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TRANSLATIONS FROM HUNG-CH'I (RED FLAG)

No. 6, 1966

- Communist China -

No. 26

(Commenting On Wu Han's T'ou-Ch'iang-Chi)

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COMMENTING ON WU HAN'S T'OU-CH'IAN-CHI *

Following is a translation of the article by Shih Shao-pin (0670 4801 6333) in the Chinese-language periodical Hung Ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No. 6, 1966

In June and July, 1959, while publishing the article: "Hai Jui (3189 3843) Cussing the Emperor," Wu Han also compiled for publication miscellaneous articles that he wrote in the forties.

Why did Wu Han bring out this old merchandise at the eve of the Lu-shan Conference and, moreover, designated it as T'ou-ch'iang-chi? In the "Foreword," he said: "At that time, that was the way we actually thought, said, and cussed and struggled. It is worthwhile to recall this period of history; as it is a valuable reference to the younger generation." In the article: "Hai Jui Cussing the Emperor", he praised Hai Jui for his brave spirit of daring "to cuss." In this article, he also introduced himself and urged others to "recall" and "to refer to" his own "glorious past" when he "cussed" and "waged a struggle." He also transformed the spirit of such "cussing" into a "lance," and then declared: "One should use a lance. What should I do? Instead of putting it aside, how about throwing it. If, by chance, it hits something, it will hurt..." Accordingly, he designated this book of miscellaneous articles as T'ou-ch'iang-chi.

We intend to closely observe to see what lances those miscellaneous articles were which Wu Han wrote in the forties. At whom did he aim the lances? What was his aim in 1959 when he brought them out again?

A POLITICAL HOAX

For a long time, Wu Han has been boasting about his so-called "revolutionary" history of the forties. This has been his principal political capital with which he has swaggered and swindled, and opposed the Party and the people.

*[Collection of Lances Thrown]

In fact, what he displayed as a "revolutionary" history was a complete fabrication!

Since the liberation, Wu Han has started to forge his history of the forties. In the wake of the gradual intensification of the socialist revolution, he has also gradually "upgraded" his fabricated history with a series of increasingly more mythical stories, in order to comply with his anti-Party and anti-socialist political requirements. By now, Wu Han has dressed himself up as a "hero" of the era of democratic revolution.

Let us arrange in chronological order Wu Han's fabrication of history:

In May 1949, there was an interesting passage in his article: "How I Progressed In My Study and Thinking" ¹.

"As a student at the Tsing-hua University, I locked myself in research for months and years. While I was teaching, since I disliked the corruption of the Kuomintang, I avoided any contact with politics and devoted myself to academic research. Arriving in Kunming in 1937, my attitude remained unchanged. After 1940, however, the Kuomintang was increasingly deteriorating, the battles in Hunan and Kwangsi were losing, and inflation became vicious. My livelihood also deteriorated daily, like that of many others. Consequently, instead of dislike of the Kuomintang, I began to hate it."

How well he put it. He began to "dislike" the Kuomintang in the thirties; and then graduated from "dislike" to "hate" in the forties.

In fact, however, Wu Han "devoted" himself "to academic research in the thirties" not as an expression of his "dislike of the Kuomintang," but rather as a faithful fulfillment of the reactionary line of "national salvation through science" which Hu Shih advocated to serve the Kuomintang. However, right after the liberation, Wu Han was not as daring as he later became in fabricating history. More or less, he disclosed certain true facts. For instance, the slight change in his attitude toward the Kuomintang occurred mainly after the Hunan-Kwangsi campaign, that is, after 1944. The reason was that his "livelihood also deteriorated daily." He could not continue to enjoy the difference from "many others," and was unable to "maintain comfort and superiority." At that time, he dared not overplay his "hatred" of the Kuomintang.

By January 1950, in the article: "I Overcame The 'Supra-class' Viewpoint," ² he advanced a large step and said: "In action, I have followed the progressive force for the last ten years, and have never cared about myself at a critical moment."

Since then he has presented himself as a revolutionary "hero" who never cared about himself." In the article he also shamelessly claimed that "I and I-to" this and that, and referred to himself and Wen I-to (5113 0001 1122) together, thus usurping the martyr for political capital.

In July 1959, Wu Han promoted himself further in the "Foreword" written for T'ou-ch'iang-chi, and arbitrarily squeezed himself into the rank of such revolutionary martyrs as Wen I-to and Li Kung-p'u (2621 0361 2883). He claimed that his articles written then hurt the Kuomintang; and stated "otherwise why would they slaughter Li Kung-p'u and Wen I-to?"

We would like to ask Wu Han: When Wen I-to and Li Kung-p'u gallantly sacrificed themselves in the resolute struggle against Kuomintang reactionaries, where were you and what did you do?

"Wen I-to rose to his full height and smote the table, angrily faced the Kuomintang pistols, and died rather than submit." 3.

What about you? Instead of remaining with Wen I-to as you were asked, you chose to leave by airplane for your own "bright future." Was this what you meant that you "never cared about myself at a critical moment?" This is the Wu Han who ranks himself with the revolutionary martyrs. Does he know shame!

By December 1965, in an effort to resist criticism and to counter-attack, Wu Han lied further in the article: "Self-criticism on 'Hai Jui's Dismissal'," 4. and openly described himself as "educated and trained by the Party for over 20 years, and thus standing firmly in the political class." As such, a scoundrel engaged in political speculation suddenly shook himself to become a dedicated proletarian revolutionary hero who stood fast for over 20 years!

In the afore-mentioned record of a fabrication of history, the most outstanding fact was that Wu Han simultaneously published T'ou-ch'iang-chi and the article: "Hai Jui Cussing the Emperor" in 1959. The reactionary bourgeois viewpoint prevailed in the scores of miscellaneous articles collected in T'ou-ch'iang-chi. Wu Han intended precisely to use these bourgeois articles to coordinate the offensive launched by the rightist-inclined opportunists, and to throw them against socialism. However, by presenting the original features of these articles, he would have exposed his well camouflaged progressive mask. In order "to throw the lance" and also to cover up his past, Wu Han carefully thought for "over a month" and skillfully fabricated a political hoax.

As part of the hoax, Wu Han said: "A review of these articles shows that they are aimed mainly at the Kuomintang." By saying so, he attempted to ease the suspicion and to cover the true nature of the articles. To tell the truth, his intention was to use the words he employed to denounce the Kuomintang to cuss the Communist Party and the proletarian dictatorship.

As another part of the hoax, Wu Han stated: "Under the circumstances then, it was necessary to refer to the Kuomintang and the Communist Party simultaneously in the articles. Although the expressions used and the central viewpoints advanced differed this was the only way that they could be referred to in writing; otherwise it would have been impossible to publish the articles." Since there were anti-communist expressions clearly written in the book, it was impossible to avoid all suspicion. Wu Han, therefore, blamed "the circumstances then." In other words, it was necessary to "refer to the Kuomintang and the Communist Party simultaneously." To cuss the Communist Party was "the only way" that it could be referred to in writing; otherwise, it would have been impossible to publish the articles." In order to denounce the Kuomintang, the Communist Party was used as the sacrifice! The circumstances were responsible, and he was not! By such a trick, Wu Han openly brought out anew the words that he used then to cuss the Communist Party. What is this, if he is not opposed to the Party and socialism?

As still another part of the hoax, Wu Han explained: "The articles collected here, besides the slight revision in wording at some places, such as the term "Man Ching" invariably changed to read "Ching Dynasty," are virtually unchanged." Wu Han solemnly declared that these articles are "virtually unchanged" and "it would be cheating to replace the view of over ten years ago with that of today." This, he continues, "would be unnecessary." This was his last move and the trick of a political swindler. To him, such a statement would preclude any thought that a "scholar" who respects "historic facts" would "cheat" and would strike out from articles a heap of reactionary things not to be shown to the public.

A comparison between the originally published articles and those in T'ou-ch'iang'chi as published in 1959 reveals considerable revision and deletion of many overt anti-communist and anti-revolutionary things, not just merely such slight revision as changing "Man Ching" to read "Ching Dynasty." Nor were the articles "virtually unchanged." How Wu Han really usurped the original articles was a feat of considerable skill and interest. We devote some space for a comparison as an appendix to this article to provide "a strange article for public appreciation."

It is, after all, difficult to sustain a hoax and to cover facts with lies. In the following we shall uncover the camouflage of T'ou-chaing-chi to observe the original features of Wu Han.

WU HAN PRESENTED THREE "PUBLIC ORDER RECOMMENDATIONS" TO KUOMINTANG

It was not accidental that T'ou-ch'iang-chi did not include articles written before 1943. Wu Han himself admitted that prior to 1943 he was content with the Kuomintang, having neither "anger nor complaint." There was nothing he could offer as "cussing the Kuomintang." How Wu Han changed from contentment to cussing and what the nature of the "cussing" was were clearly shown in the three articles: "On Scholars," "On Corruption," and "The Historic Lesson of 300 Years Ago," written in 1943 and 1944.

In 1943, Wu Han published the article: "On Corruption" in the Yunan Jih-pao, an official newspaper of the Kuomintang. If we compared this article and the "Public Order Recommendation" of Hai Jui "Cussing" the Emperor, written by Wu Han in 1959, we would have discovered a very significant "coincidence."

In the "Public Order Recommendation," Hai Jui described the then "disorder" as: "the generals are weak and the officials corrupt; the people suffer from poverty; flood and drought are frequent; and thieves and robbers are rampant." Wu Han, on the other hand, described the then "domestic disorder" as: "orders issued by many agencies, redundant organizational structure, rampant thieves and robbers, and floods and droughts;" and "corruption as a most common and deep-rooted phenomenon."

Hai Jui explained to Emperor Chia-ching that his "Public Order Recommendation" aimed at "seeking peace and order for 10,000 generations" under the Ming Dynasty. Wu Han, meanwhile, explained to the Chiang Kai-shek clique that he wrote "On Corruption" in order to "look at old records to observe the reasons leading to the overthrow of many dynasties; to seek remedies for the current conditions, and in order to offer some

contributions to the great cause of resisting aggression and building up the nation." In other words, he meant to help Chiang Kai-shek in summing up the experience and teaching of control, so that Chiang might avoid being "overthrown."

To be sure, Hai Jui was a feudal bureaucrat 400 years ago. His proposal to Emperor Chia-ching was meant only to "rectify the way of the lord and to clarify the duties of ministers," or, in other words, to uphold the rule of feudalism. In the modern period, the blueprint which Wu Han offered to Chiang Kai-shek to solve social problems was "to liberate 'men' from the family shackles...to change the social organization based on families to that based on individuals." In other words, Wu Han hoped that Chiang Kai-shek would improve domestic affairs, and would carry out certain capitalist reforms, in order that the Chiang dynasty would have "peace and order for 10,000 generations," while he could "crawl under the table to await a bone at which to gnaw." This is a modern day Hai Jui bent on "rectifying the way of the lord and clarifying the duties of ministers."

In the article: "On Scholars," Wu Han drew upon "historic facts," reaching back to the Chung-chiu period as well as modern times to explain the important functions of "scholars" (intellectuals) to the ruling class. He stated that the scholars constituted "the only motivating force to maintain power for the upper-level nobility class; and that unless the kings, nobility and officials could win the support of the scholars, not only would their political regimes collapse, but also they would not be able even to protect themselves and their families. He represented some bourgeois intellectuals who sought advancement in the Chiang dynasty, and consequently appealed to the Chiang Kai-shek clique, the then "upper-level nobility class," that they must "improve the social status of scholars." He emphasized: "this is a goal which the whole country should strive to reach in the future." That was the second "Public Order Recommendation" submitted by Wu Han to Chiang Kai-shek.

The dictator, Chiang Kai-shek, however, had no use for even a small piece of "democratic cloth," and did not appreciate the "Public Order Recommendation," from Wu Han. Wu Han's material livelihood, meanwhile, continued to decline, while his professor's "social status was lost," placing him on a level without much difference from "ordinary people." So, Wu Han began to cuss.

However, Wu Han did not give up. Whenever there was an opportunity, he would offer policy recommendations to Chiang Kai-shek in the hope of gaining recognition. In 1944, he submitted his "Public Order Recommendation" for the third time, and brought out his "Historic Teaching of 300 Years Ago" in Cheng-i-pao, another Kuomintang official newspaper.

That article started by saying that "history is a mirror, with many events which occurred 300 years ago available for our reference." In conclusion, it repeated: "After 300 years, we can still draw many lessons from those events." Wu Han repeatedly emphasized this point, lest Chiang Kai-shek ignore the "realistic" significance of that article.

How did Wu Han use "history as a satire for reality?"

He used an analysis of the situation at the end of the Ming Dynasty to reflect the reality then. "Part of the territory was controlled by bandits, while another part trampled by foreigners." To emphasize the hint, he repeatedly pointed out that "bandits are rampant in Shansi and Shensi," and "bandits are moving freely in Shansi and Honan," and so forth. Obviously, Wu Han stood on Chiang Kai-shek's anti-communist and anti-people ground, equated the resist-Japanese bases led by the Communist Party and the areas occupied by Japanese imperialists, and claimed that the national territory was lost to "bandits" and foreigners. What was the most important "historic lesson" which he urged Chiang Kai-shek to accept? It was that "Tso Liang-yu, (1563 5328 3768) who controlled tens of thousands of troops in the upper reaches of the Yangtze River, remained static...he went all out to expand the number of his troops instead of striving to eliminate the bandits." He urged Chiang Kai-shek to direct those Tso Liang-yu's to go all out "to annihilate" the Eight Route Army and the New Fourth Army whom Wu Han chose to call the "bandits." The three "Public Order Recommendations" of "On Scholars," "On Corruption," and "The Historic Lesson of 300 Years Ago," represented a concentrated reflection of the then political stand of Wu Han. An old friend of Wu Han, Mr. Chou Yu-tung (0719 0056 0681), described Wu Han as an "honest bureaucrat." This was reasonable, for he truly understood Wu Han, who was truthfully an "honest bureaucrat" of Chiang Kai-shek.

FRANTIC ADVOCATE OF THE THIRD ROAD

In 1950, Wu Han boasted in the article: "I Overcame the 'Supra-Class' Viewpoint" that as early as in the later stage of the War Resisting Japanese Aggression he realized that "the Communist Party is right, good, and the salvation of China; and that only the Communist Party can save China." This was saying that he had then already accepted the political proposals of the Chinese Communist Party.

In T'ou-ch'iang Chi, there was the article: "On Neutrality" which he wrote in August 1946. Five times in the article he mentioned: "There is no middle road!" "there is no middle road;" "will never stand in the middle;" "there is absolutely no middle road;" and "there is no such term as the middle road."

You see, the Wu Han then was revolutionary, progressive, resolute, and supporting the political line of the Chinese Communist Political Party; as he also hated the middle road line to the point that he wanted to eliminate even the term itself.

Beware of being misled, for this is an outright lie!

The Wu Han then was the most frantic advocate of the third road, that is, the middle road line. It was precisely he who called himself a neither Kuomintang nor Communist Party, but a "middle group" representing over 90 per cent of the population. He advocated the middle road, and opposed the general line for democratic revolution as proposed by the Chinese Communist Party.

The afore-mentioned opposition to the middle road in five places were all his "fabrication," stealthily added in 1959 after the liberation. This was truly a case of a thief calling on others to catch a thief.

As early as in 1943, in his first "Public Order Recommendation to Chiang Kai-shek," that is, in the article "On Corruption," he had advanced the most fundamental political proposal: "to change the social organization based on families to that based on individuals," that is, to change the feudal society to a capitalist society. To build up a nation of bourgeois dictatorship--or, say, a nation of bourgeois democracy--is in effect to consolidate the reactionary control over the semi-feudal and semi-colonial old China. This has been the ideal consistently pursued by Wu Han for over 20 years. This is diametrically opposed to the political proposal of the Chinese Communist Party.

After the victory of the War Resisting Japanese Aggression, there were two paths open to the Chinese people: one was to build up a new democratic nation of the masses led by the proletariat, and the other to build up a semi-colonial and semi-feudal nation under the dictatorship of large landlords and bourgeoisie. The decisive battle between the two futures and the two destinies was launched. Under the circumstances, Wu Han and the others of his like became the tools of U.S. imperialism. They vainly hoped to become "middle-of-the-road negotiators," and "the force of relative balance," and engaged in political speculation for their own profits during this political struggle.

Upon the signing of the old political consultative agreement, Wu Han was delirious and commented that "the dawn appears in the sky of the Far East and a new China is born." He thought that since the Kuomintang had "recognized" the lawful positions of all political parties it would be possible henceforth "to win the confidence of the people by doctrines on the basis of equality and to progress in a normal path of multi-party politics." Wu Han intended to use his U.S. merchandise to compete against the Communist party "on the basis of equality."

The artillery sound of Chiang Kai-shek launching an all-out civil war deprived Wu Han of his opportunity to become "middle-of-the-road negotiators." He, therefore, advocated building up a "new basis." What was his "new basis?" According to him, it was "above the interest of parties," and "represented the interests of the broad masses;" or, it was above the interests of both the Kuomintang and the Communist Party. Its backbone was the "middle class" which accounted for over 90 per cent (?) of the population, with such an "outstanding democratic fighter" as Wu Han as their representative. Wu Han declared that it was "the guidance for the future of China." He meant to say that the Chinese Communist Party did not represent the interest of the broad masses and could not lead the Chinese revolution; and that only the so-called "outstanding democratic fighters," such as Wu Han and his like could provide "the guidance for the future of China, and stand completely on the ground of the people." Accordingly, he frantically clamored that "this force itself is the balance which determines and carries out everything." See how wanton Wu Han had become in advocating the third road, the middle road, and for building up the middle force. In merely three years later, Wu Han dared to claim that in 1950 he had long realized that "only the Communist Party can save China." This audacity to lie is truly alarming!

The third road is in fact the road of dictatorship exercised by the compradore bourgeoisie. The Chinese bourgeoisie is feeble and incapable to hoodwink the people. In order to promote this road, they must call for reinforcement from the West and propagate the English and American-styled "democracy." Wu Han does the same.

Wu Han has said a great deal to promote the bourgeois democracy of the West. Here we give one example to illustrate his thinking.

In July 1946, in the article: "On Rule by Law," he advocated learning the American "example" of "democracy." He stated: "taking the realistic politics of the United States and the United Kingdom as the criteria, the late President Roosevelt was the President consecutively four times. He was elected by public by lawful method each time. The Party led by the late President Roosevelt was the party in power. With their political platform and policies, especially the achievements during their previous administration, they bid for the vote of the people in competition with another political party. The result was that the voters eventually elected them. Mr. Roosevelt and his party won the election and assumed power, and they continued their power for many years. ...Yes, we must learn the democratic way of the American people. The American government is the lawful government recognized by all mankind throughout the world, because this government is elected by the American people." 5.

Wu Han respects with obeisance American "democracy," completely ignores the class essence of the American monopolistic bourgeois dictatorship, and describes it as an "all-people country." Comrade Mao Tse-tung had said long ago: "There is also 'democracy' in the United States. But unfortunately it is only another name for the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie by itself." 6. Whether it was Roosevelt, Eisenhower, or Kennedy, or whether it is Johnson, they are badgers from the same mound, and they all serve as tools of the monopolistic bourgeois dictatorship against the people.

What Wu Han proposed as the path of bourgeois dictatorship is antagonistic to the general line for new democratic revolution proposed by the Chinese Communist Party.

What he referred to as the third road meets fully with the need of U.S. imperialism. Like his benevolent mentor Hu Shih, Wu Han is a genuine foreign lackey.

In January 1946, while U.S. imperialism was exerting considerable effort to transport and equip Kuomintang troops, and to help Chiang Kai-shek in the large-scale civil war, Wu Han and Pan Kuang-tan, Fei Hsiao-tung, and the others jointly wrote a letter to the U.S. presidential special envoy Marshall, shamelessly saying: "With shame and remorse, we welcome you. The Chinese people are well aware that they are responsible for the cause of the civil war... We...have appealed for peace and cessation of the civil war to both the armed camps. ...we are ashamed that we cannot take care of our domestic affairs, thus imposing upon our good friends. However, we will never forget your great contributions to Chinese history." "We do not defend the armed Communist Party, as we also oppose any political party possessing arms."

"We hope that our foreign friends, for the sake of world peace, will not only dissuade the Kuomintang and the Communist Party from fighting, but also will effectively offer political and economic assistance for building up democracy."

"We are not only grateful for, but also have confidence in your service, ...wishing you success in your great deed which will be a part of history and will be long remembered by our succeeding generations."

Although Wu Han did not dare to include in T'ou Ch'iang-chi this extremely shameless and reactionary letter of national stigma to our people, nevertheless, his essence of a foreign lackey was likewise fully exposed in his book.

In the original article of "Advice to General Hurley" included in T'ou Ch'iang-chi, he openly praised as "democratic fighters" the U.S. aggressive troops who rode roughshod in Chinese territory and owed many blood debts to the Chinese people.

In June 1946, in an attempt to ingratiate himself with U.S. imperialism, Wu Han shamelessly declared: "Only a peaceful, democratic, and prosperous China can become the market needed by the United States." In August of the same year, he again suggested to U.S. imperialism that they should, in the course of their aggression against China, wave the olive branch, and dole out more relief flour. He claimed: "A sincere friendship, mutual respect, and cooperation based on the common interest of the two peoples constitute the best foundation to maintain an open door in China....The door of China will always remain open to a true friend." 7.

In 1947, Comrade Mao Tse-tung had pointed out: "In Chiang Kai-shek's areas, there are a small number of people among the upper petty bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie, the right wing of these classes, who have reactionary political tendencies, spread illusions about U.S. imperialism and the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek clique and opposed the people's democratic revolution." 8. Wu Han is precisely such a right wing element of bourgeoisie who is anti-communist, anti-people, counterrevolutionary, and devoted wholeheartedly to serving U.S. imperialism.

AN ANTI-COMMUNIST OLD HAND

Wu Han not only learned from Hu Shih his study method and academic line, but also carried on his anti-communist and anti-people political thinking.

In 1934, while the Red Army began the long march, and as Hu Shih was recommending Wu Han as an example to youths through newspapers, Wu Han wrote "The Social Background of 'Bandits' in the Late Ming Dynasty," suggesting to the Chiang Kai-shek clique the policy of pacification to supplement suppression of the Red Army, which was the revolting peasant troops led by the proletariat.

In 1943, Chiang Kai-shek published Destiny of China, clamored for annihilation of the Communist Party within two years, launched the third anti-communist upsurge, and prepared to attack the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia border region. At that time, Wu Han wrote "Ming Tai-chu." (also called "From Monk to Emperor," in the first edition of "Biography of Chu

Yuan-chang.") Introducing to Chiang Kai-shek the "experience" of Chu Yuang-chang's reactionary control, Wu Han called for: "banning all religious sects." He stated: "facts later proved the foresight of Ming Tai-chu." As the remnants of the Red Army were not completely annihilated in the northwest, they began to rise after 40 years, ...although they were suppressed by force by the government, the relations between religion and politics at that time were obvious." In the past, Hai Jui submitted the "Ping-Li Recommendation" to the Emperor, in an attempt to annihilate the then revolutionary force. The modern Wu Han wrote "Ming Tai-chu," which in fact was a new "Ping-Li Recommendation" to Chiang Kai-shek, in the vain attempt to annihilate the revolutionary force of the people.

At the early stage of the Liberation War, a fundamental question of principle then involved who was the culprit responsible for launching the civil war. The testing stone revealed whether one was revolutionary or counterrevolutionary, truly revolutionary or falsely revolutionary, genuinely opposing Chiang or pretending to oppose Chiang, and supporting or opposing the Communist Party. How did Wu Han, who claimed to be "opposing Chiang," answer this question?

He said: "The crux in the current military situation is that the Kuomintang wants the Communist Party to withdraw from certain areas. The Communist Party concedes that troops may be withdrawn from certain areas, but the political structure must remain. The Kuomintang, however, demands complete withdrawal. Since neither side will compromise, combat seems inevitable." In other words, if the civil war breaks out, while the Kuomintang will be responsible, the Communist Party must also share the blame. If the Communist Party concedes, the civil war can be avoided, as it will be impossible to clap with only one hand.

This Wu Han, who represents only a bevy of the bourgeois right wing, vainly designated himself as a representative of the "people," and opposed the people's revolutionary war. He wrote: "The people are not interested in squabbles between parties, and are opposed to resorting to force to settle Party disputes." He agitated: "The people should withhold their support to the civil war, ...all people should passively resist the civil war." He openly called: "In this vast good land, all soldiers should lay down their arms. In one moment, the Republic of China will embark upon the great road of glory and peace!"

As Chiang Kai-shek is the arch criminal who launched the civil war, all opposition to the civil war must be directed to Chiang Kai-shek. When Chiang Kai-shek launched an offensive against the liberated areas, the troops and people of the liberated areas rose in their revolutionary war of self-defense, anyone who stood on the side of the Chinese people must fully support the people's revolutionary war. Wu Han, however, wanted "all soldiers to lay down their arms," and said that "all people should passively resist the civil war." This, in fact, was to demand that the people should lay down their arms and surrender in the face of the offensive launched by the reactionaries. Was this not an accomplice of the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries?

Wu Han also vigorously disrupted the anti-Chiang revolutionary mass movement of the people in the Chiang-controlled areas, by direct policy recommendations to Chiang Kai-shek.

In June 1946, five days prior to the demonstration of 100,000 Shanghai people against Chiang Kai-shek, Wu Han published in the Shanghai Chou Pao an article, saying: "If an appeal through a declaration in the form of an open telegram... can stop the civil war; if a parade or demonstration can stop the civil war, ...then the many parades and demonstrations in the past ...would have stopped the civil war long ago." He also said: "A shout here, a jump there, a stroke of the pen, and a movement of the tongue would not be enough," as he also attempted to use his so-called "long-term," "constructive," and other empty slogans to undermine the fighting spirit of the people and to disintegrate the anti-Chiang movement of the masses. In his attempt to oppose the "January 29th" movement, Wu Shih claimed: "In this crisis, all high sounding slogans are useless, as even an opportune protest would be only a temporary measure." ¹⁰ At that time, Wu Han faithfully carried out Hu Shih's reactionary line. He now again, in order to serve Chiang Kai-shek, brought these out to poison the masses.

In August 1946, in the article: "What to Do," he called on Chiang Kai-shek to dispense small favors and to do "some good things," to hoodwink the people, in an attempt to save their shaky control. He wrote: "As one of the people, I advise the Kuomintang authorities to take advantage of their position today to do some good things. They should do this immediately and talk about it later. It would be better if they act now without talk. The hunger and the thirst are easily satisfied. It will not take much to satisfy the people... I can guarantee, as the people can also guarantee, that so long as you can do all this, and do this completely, the people will stand on your side." ¹¹

Deeply troubled, Wu Han thought about "the future" of the Kuomintang and said that "the only consequence of a civil war is ... creating a stronger Communist Party and a weakened Kuomintang, as an undesirable result." ¹² He also wrote: "The war should cease!" "Only such is the happiness of the Chinese people and that of the Kuomintang." ¹³

These materials are adequate to illustrate that Wu Han's so-called opposition to the civil war was his fear that the Communist Party would become stronger and the Kuomintang weaker through fighting. What he was most afraid of was the victory of the Communist Party.

Today, Wu Han would defend himself by saying that he went to the liberated area in 1948.

The question was not whether one had been to the liberated area. Many persons who had thoughts of democratic individualism have gradually recognized the reactionary nature of U.S. imperialism and the Kuomintang reactionaries in the wake of the people's revolutionary war, as they have also changed their views regarding the Chinese Communist Party. The people have always welcomed their progress. Wu Han, however, was completely different from these persons. He was a speculative politician skillful in observing the change of the wind to chart his course. During the second half of 1948, when the complete victory of the people's liberation war was in sight, he colluded with Lo Lung-shi, in an attempt at political speculation as a democratic person, to bargain with our Party. Although he reached a liberated area, nevertheless, he never abandoned his bourgeois political ambitions. This man who

claimed to be a representative of the "middle class" representing more than 90 per cent of the population never willingly accepted the leadership of the Communist Party. After he entered the liberated area and saw such slogans as "Long Live Chairman Mao," he was uneasy and felt it unnecessary to have such things as "Long Live."¹⁴ It was such a rebellious person as Wu Han who sneaked into the revolutionary camp.

Not long after Wu Han entered the liberated area, Comrade Mao Tse-tung in his New Year Message for 1949: "Carry the Revolution Through to the End." pointed out that following the nation-wide victory of the liberation war, Chinese reactionaries and American aggressors are placing more and more importance each day on political struggle. They "are scheming to use certain persons who have connections both with them and with the reactionary camp, inciting and instigating these persons to work artfully, strive to infiltrate the revolutionary camp and form a so-called opposition faction within it. The purpose is to preserve the reactionary forces and undermine the revolutionary forces. ...many people do not yet see this situation clearly, but it probably will not be long before they do."¹⁵ By the end of the fifties and early sixties, Wu Han eventually exposed to the public his true features of an anti-communist old hand opposed to the Party and socialism, thus once again proving the brilliant foresight of Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

ANTI-PARTY AND ANTI-SOCIALIST PLATFORM

In 1959 an anti-communist, anti-people, and counterrevolutionary black lance was suddenly thrown anew to serve the Kuomintang reactionaries and the third road directed by U.S. imperialism. Why was this "old lance thrown anew?"

It is necessary to observe this question in the background of the then class struggle.

The summer of 1959 was the time of the acute struggle in our country between the socialist revolution and the capitalist comeback. In accordance with the guidance of the Party, the revolutionary masses held high the great red flag of the general line, upheld the great leap forward, supported the people's commune, and resolutely took to the socialist path. The great revolutionary initiative of the masses frightened all reactionary forces opposed to the socialist revolution. The rightist-inclined opportunists, that is, the revisionists, who represented the forces for a capitalist comeback, took advantage of our difficulties imposed by natural disasters and some of our defects in progress, and wantonly attacked the Party. In this offensive, Wu Han, who had hidden himself in the people's revolutionary camp, anxiously came forward as the vanguard to oppose the Party and socialism. The article "Hai Jui Cussing the Emperor" published in June 1959 and the article "Hai Jui's Dismissal" published in January 1961 represented two stages of Wu Han's anti-party and anti-people activities. T'ou-ch'iang-chi was published after "Hai Jui Cussing the Emperor" and before "Hai Jui's Dismissal." It was not accidental that Wu Han hurried in preparing for publication his old works during the tense period between the two articles.

If the article "Hai Jui Cussing the Emperor" was cheering the rightist-inclined opportunists in their wanton attack against the Party, then the article "Hai Jui's Dismissal" was meant to reverse the decision made upon the rightist-inclined opportunists who were "dismissed" by the people, encouraging these elements to rise again. By publishing T'ou-ch'iang'chi between these two poisonous weeds, Wu Han utilized his miscellaneous articles written in the forties to offer the rightist-inclined opportunists a reactionary platform for a capitalist comeback. Using the history of the forties as a smoke screen, he threw a vicious black lance at the Party.

On 6 July 1959, Wu Han said in the "Foreword" written for T'ou-ch'iang-chi: "My articles always have an aim." In other words, he published T'ou-ch'iang-chi also with an aim in mind.

What is this "aim?" It is the Party leadership, the socialist system, and the proletarian dictatorship.

Let's look at the "lance" of the book:

"Compared to the past, 'the family kingdom' has changed to become 'party government! The government belongs to one person and one party; and all wealth, honor, and power belong to one person and one party.'" 16.

"We cannot fail to point out, particularly, that the people call for abolishing one party dictatorship." "The Party should be separated from the government, and from the State. The signboard of ruling the country through the Party should be withdrawn, ...not only withdrawn from the government at all levels, but also from factories, schools, railroads, post offices, banks, and all State organizations." "We should return the power to the people, and the political party should not directly control the people." 17.

"What you like as the one party dictatorship, ...we also hate. In your viewpoint that 'what the people don't like, you also don't like; our people 'are what the government dislikes.' Is it not obvious that the government and the people are opposed to each other on this ground?" 18.

As everybody knows, in the question of State and revolution, it is a struggle between one class and another, and the dictatorship exercised by one class over the other. It is either the people who exercise dictatorship over the reactionaries, or the reactionaries who exercise dictatorship over the people, without any middle road. Even in the forties these words of Wu Han represented the hypocritical bourgeois democratic politics of the United States. In 1959, Wu Han published anew these things without any criticism and explanation, in an attempt to use them as weapons against the Party, socialism, and proletarian dictatorship, and as the reactionary platform for a capitalist comeback.

To use Wu Han's words, this is called "pointing to the mulberry and reviling the locust tree."

Wu Han even brought out without any change what he used in the past for direct cussing of the Communist Party. Among these were: "The people suffered, and it is bad to incur the displeasure of the people;" that "war-like elements," and that the Communist Party does not represent the people's interest, and stands only for "the Party interest." All these extremely reactionary things have been brought out anew. In this

respect, Wu Han has fully exposed his anti-communist, anti-people, and anti-revolutionary countenance.

In this connection one can also see the standpoint of those who protect Wu Han.

The goal of Wu Han's attack of the Party, socialism, and the proletarian dictatorship is to overthrow the people's state led by the Party, in an attempt to practice the capitalist system in China and to build up a nation under bourgeois dictatorship.

He openly called upon others to bring about in China the capitalist political system and to strive for a "free world." He overtly called upon others to follow the American path.

"We should build up a true democratic politics and a free world." 19.

"We should learn from the American people (attention: the term people is false) their democratic way. The American government is a lawful government publicly recognized throughout the world, because this government is elected by the American people." 20.

"What the people in some European and American countries are now enjoying are what we are striving for today, such as freedom of thought, speech, body, publication, and travel; such as the right to vote, and parliamentary government." 21.

These are the things Wu Han intends to strive for. What are those who protect Wu Han aiming at?

Using the political miscellaneous articles of the forties, he advocated a reactionary political platform to abolish the proletarian dictatorship and to restore capitalism. This was the reason that Wu Han hurriedly brought out his T'ou-ch'iang-chi at the time when the rightist-inclined opportunists, or the revisionists, were wantonly attacking the Party. This was a mean political conspiracy.

The reactionaries are always erroneously underestimating the situation. They always overestimate their own strength, and underestimate the strength of the Party and the people. Wu Han is not an exception. In the summer of 1959, a few patches of dark cloud appeared in the sky over China. He thought that the opportunity had come, hurriedly brought out his rotten black lance, and frantically clamored for the capitalist system with his gibberish words. He never thought that events would develop to the contrary. This black lance eventually hit himself. It was precisely this black lance which pierced through his camouflage of a "democratic fighter," and exposed his black heart, which is toadying the United States and hostile to the communists.

The poisonous weeds are not to be feared, for they can be plowed to fertilize the field. We solemnly recommend Wu Han's T'ou-ch'iang-chi to all. We hope that others, especially the younger generation, will carefully and patiently read this book to see how an anti-communist intellectual, who sneaked into the revolutionary camp, has been waging a struggle against us. This is an unusual teaching through negative example. By way of reading it, we can increase our knowledge, and improve our skill to wage a struggle against the class enemies.

1. China Youth, 8th issue, 1949
2. China Youth, 32nd issue, 1950
3. "Farewell, Leighton Stuart!" Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung,
Vol. IV, People's Publishing House, 1960 edition, p.1499.
4. Peking Jih-pao, 27 December 1965
5. T'ou-ch'iang-chi, pp. 195-196, deleting "all mankind."
6. "Farewell, Leighton Stuart!" Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung,
Vol. IV, p.1499
7. T'ou-ch'iang-chi, p.229
8. "The Present Situation And Our Task," Selected Works of Mao
Tse-tung, Vol. IV, p.1254
9. "On the Anti-Civil War Campaign," Shanghai Chou Pao, 42nd issue,
1946
10. "Advice To The Student Movement," Tou-Li Ping-lun, 182nd issue,
1935
11. Shanghai Chou Pao, 49th and 50th issues, 1946
12. Shanghai Chou Pao, 42nd issue
13. Shanghai Chou Pao, 43rd issue
14. "How Did I Progress In Study And Thinking?" China Youth, 8th
issue
15. Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Vol. IV, p.1379
16. "War Must Cease for Relief of Natural Calamity," T'ou-ch'iang-chi,
p.117
17. "On Expanding Governmental Organization," T'ou-ch'iang-chi,
pp.87, 89, 90
18. "Ignore Old Accounts and Coalition Government," T'ou-ch'iang-chi,
p.84
19. "Newspaper and Public Opinion," T'ou-ch'iang-chi, p.34
20. "On Rule By Law," T'ou-ch'iang-chi, p.196
21. "On Democratic Politics," Min-chu Chou-kan [Democratic Weekly],
(North China edition), 12th issue, 16 October 1946

APPENDIX

HOW DID WU HAN "CHEAT" IN COMPILING T'OU-CH'IANG-CHI IN 1959

In the foreword of T'ou-ch'iang-chi, Wu Han stated: "All the articles collected here, besides slight changes in wording in some places--such as Man Ching invariably changed to read Ching Dynasty--are virtually unchanged." "Why bother to cheat!" "It would be difficult to change anything, ...it would be impossible to change the central theme of an entire article." In short, there is no change. "T'ou-ch'iang-chi is published with its original features."

These words of Wu Han are both correct and incorrect. In some, Wu Han actually never made changes, would not change, and has persisted until this day. This is his anti-communist, anti-people, and counter-revolutionary reactionary bourgeois stand. We said that his words are incorrect because Wu Han was lying. In order to sell his bourgeois goods, and to engage in the criminal plot of opposing the Party and socialism, Wu Han cheated in compiling T'ou-ch'iang-chi, and made significant changes. There is a great deal of material regarding what is changed, what is not changed, and how it is changed. We have selected part of this and offer a comparison chart, with some notes added for the benefit of readers.

ORIGINAL: "The fundamental method for uprooting corruption is to liberate 'man' from the family shackles. Upon independence of the individual livelihood, everyone exist for work, without any dependence of man upon man. The social organization based upon families is changed into that based on individuals,..." (Source: "On Corruption," 14 November 1943, Yunnan, Jih-pao; "Mirror of History," Sheng-huo Book Store, 1946 edition, p.15.)

T'OU-CH'IANG-CHI ARTICLE: "The fundamental method for uprooting corruption is to liberate 'man' from the family shackles. Upon independence of the individual livelihood, everyone exists for work, and those who do not work will not earn their living, without any dependence of man upon man. The social organization based upon families is changed into that based on individuals. The social organization depending upon the family heads for livelihood consumption will be changed to that depending upon the work of everyone in production,..." (Source: T'ou-ch'iang-chi, p.6)

NOTE: The original aim was very clear: to build up a capitalist society. Upon revision, the capitalist merchandise remain, with some socialist terms added to confuse its appearance. He did not realize that the revision precisely exposed his practice today of displaying the socialist banner while continuing his sale of capitalist goods.

ORIGINAL: "Three hundred years ago, after Ming Su-tsung died for the country, Li Tze-ch'eng went west; and the Ching used Wu San-kuei's guidance to occupy Peiping and to send troops southward. In the small Nanking Court, the leader Hung-kuang Emperor was pretending peace, ...day and night. His father met with sudden death; his wife was lost; the Emperor died for the country; and the national territory was lost partly to the bandits and partly through trampling by foreign troops, ..."

"Three hundred years ago, at the eve of the fall of the small Nanking Court, the Ching troops moved closer to the northern bank of the river, the bandits were rampant in Shansi and Shensi, the people were poor and their finances exhausted, in a period replete with domestic and foreign problems. ..."

"Three hundred years ago, when foreign troops were riding roughshod, the main bodies of the 'bandits' moved freely in Shansi and Honan, the country was divided and the people scattered. At that time of extreme difficulties, Tso Liang-yu, who controlled tens of thousands of troops in the upper reaches of the Yangtze river, chose to hold back his troops from action, and to observe the upheaval from the side. He saw through the political confusion, intended to preserve his strength, bribed the authorities, and confidently awaited promotion, advancement, and assurance of security for his family. Harboring such a view, he refused to go all-out to annihilate the 'bandits,' but directed his effort to expanding the troops. The government depended upon him to deal with the 'bandits,' and would not dispatch him to face the foreign enemies."

(Source: "Historic Lesson of 300 Years Ago," 1944, Kunming Cheng-i-pao, Hsin-lun-heng Weekly, 9th issue. "The Mirror of History," pp.99-101)

T'OU-CH'IAN-CHI ARTICLE: "Three hundred years ago, after Ming Su-tsung committed suicide, Li Tze-ch'eng went west and the Ching used the traitor Wu San-kuei's guidance to occupy Peking and to send troops southward. In the small Nanking court, the leader Hung-kuang Emperor was pretending peace, building palaces, appointing ministers, and collecting songs and selecting dances, day and night."

"Three hundred years ago, at the eve of the fall of the small Nanking Court, the Ching troops moved closer to the northern bank of the river, the people were poor and their finances exhausted, in a period replete with domestic and foreign problems. ..."

"Three hundred years ago, foreign troops were riding roughshod. At that time of extreme difficulties, Tso Liang-yu, who controlled tens of thousands of troops in the upper reaches of the Yangtze river, chose to hold back his troops from action, and to observe the upheaval from the side. He saw through the political confusion, intended to preserve his strength, bribed the authorities, and confidently awaited promotion, advancement, and assurance of security for his family. The government depended upon him to deal with the revolting peasant troops, and would

not dispatch him to face the foreign enemies." (Source: T'ou-ch'iang-chi, pp. 24-25)

NOTE: The deleted portions clearly show that at that time Wu Han had an obvious political goal in writing the article: "Historic Lesson of 300 Years Ago." He referred to the Eighth Route Army and new Fourth Army, which persisted in resisting Japanese aggression, as "bandits," and submitted policy recommendations to Chiang Kai-shek urging him to go all out to annihilate the Eighth Route Army and New Fourth Army. Wu Han's anti-communist and counterrevolutionary countenance was vividly shown in the article.

ORIGINAL: "A democratic country is characterized by multi-party politics. The opposition party can openly criticize the government. Conversely, when it assumes power, the other party has the same rights. They mutually criticize each other, with one party questioning on the basis of facts, while the other is responsible for offering explanations. The right or the wrong will be determined by public opinion. Newspapers are the principal tools for expressing public opinion."

"For several scores of years we learned everything from others, and learned a little of everything. For instance, when others have government and committees, we also have them, ...the difference is that our government is monistic, so are the committees, ..." (Source: "Newspaper and Public Opinion," 1945. "Mirror of History," pp. 34-35)

T'OU-CH'IAN-CHI ARTICLE: "For several scores of years we learned everything from others and learned a little of everything. For instance, when others have committees, we also have them. When others have political parties, we also have several. When others have newspapers, we, too, have scores and hundreds of newspapers of all sizes. The difference is that our committees are monistic, and even our newspapers are monistic. The information from newspapers is monistic, and public opinion is no exception." (Source: T'ou-ch'iang-chi, p.31)

NOTE: Wu Han used this article for a vicious attack against the absolute Party leadership and the proletarian dictatorship. However, the sentence: "the government is monistic" was truly an overexposure. In order to sell his goods, he "patiently gave up what he treasured."

ORIGINAL: "The elimination of the Chu Ming Regime was due to the antagonism between the regime and the people. It was a case of slaughtering the hen to seek the egg."

"Exactly 300 years ago, during the most critical situation in Peiping, the government urged the nobles, ministers, and rich merchants to contribute gold to save the nation, ...the result, however, was that the most well-known rich man contributed the least... While the people were willing to exhaust what they had to serve the country, it was a pity that they had long been squeezed dry."

"At the early stage of the 17th century, during the antagonism between the government and the people, the government troops were engaged in encircling and chasing the 'bandits,' and the mutual cancellation of the two forces offered an opportunity for the newly arising Chien-chou tribes to move in to build up the great Ching Empire." (Source: "On the Bandits of The Late Ming," 12 February 1945, Chung-king Hsin-hua Jih-pao)

"Mirror of History," pp. 103, 105, 109.)

T'OU-CH'IAN-CHI ARTICLE: "The elimination of the Chu Ming Regime was due to the antagonism between the regime and the people. It was a case of excessive exploitation."

"Exactly 300 years ago, during the most critical situation in Peking, the Emperor urged the nobles, ministers, and rich merchants to contribute gold to save the nation, ...the result, however, was that the most well-known rich man contributed the least... the people had long been squeezed dry."

"At the early stage of the 17th century, during the antagonism between the government and the people, the government troops were engaged in encircling and chasing the 'bandits,' which offered the opportunity for the newly arising Chien-chou tribes to move in to build up the great Ching Empire." (Source: T'ou-ch'iang-chi, pp. 37, 38, 42)

NOTE: In 1934, Wu Han wrote the article: "Social Background of the Bandits in Late Ming" to offer policy suggestions to Chiang Kai-shek to annihilate the Red Army. In 1945, he revised this article for publication in the Hsin-hua Jih-pao, with, however, some original points. For instance, he advised Chiang Kai-shek not to "slaughter the hen for the egg," but urged him to "raise the hen for the egg."

ORIGINAL: "We ...also respect the will of the true American people who respect democracy and freedom, and the respectable and touching efforts of the late President Roosevelt, whom the Chinese people will never forget, ..."

"We not only bid farewell to the battle-tested democratic fighters, the gallant American forces about to return home, ..."

"In order to uphold the traditional friendship of 100 years, and to maintain the gratitude of the Chinese people for the sufficient supplies sent to meet their need, ..." (Source: "Advice to General Hurley," Kunming Ming-chu Chou-kan, V. 2, 17th issue, 22 November 1945.)

T'OU-CH'IAN-CHI ARTICLE: "We ... also respect the will of the true American people who respect democracy and freedom."

"We not only bid farewell to the battle-tested American troops about to return home, ..."

"In order to uphold the traditional friendship between the Chinese and American peoples of 100 years, and to maintain the gratitude of the Chinese people for the aid offered by the American people ..."

NOTE: Please look at his original features of a foreign lackey!

ORIGINAL: "At least the administrative punishment and cancellation of ban orders should be completed. Upon settlement of the first two questions, part of the students will resume classes. With the other two points achieved, the State will uphold its law and order, and the people will enhance their confidence in the government. If the government is truly practicing democracy, ...assuring absolute respect of all freedoms of the people, and winning sufficient confidence and respect from the people, not only this so-called 'unfortunate incident' will be settled, the people will also confidently assure that similar incidents will not occur in the future." (Source: "On 1 December Incident and Law," Kunming Ming-chu Chou-kan, V. 2, 20th issue, 25 December 1945.)

T'OU-CH'IANG-CHI ARTICLE: "At least the administrative punishment and cancellation of ban orders should be completed. Upon settlement of the first two questions, the students will resume classes. If the government is truly practicing democracy, respects the people, immediately ceases the civil war, promptly convenes the political consultative conference, immediately organizes a coalition government and assures absolute respect of all freedoms of the people, this so-called 'unfortunate incident' will be settled, and the people's confidence and respect can also be won." (Source: T'ou-ch'iang-chi, P.76)

NOTE: This was an outright posture of an accomplice of Chiang Kai-shek! In the hurry to cast the black lance, Wu Han forgot to wipe out this posture.

ORIGINAL: "Meanwhile, we will take all trouble to appeal, one again, to the American friends that peace in China depends on the American people. If the American people can recognize the cause of the unfortunate situation in China today, and immediately go all out to curb the American government and forbid it from further supplying arms and equipment, and means of transportation, as well as loans, to all nations engaged in civil war, China can immediately embark upon the road of peace, democracy, and prosperity. This will help not only the Chinese people and Special Envoy Marshall, but also the American people, since only a peaceful, democratic, and prosperous China can become the market needed by the United States.

"Four days have slipped away from the fifteen. These fifteen days are not only the fifteen days of the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, but also the fifteen days of the people of the whole country. We should take action to tell both parties engaged in the talks that the fifteen days is the ultimate limit tolerable to the people. After this limit, the people will rise to curb this shameful civil war. We no longer believe in promises and words. What we want is permanent cessation of civil war." (Source: "The Fifteen Days Deciding the Future History," Shanghai Ming-chu Chou-kan, 35th issue, 15 June 1946.)

T'OU-CH'IANG-CHI ARTICLE: "Meanwhile, we will take all trouble to appeal, once again, to the American people that peace in China concerns the American people. If the American people can recognize the cause of the unfortunate situation in China today, and realize that the American government is directly manipulating the civil war in China; when the American people realize this point, and immediately go all out to curb the American government and forbid it from further supplying arms and equipment, and means of transportation, as well as loans to all nations engaged in civil war, China can embark upon the road of peace, democracy, and prosperity. This will help not only the Chinese people and Special Envoy Marshall, but also the American people, since only a peaceful, democratic, and prosperous China can assure world peace."

"Four days have slipped away from the fifteen. These fifteen days are not only the fifteen days of the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, but also the fifteen days of the people of the whole country. We should take action to tell the political party which insists upon the civil war that fifteen days is the ultimate limit tolerable to the people.

After this limit, the people themselves will rise to curb this shameful civil war. We no longer believe in promises and words. What we want is permanent cessation of civil war." (Source: T'ou-ch'iang-chi, p. 123-124.)

NOTE: The so-called anti-American "peace fighter" is, in fact, a broker selling his motherland. His so-called opposition to the Communists.

ORIGINAL: "Based on previous historic facts, everybody knows that it is impossible to eliminate the Communist Party. The Kuomintang and the Communist Party have 20 years of combat experience, ... Today the Communist Party is stronger in all aspects than it was previously. The Kuomintang, on the other hand, may not be any stronger. Besides the unilateral American support, there is nothing tangible to count upon for victory. Is this not a clear comparison? The people who are not concerned with Party prejudice and personal profits can clearly see that the Kuomintang can never eliminate the Communist Party; and, conversely, the Communist Party likewise cannot eliminate the Kuomintang.

"With both parties engaged in combat, the people suffered. It is undesirable to incur the displeasure of the people. Moreover, in the interest of the Kuomintang, ... the only consequence to a civil war is further inflation, more difficult political situations, more suffering for the people, and a more powerful Communist Party, as well as further deterioration of the Kuomintang. This is also undesirable. (Source: "On Anti-Civil War Movement," Shanghai Chou-pao, 42nd issue, 22 June 1946.)

T'OU-CH'IAN-CHI ARTICLE: "Based on previous historic facts, everybody knows that it is impossible to eliminate the Communist Party. The Kuomintang and the Communist Party have 20 years of combat experience. They should realize that in that small area in Kiangsi where the Communist Party had only very limited troops, it had been impossible to settle the problem after five encirclements and ten years of bitter fighting. Today the Communist Party is stronger in all aspects than it was previously. The Kuomintang, on the other hand, may not be any stronger. Besides the unilateral American support, there is nothing tangible to count upon for victory. Is this not a clear comparison?

"With fighting waging in the country, the people suffered. It is undesirable to incur the displeasure of the people. Moreover, in the interest of the Kuomintang, after exhausting all good words and perpetrating all bad deeds, they have reached the stage of incurring displeasure from the heaven and the people, who wish to end it. In pursuing the civil war, it is clear that the only consequence to the civil war is further inflation, a more deteriorating political situation, more suffering for the people, and further deterioration of the Kuomintang. This is also undesirable. (Source: T'ou-ch'iang-chi, pp. 130 and 131)

NOTE: This is the ironclad evidence of Wu Han's opposition to Communists and the revolution.

ORIGINAL: "When referring to the United Kingdom and the United States, alas, the democratic countries resort to the pen and words for their political disputes. Whoever can speak the truth and follow his words with deeds will win the support of the people and become victorious. There is never such a thing (Note: meaning murder). ..." (Source:

"On Political Murder," Shanghai Ming-chu Chou-kan, 43rd issue, August 1946.)
T'OU-CH'IAN-CHI ARTICLE: "When referring to the United Kingdom and the United States, alas, these capitalist countries resort to the pen and words for their political disputes. Whoever can speak the truth, say things persuasively, and can skillfully defraud the people, will win. There is never such a thing. Moreover, on the contrary, whoever dares to resort to such means as murder to reach a political aim, will certainly be discarded by the people. Besides destruction, there is on other way." (Source: T'ou-ch'iang-chi, p.211.)

NOTE: An obvious salesman of the American style democracy has now camouflaged himself in an attempt to dress up as an accuser of the capitalist system. However, he continues to beautify U.S. imperialism, since it is difficult to change one's nature.

ORIGINAL: "Between the right and the wrong, there is no neutrality."

"It is likewise impossible to have neutrality between democracy and anti-democracy."

"The people stand fully on the side of democracy, resolutely demand democracy, and fulfillment of democracy. They are not neutral and have never been neutral."

"There is no neutrality between democracy and anti-democracy."

" 'Supporting those benevolent to me and hostile to those mistreating me,' the term neutrality does not exist in the dictionary of the people." (Source: "On Neutrality," Chung-hua Lun-tan, V. 1, 12th issue, August 1946.)
T'OU-CH'IAN-CHI ARTICLE: "Between the right and the wrong, there is no neutrality. There is no middle road!"

"It is likewise impossible to have neutrality between democracy and anti-democracy. There is no middle road."

"The people stand fully on the side of democracy, resolutely demand democracy, and fulfillment of democracy. They are not neutral and have never been neutral. They absolutely do not stand in the middle."

"There is no neutrality between democracy and anti-democracy, and absolutely no middle road."

" 'Supporting those benevolent to me and hostile to those mistreating me,' the term neutrality does not exist in the dictionary of the people; nor is there such a term as the middle road." (Source: T'ou-ch'iang-chi, p.218)

NOTE: "Between the right and the wrong, there is no neutrality!" What is the meaning of Wu Han's "right" and "wrong?" "It is likewise impossible to have neutrality between democracy and anti-democracy!" What class of democracy is Wu Han's democracy? Wu Han's is the democracy of a bevy of bourgeois right wing. His "right" is the "middle line" and the third road. Wu Han's "wrong" is the revolutionary line of the Chinese Communist Party. An advocate of the "middle line" has, after the liberation, assumed opposition to the "middle line." His attempt at cheating is truly daring!

ORIGINAL: "The expansion of the civil war increased the difficulties of the people, ...squeezing the last drop of blood and sweat from the peasants. There were also millions of young men slaughtering each other at the front line and dying without reason."

"Democracy in China, like other things, also becomes a double affair. There are true and false democracies. Everybody presumes himself to be true and the other to be false and bogus. (Source: "What to Do," Shanghai Chou-pao, 49th and 50th issue, 24 August 1946.)

T'OU-CH' IANG-CHI ARTICLE: "The expansion of the civil war increased the difficulties of the people. In the cities, factories and shops closed, workers and shop-keepers lost their jobs, and students were unable to pay for their education. In the rural areas there were new taxes and collections, squeezing the last drop of blood and sweat from the peasants.

"Democracy in China, like other things, also becomes a double affair. There are true and false democracies. The false also chooses to claim his to be the truth." (Source: T'ou-ch'iang-chi, pp. 224-225.)

NOTE: This is the so-called "middle road," and "the third line!"

ORIGINAL: "Why not first establish some temporary local coalition government in these disputed areas?"

"The methods: first, both sides withdraw their troops to transform the disputed areas into nonmilitary areas. Second, the participants of the Moscow Foreign Ministers Conference, the United Kingdom, the United States and the Soviet Union; or the Security Council of the United Nations, should adopt measures to create local coalition governments by democratic means in these areas.

"Perhaps some would say that this is inviting international intervention and disgrace to our country.

"Then we will ask whether it will be better to have the United States alone handle the China problem?"

"Moreover, the Security Council is an organization above states, without any legal or face problem.

"By doing so, the civil war may cease, or, at least, will not expand." (Source: "What To Do.")

T'OU-CH' IANG-CHI ARTICLE: "Why not first establish some temporary local coalition government in these disputed areas?"

"The methods: first, both sides withdraw their troops to transform the disputed areas into nonmilitary areas. Second, the local people create a local coalition government through general elections.

"By doing so, the civil war may cease, or, at least, will not expand." (Source: T'ou-ch'iang-chi, p.230.)

NOTE: A servant of the United Nations! A lackey of the United States!

ORIGINAL: "Then, in this respect, I will, as one of the people, advise the Kuomintang authorities to take advantage of their position today to perform some good deeds, to do so immediately, and to do it now and talk about it later. It would be better to do so without talk. Hunger and thirst can be easily satisfied. It will not take much to satisfy the people. At least, no more bad things should be done, taxation and collection should cease, ...corrupt officials should be punished...

I can guarantee, as the people can also guarantee, that if you can do all this and do this completely, the people will stand on your side." (Source: "What To Do.")

T'OU-CH'IAN-CHI ARTICLE: "Then, in this respect, I will, as one of the people, advise the Kuomintang authorities to take advantage of their position today to perform some good deeds, to do so immediately, and to do it now and talk about it later. It would be better to do so without talk. Hunger and thirst can be easily satisfied. The people are easily satisfied. At least, no more bad things should be done, taxation and collection should cease! The secret agencies should be abolished! All killings and beatings should stop! The order to ban newspapers and periodicals should be withdrawn! The Central Textile and Central Silk should be disbanded! Corrupt officials should be punished! I can guarantee, as the people can also guarantee, that if you can do all this and can do this completely, you will have a future." (T'ou-ch'iang-chi, p.231.)

NOTE: This is another "Public Order Recommendation" submitted to the Kuomintang!

ORIGINAL: "Fourth, due to the limitation of organizational elements, the political consultative conference places emphasis upon the elimination of party clashes. In short, it aims at settling a long series of problems between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, instead of problems pertaining to the people themselves. It is wrong and mistaken to regard the serious situation in China today as simply a dispute between the two parties. On the contrary, what should be settled today, first of all, is the problem of the suffering of the people from unbearable oppression and exploitation by an undemocratic regime, ...frankly, the people are not interested in party disputes, as they are opposed to all attempts to settle party disputes by force. On the contrary, the people want to establish a democratic government devoted to serving the people, to relieve their pain and suffering, and to improve their livelihood."

"There is the potential power of the people. Today it is necessary to have an organization representing the total power of the people, standing above the party interests, and working for the interests of the broad masses of people in the middle. We should promptly bring about its existence."

"Once this power appears, it will not merely act as a negotiator in the middle, but will offer guidance to the future of China, based solely on the people's viewpoint. Regarding party disputes, ...there will be neither mediation nor compromise. It will strive for what the people like and struggle against what the people dislike. ...

"Presuming that there are 450 million people in China, the middle class accounts for more than 90 per cent. With 90 per cent of the people who can join and strengthen this new foundation, it can solve all problems and overcome all difficulties." (Source: "On The New Foundation," Peiping Ming-chu Chou-kan, 15th issue, November 1946.)

T'OU-CH'IAN-CHI ARTICLE: "Fourth, due to the limitation of organizational elements, the political consultative conference places emphasis upon the elimination of party clashes. It is wrong and mistaken to regard the serious situation in China today as simply a dispute between the two parties. On the contrary, what should be settled today, first of all, are the problems of the people suffering from unbearable oppression and

exploitation by an undemocratic regime, of a choice between a democratic and an undemocratic regime, and of the people themselves exercising their rights. Frankly, the people want to establish a democratic government devoted to serving the people, to relieve their pain and suffering, and to improve their livelihood."

"There is the unlimited power of the people. Today it is necessary to have an organization representing the total power of the people, standing above the party interests, and working for the interests of the broad masses. We should promptly bring about its existence."

"Once this power appears, it will not merely act as a negotiator in the middle, but will offer guidance to the future of China, based solely on the people's viewpoint. Regarding the party disputes, there are only the criteria of right and wrong, democratic and undemocratic, and what the people like and dislike. Neither mediation nor compromise will be tolerated.

"Accordingly, this force itself constitutes the scale used to determine and execute all things; instead of merely serving as a weight, as it did in the past, to maintain a relative balance.

"Presuming that there are 450 million people in China, the non-party people account for more than 90 per cent. With 90 per cent of the people who can join and strengthen this new foundation, it can solve all problems and overcome all difficulties." (Source: T'ou-ch'iang-chi, pp. 234-236.)

NOTE: The anti-communist, anti-people, and counterrevolutionary Wu Han has appointed himself as the representative of the people, and has excluded from the people the true representative of the Chinese people, the Chinese Communist Party. How frantic is he!

ORIGINAL: "With the civil war further expanded, peace and unity, even as they are merely used as cliches, have been filed in history. Both sides engaged in mutual slaughtering, bombing, and destruction are Chinese people, with the same skin color, blood, style of clothing, and mind. Bones are piling high, and blood is flowing. The Chinese people are capturing and slaughtering Chinese people. Under the circumstances, we are sad, grievous, and indignant while commemorating the 4th of May. (Source: "On Commemorating 4 May," Tsing-hua Chou-kan, 4 May 1947.)

T'OU-CH'IANG-CHI ARTICLE: "With the civil war further expanded, peace and unity, even as they are merely used as cliches, have been filed in history.

"Under the circumstances, we are sad, grievous, and indignant while commemorating the 4th of May." (Source: T'ou-ch'iang-chi, p.265)

NOTE: As the Chinese people's liberation war was progressing victoriously, Wu Han chose not to differentiate the nature of war, and between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang. He claimed that everyone was of the "same mind" and was invariably opposed to war. This was an overt attempt to undermine the people's revolutionary war and to serve the Kuomintang.

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