'ung then secretly told Hsu Chia: "What Hai Shui said is correct. I haven't been well for long and am much weaker than I was. I can't really function properly." 12 Chu Hou-ts'ung knew Hai Shui's loyalty. Hai Shui was also keenly aware of the Emperor's great kindness. Later when Hai Shui recalled the incident, he said: "At that time, I was much favored by the Emperor's understanding of my loyalty. He knew that although I had spoken beyond my official competence, I was very loyal to him in my heart. Thus he ordered the Board of Punishment and the officer of the Royal Guard not to punish me with heavy physical torture, for he would use me again later." 13 When Hai Shui died, Emperor Wan Li, Chu I-chun, issued him a post mortem "Chung Chia" (Loyal and Earnest) to distinguish his loyalty to the Chu Family.

Hai Shui's loyalty to the Ming Court was further manifested when he heard of the death of Chu Hou-ts'ung. The Biography of Hai Shui in the Dynastic History of Ming recorded: "Most of the officials did not know at first that the Emperor was already dead. When the superintendent was informed of the happening, he thought Hai Shui would again be recalled to office. So he entertained Hai Shui at a dinner. Hai Shui thought he was about to be executed, and therefore he ate and drank recklessly. Then the superintendent whispered in his ear that the Emperor had just died and he would soon be recalled to an important position. Hai Shui asked 'Really?' He then wailed with excessive grief. He threw up all the food he had eaten and fell and fainted. He continued to cry through the night." Chu Kuo-cheng in his Yung Tung Essays highly praised the "sentiment of a loyal subject" of this kind. Chu remarked, "Oh! Only now do we know that Hai Shui is really loyal to the Emperor. The sentiment of a loyal subject expressed on such occasions is a concrete one. Such sentiment

will last through thousands of generations. And only by possessing such a sentiment may the fame of a loyal subject last forever!"

It was because of this "sentiment of a loyal subject" that the landlord class has admired and praised Hai Shui during the last several hundred years. It was because of Hai Shui's "genuine loyalty," and not at all because "he really cursed the Emperor with great satisfaction," as Comrade Wu Han described.

Comrade Wu Han is known for his knowledge of Ming Dynasty history. But he had not only concealed Hai Shui's loyalty to the landlord class, but also the story of Hai Shui's wailing over the death of Chu Hou-ts'ung.

In his article "Hai Shui Curses the Emperor," Comrade Wu Han put down the following paragraph: The text of the "Memorial for Public Peace and Order" in the Biography of Hai Shui in volume 226 of the Dynastic History of Ming was revised by the historian who wrote the book. Comrade Wu then exclusively used the materials contained in the biography of Hai Shui in Ho Ch'iao-yuan's book, Ming Shan Ts'ang (Collected Stories of Ming Dynasty. Actually not only the "Memorial for Public Peace and Order" in the Biography of Hai Shui in the Dynastic History of Ming was revised, but the "Memorial for Public Peace and Order" contained in Ming Shan Ts'ang was also a revised version. The two sources make no difference on this point. What was different was that the biography of Hai Shui in Ming Shan Ts'ang did not contain the section of Hai Shui's wailing over the death of the Emperor. Now, Hai Shui's wailing over the death of the Emperor was a constituent part of the incident of Hai Shui's memorializing the Emperor. Comrade Wu had always stressed the plot of the story in writing historical essays. But this time he reversed his long time habit. In both "Hai Shui Curses the Emperor" of 1959 and in the revised edition of "The Stories of Hai Shui" of 1961 he did not mention one word about the "moving" story of Hai Shui's wailing over the death of the Emperor. Was it not now very clear as to what Comrade Wu's intention was? Comrade Wu Han merely wanted to "curse with satisfaction," to promote the "courage to curse," in abstract, and hence to agitate through the mouth of Hai Shui. If Comrade Wu had included the section in which Hai Shui wailed over the death of the Emperor, it would have defeated the result he had expected, because the readers would thus understand that Hai Shui was loyal to his own class and its leader. This was one reason why Comrade Wu Han adopted Ming Shan Ts'ang, and not the Biography of Hai Shui in the Dynastic History of Ming.

Not only did Comrade Hai Shui not use the "Memorial for Public Peace and Order" contained in the Dynastic History

of Ming, but also he did not use the original text of the Memorial either. Comrade Wu himself explained that the words of the "Memorial for Public Peace and Order" which he wrote in "Hai Shui Curses the Emperor" was a translation of the "Memorial" based on the Ming Shan Ts'ang version. But if a careful reader would compare his translation with the original in Ming Shan Ts'ang, he would find them completely different from each other. The wording in comrade Wu's article was an amalgamation taken out of context. Some of them were completely misleading in terms of their original meaning. Others were added for the author's own purpose. For instance in Wu's article: "How do you compare with Emperor Wen of Han Dynasty? You did some good things earlier, but how about these years? Now you only care for Taoism. . . and appoint officials without discrimination. . ." This section is quite different from the original text in Ming Shan Ts'ang. The words "You did some good things earlier, but how about these years? . . .and appoint officials without discrimination" were not in the original.

In a section in Wu's article, "You must know that Taoist exercises are not good for you," a lot was revised and censored. The last sentence of the original in Ming Shan Ts'ang was: ". . . to clean up the errors in the way of the emperor of the last several decades, to elevate yourself to the place of the sage-kings, and also make the ministers clean their shame for flattering the emperor during the last several decades." But Comrade Wu Han put it in this way: "You should clean up the mistakes in the way of the emperor during the last several decades and do some good things." When Comrade Wu included "Hai Shui Curses the Emperor" in The Stories of Hai Shui, he further rewrote this section: "You should resolutely correct your mistakes of the last several decades, and promote the welfare of the people."

A big section of Wu's writing said: "You only care for Taoist exercises, . . . you are self-righteous and refuse criticism. You have too many faults. The major one of them is Taoist worship, This section abuses the original text the most. The original in Ming Shan Ts'ang was "Your Majesty's main fault is Taoist Worship." There was no sense of "you have too many faults." The sentence "you are self-righteous and refuse criticism" was purely forged. The original context in Ming Shan Ts'ang was: "What the ministers said may have come from their selfishness or carelessness. When they confuse the administrative affairs and cannot come to an accord with Your Majesty's intention, they say Your Majesty is self-righteous and refuses advice. They then take one or two inappropriate things Your Majesty has done and trump them up and say that everything Your Majesty has done is like that. They have thus led Your Majesty into greater errors. These ministers are very guilty of deceiving Your Majesty!" Comrade Wu Han took only

"they say you are self-righteous and refuse advice" out of context and translated it into "You are self-righteous and refuse criticism." This is a really gross distortion of the original.

Ming Shan Ts'ang is very hard to find. The section of the "Memorial for Public Peace and Order" in his book is an excerpt from the original text, and is a secondary source. Whereas another book, Ch'iu Hai Erh Kung Chi, is a first hand source. It contains the complete text of the "Memorial" and the book is very easy to find. Comrade Wu Han had always stressed the importance of first hand material. But this time he preferred the second hand material to the first. Then, why should Comrade Wu insist upon using Ming Shan Ts'ang? He thought that since people had never seen Ming Shan Ts'ang, they would believe those words of course were in that book even though they were not (or had a different meaning) in Ch'iu Hai Erh Kung Chi. This was another reason why Comrade Wu Han adopted Ming Shan Ts'ang.

Now we at last understand the true meaning of why Comrade Wu Han at that time declared so strongly that he was absolutely faithful to historical material and that a historical play had to be "every word with a factual basis." It was to create a myth, to make people believe that there was a factual basis for whatever Comrade Wu Han wrote, so that they would not suspect him, or check his writings. Comrade Wu Han then could abuse history and spread poison without being inhibited.

Now we may clearly see that "Hai Shui Curses the Emperor" is a carefully composed piece of curse and a complete misrepresentation of history. What Comrade Wu Han especially endeavored to do was to curse others with the most wicked words while the people still felt it was the dead Hai Shui cursing the Emperor.

Having stripped the cloak from "Hai Shui Curses the Emperor," we see the hideous face. "Hai Shui Curses the Emperor" meant to curse the present day people through the mouth of Hai Shui.

Whom did Comrade Wu Han curse after all? He cursed the great Communist Party of China, the Central Committee of the Party we respected and loved.

Comrade Wu Han published "Hai Shui Curses the Emperor" on the eve of the Lu Shan Conference. At that time, foreign imperialism and modern revisionism, and domestic landlord and capitalist classes were hysterically insulting our Party, attacking our Party's General Line, Great Leap Forward and the People's Commune System. Class struggle in the society was also reflected within the party. A small clique of rightist-opportunists were active at the time preparing to attack our most beloved Communist Party. These rightist-opportunists openly and hysterically attacked our Party at the Lu Shan

Conference.

At this moment, Comrade Wu Han's "Hai Shui Curses the Emperor" appeared. Obviously the social effect of this piece was to collaborate with the rightist-opportunist in attacking the Party, and to encourage the devils to "curse to their heart's content," by saying everywhere there are people "sympathizing with" and "supporting" them. "Hai Shui Curses the Emperor" is not any kind of academic work; today, it is hard to see its reactionary political character if one is without prejudice and seriously analyzes it from the standpoint of class struggle.

In traditional opera, when an important general is about to appear, the orchestra would introduce him by beating the drums and gongs loudly to give the majestic impression. "Hai Shui Curses the Emperor" served as an aid to these drums and gongs in introducing the "important general" of rightist-opportunism. Whether Comrade Wu Han was completely conscious of this point at the time is not important for a theoretical struggle. For the law of class struggle is to force people to come out to speak for this class or that class when the class struggle intensifies. It would be like "a bone in the throat" which has to be thrown out. It does not change according to one's subjective will.

Immediately following Comrade Wu Han's "Hai Shui Curses the Emperor," a Peking Opera appeared in Shanghai of the same line: "Hai Shui Memorializes the Emperor" (collectively created by Shanghai Institute of Peking Opera; Comrade Hsu Ssu-yen wrote). Comrade Ting Hsioh-lei made the best analysis about this opera. He wrote that while the Socialism revolution was developing in full force, and while we were attacking the form of class consciousness of the landlords and capitalists on a large scale, the representatives of the exploiting class--the rightist-opportunists--"hysterically attacked and cursed the General Line, the Great Leap Forward and the People's Commune; and frantically cursed the Communist Party of China." It was in this situation that "Hai Shui Memorializes the Emperor" appeared; it really "cursed in an opera." The director of "Hai Shui Memorializes the Emperor," under the guidance of "Hai Shui Curses the Emperor," "recklessly called their followers to speak up, to sacrifice and to struggle relentlessly." "The appearance of 'Hai Shui Memorializes the Emperor' was not a phenomena which occurred by chance. It reflected a tide of social thought, and reflected the feeling and desires of the capitalist class. Since the opera was written at the moment when the strength of the rightist-opportunists was quite high, it also represented quite clearly the spirit of certain self-satisfied people."¹⁴ We think Comrade Ting's article was well done. Comrades! Friends! Would you say Comrade Ting's analysis and criticism of "Hai Shui Memori-

alizes the Emperor" was right or wrong? Comrade Wu Han's "Hai Shui Curses the Emperor" came out first. Then, there was "Hai Shui Memorializes the Emperor." They were so well co-ordinated and identified with each other that they looked as if they were from the same model. If what Comrade Wu Han's "Hai Shui Curses the Emperor" reflected was not the tide of the anti-Party, anti-socialism thinking of the capitalist class, then, what did it reflect? We would like to see some explanation of this.

A trite saying tells: "Under certain circumstances, you should sing a certain opera." Comrade Wu Han is just like that. He once said: "When writing about a person, or performing a person, one has to stress a certain aspect of him or her that will have an enlightening effect on the later generations." Before the Lu Shan Conference, he wrote and stressed the enlightening aspect of Hai Shui's courage to curse the Emperor to encourage those who insisted upon the stand of the capitalist class to attack our Party and the Central Committee of the Party. After the Lu Shan Conference, when our Party dismissed those rightist-opportunists from their offices, Comrade Wu wrote "The Dismissal of Hai Shui." This time he "enlightened" others by emphasizing that having lost his position, Hai Shui "did not submit and was not discouraged." Let us open up the cover and examine the script of "The Dismissal of Hai Shui" for which Comrade Wu devoted so much of his energy and talent.

III. The Psalm of "The Dismissal of Hai Shui"

What is the central theme of "The Dismissal of Hai Shui?"¹⁵ The central theme is by singing praise to the so-called high virtue of "Hai Shui," who was dismissed, but not discouraged and did not submit, to strengthen and encourage the so-called "Hai Shui's" of today to "rise again from defeat."

Of course, the function and effect of a bad opera and the intentions of the author may have many facets. For instance, as Comrade Yao Wen-yuan correctly pointed out that the sections in "The Dismissal of Hai Shui"--"Returning Land" and "Redressing a Grievance"--were the reflection of the devil's advocate--"the current of individualism" and "the current of redressing historical cases." Their function was to agitate these currents." But looking at the main purpose of Comrade Wu Han, from the main idea of the play and writings in praise of this play, its central theme is "dismissal."

Comrade Wu Han pointed out the central theme of "The Dismissal of Hai Shui" clearly when he said in the explanation of the play: "This play stresses the strong will of Hai Shui: his persistence in principle, non-submission to force, and defiance in defeat. . . . Hai Shui lost his

position in this struggle, but he did not submit, and was not discouraged. People at that time thought he had done good things and they supported him, and praised him. ... (Hai Shui) deserves to have us learn from him."

Comrade Wu Han developed the plot of the play closely around its central theme- dismissal, non-submission and not being discouraged.

"The Dismissal of Hai Shui" was written immediately after "Hai Shui Curses the Emperor." As soon as Hai Shui appeared on the stage, it was told through the mouth of Cheng Yu that Hai Shui "has cursed the Emperor too much. Now the Emperor was very angry, and wanted to punish him by death." "Hai Shui was thus imprisoned and tortured. He was released only after the Emperor died." Once again, Comrade Wu Han praised Hai Shui's courage to curse as if there was real pleasure to be gained through cursing in a play.

While Hai Shui was "cursing" the Emperor, the play prepared his "dismissal." The last sentence of peasant C's praise of Hai Shui's good administration in Shunan touched upon the central theme: "He earned the tears of the people when he was shifted to another position." As the plot further unfolded, the central theme became clearer. In Act V, "Mother's Teaching," the author completely brought the central theme into light by speaking through the mouth of Hai Shui's Mother: "Dear daughter-in-law! Your husband has been a good official. His persistence in justice is well known. He acts as he did even when he is dismissed and imprisoned. Honesty, forbearance, and persistence are his virtues." In Act VII, "Asking for Favor," the author purposely utilized the occasion when Hsu Chiai asked a favor from Hai Shui for his son and made up the story of the so called "face-to-face struggle," so as to further crystallize the "heroic" spirit of Hai Shui:

"Hsu Chiai (sang) If you have offended all these officials, I am afraid you can't hold your office long.

Hai Shui: Ha! Ha! My office? I, Hai Shui, am not even afraid of death. What do I care for my office? Grand Tutor Hsu! ... Hai Shui can't be an official if he can not live up to the dignity of Man. As soon as the imperial order arrives, I will return home. ... (sang) Even if I have lost my office, I have left a good name for generations."

The central theme "dismissal" reached its perfect crystallization in the last Act, "Dismissal." This was the climax of the play, in which Comrade Wu Han threw all of his own emotions into Hai Shui. This last Act expressed a four-fold idea.

First- It made an apology for "Hai Shui." It said that the dismissal of "Hai Shui" was due to an intrigue. "Hai Shui" thus shouted: "It is unfair to dismiss me!"

Second- It gave the dismissed "Hai Shui" unlimited

sympathy. At first Hai Shui sang "The dismissal has given me a good name." At the end the chorale sang:

"It is freezing in the wind; as I am leaving, a thousand strings pull my heart.

Father Hai is leaving for the South; there is no way to have him stay,

Ten thousand families prayed for him while incense was burning..."

How sentimental! It was impossible for the author to write such moving lines unless he had thrown his whole body, mind and soul into the drama. (The drama was the class struggle during 1959 and 1960).

Third- The play further shouted "Hai Shui shall return!" This was a very important point.

Fourth- The author even resorted to distortion of historical facts to show the spirit of Hai Shui. He portrayed the dismissed Hai Shui as a victorious hero, instead of one leaving a rather sad sentiment.

Comrade Wu described his experience in writing the last Act with satisfaction. He said: "For the end of the story, my first several drafts stated that when Hai Shui left his office in civilian dress, the people came to say good-by to him at the pavilion where they welcome their new officials. Their feeling toward Hai Shui was expressed by the words they sang. For an interlude, there was a scene in which the new governor, Tai Feng-hsiang came to assume his office and Hsu Chiai and other officials came to welcome him." Here they confronted Hai Shui and there was "a face-to-face struggle between Hai Shui and Tai Feng-hsiang and Hsu Chiai. Finally Tai Feng-hsiang and Hsu Chiai escaped under the roar of the angry mob. Hai Shui then left with his followers.

But Comrade Wu Han was not happy with this ending because the atmosphere was still "pessimistic and negative." To be more positive, Comrade Wu Han decided that Hai Shui should kill a few people before he left. So Comrade Wu "made up his mind to execute Hsu Ying (son of Hsu Chiai), and rewrote the story into the present 'Dismissal'." Someone asked: "Suppose after Hsu Ying was convicted, the Emperor granted him a pardon and Hai Shui was unable to kill Hsu Ying. Wouldn't this be more dramatic?" But No! Because drama must serve politics. Comrade Wu Han would not do it. Comrade Wu said that in order to release his grievance, Hai Shui had to kill someone; otherwise, his spirit of non-submission could not be fully expressed.

When "The Dismissal of Hai Shui" was performed, friends of Comrade Wu also unanimously claimed that the central theme of the play was "dismissal," and they praised its clarity. Fang San said: "The central theme is very obvious," and "we have seen a distinguished image of Hai Shui's personality of persistence in principle, non-submission and

defiance in defeat." 16

Those who admired "The Dismissal of Hai Shui" further pointed to the last act "Dismissal" as the concentrated expression of the central theme of the play. Among their vivid accounts were the following:

"The last act 'Dismissal', is the climax of the drama, in which contradictions reach a point of saturation. Hai Shui firmly ordered the execution of Hsü Yin and Wang King-yu. Then, while Hsü Chiaï and Tai Feng-hsiang were astonished and unable to do anything, Hai Shui lifted his official seal quite calmly and transferred his office. At this moment, the curtain slowly descended and the drama came to an end. Both image and idea in this scene were obvious. The entire stage was a moving picture through which the highest virtue of Hai Shui was presented and in which the central theme of the drama was summarized." 17

Another said:

"When Hai Shui lifted his official seal, his bureaucratic career was ended, although the justice which he had insisted upon had won. This serious ending of mixed happiness and sorrow held deep meaning, and it gave the audience room for imagination. Such a technique is the result of the playwright's deep introspection and cultivation." 18

The central theme of "The Dismissal of Hai Shui" is dismissal. There is evidence too strong for Comrade Wu Han to deny.

Comrade Wu Han would even invent history for the sake of his central theme.

Comrade Wu Han had declared that a play "without factual basis" could not be called "an historical play". 19 But in "The Dismissal of Hai Shui", for the needs of the central theme, Comrade Wu Han completely forgot his own "theory".

Hai Shui never executed the son of Hsü Chiaï in history. Those who defended Comrade Wu Han argued that this was artistic "supposition". Actually, these people did not understand what artistic supposition is at all. Artistic supposition cannot contradict historical facts. For example, Hai Shui could never have legally executed Hsü Chiaï's son, as the principal function of the feudal legal institutions was the refinement of the class system in society and the protection of the special political rights of the landlord class. It openly declared that important bureaucrats and nobility were above the common

people before law. When nobility or bureaucrats committed offenses, they had to go through the process of pa-i.* Only offenders against filial piety and loyalty or those who committed high treason were not protected by pa-i. Chiai belonged to the pa-i circle, and according to Ming law, when the grandparents, parents, wife or children of one who belongs to the pa-i circle committed an offense, a special authorization of the Emperor was necessary for their arrest. Any trial of such persons required imperial authorization and action in accordance with imperial instructions. The decision in each case was also made by the Emperor. Ming law also gave the Emperor the power to pardon those who were sentenced to death if they were the only son of a family and had therefore to fulfill the filial obligations. 20 In Hsü Ying's case, these two laws had to apply and he could certainly have been excused from the death penalty. Even in "The Dismissal of Hai Shui" it was mentioned that Hsü Ying was Hsü Chiai's only living son. Thus, according to Ming law, Hsü Ying could not receive the death penalty.

The historical facts of the matter were that because the feudal legal institutions protected the special rights of the landlord class, it was impossible for a peasant to win a suit over a member of the landlord class, and particularly over a member of the bureaucratic or noble class---to say nothing of sacrificing a prime minister's son in the interest of the peasants. There was no historical execution of Hsü by Hai Shui: it was impossible under the contemporary legal system.

Historically, Hai Shui's life was actually quite unpleasant after his dismissal. The Board of Civil Office thought him too ambitious for his ability.²¹ Hai Shui himself also said that he had always been very weak and begged the emperor to let him return home as at the age of fifty-seven his health was deteriorating.²² To present Hai Shui as an heroic figure is to present a fiction invented purely for the requirements of the play's central theme.

In a word, Comrade Wu Han was ready to use every possible means to project the central theme of "did not submit and was not discouraged" after dismissal.

The whole thing is a little bit strange. When Comrade Wu Han was writing "The Dismissal of Hai Shui" he was ready to adopt any means to project the central theme of "did not submit and was not discouraged" and the central theme was clear cut and well-presented. In November 1960, when the final draft was completed, he went to special trouble to announce that the central theme of the play was dismissal. But in August 1961 in his preface to the play Comrade Wu Han again discussed the central theme of the play. But this time he said that the central theme of "The Dismissal of Hai Shui" was primarily returning the land. Finally, it was changed so that the central theme was removing the tyrant, and returning the land was reduced to a secondary position. He then went on to discuss at great length why he had written about the dismissal of Hai Shui.

We would like to ask Comrade Wu Han:

1) Did you not make it very clear in 1960 that the central theme of "The Dismissal of Hai Shui" was to praise the spirit of non-submission and not being discouraged? Why did you say in August 1961 that the central theme was removing the tyrant?

2) If the central theme was removing the tyrant, why did you go to great lengths to talk about the reasons you wrote the "dismissal"?

Comrade Wu Han was making a puzzle, but the more he tried to cover his true intention, the more it was exposed.

We know that when a writer produces a book, he always tries to express a central idea through the plot of the story and the artistic form. The central idea is thus the theme and what the writer wants to praise and what he wants to oppose through the work. Under normal circumstances, the writer always tries his best to present the central theme of his book in a clear cut form. But under a proletarian dictatorship, the author of an anti-socialist book must on the one hand try to make his reader understand the theme and on the other hand, try to cover it up.

"The Dismissal of Hai Shui" belongs to this category. Comrade Wu Han was on the one hand trying every avenue to propagate his theme, for only in this way could his play produce an effect. On the other hand, he was diverting efforts, creating puzzles, for only in this way could he lure on certain people without exposing his true intention and thus carry on his trade.

Comrade Wu Han was quite skillful in carrying on a political struggle. In the preface, he purposefully confused the issue by saying that the theme was the removal of the tyrant. Since his play was titled "The Dismissal of Hai Shui" and not "Hai Shui Removes the Tyrant", he has had to embroider on the story, saying that because every aspect of Hai Shui's life had already been written into plays, the only choice left for him was to write about the incident of the dismissal, when Hai Shui was serving as the governor of Ting Tien.

Such arguments do not even deserve rebuttal. Removing the tyrant was only the plot of the play. It was not the theme. Only the idea expressed through the plot could be called the theme. If the play was really designed to show Hai Shui's spirit in removing tyrants, then according to Comrade Wu Han's studies [it could have utilized the incident] where Hai Shui, when he was in Hsing Kuo, actually removed two tyrants. They were Chang Pao and Chang K'uei, nephews of a former minister of war. (The nephews of a former minister of war did not belong to the pa-i circle). The plot of the story was also quite moving. This time Hai Shui won and did not lose his office. If the writer wanted to write about Hai Shui's ousting tyrants, it would have been much simpler to use this material. But these stories could not satisfy the need of our writer. By that means he could not reach his goal, which was to sing paeans to the deposed rightist opportunists.

Why should Comrade Wu Han in the preface to the play attempt to conceal its central theme? Why did he make up the lie about why he had to write about Hai Shui's dismissal? These efforts on the part of Comrade Wu Han indicate that there were evil thoughts in his mind and that he had an unspeakable political purpose in the writing of the play.

After the Lu Shan Conference, after our Party deposed the rightist-opportunists, some of them were not ready to submit. During the period when we had economic problems, there were still people trying to redress their grievances. It was exactly under such circumstances that Comrade Wu Han, who wrote "Hai Shui Curses the Emperor" in order to beat gongs for the rightist opportunists who are attacking our party, wrote "The Dismissal of Hai Shui". In short, "The Dismissal of Hai Shui" was shouting praises of the deposed rightist-opportunists.

He was praising the rightist-opportunists, encouraging them not to be discouraged by their dismissal, but to "start the struggle again".

He was advocating that those rightist-opportunists who had lost their positions usurp political leadership and restore capitalism.

To summarize, the Hai Shui in Comrade Wu Han's mind was not the historical Hai Shui. He was no resurrection of a corpse, but a stubborn, present-day rightist-opportunist.

It was in this way that Comrade Wu Han's "The Dismissal of Hai Shui" served the living.

Certainly Comrade Wu Han was on firm political ground of class position. But his stand was the stand of the capitalist class.

IV. The Truth About "On Hai Shui"

Human anatomy is the key to monkey anatomy. Having analyzed Comrade Wu Han's "Hai Shui Curses the Emperor" and "The Dismissal of Hai Shui", we should more easily be able to understand his "On Hai Shui".

"On Hai Shui" was published in People's Daily on 21 September 1959. According to its author it was written on September 17. The Lu Shan Conference had then just concluded. "Self-appointed Hai Shuis" ---the rightist-opportunists---who thought at first that they could win their battles in the conference had been defeated. Comrade Wu Han, who had written "Hai Shui Curses the Emperor" to help the rightist-opportunists, now tossed forth "On Hai Shui".

Comrade Wu Han took out the last few sentences from the end of "On Hai Shui" and then said that the purpose of the article was to oppose the rightist-opportunists. We say that these sentences were only

pasted on and did not generally correlate with the entire text. This point should be quite clear after we have analyzed his text.

Besides propagating the erroneous, anti-Marxist concept of the landlord class being the savior of the working people, "On Hai Shui" particularly emphasized the following points:

1) It carried on the idea of cursing in "Hai Shui Curses the Emperor" and propagated (in a more subtle way) the so-called Hai Shui spirit, that is, daring to curse. He did not use "curse" here (as it was already after the Lu Shan Conference), but said instead that Hai Shui "wrote to the Emperor Chia Ching and criticized him severely." But he still stood on the spirit of "Hai Shui Curses the Emperor" and distorted Hai Shui's memorializing of the Emperor. Hai Shui's loyalty to the Emperor was not mentioned, and the misinterpretation of "The Memorial for Public Peace and Order" still remained.

2) Although biographical in form, it failed, like "Hai Shui Curses the Emperor" to make mention of Hai Shui's mourning at the death of Emperor Chia Ching. Instead, it merely said: "After Emperor Chia Ching's death, Hai Shui was released from prison."

3) The article was very much opposed to so-called "hypocrisy". It stated: "The kinds of hypocrite whom Hai Shui opposed were those who were always ready to compromise, always wanted to take the middle position, were unwilling to take responsibility and afraid to become involved, and who always made sure of an escape route."

Why should Comrade Wu Han repeatedly advocate anti-hypocrisy? Was it because he was anti-liberalism? No. If it was, then why did he not base his idea on the article which had already been written by Chairman Mao and further explain and expound it? Why did he need to speak through the dead Hai Shui? This was because the class stand of opposing liberalism was quite clear and its party character was so strong that it was impossible for Comrade Wu to use it as an anti-Party instrument. "Hypocrisy", on the other hand,

was a term which could attract attention. Comrade Wu Han took the class content out of Hai Shui's opposition to hypocrisy and made it something above class. Comrade Wu Han was able to release some of his grievances as well as to serve the rightist - opportunists by advocating the idea of "above-class anti-hypocrisy" without mentioning the premise of the great political struggle between socialism and capitalism. This point is very clear if we examine Comrade Wu's Hai Shui "Curses the Emperor", his "The Dismissal of Hai Shui" and the text "On Hai Shui" together.

4) It began to advocate the "Hai Shui spirit" of non-submission and not being discouraged and began to sing paeans of praise to them (although not in as obvious and unadulterated a form as in "The Dismissal of Hai Shui"). For instance, Comrade Wu said: "Attacks from fore and behind" "had forced Hai Shui out of his governor's office"; "Hai Shui was dismissed. He did not catch the thief but he did lose his position. This was beyond what he had expected." Hai Shui also said: "In such a world, what can one do?" He was said to have hated the world but "he was a real hero who was not discouraged by age or difficulties." He was "attacked, pushed, insulted, dismissed, and even thrown in prison," but "he was still praised by a number of people." "Some youth admired him, and thought him a great man of the time."

In his article, Comrade Wu Han concealed Hai Shui's loyalty toward his own class, toward his emperor. The spirit of "Hai Shui", which the article sought to demonstrate was his above-class "good deeds": "speaking for the people"; opposition to hypocrisy; and the heroic spirit of non-submission and not being discouraged after he was dismissed---all of which earned the admiration of the people. Comrade Wu Han brought out these "virtues" and asked us to learn from them. He said: "We need to learn to promote these virtues," and "only in a socialist society can these virtues be fully developed." Let us ask what it was that Comrade Wu Han wanted when he disregarded the premise of great right and great wrong after the Lu Shan Conference and when our Party had already defeated the rightist-opportunists' attempt to restore capitalism and had deposed them? What did he want when he asked us to learn and promote the so-called above-class spirit of Hai Shui? There could only be one explanation: namely, to appeal to the people for the ousted rightist-opportunists, to ask the people

to give them sympathy and support of public opinion.

Perhaps Comrade Wu Han would argue that he had said before: "There are substantive differences in the social contents of the Hai Shui we need today and the Hai Shui of feudal times." Well, he did say this, but before, and he did not say what substantial differences in social content there should be. What Comrade Wu Han said following the above quotation was that he could call the fighters for construction of socialism "Hai Shuis". But if we follow the rule Comrade Wu Han proposed in propagating the spirit of Hai Shui, his "Hai Shui" in socialist construction can only mean anti-socialists. The so-called "substantial difference in social content" between today's Hai Shui and the historical Hai Shui could only be that the Hai Shui of history was loyal to the ruling class---the landlord class---and supported the social order---feudalism---while Comrade Wu Han's Hai Shui today was opposed to the ruling class---the proletariat---and opposed to the existing social order---socialism---and seeking to restore capitalism. From this viewpoint, it becomes clearer that the anti-rightist-opportunist words at the end of "On Hai Shui" were merely grafted on.

Surely, as Comrade Wu claimed himself, "The Dismissal of Hai Shui" was written on the foundation of "On Hai Shui"; just as "On Hai Shui" did, so "The Dismissal of Hai Shui" also contained the ideas of "cursing", "dismissal", and "anti-hypocrisy". (This point was also quite obvious in "The Dismissal of Hai Shui".) However, "On Hai Shui" was more subtle. "The Dismissal of Hai Shui" was very emancipated and emphasized especially the Hai Shui spirit of rising from defeat and the fact that he was dismissed but had not submitted and was not discouraged and wanted the people to learn it. The difference between the two was that each had its own political climate.

As Comrade Wu Han insisted upon the anti-rightist-opportunism of "On Hai Shui", he actually pointed out the relations of "On Hai Shui" and the "Dismissal of Hai Shui" and others with the rightist-opportunists and that they served their politics.

Mr. Chou Yü-ting, a friend of Comrade Wu Han, also saw this point. He remarked: "I know Wu Han. He is very forward. His writings are just like himself, quite candid. When he has made a mistake, he admits it openly. But this article is somewhat odd: how could he come to associate anti-rightists with Hai Shui? Where is his political sensitivity? Wu Han is a good man. But his political sensitivity is questionable."²³ This paragraph deserves our strictest attention. Readers who are not familiar with the situation may not understand what Mr. Chou meant. Mr. Chou was saying: "Wu Han was lacking in political alertness, and he should not at all talk about the political questions, such as rightist opportunism. He should just pretend to be a fool and treat the question as academic. When he talked about political questions, he only exposed his vulnerability." This was why Mr. Chou sighed: "Where is his political sensitivity?"

Actually, Chou only knew half the story. Of course when Comrade Wu Han stated that "On Hai Shui" was anti-rightist, he had let his secret out of the bag. But when Mr. Chou pointed it out once more, it only meant that the secret was further exposed. As an old friend, Mr. Chou further proved that Comrade Wu Han was a "good man", a man of principle. Would this not mean that Comrade Wu Han is a "Hai Shui" type person (of course he is today's "Hai Shui")?

V. "Hai Shui Curses the Emperor"
and "The Dismissal of Hai Shui" are Representative
of the Tide of Anti-Party, Anti-socialism Thought

Comrade Mao Tse-tung said that in the transitional period, "the class struggle between the proletarian class and the capitalist class, among different political forces, and struggle between the forms of class consciousness of the proletariat and the capitalist are still of a long-lasting, complicated and sometimes even violent nature. The proletariat class wants to reform the world according to its own world view, and the capitalist class also wants to reform the world according to its own world view."²⁴

Comrade Wu Han wants to reform the world according to the world view of the capitalist class. Our struggle with him is both a struggle between forms of class consciousness and a political struggle between classes. This point could be easily recognized if we recall the situation of the class struggle at the time.

In 1957, having counterattacked the rightist of the capitalist class, and having accomplished a great victory in the political line, a great new movement of socialist revolution developed in the country. In 1958, under the guidance of the General Line of our Party, and in high spirits and with great energy, our people accomplished unprecedented victories in every battle line of production: people's communes, water conservancy, and in the steel industry. At the same time, along the political, cultural battlelines, and in thought reform, there was also a new movement. The proletariat from its basic economic units onward, challenged the old system, old tradition, old concepts and old habits at every level and at every battle line. Confronted with this general attack by the proletariat, those members of the capitalist class who insisted upon their stand, and the remnants of the landlord class who were unwilling to accept their defeat agitated counteroffensive. A violent struggle of life and death occurred between the proletarian and capitalist classes.

Due to the ever growing momentum of the socialist revolution, the spokesmen of the capitalist class- the rightist-opportunists who had infiltrated into the party- took advantage of the situation to fulfill the needs of the capitalist class and stir up trouble within the Party. They attacked the Party and socialism from every direction and in every field. They called themselves Hai Shui's and declared that they were "speaking for the people," while attacking the General Line, the people's communes, and the Great Leap Forward. They falsely accused the Party of starting people's communes too soon, and of having created a mess. They insulted the high spirit of the people as being "feverish" and as being "the romanticism of the petty bourgeoisie." The revolutionary dynamism of the masses was despised as subjective idealism. While falsely accusing our Party of committing grave errors, they recklessly demanded that our Party correct its mistakes immediately.

But the abusive language that the rightist-opportunists used could not be published in newspapers. Some make-up was necessary for them to appear in public. Cosmetics were always produced for such occasions as this too was determined by the law of class struggle. Comrade Wu Han's "Hai Shui Curses the Emperor" was presented right at this moment. This piece of Comrade Wu Han's had actually squeezed the soul of the rightist-opportunists into the corpse of "Hai Shui." It was to speak for the rightist-opportunists through the mouth of the dead.

The 8th Plenary Meeting of the 8th Central Committee of the CPC was opened at the Lu Shan, Kiangsi, in August, 1959. It resolutely counterattacked the rightist-opportunists. The Plenary Meeting pointed out: "Imperialists and their running dogs have carried on wicked insults and attacks against our national construction of socialism- the General Line, the Great Leap Forward, and the people's commune movement- from its inception. But they have failed shamefully." "Undoubtedly imperialists and our domestic antagonists will continue to distract us from our socialist construction. But their hostility can only stimulate and heighten the revolutionary zeal of our people. It can only further solidarity of the entire Party and all the people of all races in the nation. Our people will persist and move steadily and speedily under the glorious banner of the General Line toward accomplishing the great national task of building socialism." The Plenary Meeting also especially pointed out that the rightist-opportunists "who have calumniated the Great Leap Forward and the People's Commune Movement of several hundred million working people as 'the feverish movement of the petty bourgeoisie class' are entirely wrong." "The Plenary Meeting requests Party Committees at all levels to resolutely criticize and overcome this erroneous thinking of rightist-opportunism among certain cadres, to insist upon the principle of politics first, and fully mobilize the masses, to boost their spirit and try to accomplish- or even over-accomplish- this year's leap forward plan." Finally the Plenary Meeting called upon all Party members and the people of all races to unite and move forward by the light of the General Line, and under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party, headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung."

After the 8th Plenary Meeting, many of our national and Party leaders published articles, and a series of editorials was published in the People's Daily and Red Flag. These articles and editorials resolutely protected the General Line, the Great Leap Forward, and the People's Commune. They publicly pointed out the plot of rightist-opportunists' attacks as fallacious.

After the Plenary Meeting, at the request of the masses, the Party ousted the rightist-opportunists from their offices. No doubt this was a severe blow to foreign and domestic class enemies. The obstinate members of the landlord-capitalist class, however, were extremely sympathetic to these ousted rightist-opportunists. They expressed their deep feeling for them, called them their saviors, and hoped that their positions would be restored. Even though these rightist-opportunists had retreated in despair,

the landlord-capitalist class applauded them as heroes of uprightness, and made them "victorious heroes."

Our country suffered temporary economic difficulties between 1959-1961 because of severe natural calamities and destruction by modern revisionists. At this time the landlord-capitalist class expected to regain its position. The landlord-rich peasants expected to restore the feudal ancestral rule, and rushed to continue their family register and records. In certain places opportunists were very busy speculating and blowing up the "current of individualism." The rightist-opportunists within the Party who expected to redress their "grievances," blew up the "current of redressing historical cases."

It was in the midst of this excitement in the class struggle that Comrade Wu Han with his determination to see the struggle to the bitter end wrote "The Dismissal of Hai Shui." The central theme of "The Dismissal of Hai Shui" was fundamentally contrary to the spirit of the 8th Plenary Meeting of our Party. As to who Hai Shui was- to borrow the words of a commentator- "It was clear to any keen observer at first sight." "Hai Shui" was not a resurrected corpse. Comrade Wu Han sang through the mouth of Hai Shui: "Although I have lost my position, my good fame shall last forever." Through the plot of the play Comrade Wu presented the deepest feeling of the landlord-capitalist class toward those rightist-opportunists: "As I am leaving, a thousand strings pull my heart!" Finally it was loudly proclaimed, "Hai Shui shall return!" This play was to encourage rightist-opportunists to continue their struggle against our Party, and it attempted to create public opinion to support their activities in redressing their cases.

Besides, Comrade Wu Han also unfolded his anti-socialist activities in the realms of historical science and ethical concepts. In the realm of historical science he raised four black flags. They were: protecting the imperial nobility from criticism; protecting the system of feudal court historiography (which had the function to write the family/^{history} for the imperial nobility) from destruction; opposing the writing and accrediting of wars of peasant revolutions, and minimizing the historical function of the working people with the utmost effort; and opposing the commanding position of Marxism and the idea of Mao Tse-tung in the study of history, and advocating the absolute value of historical material. In his words: "If only one can have the true historical facts clearly presented, his conception will be self-evident." To his attacks upon the Marxist approach to the study of history and revolutions, Comrade Wu also sacrificed three "satras." The first was his "opposition to the 'leftist',"

which professed to overthrow anyone who criticized the imperial nobility and the limitations (as determined by social existence) of historical personalities and attempted to destroy the system of feudal court historiography. The second was his opposition to "un-historicism," which included those who criticize the imperial nobility and those who recognize the great historical function of the wars of peasant revolution. The third was opposition to "dogmatism" which denounced the stress of Marxism-Leninism and the idea of Mao Tse-tung as the guide to historical studies. In the realm of ethics, Comrade Wu Han promoted the ethics of the capitalist class, and declared them to be the only source of ethics for the proletariat; for otherwise, according to him, if the proletariat class refused to accept the ethics of the landlord-capitalist class, they could not "create them from nothing." In fact, Comrade Wu Han's theory was a "reaction" to our party's socialist revolution in the realms of historical science and ethical concepts since 1958. It was an effort to provide at the time restorative activities of the landlord capitalist class with a theoretical weapon and supporting public opinion.

Could this be a mere coincidence? No. This was an expression and a constituent part of the struggle between socialism and capitalism, between the capitalist class and the proletariat class, and between the way of socialism and the way of capitalism. What has been discussed above about Comrade Wu Han appeared in fact as the representative of a ~~anti~~-party, anti-socialist stand of the capitalist class, and of the tide of the latter's anti-Party, anti-socialist thought.

Comrade Wu Han's "Hai Shui Curses the Emperor" and "The Dismissal of Hai Shui" reflected the demands of the landlord-capitalist class and the inner sentiment of the rightist-opportunists. Furthermore, it was not an isolated phenomena in the world of thought. When Comrade Wu Han published "Hai Shui Curses the Emperor" on the eve of the Lu Shan Conference, an immediate response was the production of "Hai Shui Memorializes the Emperor." This was based on the spirit and theme of "Hai Shui Curses the Emperor." Many enthusiastic supporters emerged as soon as "Hai Shui Memorializes the Emperor" was performed. Could one not say that this was the tide of the anti-party, anti-socialist thought of the capitalist class in the world of thought which appeared when the landlord-capitalist class and the rightist-opportunists within the Party attacked the Party and socialism? If it was not, then was there a struggle between two ways of thinking within the world of thought? Where should we go to find

this struggle, and the representative works of capitalism expecting to restore its rule? As soon as Comrade Wu Han's "The Dismissal of Hai Shui" was performed, his comrades enthusiastically applauded it. "The Dismissal of Hai Shui" was followed by Tien Han's (3944 3352) "Hsieh Yao-huan" and Meng Ch'ao's "Li Hui-niang." Now everyone considered Tien Han's "Hsieh Yao-huan" and Meng Ch'ao's "Li Hui-niang" to be two great anti-Party, anti-socialist poisonous weeds and representatives of the tide of the social thought of restorative capitalism. They were initiated by Comrade Wu Han's "The Dismissal of Hai Shui." Why was this play not anti-Party and anti-socialist? We would like to ask: Is the method of class analysis applicable here? Dear comrades and friends! Don't be bewildered by Comrade Wu Han's clever excuses. Don't be deceived!

The technique of class analysis is the basic method of Marxism. One must not be bewildered by superficial phenomena in any subject, but must analyze its class substance in the light of the class struggle of the time. Class standing controls the action of men. Comrade Wu Han was controlled by the stand of the capitalist class. When class struggle intensified, he had to throw out his poisonous weeds- just as he said himself: these weeds were "bones in his throat" and he "had to write them out." 26

According to the foregoing analysis, we may affirm these points with certainty:

1. What Comrade Wu Han wrote in his "Self-Criticism concerning 'The Dismissal of Hai Shui'," such as he was "entirely being ancient for the sake of being ancient and playwriting for the sake of playwriting, and was separated from politics," and was "muddled" and had "forgotten class struggle" and so on, was totally false and deceptive. His head was "very clear." He was impeaching the present through the ancient and actively carrying on a class struggle against the proletariat, the Party, and the people.

2. In praising Hai Shui, Comrade Wu Han was actually praising rightist-opportunists and opposing the Party and socialism.

3. Ever since 1959 Comrade Wu Han has collaborated with the rightist-opportunists and has carried on a point-to-point struggle with our Party. He cursed when the rightist-opportunists cursed; and when they were ousted, he sang praise to their "being ousted but not submitting." At the same time he was creating public opinion for the restoration of the capitalist class in the realms of historical science and ethics. When we criticized him, he played foolish and tried to avoid politics while at the same time returning

attacks upon Comrade Yao Wen-yuan and others who criticized him. All this proves that Comrade Wu Han was consciously and purposely anti-Party and anti-socialism.

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Comrade Wu Han and other comrades who have defended him say: What do you think of our analysis? Is it right or wrong? If you can bring up your reasons and overcome us in debate, we shall submit. But if you remain silent, it would be disadvantageous to you, for public opinion will conclude that you have no reasons to present on your side and you tacitly submit.

A true revolutionary fears nothing. The revolutionary people can neither be scared nor created by any kind of devil, nor can they be cheated by an elegantly dressed magistrate, a beautified Hsieh Yao-huan, or the hideous-looking ghost of Li Hui-niang. ...

In history, there have often been hideous "heroes" who have blindly tried to stop the flood of a revolution, to disturb its flow, or change its direction. But they have caused no more than a few drops of surf, for the roaring waves of revolution have always swallowed them up with no exception.

Thousands of thunderclaps have broken the sky; the tireless East wind has swept the sky. The bright sun moves in as the rain and clouds are over, and a new page in the history of the people is opened.

FOOTNOTES

1. Ma-ko-ssu En-ko-ssu Ch'uuan Chi, Vol. 3, Jen-Ming Ch'u-pan-she, p. 16.
2. Peking Jih-pao, December 27, 1965.
3. "Kuan-yu Li-shih Chu ti I-hsieh Wen-ti," Peking Wen-pao, February 18, 1961.
4. "Li-shih ti Chen-shih yu I-shu ti Chen-shih," in Teng-shia Chi, pp. 141, 143.
5. "'Shih' ho 'Hsi'," Peking Wan-pao, March 17, 1961.
6. "Yeh Tan Li-shih Chu," Peking Wen-pao, March 17, 1961.
7. "K'an 'Hai Shui Pa-kuan' So Shiang-tao ti," Peking Jih-pao, March 11, 1961.
8. "Ping 'Hai Shui Pa-kuan'," Peking Wen-pi, No 3, 1961.
9. Han-jen, Shih, "Tui Pi-ping 'Hai Shui Pa-kuan' ti Chi-tien I-ti," Jen-ming Jih-pao, February 10, 1966.

10. See Jen-ming Jih-pao, June 16, 1959.
 11. See Yun-lung, Liang, "Hai Chung Chia Kung Hsing-chuang," in Hai Shui Chi, p. 540.
 12. Tang Chien, Kuo-chio, Vol. 64.
 13. See Hai Shui Chi, p. 222.
 14. Hsion-lei, Ting, "Hai Shui Hsang-shu' Wei Shui Hsiao-lao," Chiai-fang Jih-pao, February 12, 1966.
 15. Hai Shui Pa-kuan, Peking Chu-pan She, 1961.
- Hereafter quotations from Hai Shui Pa-kuan shall not be footnoted.
16. "K'an ' Hai Shui Pa-kuan' So Shiang-tao ti," Peking Jih-pao, March 11, 1961.
 17. "Yun-chien, Teng, " Ping" Hai Shui Pa-kuan'," Peking Wen-i, No. 3, 1961.
 18. Chu Lu-i, "Shiu Wei Kan Ts'ao Chi, Kan Tso Nan Pao Kung," Peking Wen-i, No. 3, 1961.
 19. "Tang Li-shih Chu," Wen Hui Pao, February 25, 1960.

* pa-i : When ^{an} offense was committed by any one of the eight categories of people, it had to be discussed by ministers and the decision was made by the emperor. The punishment for such an offender was lightened. The eight categories were: the relatives of the emperor; the old friends of the emperor; the virtuous officials (in accordance with the ethics of the landlord class); the able officials; the meritorious (having contributed to the rule of the imperial family); the important ministers who had responsibilities for national affairs; the nobility (members of the landlord class holding high ranking offices), according to Ming Law, any civilian or military officials of the third ranking or above it belonged to this group; descendants of the rulers of the previous dynasty. In short, all of these people belonged to the landlord, bureaucrat and nobility classes and they enjoyed special privileges before law.

20. Ming-lu Chi-chiai Fu-li, Vol. 1.
21. Ping-shih, Huang, " Hai Chung Chia Kung Chuan." See Hai Shui Chi, p. 567.
22. See " Kao Yang-ping shu," in Hai Shui Chi, p. 241.
23. See Wen Hui-pao, January 7, 1966.
24. " Kuan-yu Cheng-chio Ch'u-li Jen-ming Nei-pu mou-tun Wen-ti," in Mao Tse-tung Chu Tso Hsuan-tu, (ed. chia), Jen-ming Ch'u-pan she, 1964, p. 217.
25. See Hung-ch'i, No 17, 1959.
26. See Hsion-hsi Chi, p. 273.

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