

Wason  
DS  
701  
#93+

JPRS: 37,526

TT: 66-33954

12 September 1966

TRANSLATIONS FROM HUNG-CH'I (RED FLAG)

No 10, 1966

- Communist China -

No. 34

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE  
CLEARINGHOUSE FOR FEDERAL SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL INFORMATION  
JOINT PUBLICATIONS RESEARCH SERVICE  
Building Tempo E  
Adams Drive, 4th and 6th Streets, S.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20443

Price: \$3.00

## FOREWORD

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

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

### PROCUREMENT OF JPRS REPORTS

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

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

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

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

TRANSLATIONS FROM HUNG-CH'I (RED FLAG)

No 10, 1966

- Communist China -

No. 34

This serial publication contains translations of all of the articles from the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), No 10, 1966. Complete bibliographic information accompanies each article.

CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution .....	1
A Programmatic Document of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution .....	11
Energetically Launch the Mass Campaign for Studying Chairman Mao's Writings, Speed Up the Proletarian Revolutionization of Peasants' Thought .....	16
Comment on Sun Yeh-fang's Reactionary Political Stand and Economic Program .....	37
The Three Poison Weeds of Hou Wai-lu's Comments of T'ang Hsien-tsu's Plays .....	52



DECISION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CHINESE  
COMMUNIST PARTY CONCERNING THE GREAT  
PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION

(Adopted on August 8, 1966)

[Following is a translation of an article in the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), No 10, Peiping, 10 August 1966, pp 1-9.]

1. A New Stage in the Socialist Revolution

The great proletarian cultural revolution now unfolding is a great revolution that touches people to their very souls and constitutes a new stage in the development of the socialist revolution in our country, a deeper and more extensive stage.

At the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "To overthrow a political power, it is always necessary, first of all, to create public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the revolutionary class as well as for the counter-revolutionary class." This thesis of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's has been proved entirely correct in practice.

Although the bourgeoisie has been overthrown, it is still trying to use the old ideas, culture, customs and habits of the exploiting classes to corrupt the masses, capture their minds and endeavour to stage a come-back. The proletariat must do just the opposite: it must meet head-on every challenge of the bourgeoisie in the ideological field and use the new ideas, culture, customs and habits of the proletariat to change the mental outlook of the whole of society. At present, our objective is to struggle against and crush those persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road, to criticize and repudiate the reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities" and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and to transform education, literature and art and all other parts of the superstructure that do

not correspond to the socialist economic base, so as to facilitate the consolidation and development of the socialist system.

## 2. The Main Current and the Zigzags

The masses of the workers, peasants, soldiers, revolutionary intellectuals and revolutionary cadres form the main force in this great cultural revolution. Large numbers of revolutionary young people, previously unknown, have become courageous and daring pathbreakers. They are vigorous in action and intelligent. Through the media of big-character posters and great debates, they argue things out, expose and criticize thoroughly, and launch resolute attacks on the open and hidden representatives of the bourgeoisie. In such a great revolutionary movement, it is hardly avoidable that they should show shortcomings of one kind or another, but their main revolutionary orientation has been correct from the beginning. This is the main current in the great proletarian cultural revolution. It is the main direction along which the great proletarian cultural revolution continues to advance.

Since the cultural revolution is a revolution, it inevitably meets with resistance. This resistance comes chiefly from those in authority who have wormed their way into the Party and are taking the capitalist road. It also comes from the old force of habit in society. At present, this resistance is still fairly strong and stubborn. However, the great proletarian cultural revolution is, after all, an irresistible general trend. There is abundant evidence that such resistance will crumble fast once the masses become fully aroused.

Because the resistance is fairly strong, there will be reversals and even repeated reversals in this struggle. There is no harm in this. It tempers the proletariat and other working people, and especially the younger generation, teaches them lessons and gives them experience, and helps them to understand that the revolutionary road is a zigzag one, and not plain sailing.

## 3. Put Daring Above Everything Else And Boldly Arouse the Masses

The outcome of this great cultural revolution will be determined by whether the Party leadership does or does not dare boldly to arouse the masses.

Currently, there are four different situations with regard to the leadership being given to the movement of cultural revolution by Party organizations at various levels:

(1) There is the situation in which the persons in charge of Party organizations stand in the van of the movement and dare to arouse the masses boldly. They put daring above everything else, they are dauntless communist fighters and good pupils of Chairman Mao. They



advocate the big-character posters and great debates. They encourage the masses to expose every kind of ghost and monster and also to criticize the shortcomings and errors in the work of the persons in charge. This correct kind of leadership is the result of putting proletarian politics in the forefront and Mao Tse-tung's thought in the lead.

(2) In many units, the persons in charge have a very poor understanding of the task of leadership in this great struggle, their leadership is far from being conscientious and effective, and they accordingly find themselves incompetent and in a weak position. They put fear above everything else, stick to out-moded ways and regulations, and are unwilling to break away from conventional practices and move ahead. They have been taken unawares by the new order of things, the revolutionary order of the masses, with the result that their leadership lags behind the situation, lags behind the masses.

(3) In some units, the persons in charge, who made mistakes of one kind or another in the past, are even more prone to put fear above everything else, being afraid that the masses will catch them out. Actually, if they make serious self-criticism and accept the criticism of the masses, the Party and the masses will make allowances for their mistakes. But if the persons in charge don't, they will continue to make mistakes and become obstacles to the mass movement.

(4) Some units are controlled by those who have wormed their way into the Party and are taking the capitalist road. Such persons in authority are extremely afraid of being exposed by the masses and therefore seek every possible pretext to suppress the mass movement. They resort to such tactics as shifting the targets for attack and turning black into white in an attempt to lead the movement astray. When they find themselves very isolated and no longer able to carry on as before, they resort still more to intrigues, stabbing people in the back, spreading rumours, and blurring the distinction between revolution and counter-revolution as much as they can, all for the purpose of attacking the revolutionaries.

What the Central Committee of the Party demands of the Party committees at all levels is that they persevere in giving correct leadership, put daring above everything else, boldly arouse the masses, change the state of weakness and incompetence where it exists, encourage those comrades who have made mistakes but are willing to correct them to cast off their mental burdens and join in the struggle, and dismiss from their leading posts all those in authority who are taking the capitalist road and so make possible the recapture of the leadership for the proletarian revolutionaries.

#### 4. Let the Masses Educate Themselves in the Movement

In the great proletarian cultural revolution, the only method is for the masses to liberate themselves, and any method of doing things on their behalf must not be used.

Trust the masses, rely on them and respect their initiative. Cast out fear. Don't be afraid of disorder. Chairman Mao has often told us that revolution cannot be so very refined, so gentle, so temperate, kind, courteous, restrained and magnanimous. Let the masses educate themselves in this great revolutionary movement and learn to distinguish between right and wrong and between correct and incorrect ways of doing things.

Make the fullest use of big-character posters and great debates to argue matters out, so that the masses can clarify the correct views, criticize the wrong views and expose all the ghosts and monsters. In this way the masses will be able to raise their political consciousness in the course of the struggle, enhance their abilities and talents, distinguish right from wrong and draw a clear line between the enemy and ourselves.

#### 5. Firmly Apply the Class Line Of the Party

Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of the first importance for the revolution and it is likewise a question of the first importance for the great cultural revolution.

Party leadership should be good at discovering the Left and developing and strengthening the ranks of the Left, and should firmly rely on the revolutionary Left. During the movement this is the only way to isolate thoroughly the most reactionary Rightists, win over the middle and unite with the great majority so that by the end of the movement we shall achieve the unity of more than 95 per cent of the cadres and more than 95 per cent of the masses.

Concentrate all forces to strike at the handful of ultra-reactionary bourgeois Rightists and counter-revolutionary revisionists, and expose and criticize to the full their crimes against the Party, against socialism and against Mao Tse-tung's thought so as to isolate them to the maximum.

The main target of the present movement is those within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road.

Care should be taken to distinguish strictly between the anti-Party, anti-socialist Rightists and those who support the Party and socialism but have said or done something wrong or have written some



bad articles or other works.

Care should be taken to distinguish strictly between the reactionary bourgeois scholar despots and "authorities" on the one hand and people who have the ordinary bourgeois academic ideas on the other.

#### 6. Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People

A strict distinction must be made between the two different types of contradictions: those among the people and those between ourselves and the enemy. Contradictions among the people must not be made into contradictions between ourselves and the enemy; nor must contradictions between ourselves and the enemy be regarded as those among the people.

It is normal for the masses to hold different views. Contention between different views is unavoidable, necessary and beneficial. In the course of normal and full debate, the masses will affirm what is right, correct what is wrong and gradually reach unanimity.

The method to be used in debates is to present the facts, reason things out, and persuade through reasoning. Any method of forcing a minority holding different views to submit is impermissible. The minority should be protected, because sometimes the truth is with the minority. Even if the minority is wrong, they should still be allowed to argue their case and reserve their views.

When there is a debate, it should be conducted by reasoning, not by coercion or force.

In the course of debate, every revolutionary should be good at thinking things out for himself and should develop the communist spirit of daring to think, daring to speak and daring to act. On the premise that they have the same main orientation, revolutionary comrades should, for the sake of strengthening unity, avoid endless debate over side issues.

#### 7. Be on Guard Against Those Who Brand the Revolutionary Masses As "Counter-Revolutionaries"

In certain schools, units, and work teams of the cultural revolution, some of the persons in charge have organized counter-attacks against the masses who put up big-character posters against them. These people have even advanced such slogans as: opposition to the leaders of a unit or a work team means opposition to the Party's Central Committee, means opposition to the Party and socialism, means counter-revolution. In this way it is inevitable that their blows will fall on some really revolutionary activists. This is an error on matters of

orientation, an error of line, and is absolutely impermissible.

A number of persons who suffer from serious ideological errors, and particularly some of the anti-Party and anti-socialist Rightists, are taking advantage of certain shortcomings and mistakes in the mass movement to spread rumours and gossip, and engage in agitation, deliberately branding some of the masses as "counter-revolutionaries." It is necessary to beware of such "pick-pockets" and expose their tricks in good time.

In the course of the movement, with the exception of cases of active counter-revolutionaries where there is clear evidence of crimes such as murder, arson, poisoning, sabotage or theft of state secrets, which should be handled in accordance with the law, no measures should be taken against students at universities, colleges, middle schools and primary schools because of problems that arise in the movement. To prevent the struggle from being diverted from its main objective, it is not allowed, whatever the pretext, to incite the masses to struggle against each other or the students to do likewise. Even proven Rightists should be dealt with on the merits of each case at a later stage of the movement.

#### 8. The Question of Cadres

The cadres fall roughly into the following four categories:

- (1) good;
- (2) comparatively good;
- (3) those who have made serious mistakes but have not become anti-Party, anti-socialist Rightists;
- (4) the small number of anti-Party, anti-socialist Rightists.

In ordinary situations, the first two categories (good and comparatively good) are the great majority.

The anti-Party, anti-socialist Rightists must be fully exposed, hit hard, pulled down and completely discredited and their influence eliminated. At the same time, they should be given a way out so that they can turn over a new leaf.

#### 9. Cultural Revolutionary Groups, Committees and Congresses

Many new things have begun to emerge in the great proletarian cultural revolution. The cultural revolutionary groups, committees and other organizational forms created by the masses in many schools and units are something new and of great historic importance.

These cultural revolutionary groups, committees and congresses

are excellent new forms of organization whereby under the leadership of the Communist Party the masses are educating themselves. They are an excellent bridge to keep our Party in close contact with the masses. They are organs of power of the proletarian cultural revolution.

The struggle of the proletariat against the old ideas, culture, customs and habits left over from all the exploiting classes over thousands of years will necessarily take a very, very long time. Therefore, the cultural revolutionary groups, committees and congresses should not be temporary organizations but permanent, standing mass organizations. They are suitable not only for colleges, schools and government and other organizations, but generally also for factories, mines, other enterprises, urban districts and villages.

It is necessary to institute a system of general elections, like that of the Paris Commune, for electing members to the cultural revolutionary groups and committees and delegates to the cultural revolutionary congresses. The lists of candidates should be put forward by the revolutionary masses after full discussion, and the elections should be held after the masses have discussed the lists over and over again.

The masses are entitled at any time to criticize members of the cultural revolutionary groups and committees and delegates elected to the cultural revolutionary congresses. If these members or delegates prove incompetent, they can be replaced through election or recalled by the masses after discussion.

The cultural revolutionary groups, committees and congresses in colleges and schools should consist mainly of representatives of the revolutionary students. At the same time, they should have a certain number of representatives of the revolutionary teaching staff and workers.

#### 10. Educational Reform

In the great proletarian cultural revolution a most important task is to transform the old educational system and the old principles and methods of teaching.

In this great cultural revolution, the phenomenon of our schools being dominated by bourgeois intellectuals must be completely changed.

In every kind of school we must apply thoroughly the policy advanced by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, of education serving proletarian politics and education being combined with productive labor, so as to enable those receiving an education to develop morally, intellectually and physically and to become laborers with socialist consciousness and culture.

The period of schooling should be shortened. Courses should be fewer and better. The teaching material should be thoroughly transformed, in some cases beginning with simplifying complicated material. While their main task is to study, students should also learn other things. That is to say, in addition to their studies they should also learn industrial work, farming and military affairs, and take part in the struggles of the cultural revolution as they occur to criticize the bourgeoisie.

#### 11. The Question of Criticizing By Name in the Press

In the course of the mass movement of the cultural revolution, the criticism of bourgeois and feudal ideology should be well combined with the dissemination of the proletarian world outlook and of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Criticism should be organized of typical bourgeois representatives who have wormed their way into the Party and typical reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities," and this should include criticism of various kinds of reactionary views in philosophy, history, political economy and education, in works and theories of literature and art, in theories of natural science, and in other fields.

Criticism of anyone by name in the press should be decided after discussion by the Party committee at the same level, and in some cases submitted to the Party committee at a higher level for approval.

#### 12. Policy Towards Scientists, Technicians and Ordinary Members Of Working Staffs

As regards scientists, technicians and ordinary members of working staffs, as long as they are patriotic, work energetically, are not against the Party and socialism, and maintain no illicit relations with any foreign country, we should in the present movement continue to apply the policy of "unity, criticism, unity." Special care should be taken of those scientists and scientific and technical personnel who have made contributions. Efforts should be made to help them gradually transform their world outlook and their style of work.

#### 13. The Question of Arrangements For Integration With the Socialist Education Movement in City And Countryside

The cultural and educational units and leading organs of the Party and government in the large and medium cities are the points of concentration of the present proletarian cultural revolution.

The great cultural revolution has enriched the socialist education movement in both city and countryside and raised it to a higher level.

Efforts should be made to conduct these two movements in close combination. Arrangements to this effect may be made by various regions and departments in the light of the specific conditions.

The socialist education movement now going on in the countryside and in enterprises in the cities should not be upset where the original arrangements are appropriate and the movement is going well, but should continue in accordance with the original arrangements. However, the questions that are arising in the present great proletarian cultural revolution should be put to the masses for discussion at a proper time, so as to further foster vigorously proletarian ideology and eradicate bourgeois ideology.

In some places, the great proletarian cultural revolution is being used as the focus in order to add momentum to the socialist education movement and clean things up in the fields of politics, ideology, organization and economy. This may be done where the local Party committee thinks it appropriate.

#### 14. Take Firm Hold of the Revolution And Stimulate Production

The aim of the great proletarian cultural revolution is to revolutionize people's ideology and as a consequence to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in all fields of work. If the masses are fully aroused and proper arrangements are made, it is possible to carry on both the cultural revolution and production without one hampering the other, while guaranteeing high quality in all our work.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is a powerful motive force for the development of the social productive forces in our country. Any idea of counterposing the great cultural revolution against the development of production is incorrect.

#### 15. The Armed Forces

In the armed forces, the cultural revolution and the socialist education movement should be carried out in accordance with the instructions of the Military Commission of the Central Committee and the General Political Department of the People's Liberation Army.

#### 16. Mao Tse-tung's Thought Is the Guide for Action in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

In the great proletarian cultural revolution, it is imperative to hold aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and put proletarian politics in command. The movement for the creative study and application of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's works should be carried forward among the masses of the workers, peasants and soldiers, the

cadres and the intellectuals, and Mao Tse-tung's thought should be taken as the guide for action in the cultural revolution.

In this complex great cultural revolution, Party committees at all levels must study and apply Chairman Mao's works all the more conscientiously and in a creative way. In particular, they must study over and over again Chairman Mao's writings on the cultural revolution and on the Party's methods of leadership, such as "On New Democracy," "Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art," "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," "Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work," "Some Questions Concerning Methods of Leadership and Methods of Work of Party Committees."

Party committees at all levels must abide by the directions given by Chairman Mao over the years, namely that they should thoroughly apply the mass line of "from the masses and to the masses" and that they should be pupils before they become teachers. They should try to avoid being one-sided or narrow. They should foster materialist dialectics and oppose metaphysics and scholasticism.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is bound to achieve brilliant victory under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

CSO: 3530-D

A PROGRAMMATIC DOCUMENT OF THE GREAT  
PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION

[Following is a translation of an editorial in the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), No 10, Peiping, 10 Aug 1966, pp 10-13.]

At this crucial moment in the development of the great proletarian cultural revolution in our country, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party published the Decision Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. This document which was drawn up under the personal guidance of Comrade Mao Tse-tung summed up, in a scientific way, the experience in recent months of the mass movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution. It is the programme of China's great proletarian cultural revolution. The decision is bound to push the great proletarian cultural revolutionary movement to a new high.

The decision has correctly analysed the nature, situation and tasks of the great proletarian cultural revolution in our country and laid down the Party's principles and policies for the great revolution.

The decision says: "The great proletarian cultural revolution now unfolding is a great revolution that touches people to their very souls and constitutes a new stage in the development of the socialist revolution in our country, a deeper and more extensive stage."

Ten years ago when the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production in our country was in the main completed, Comrade Mao Tse-tung already wisely pointed out: "The class struggle is by no means over. The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between the different political forces, and the class struggle in the ideological field between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will continue to be long and tortuous and at times will even become very acute. The proletariat seeks to transform the world according to its own world outlook, and so does the bourgeoisie. In this respect, the question of which will win out, socialism or capitalism, is still not really settled."

The great proletarian cultural revolution is to fully mobilize the masses and step by step settle this question of which is to win out in the

ideological field under the leadership of our Party.

This great cultural revolution is a struggle of the proletarian world outlook against the bourgeois world outlook, a struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie over the leadership in the ideological field.

All class struggles are political struggles. The present great cultural revolution is, in the final analysis, a life-and-death struggle between the socialist system and the capitalist system, a struggle in which one side wants to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat while the other side wants to turn the proletarian dictatorship into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. It is an extremely fierce, extremely sharp and extremely deep-going class struggle, a struggle for the proletariat to prevent the restoration of capitalism, a struggle to prevent imperialism and modern revisionism from carrying out their subversive plots and "peaceful evolution" in our country. This is a struggle that affects the future of our great motherland.

The tasks of the present great proletarian cultural revolution are just as the decision points out, firstly, to struggle against and crush those persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road; secondly, to criticize and repudiate the reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities" and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes; and thirdly, to transform education, literature and art and all other parts of the superstructure that do not correspond to the socialist economic base.

At present, an excellent situation prevails in the great proletarian cultural revolution in our country. It is a reflection of throbbing prosperity in the political, economic and other spheres of our country. In this great cultural revolution, unprecedented in history, which is led by the Chinese Communist Party, new changes have taken place in the relationships among the various classes and the various political forces. Where the mass movement has really set going, it is vigorous and irresistible. The broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, revolutionary intellectuals and revolutionary cadres have plunged themselves into the torrential current of the revolution, and the reactionary bastions of the bourgeoisie have been shattered one after another. This is the main current of the great cultural revolution. But, it must be noted, resistance to the movement is at present still fairly strong and stubborn. Many places and units are still in a state of seemingly being aroused but not yet aroused, or in a relatively lukewarm state and the lid of the class struggle has not yet been completely lifted or has not been lifted at all. In some places and units, there have been zigzags and reverses. There, the persons in charge or those in charge of the work teams sent there have made an error on matters of orientation, an error of line. These persons in charge have organized counterattacks against the masses who put up big-character posters against them, or even have advanced such slogans as: opposition to the leaders of a unit or a work team means opposition to the Party's Central Committee, means opposition to the Party and socialism and means counter-revolution. They have spearheaded the struggle against the really revolutionary activists, rounded upon and attacked the revolutionary Left and suppressed the revolutionary mass movement. Of course, the great proletarian cultural



revolution is, after all, the general trend; it is irresistible. Once the masses have been fully aroused such resistance will crumble fast. After zigzags and reverses, the movement will proceed in an ever more vigorous and healthy manner.

Our Party's task is to dare to lead this great revolution and be good at leading it. The key of decisive importance to Party leadership is to put daring above everything else and boldly arouse the masses.

Like one's attitude towards other revolutionary movements, the fundamental criterion of whether one can or cannot lead this great proletarian cultural revolution lies in whether one does or does not dare to boldly arouse the masses.

The spirit running through this decision is to trust the masses, rely on them and respect their initiative. Cast out fear. Don't be afraid of full and frank expression of views and opinions, of big-character posters and great debates. Don't be afraid of disorder. All these fears boil down to one thing, that of being afraid of the masses. Any person who does not cast out fear cannot lead this revolutionary movement, and will even become an obstacle to the mass movement. Let the masses educate themselves, run their own affairs and rise to make revolution themselves in this great revolutionary movement. Let the masses learn in revolutionary struggle to distinguish between right and wrong and between correct and incorrect ways of doing things. Revolutionary order cannot be created by drawing up a set of restrictions in advance; rather, we must rely on the masses to establish it in accordance with their experience in struggle.

Chairman Mao has constantly taught us: "It has to be understood that the masses are the real heroes, while we ourselves are often childish and ignorant, and without this understanding it is impossible to acquire even the most rudimentary knowledge." Only by being pupils of the masses can we become the teachers of the masses. In the great proletarian cultural revolution, there are some comrades who have forgotten this. They inevitably blindly think themselves wise and do not believe that the masses are wise. Actually, it is only the broad masses who are really wise. The masses can teach us many things. We must listen to them, learn from and understand their experiences, desires and criticisms, gather these together, ascertain the sum total of what they require and then take this back to the masses as policy. Any leading personnel who does not go and learn from the masses will have no knowledge whatsoever.

In the great proletarian cultural revolution, many new things have emerged, such as the cultural revolutionary groups, committees, etc., which were not dreamt up by anyone and forced on the masses, but which were created by the masses themselves in the course of the cultural revolutionary movement. Chairman Mao and the Central Committee of the Party have summarized the experiences of the masses and in this decision have affirmed them as new things of great historic significance.

The appearance of these new things at first did not receive people's

attention, and they were even suppressed and attacked.

The attitude one takes towards new things represents one's attitude towards the masses, towards revolution and towards revolutionary mass movements.

Chairman Mao has penetratingly pointed out: "The people are filled with an immense enthusiasm for socialism. In a revolutionary period those who only know how to follow the routine paths cannot see this enthusiasm at all. They are blind. All is dark before them. At times they rant to a point of standing truth on its head and confusing black with white. Haven't we had enough of persons of that sort? Those who can only travel the well-trodden paths always underestimate the enthusiasm of the people. Let something new appear and they invariably disapprove, they rush to oppose it. Later, they admit defeat and do a bit of self-criticism. But the next time something new appears, they do the same things again -- and in the same sequence. This becomes their regular routine in regard to anything and everything new. That sort of person is always passive. He can never get going at a critical moment. Someone always has to give him a poke in the back before he will move forward."

There are very big dangers among some comrades who are bent on standing on a commanding height and divorcing themselves from the masses. On the political and ideological level, they lag far behind those previously unknown and those youngsters who have the courage to break through. Nevertheless, they regard themselves as nobles head and shoulders above the "lower orders." They are merely accustomed to monopolizing everything themselves, giving orders and reducing the masses to inactivity; they have invariably developed from standing aloof from and fearing the masses to opposing and suppressing them. They have always trembled before the revolutionary storm, not knowing what to do, and as soon as they recover from their fear, they impatiently try to pull the revolutionary movement back. Standing on the side of the reactionary bourgeoisie, they oppress the revolutionaries, put a damper on dissenting opinions and exercise the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

Experience has shown that the cultural revolutionary work in various units should be conducted by the masses there themselves, and must not be monopolized by the higher organizations. In general, the higher organizations should not send work teams of the cultural revolution. And the personnel appointed by the higher organizations to keep in contact with the various units should not pose as "imperial envoys," making a hullabaloo and spouting opinions "the moment they alight from the official carriage," and formulating preconceived ideas as soon as they hear one side's opinions. They should sincerely and earnestly contact the masses and identify themselves with the masses, seeing more, asking more, hearing more and thinking more.

How can the Party's leadership be realized in such an unprecedented mass movement -- the great cultural revolution? The Party organizations at all levels should take Mao Tse-tung's thought as their guide to action, conscientiously implement the correct line, principles and policies formulated

by the Party's Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao Tse-tung and resolutely resist the erroneous leadership that is detrimental to the revolution. To do this, it is necessary to share the same fate with the broad masses, to go through thick and thin with the masses, come from the masses and go back to the masses. Some comrades counterpose the Party's leadership against the practice of boldly arousing the masses. This is quite wrong.

If the masses are to be boldly aroused in the correct manner, the Party's policies must be put into the hands of the masses. The proclamation of this decision directly brings to the masses the Party's various policies concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution. This is all the more favorable for boldly arousing the masses.

In the course of the movement, it is necessary to let the masses thoroughly expose those bourgeois Rightists who have yet to expose themselves or who have not exposed themselves to the full, to criticize and repudiate them thoroughly and isolate them to the greatest possible extent. Thus, it is imperative that those within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road should first be identified, and that the utmost should be done to identify them without error and to unmask them completely.

The masses fully understand that it is necessary to make a vigorous effort to win over the middle elements who are wavering and are unclear about the cardinal issues of right and wrong. True, when the masses are aroused the big-character posters put up in the units where they work may refer to some of the middle elements by name; this is unavoidable. But if these big-character posters are not published in the press and they are allowed to put up big-character posters to defend themselves, no harm can come to them; instead, this can stir them into making progress. We believe that in the course of the movement some of the middle elements will change and join the ranks of the Left.

To rely on the Left is even more at one with arousing the masses on an extensive scale. Only by being good at discovering the Left, developing and expanding its ranks and firmly relying on the revolutionary Left can the most reactionary Rightists be thoroughly isolated, the middle elements won over and the majority united during the movement and the unity of more than 95 per cent of the cadres and more than 95 per cent of the masses be finally achieved by the end of the movement.

It is necessary in the course of the struggle to raise continuously the ideological and political level of the Left and help them study and apply Chairman Mao's works creatively. Only with a revolutionary contingent of the proletariat, that is, a staunch contingent of the Left, that is armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought and is extremely revolutionized and extremely militant, can victory be won in this great cultural revolution.

Long live the victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution under the invincible banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought!

CSO: 3530-D



ENERGETICALLY LAUNCH THE MASS CAMPAIGN FOR STUDYING  
CHAIRMAN MAO'S WRITINGS, SPEED UP THE PROLETARIAN  
REVOLUTIONIZATION OF PEASANTS' THOUGHT

(Kwangtung's Basic Situation and Experience in  
Launching the Mass Campaign for Studying Chair-  
man Mao's Writings in the Countryside)

[Following is a translation of an article by Chao Tzu-yang  
(6392 4793 7122) in the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i  
(Red Flag), No 10, Peiping, 10 August 1966, pp 14-25.]

Since August last year, a mass campaign for studying Chairman Mao's writings in a big way has sprung up in the cities and the broad countryside throughout Kwangtung. At present it is swiftly and valiantly surging forward like ten thousand galloping horses, and an unprecedented high tide is being shaped.

In the countryside of Kwangtung, this study campaign, in conjunction with the rural socialist education campaign and the current great proletarian cultural revolution, is sweeping away the old ideas, old culture, old customs and habits, and all other undesirable influences which are left over from the old world, thus accelerating the proletarian revolutionization of the thinking of the peasants.

Once the Broad Masses of the Peasants are Armed with the Thought of Mao Tse-tung, They Will Follow the Road of Revolutionization

The luxuriant growth of the mass campaign for studying Chairman Mao's writings in the countryside throughout the province has further manifested the unparalleled prestige and strength of the thought of Mao Tse-tung and further elevated the strong revolutionary spirit of the poor and lower middle peasants. Facts show that so long as politics are really brought to the fore like the PLA, so long as the mass campaign for studying Chairman Mao's writing is energetically launched, and so long as the education and transformation of man is firmly adhered to, the spiritual features

of the peasants will register profound changes and the broad peasantry can gradually become a contingent which is extremely revolutionized as the proletariat in thought.

The flexible study and application of Chairman Mao's writings and the education and transformation of the peasants with the thought of Mao Tse-tung represent a profound ideological revolutionary movement for promoting what is proletarian and eradicating what is bourgeois, and for destroying selfish interests and establishing public interests.

In many places where the study movement of the masses is successfully launched, a new spectacle marked by stronger political atmosphere, higher class consciousness, more good persons and good deeds, and less bad persons and bad deeds has begun to emerge. The images of Chang Szu-te, Norman Bethune and the foolish old man are known to every household and deeply engraved on the hearts of the people. The several basic viewpoints in the "three old articles"\* [See Note] have become the criteria for guiding the common action and effort of the broad peasantry.

The thought of Mao Tse-tung has broadened the peasants' field of vision as never before. They have cut themselves loose from the restrictions of the idea of private ownership and begun to solve the question of what do people live for. They know that they must "keep the fatherland in mind and set their eyes on the world," and carry the heavy burden for the Chinese revolution and the world revolution. The philosophy of life of the small producer -- "three meals a day and place to sleep in" -- has been replaced by the thought of "working and planting fields for the revolution." The decadent ideological influence of the exploiting classes -- "a person is doomed if he has no selfish ends" -- has been overwhelmed by the communist thought of "utter devotion to others without any thought of self."

Thanks to the education of Chairman Mao's writings, the peasants know how to deal with life and death, how to deal with difficulties, how to deal with work and how to deal with the revolution. With Chairman Mao's instructions, methods are available for solving all problems.

These changes in the world outlook of the peasants have promptly led to a series of revolutionary changes in action

---

\* The "three old articles" refer to Chairman Mao's "In Memory of Norman Bethune," "Serve the People" and "The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains." The broad masses of the workers, peasants and soldiers constantly and repeatedly study these three articles, regard them as the most powerful and sharpest weapons for transforming the subjective world and the objective world, and intimately call them the "three old articles" for short. They say: "We'll make revolution and study the 'three old articles' the rest of our lives."

After studying Chairman Mao's writings, many grassroots cadres in the countryside have further heightened their revolutionary consciousness, and are determined "to work" the rest of their lives for the revolution and to render "complete" and "thorough" service to the people. They take the lead in flexibly studying and applying Chairman Mao's writings and carrying out work according to Chairman Mao's instructions. When they study problems, carry out work or solve difficulties, they first study the relevant instructions of Chairman Mao's, and resolutely do what Chairman Mao says. They take the lead in performing good deeds, in safeguarding the collective, in taking good care of public property and in paying attention to the living conditions of the poor and lower middle peasants. They go directly to settle down in the backward teams and help them change their features.

Cadres who are honored by the masses as "living Chang Szu-te," "living Norman Bethune," "the living foolish old man," "red housekeepers" or "good service personnel of the people" are emerging continuously.

Some persons who formerly thought it didn't pay to serve as cadres and would rather lie down than to work in that capacity have now given up their ideological burden. They have made self-criticism of their own accord before the masses, regained the confidence of the masses, and swiftly led the masses forward.

Through flexibly studying and applying Chairman Mao's writings, the broad masses of the peasants have a better knowledge of the direction and are following the socialist road with greater determination. They have greatly elevated their socialist consciousness and developed the collectivist spirit, and the question of relationship between public and private interests has been correctly handled.

In the past, the spontaneous force of capitalism was rather serious and the relationship between public and private interests was rather tense in a number of brigades in Suich'i hsien. Quite a number of people were unable to fortify themselves spiritually, and a poor job was made of collective production. After studying the "three old articles" and Chairman Mao's sayings on agricultural cooperation, there has been a big change in the situation.

The broad masses of the peasants are resolved to change the backward features with the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance. They warmly love the collective and find happiness in helping other people. They are honest with money and energetically attend to work. They self-consciously adhere to technical specifications in production and see to it that the quality of work is guaranteed. All this has become a new vogue in the countryside.

Many old people who have basically lost their capacity for labor also strive to do something and to perform some good deeds for the collective. They volunteer to feed draft cattle, to accumulate or manufacture manure, or to plant bamboo and other trees on the roadside for the collective.

Having studied Chairman Mao's writings, the advanced become even more advanced, and the backward people are also transformed into advanced people group by group. Some persons who were formerly described as persons of "the spider type working only for personal gain" or persons "infatuated with work points" now display "a very high sense of responsibility in work. They strive to make farm work "ever better" in quality and specially pick work which is heavy or difficult to perform.

Some rural women who formerly only had an eye for the few pigs, chickens, ducks and geese in their homes and only thought of retaining land for private use now want to make a success of collective production for the Chinese revolution and the world revolution

In Hsinsheng Brigade of Paoan hsien 32 persons were formerly considered by the public as the most backward commune members. In less than four months after the launching of the mass campaign for studying Chairman Mao's writings, ten of them have become advanced elements (with some persons serving as supervising personnel in the study of Chairman Mao's writings) and 14 of them have become more energetic. The other eight persons are also in the course of changing.

Profound changes have also occurred among the broad masses of the rural youths after studying Chairman Mao's writings. In the past, some youths -- especially the educated youths -- felt ill at ease in the countryside. They thought that "there is no prospect in farming" and that "there is no future for them in the countryside." After studying Chairman Mao's writings, they have come to understand that there is no distinction between what is noble and what is lowly in revolutionary work, that farming is also carried out for the revolution and that the countryside is a broad world in which much can be done. They have come to know why revolutionary youths must become one with the workers and peasants, and are resolved to dedicate their own youth toward building a socialist new countryside.

Now, many youths have become activists playing a leading part in the flexible study and application of Chairman Mao's writings, trailblazers in collective production, pioneers in technical innovation, and hard-core elements in the propagation of socialist culture. Quite a number of youths have also been elected by the masses as supervising personnel in the study of Chairman Mao's writings, and have become five-good commune members or five-good militiamen. A contingent of successors to the proletarian revolution, nursed with the thought of Mao Tse-tung, is quickly growing up.

A young woman of Meilin Brigade in Paoan hsien was for a long time unable to work with peace of mind in the countryside in the past. She all along wanted to find an opportunity to leave the countryside. After studying Chairman Mao's writings, she made up her mind to spend the rest of her life in the countryside and to build a socialist new home along with the broad masses. She led a group of young women to shatter the old custom of



not sending women of the locality to plow fields and of not sending young women to cities and towns to collect manure. Now she has become an activist who takes the lead in everything and in performing good deeds as well as a supervisor in the study of Chairman Mao's writings.

Chairman Mao's writings have given the peasants sharper eyes, a keener political scent and a better understanding of classes and class struggle, and have drawn a clear line of distinction between the enemy and ourselves. The broad masses of the peasants have exposed how the landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries and bad elements plotted to seize grassroots political power in the countryside and carried out counterrevolutionary activities for restoring capitalism. They have exposed how the enemies made use of the idea of feudal kinship to undermine the unity of the peasants, how they put money and women at work to win over the cadres, and how they utilized obscene stories, novels and songs to corrode the younger generation. They have exposed how the enemies peddled "peaceful evolution" with various conspirational means, thus hitting hard at the enemies.

In the current great proletarian cultural revolution, the peasants rise one after another indignantly to denounce and expose the counterrevolutionary crimes of the anti-Party, antisocialist black gang. This situation fully shows that in front of the 500 million peasants armed with the thought of Mao Tse-tung, all class enemies will have no way to play tricks and all demons and freaks will have no means to hide themselves.

As soon as the masses of the peasants are armed with the thought of Mao Tse-tung, profound changes are quickly brought to the relationship between the cadres and the masses and between commune members. Chairman Mao's instruction that we must be extremely warm to our comrades and the people and that all people of the revolutionary ranks must show concern for, take good care of and help each other has begun to form the criterion of the broad masses of the peasants in consciously handling the relationship between men. A kind of brand-new relationship is shaping among the people, and the radiance of the communist ideology and the noble quality of morality have begun to shine in the persons of some peasants of the new type.

Quite a number of cadres who had weak class feelings for and adopted a questionable attitude toward the poor and lower middle peasants in the past now come to know why they must wholeheartedly serve the revolution and the people. They promptly mend their ways, take the initiative to show concern for the living conditions of the masses and improve the method of work, thus placing the relationship between the cadres and the masses on a more intimate basis.

Among the commune members some persons were rather selfish in the past. They did not submit to the command of the team leader and constantly quarreled with other commune members, thus affecting unity. After studying Chairman Mao's writings, they have changed their attitude, and quite a

number of them have become advanced elements.

There is in Huangshantung Brigade of Polo hsien a commune member named Ma Kuan-mei who was called the "wasp woman" by the masses. The cadres said: "We would rather go into the mountain to hunt a tiger than to lead her." Now, she has become a good commune member who safeguards the interests of the collective, works energetically and shows concern for other people. Many cadres said: "Having studied Chairman Mao's writings, it is easy to serve as cadres."

The mass movement for studying Chairman Mao's writings has brought the great revolution for changing customs and habits to the countryside. All kinds of feudal superstition, patriarchal thinking, evil habits and undesirable customs, old traditions and customs are breaking up and disintegrating. Socialist cultural activities spring into life, the vogue of reading red books, singing red songs, performing red plays and telling red stories is energetically promoted, and there is the smell of the revolution everywhere.

Paot'ing hsien on Hainan Island is inhabited by people of the Li and Miao nationalities. There the movement for studying Chairman Mao's writings has also been launched, and in many places the masses are presently engaged in sweeping away various kinds of undesirable habits left over from history. The revolutionary new vogue of preaching communist morality, class fraternity, science and public health is being established.

In some areas lying close to Hong Kong and Macau, the capitalist ideological influence spread from Hong Kong and Macau has been further swept away and has succumbed to the superior prestige of socialism.

In quite a number of places, after studying Chairman Mao's writings, the peasants are going further to liberate themselves from the leash of the "religious authority." Formerly, a few places still preached geomancy and fatalism, worshiped idols, cast horoscopes and consulted fortune-tellers. Now these things are being swept away in the revolutionary atmosphere.

Some vestiges of feudal marriages have also been opposed and criticized by the broad masses of the youths.

Thanks to Chairman Mao's writings, the peasants are in high spirits and full of fight. They are wise and brave. They have further freed themselves from the leash of Nature and have become the masters of Nature.

The change in man's spiritual features has unleashed a stupendous material force and greatly changed the natural features. It has enabled the whole province to overcome the most serious natural calamities since liberation and to reap a better early harvest this year.

Since the fall of last year, through making all-out efforts to bring politics to the fore and studying Chairman Mao's writings, Tungkuan hsien

committee has greatly revolutionized the leading organs at various levels and the thought of the broad peasantry, and there has emerged a phase in which work is performed with unprecedented initiative, and the political situation and production situation have never been so good before.

Suich'i was formerly a backward hsien in Chanchiang administrative district. Since the launching of the movement for studying Chairman Mao's writings in the whole hsien, profound changes have occurred in the spiritual features of man and the features of production, and a new spectacle of prosperity has emerged.

The profound changes among the peasant masses brought about by studying Chairman Mao's writings have fully proved that the peasants and cadres armed with the thought of Mao Tse-tung are capable of surmounting all difficulties, overcoming all enemies and creating all kinds of miracles in the world. The era in which the thought of Mao Tse-tung is directly mastered by the peasant masses is an era in which "the six hundred million people of the divine country are as wise as Emperor Yao and Emperor Shun," an era in which we gradually proceed from "the realm of necessity" to "the realm of freedom." With the thought of Mao Tse-tung, the peasants can really become the masters of history and the masters of Nature, and our work can really enter a new realm in which "the red rains can be turned into rolling waves and the green mountains into bridges according to our wishes."

#### Peasants Studying Chairman Mao's Writings Have Deep Class Feelings and the Thoroughgoing Spirit of Practice

Why is there so enormous and profound a change in the spiritual features of the peasant masses once they study Chairman Mao's writings? This is because the thought of Mao Tse-tung has unlimited prestige and power and the peasants studying Chairman Mao's writings have deep class feelings and the thoroughgoing spirit of practice.

The thought of Mao Tse-tung is universal truth that can be correctly applied anywhere in the world. It is the common ideological basis of the unity and revolution of the seven hundred million Chinese people, and is also the most powerful ideological weapon of the world people of the present era seeking revolution and liberation.

Comrade Lin Piao said: "The thought of Mao Tse-tung has mirrored the objective law of the class struggle in China and the international arena as well as the basic interests of the proletariat and the working people. The thought of Mao Tse-tung is not a spontaneous product of the working people, but is a thought ingeniously inherited from Marxism-Leninism and developed by Chairman Mao on the basis of the great revolutionary practice, a summation of the new experience of the international communist movement, and the elevation of Marxism-Leninism to a brand-new stage."

Chairman Mao's books, while profound in theory, are popular and easy to understand. The broad masses of the peasants feel that the revo-

lutionary doctrines preached by Chairman Mao are especially benign to them. The broad masses of the peasants, first of all the poor and lower middle peasants, mentally develop a strong response once they get in touch with the thought of Mao Tse-tung. They say: "Chairman Mao's books are meant for us and we must study them." They say: "Chairman Mao tells us things about our emancipation and the revolution. All things he says are sweet to our ears, and the longer we listen to him the deeper we are impressed." They say: Chairman Mao's books are priceless treasures, and every line learned is good for the rest of our lives."

This fully demonstrates that only in the great era of Mao Tse-tung can there be a new era in which the workers, peasants and soldiers directly master theory. The thought of Mao Tse-tung must be directly mastered by the broad masses of the workers, peasants and soldiers. This is a natural tendency in the development of history which no force can obstruct.

The broad masses of the peasants have deep class feelings for Chairman Mao's writings. On the basis of what they have gone through in person, they deeply understand that it is Chairman Mao who has personally led them to win their emancipation, that it is Chairman Mao who has personally led them on to the socialist road, and that it is Chairman Mao who has personally indicated to them the road forward to happiness. Therefore, they closely link their own destinies with Chairman Mao and never forget Chairman Mao's kindness which is as deep as the sea. They have firm confidence in what Chairman Mao says and compare the thought of Mao Tse-tung to the red sun and the origin of life. They say: "It is most ungrateful not to heed what Chairman Mao says." They say: "In order to heed what Chairman Mao says, we must read his books."

Quite a number of commune members scolded the cadres for not organizing them to study Chairman Mao's writings and directly teaching them Chairman Mao's sayings at an earlier date. Many persons braved winds and rains in the cold weather and traveled over mud in the dark to attend classes teaching Chairman Mao's writings. Some women with many children and heavy household chores to claim their attention also regularly attended class without interruption around the year. Some illiterates learned the "three old articles" word by word and line by line. They rose early and slept late, and sometimes they knocked at the door of another person at midnight to ask questions. Sometimes, they had to make more than ten inquiries about a word, and before they could learn an article, they had to make inquiries from scores of persons. Some blind persons also asked other persons to lead them to such classes to participate in study. The broad masses of the poor and lower middle peasants eagerly studied Chairman Mao's writings in this way.

There are hidden in the hearts of the peasants deep class feelings for Chairman Mao's writings. This is deeply touching to people and is also entirely understandable. However, such deep class feelings must be energetically tapped and led before they can be fully released and greatly raise the peasants' enthusiasm for studying Chairman Mao's writings.

Before such feelings are extensively and thoroughly aroused, many persons among the peasants are not so keen in studying Chairman Mao's writings, and they often harbor various kinds of blurred understanding. For example, they are of the opinion that "work can be successfully carried out regardless of whether such writings are studied or not;" that "cadres detached from production must study, but the study of such writings is optional to those cadres who are not dissociated from production;" that "while the workers must study, the peasants are not necessarily required to study them;" that "land is tilled just the same regardless of whether such writings are studied or not;" that "they will be kept in the countryside just the same regardless of whether such writings are studied or not;" or that "there is no point for them to study since they are old." But once they are ideologically aroused -- with their class feelings tapped, their understanding rectified and their consciousness in study heightened -- many persons energetically throw themselves into the movement for studying Chairman Mao's writings.

In Huanshantung Brigade there is an old poor peasant called Chang Lai-chiao who is 57 years old. At first, when she was urged to study Chairman Mao's writings, she declined on the ground that she was "old." After she was led to recall her miserable past and to compare it with the happy life today, she remembered "how Chairman Mao saved my family from under seven layers of stone slabs and bricks." When she was once again taught that in order to heed what Chairman Mao said, one must read his books, she saw light and said: "Can I be that ungrateful as to be unwilling even to read Chairman Mao's books after emancipation?" Later, when she learned the saying, "Without the poor peasants, there is no revolution," she was so moved that she said: "Chairman Mao has hit the nail on the head. If the poor peasants do read Chairman Mao's books and heed what he says, they have no way to know what is revolution." She stated: "So long as I live, I must read Chairman Mao's books and make revolution to the end."

The peasants who study Chairman Mao's writings have the thoroughgoing spirit of practice. The peasant masses stand on the forefront in the practice of the three great revolutions -- class struggle, struggle for production and scientific experiment. They study Chairman Mao's writings with the need of practice as the point of departure and application as the goal. Their study is closely integrated with actuality, and they study in practice. Therefore, they are able to understand and accept very quickly many revolutionary doctrines taught by Chairman Mao. Moreover, once they comprehend and accept Chairman Mao's observations and viewpoints, they promptly translate the same into action. They say: "We say what we have in mind and do what we say."

In the struggle to remold their own thought, the peasants courageously put themselves "into the picture" and "put forward" their thought. They grasp the vital part and use Chairman Mao's instructions as weapon to analyze and resolve their own ideological problems. They have nothing to hide and are not as evasive and hesitant as some intellectuals are in ideological remolding.

At the study-reporting meetings and teaching-application meetings in many places, the speeches delivered by men and women, both young and old, generally make two kinds of comparison: one is to compare new society with old society, to recall the miserable life of the old society and to think of the happy life of the new society; the other is to compare things before and after study, their thoughts and deeds before and after studying Chairman Mao's writings. Many persons tell how backward and selfish they were in the past and how they have made up their minds to mend their ways. Some persons who used to quarrel and exchange blows with other commune members in the team can now keep their temper because they want to be "noble people." Some persons who used to be fastidious in work, to avoid heavy work and to choose light work now choose only heavy work and pay attention to quality because they want to display "a high sense of responsibility" in their work and "to seek ever greater refinement in technique." Some persons who have lost their capacity for labor still think of all ways and means to do some work within their ability for the collective because they want to be "persons useful to the people."

Formerly, some persons thought that it didn't pay to serve as grassroots cadres and were unwilling to serve in that capacity. Now that they have learned a profound lesson from Norman Bethune's international spirit, and are aware that "two-thirds of the poor people in the world have not been liberated," they are resolved "to serve the revolution the rest of their lives."

This kind of solid spirit and attitude adopted by the peasants toward flexible study and application has enabled them to yield prompt results in ideological remolding and improvement of work.

#### Study of Chairman Mao's Writings Calls for Launching Mass Campaigns in a Big Way

All revolutionary movements are revolutionary mass movements. Chairman Mao said "Politics refers to class politics, mass politics." Without the active participation of the broad masses, there is no genuine revolutionary movement. Organizing the peasants to study Chairman Mao's writings thus enabling the broad peasantry to gain a direct grip on the thought of Mao Tse-tung is an ideological revolutionary movement without parallel in history, and it is the more necessary to launch mass movements in a big way.

Things are now very clear. The peasant masses can study Chairman Mao's writings and are also able to study them well. Where there are poor and lower middle peasants, there is always a strong demand for study. Provided the work is not quietly carried out, is not monopolized or underwritten by a few persons and is not left to the activists, provided the masses are freely aroused and the mass line is followed, there would quickly be an upsurge of fervency for studying Chairman Mao's writings among the broad masses.

Over the past few months, on the basis of summing up the experience of some advanced areas and units at the former stage, Kwangtung province has adopted and popularized the combined method of training hard-core elements by rotation from the top level to the basic level, of staying at selected spots from basic level up to the top level and of arousing the masses to launch a province-wide campaign. Now the various hsien of the whole province have given collective training to more than 3.6 million hard-core elements in the countryside (and it is estimated that collective training can still be given to another million persons this year). Upon their return to their production brigades and teams, these hard-core elements play the leading part in studying Chairman Mao's writings, in self-revolution and in performing good deeds, and the broad masses of the peasants quickly go into action under their leadership.

Simultaneously with this, the work teams of the socialist education movement in the countryside and the cadres of various levels coming to stay at selected spots in various production brigades and teams have intensified their work for ideologically arousing and organizing the broad peasantry to study Chairman Mao's writings. The experiences of some advanced areas and units are quickly popularized throughout the province. The number of people participating in study quickly multiplies in various places. There have emerged large numbers of better units and activists in study.

The touching scenes of teaching and learning from each other, of husbands and wives, fathers and sons and persons of three generations studying together, of an area led forward by a family in study, and of a whole commune led forward by a team in study can be seen everywhere.

Many persons who were regarded as "unable to participate in study" or unable to study successfully" -- such as the backward commune members, illiterate persons, old people, women with too many children -- also enthusiastically participate in study. Some of them are able to study and apply Chairman Mao's writings better than ordinary people and have become activists in study.

Apart from the hsien in which the mass movement has all along been launched with greater success -- such as Suich'i, Tungkuan, Paoan, and Paot'ing -- after a period of general mobilization on a province-wide scale, the greater part of several tens of hsien in which the socialist education campaign is in progress, and a part of the hsien and communes in which the socialist education campaign has not yet been carried out have also gone all-out to participate in study. In these places, the peasants' movement for studying Chairman Mao's writings has become a broad revolutionary movement of the masses, and everywhere there reigns the spirited and ebullient revolutionary atmosphere.

Among the areas in which the socialist education campaign is under way, the campaign makes especially good progress in those areas which have all along studied Chairman Mao's writings in a big way, and class contingents armed with the thought of Mao Tse-tung and cores of leadership can

really be formed. This is of great significance to consolidating the results of the campaign and establishing a political work system with studying Chairman Mao's writings as the center.

In areas in which the socialist education campaign has not yet been launched, so long as the mass movement for studying Chairman Mao's writings has been grasped in real earnest, the big change in the situation is able not only energetically to promote the proletarian revolutionization of the thought of the cadres and the masses as well as production, but also to make good preparations for launching the socialist education campaign in the future.

In order to launch the mass campaign for studying Chairman Mao's writings in a big way, it is first necessary to tap penetratingly the thought of the broad masses of the peasants, especially of the poor and lower middle peasants. This is to say, it is necessary to make full use of the method of recalling the miserable past and comparing it with the happy life they are leading so as to arouse the peasants' class feelings for Chairman Mao's writings. It is necessary, through conducting propaganda with fanfare and organizing democratic discussion, to make the peasants fully understand the great significance of studying Chairman Mao's writings, thus heightening their awareness of the need to study Chairman Mao's writings and enabling them to establish the correct idea of studying for the revolution. Such is necessary for those who have known hardship in the first half of their lives, and is much more necessary for those youths who have been brought up in happy surroundings.

To recall the miserable past and to think of the happy time, to explain thoroughly the significance of studying Chairman Mao's writings and to let the peasants hook their own destinies and the destinies of the country and the world with the thought of Mao Tse-tung -- such are the conditions of primary importance which can insure the genuine development of and protracted perseverance in the mass campaign for studying Chairman Mao's writings. The method of "making recollection and comparison in studying Chairman Mao's writings and studying Chairman Mao's writings for making recollection and comparison" as adopted by Huangshantung Brigade has been proved to be a most effective experience.

In the mass movement for organizing the peasants to study Chairman Mao's writings, it is necessary to arouse the whole to action by grasping the two extremities to lead the center forward. It is necessary to lay hold of the hard-core and advanced elements as well as to arouse more penetratingly the backward stratum.

The percentage of backward persons in a production team is not high. But once they are aroused to participate in study -- especially when they have been transformed into elements through study -- they will cause a big stir, give an impetus to other backward persons, and quickly lead those in the middle state forward.



There is in Hsinsheng Brigade a young woman named Hsiao Ch'un-lan. To quote her own words, she "neither leads nor lags behind." Later, seeing that some commune members who were formerly rather backward had been transformed into advanced elements, she rose to give pursuit and finally became an activist and served as a supervisor in study. This is an example of a representative character.

Peasants must be organized to study and apply Chairman Mao's writings with problems in mind. With various current thoughts in mind, some basic viewpoints in Chairman Mao's writings must be repeatedly studied and applied so that the peasants may unceasingly deepen their knowledge and heighten their consciousness.

Judging from the experiences of various places in Kwangtung, the basic viewpoints which the peasants must first study are principally the viewpoints of serving the people wholeheartedly, the viewpoint of class and class struggle and the viewpoint of from where does man's correct idea come (translation of matter into spirit and spirit into matter) and of "one divides into two." Among them, the most basic one is to grasp and transform the world outlook, principally to study the "three old articles" and some sayings. In this way, the basic things can be grasped, and proficiency in one thing will lead to proficiency in a hundred things.

The mass movement for the peasants to study Chairman Mao's writings will necessarily bring great revolution to the method of study. It is necessary to eradicate the academic, intellectual and organ types of study methods, and it is necessary to adopt and create the mass-line method of study which is correspondence with the mass movement and meets the need of the peasants.

It is necessary to persist in the principle of less but finer in study. Some important viewpoints in Chairman Mao's writings must be studied and applied again and again. We must not be covetous, nor must we be afraid of duplication. We must see to it that such viewpoints are memorized and thoroughly understood, that they are good for application, and that they are known to every household and deeply engraved on people's hearts.

Huangshantung Brigade has spent more than two years principally in studying again and again the "three old articles" and more than twenty other sayings of Chairman Mao's. Hsinsheng Brigade has spent several months principally in studying five sayings in the "three old articles."

The peasants must never be required to spend too long a time in a study session. In Haungshantung Brigade, each session -- including time for reviewing lessons (asking questions), reading, explanation, discussion, summing up and copying sayings -- normally lasts thirty to forty five minutes.

These peasants' supervising personnel teach lessons with an eye on

realities, ask questions and give answers in graphic language, and completely adopt the form of enlightenment. The class is animating, warm and compact.

Apart from teaching lessons in class, they also send lessons to the door and conduct study in families and the fields and through writing sayings on boards.

The stuffing type of study method which involves lengthy discourses and plenty of conventions and is divorced from realities and the masses does not work among the peasants. The peasants must be given a free hand in teaching and study, and a method of study that meets the need of the peasant masses must be created. This is a revolution.

The method of linking theory with reality and the method of enlightenment which Chairman Mao has advocated for a number of years are being applied and popularized on a broad front in a true sense in the mass movement for the peasants to study Chairman Mao's writings.

The holding of "reporting meetings" (i. e., "teaching-application meetings") has an important role to play in pushing through the mass movement for studying Chairman Mao's writings. This is an important means for realizing flexible study and application and the integration of study and application. It is an exemplary study method. It makes collective reports on study results, popularizes study experience and cites good persons and good deeds.

Last year, Suich'i hsien organized a reporting group with activists in the study of Chairman Mao's writings to make itinerant reports in the whole hsien to an audience of more than 200,000, thus giving a big push to the study of Chairman Mao's writings. This year, on the basis of having trained more than ten thousand cadres, Party members and study supervisors by rotation, this hsien again held a number of "major reporting" meetings on study on a large scale within the confines of the hsien -- with the commune, production brigade or production team as the unit. In these meetings, the cadres and the masses told how they studied and applied Chairman Mao's writings, what they had learned, their harvests, their ideological changes and their practical actions. More than 200 thousand people attended and more than twenty thousand people spoke at these "major reporting" meetings which produced good results and were very effective.

In order to launch the mass movement for studying Chairman Mao's writings, a very important question which must be solved is the question of study supervisors. It is necessary and is entirely possible to solve the question of selecting and cultivating supervisors through adopting the mass-line method in the mass movement.

The cultural level of the supervisors need not be high, but they must be high in awakening, and be able to set the example in taking the lead in flexible study and application. Some of them have gone to school



for no more than two or three years. Some were originally not advanced elements, but because they actively participated in study, revolutionized themselves and performed good deeds in the movement for studying Chairman Mao's writings, they have acquired the right to speak, won the support of the masses and become supervisors.

There are generally several study supervisors in many production teams which have made a greater success of study, and there are several dozen study supervisors in a production brigade. They constitute an important force, a propaganda team for the thought of Mao Tse-tung, a rural political work team. They can play an active role through various ideological and cultural setups -- e. g., communist evening schools, cultural rooms, etc. The majority of them are young people and they are most ideal persons for cultivation as red successors.

In the mass movement for studying Chairman Mao's writings, it is necessary to bring politics to the fore in a big way, to cite good persons and good deeds and to establish exemplary pace-setters. Citing good persons and good deeds means promoting flexible study and application and encouraging revolution. It is necessary to cite those who have reformed themselves into good persons with Chairman Mao's writings and performed good deeds. Once they are cited, they will display even higher activism in study, and more good persons and good deeds will appear. They will promote each other and set the vogue. To the backward persons, this is also an invisible form of criticism that will energetically spur them on.

To insure that the mass movement for studying Chairman Mao's writings is smoothly developed and firmly adhered to in the countryside, the leadership at various levels -- especially the leading cadres at the hsien and commune level -- must take the lead in flexibly studying and applying Chairman Mao's writings. The leading cadres must take the lead in revolutionizing themselves, in eradicating selfish thought and in thoroughly remolding their own world outlook. They must set the example by going deep into the basic level to stay at selected spots, to share living quarters, food and work with the poor and lower middle peasants and to realize the revolutionization of the leadership.

With the leading cadres setting the example in flexibly studying and applying Chairman Mao's writings, the broad masses of the grassroots cadres and peasants will be quickly led forward, and once the masses are revolutionized, their study efforts often surpass those of the leading cadres. By that time, the hsien and commune leaders will have a better taste of the sweetness of the power of bringing politics to the fore on the one hand, but on the other hand, they will also be forced to do better in study and application, otherwise they cannot continue to exercise leadership before such a new situation.

In the movement for studying Chairman Mao's writings, the leaders and the masses of quite a number of places in Kwangtung drive forward each other in this way, and they march forward in big strides together along the road of revolutionization.

The CCP Central Committee and Chairman Mao call on the whole country to learn from the People's Liberation Army in a big way, and the mass movement for the peasants to study Chairman Mao's writings in Kwangtung also learns from PLA. The experience of the Kwangtung peasants in studying Chairman Mao's writings is, in the final analysis, the experience of the PLA, the experience generalized and summed up by Comrade Li Piao. The PLA road is followed, although it is applied locally and in the countryside.

In China the soldiers are workers and peasants in uniform. The basic road of the workers, peasants and soldiers mastering the thought of Mao Tse-tung is one and the same. In view of this, if it is necessary to say something about the basic experience of the Kwangtung countryside in launching the mass movement for studying Chairman Mao's writing, such experience is that it is first necessary to emphasize the common character between the study of Chairman Mao's writings by the PLA and the study of Chairman Mao's writings by the peasants, and that it is necessary to learn honestly from the PLA and to educate and remold the peasants with the thought of Mao Tse-tung according to the basic road of the PLA in studying Chairman Mao's writings.

Should we freely arouse the masses and energetically launch the mass movement? Or should we exercise care and stay within the circle of the minority? This is the antithesis and struggle of the two lines and methods.

The situation of the Kwangtung countryside at the former stage shows that whenever the mass movement is energetically launched, the broad masses of the peasants are able to make rapid headway in studying Chairman Mao's writings, directly master the thought of Mao Tse-tung, assume a new spiritual outlook, and translate it into an enormous material force. Opposition to energetically launching the mass movement for the peasant to study Chairman Mao's writings is essentially to reject integrating the thought of Mao Tse-tung with the broad masses of the workers, peasants and soldiers and to oppose the direct mastery and application of the thought of Mao Tse-tung by the worker-peasant-soldier masses.

We should cordially hail the beginning of the new era marked by the direct mastery of theory by the workers, peasants and soldiers. We should freely and energetically launch the mass movement for studying Chairman Mao's writings and work in all fields to promote the forward development of of this great revolutionary movement -- that knows no precedent in history -- on a broader front and to a greater depth.

Right now, our task is to deepen, prolong, consolidate and elevate further the mass movement for the flexible study and application of Chairman Mao's writings. This is to say, on the basis of continuously launching the mass movement on a large scale, we must make a greater success of our solid, penetrating and carefully planned ideological mobilization work. We must persist in study and application and in making good persons of ourselves and performing good deeds. Not only the activists but also the masses must persist in study. We must see to it that Party branches are

revolutionized, that the supervisors and hard-core elements in study are consolidated and elevated, and that the present thriving study movement is put on a firm basis. We must further exert ourselves in "application," and proceeding from studying what we are doing, we must elevate ourselves till the world outlook is transformed. Proceeding from learning from good persons and good deeds and striving to become good persons and perform good deeds, we must elevate ourselves till we take the class struggle as the keel and lay hold of the three great revolutionary movements.

This calls for elevating the broad masses to the present level of the advanced elements, the advanced elements to the level of supervisors, and the ordinary production brigades and production teams to the level of advanced units.

It is our belief that, on the basis of the general mobilization at the former stage, so long as we earnestly deepen, consolidate and elevate our work, put it on a lasting basis, and make a continued success of popularization work, the mass movement for studying Chairman Mao's writings will heroically, solidly and continuously develop throughout the province.

In Order to Launch the Mass Movement for Studying Chairman  
Mao's Writings, It Is Necessary To Go Through A  
Series of Serious Class Struggles

Nearly one year of practice has made us deeply understand that studying Chairman Mao's writings is definitely not reading books in the ordinary sense, but is a profound revolution and a serious class struggle. Without sweeping away the numerous barriers on the road forward, this great revolutionary movement cannot be developed on a broad front to a great depth.

How is the thought of Mao Tse-tung to be handled? On this question there exist two kinds of standpoint and attitude which are diametrically opposite and antagonistic to each other and a sharp struggle.

The peasants regard Chairman Mao's writings as "the red sun," "the origin of life," "food grain" and "the compass." From what they have gone through in person they know that it was the thought of Mao Tse-tung which led them to liberate themselves from the oppression of "seven layers of stone slabs and bricks," and that Chairman Mao's writings are "lights on the revolutionary road" and "the invincible weapon for scoring a great victory." Therefore, they know no bounds in loving and worshipping Chairman Mao's writings.

However, a handful of persons, including the landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad elements, rightists, bourgeois agents within the Party and revisionists -- due to their reactionary instinct -- are extremely hostile to the thought of Mao Tse-tung. They vilify Chairman Mao's writings, disparage their great significance, propagate reactionary views, and devise all ways and means to resist and undermine the mass

movement for studying Chairman Mao's writings. They even hit out at and betray the activists in studying Chairman Mao's writings.

On the question of how Chairman Mao's writings should be handled, the standpoints and attitudes of the revolutionaries and counterrevolutionary are very clearly divided and the struggle is very sharp. It is very obvious that if a tit-for-tat struggle is not launched to expose the ugly features of the handful of monsters and freaks and crush their plots and tricks, the mass movement for studying Chairman Mao's writings cannot be developed.

On the question of whether or not the peasants can learn Chairman Mao's writing well, there is also a basic difference in view and serious struggle.

The lordly "authorities" of the bourgeoisie curse the study of Chairman Mao's writings by peasants as "over-simplification," "philistinism" and "pragmatism. In the eyes of these lords, the peasants know not many characters and have no means to learn theory.

Why must they attack the study of Chairman Mao's writings by peasants? Apart from their reactionary stupidity and prejudice, the chief reason is that they fear once the masses master the thought of Mao Tse-tung, the latter will break their monopoly in theory, smash their plots to distort and tamper with theory and to restore capitalism, make revolution against them, and drag them down from the throne on which they rule culture.

Apart from this, there are among our cadres some persons with muddled viewpoints. They think that "only the grassroots cadres can study but not the commune members;" that "only the educated can study but not those without cultural knowledge;" that "only the young people can study but not the old ones;" that "only men can study but not women;" that "only the advanced elements can study but not the backward commune members;" that "only the advanced areas can study but not the backward areas;" that "only places with concentrated population can study but not those with scattered inhabitants." Some even curtly consider that "the peasants cannot study." These notes mirror how deeply they have been influenced by the thought of the exploiting classes and how inadequate is their knowledge of the great power of Chairman Mao's writings and of the revolutionary character of the peasants.

The revolutionary action of the peasants has refuted both the attack of the enemies and the skepticism of some persons having no confidence. The broad masses of the peasants have surmounted with their dogged fighting spirit the various difficulties on the road forward. They have armed themselves with the thought of Mao Tse-tung and scored a great victory in transforming the subjective world and the objective world.

How should the study of Chairman Mao's writings be oriented? In

other words, how should the relationship between politics and production (business, technique) be oriented? What attitude should the leadership adopt toward the question of studying Chairman Mao's writings and promote the proletarian revolutionization of thought? There is also a very sharp struggle in this regard.

At the former stage of the movement, the overwhelming majority of the cadres in Kwangtung put up a good show and their revolutionary determination was great. Through study and discussion, they learned the far-reaching significance of studying Chairman Mao's writings, began to set right the relationship between politics and production (business, technique), and put the study of Chairman Mao's writings in command of everything.

In areas where the socialist education campaign had been launched, more than 100 thousand members of the work teams resolutely placed the thought of Mao Tse-tung in command of the whole socialist education movement, and used it to guide every step of the movement. The localities in an area firmly took concrete measures to insure the fulfillment of political work at the basic level and in the ideological revolutionization of man. Several ten thousand cadres from leading organs went to the lower level to stay at selected spots to share living quarters, food and work with the people there, and to create samples for bringing politics to the fore. All these manifested that the leadership was determined to make revolution.

Especially since this year, after implementing the "Decision of the South-Central Bureau of the CCP Central Committee on Penetratingly Launching the Movement for Studying Chairman Mao's Writings," studying Comrade Chiao Yu-lu's heroic deeds, and summing up and popularizing the experience of the peasants in the advanced units of the province in studying Chairman Mao's writings, they have further strengthened the consciousness of the leaders at various levels in studying Chairman Mao's writings and taken the lead in flexibly studying and applying Chairman Mao's writings and in making revolution. This has played an even more useful role in leading the masses to study Chairman Mao's writings and in pushing through the province-wide mass movement for studying Chairman Mao's writings.

However, among the cadres, quite a number of over-simple production viewpoints and eclectic viewpoints have also been exposed. They claim that "good in production means good in politics;" that "production cannot be delayed overnight but politics may be put off to next year;" that "production is above everything;" that "good in production can cover up a hundred ugly features;" that "politics is important but production is also important;" that "politics is brought to the fore in slack time, while production is brought to the fore in the busy season;" that "politics must serve production, otherwise it is a flower without roots;" and so on and so forth.

The influence of these bourgeois ideas on our cadres can never be underestimated because they are most harmful. Failure to put the thought of Mao Tse-tung in command means that all our work is deprived of the soul and will go astray, and that we are disarmed ideologically.

On the question of correctly handling the relationship of politics with production (business, technique), if we do not persist in placing the thought of Mao Tse-tung in command of everything, sharpen our scent and boycott the bourgeois and revisionist fallacies, we will slip into the capitalist or revisionist quagmire.

Apart from this, there are also a few cadres who lack enthusiasm and activism for launching the mass movement for studying Chairman Mao's writings because they are seriously affected by individualism, are very selfish and fear revolution. As a consequence, the movement is improperly led. In the areas and units under their leadership, the movement is also very poorly developed. This is also a question which needs to be solved in the current movement.

The long and the short of all the questions discussed above is that we must consciously understand that launching the mass movement for studying Chairman Mao's writings is a serious class struggle, and that this movement must be guided with the unambiguous viewpoint of class struggle. It is necessary to expose continuously the class enemies' plots to undermine the movement for studying Chairman Mao's writings and to criticize all kinds of fallacies. As regards some muddled ideas, they must be continuously criticized and clarified. Through practice, it is necessary continuously to educate the cadres to exercise higher consciousness in study and in leading the study movement.

Chairman Mao taught us: "Class struggle works once it is grasped." The launching of the mass movement for studying Chairman Mao's writings in the countryside throughout Kwangtung makes us deeply comprehend that the use of the thought of Mao Tse-tung to guide the class struggle and all kinds of work will promptly lead to the emergence of a phase in which we shall occupy a favorable position and sweep everything before us.

The peasants' mastery of the thought of Mao Tse-tung means the mastery of the sharpest and most powerful weapon for criticizing the old world. With this weapon, the peasants will become an army which is extraordinarily proletarianized and revolutionized ideologically. They can thoroughly criticize the old world, batter and cleanly sweep away all filthy things left over by imperialism and the landlord and bourgeois classes. They can create a new world, and build brand-new ideas, culture, customs and habits on the economic basis of socialism.

In China, under the leadership of the Party, the broad masses of the peasants -- as the main force of the revolution -- have criticized the old world with this weapon. Now, under new historical conditions and together with the workers, soldiers, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary



intellectuals, they are once again using the critical weapon to criticize the old ideas, old culture, old customs and habits, and other undesirable things left over from the old world.

The arming of hundreds of millions of peasants with the thought of Mao Tse-tung is the most basic hallmark of the great awakening of the Chinese people and the most important guarantee of the thorough victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution of China. This great historical event has an inestimable role to play in impelling China's socialist revolution and construction.

Long live the great, invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung!

CSO: 3530-D



COMMENT ON SUN YEH-FANG'S REACTIONARY POLITICAL  
STAND AND ECONOMIC PROGRAM

[Following is a translation of an article by Meng K'uei (1125 1145) and Hsiao Lin (2556 2651) in the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag) No 10, Peiping, 10 August 1966, pp 26-37.]

Like in other domains, serious and sharp class struggle exists in the economic circles of our country. A black line which is against the Party, against socialism and against the thought of Mao Tse-tung has for a long time predominated in the economic circles. A group of reactionary representatives of the bourgeoisie under academic cloak and the signboards of "scholars" and "authorities" have time and again launched frantic attacks on our beloved and respected Chairman Mao and the Party Center and on our great socialist system, taking advantage of the ideological and cultural positions they usurped. Sun Yeh-fang, Director of the Economic Research Institute, Chinese Academy of Sciences, is a figure assuming command of this black line in the economic circles.

Sun Yeh-fang has carried out his criminal activities against the Party, socialism and the thought of Mao Tse-tung for a long time.

Sun Yeh-fang is a representative of the bourgeoisie who has wormed his way into the Party. He has an immense hatred for the socialist system. Shortly after the 20th Congress of the CPSU, he visited the Soviet Union in 1956, sought for experiences and accepted the black ware of Khrushchev revisionism lock, stock and barrel. After his return, echoing the adverse current of international revisionism and collaborating with the bourgeoisie at home, he openly flaunted a black flag against the Party, socialism and the thought of Mao Tse-tung in the economic circles. In his "Beginning with 'the Total Value of Production'" and "Place the Plans and Statistics on the Basis of the Law of Value" published in that year, he wantonly attacked the socialist system and put forward such ideas of capitalist restoration as placing profit in command and doing away with the planned economy. Sun Yeh-fang is a big rightist that escaped the net.

In 1958 and 1959, under the wise leadership of the Party Center headed by Chairman Mao the whole nation held aloft the great red banner of

the general line, took a big forward on each front and established people's communes on a big scale. It was at that time that Sun Yeh-fang released two big poisonous weeds -- "If One Wants to Understand Economics One Must Acquire Some Knowledge of Philosophy" and "On Value" -- viciously attacking Chairman Mao's great teaching on the contradictions, classes and class struggle in the socialist society, frantically opposing the command of proletarian politics, the Party's general line, the big leap forward and the people's commune. Sun Yeh-fang is a right opportunist pure and simple.

At the time when our country experienced temporary economic difficulties, the class enemies at home and abroad launched frantic attacks on our Party and the socialist system. In the belief that the time for restoring capitalism had come, Sun Yeh-fang carried out activities and spread poison everywhere and, together with all ogres at home, blew the "wind of individual farming" and the "wind of reopening cases" and fomented "three freedoms and one guarantee." During the period in question Sun Yeh-fang visited the Soviet Union on two occasions and had extensive contacts and secret talks with the revisionists of the Soviet Union. After his return from abroad he released a mass of "internal research reports," put forward a whole set of revisionist economic programs, clamored for open "discussion" of his proposal and frantically demanded extensive "experiments" in his vain attempt to restore capitalism in our country. Sun Yeh-fang is an out-and-out counter-revolutionary revisionist.

For a long time Sun Yeh-fang has violently opposed the Party, socialism and the thought of Mao Tse-tung. He has committed a mass of crimes and is notorious for his foul reputation. However, sheltered by some Party fraction in authority which followed the capitalist road, he had all along not been subjected to due criticism and struggle. Now, under the immediate leadership of the Party Center headed by Chairman Mao, a grand cultural revolution of the proletariat unprecedented in history is fast spreading in breadth and depth and the mighty stream of revolution is washing away the ideological and cultural positions still occupied by the bourgeoisie and the feudal survivals. Sun Yeh-fang, counter-revolutionary black gangster who had long hidden himself within the Party has been dragged out. We will hold aloft the great red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung and thoroughly enumerate Sun Yeh-fang's heinous crimes against the Party, against socialism and against the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

#### Sun Yeh-fang's Black Line against the Thought of Mao Tse-tung

Comrade Mao Tse-tung is the greatest Marxist-Leninist of the contemporary age. The thought of Mao Tse-tung is Marxism-Leninism of the era in which imperialism is heading for collapse and socialism is heading for world victory, and is our guide to the socialist revolution and socialist concentration, and is a powerful ideological weapon for defeating imperialism and modern revisionism. The attitude toward the thought of Mao Tse-tung is a watershed between true revolution and phoney revolution, between revolution and counter-revolution and between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism. All the revolutionary people of the world take the thought of Mao Tse-tung as the lighthouse of revolution, have boundless love for it and put a boundless

faith in it. The class enemies at home and abroad have the greatest fear of and immense hatred for the thought of Mao Tse-tung. Sun Yeh-fang has consistently and violently opposed the thought of Mao Tse-tung so as to make his pipe-dream of capitalist restoration come true.

### Glossing over the Class Contradiction and Denying the Class Struggle

Chairman Mao has comprehensively and systematically expounded in his "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People" and other writings the contradictions, classes and class struggle in the socialist society. Chairman Mao teaches us that throughout the socialist phase there exist struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads. Such is the main contradiction in the socialist society and is the motive power for the development of the socialist society.

On the first anniversary of the publication of Chairman Mao's great work, "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People," Sun Yeh-fang wrote in the summer of 1956 an article entitled "If One Wants to Understand Economics One must Acquire Some Knowledge of Philosophy." This article viciously attacked Chairman Mao's great doctrine on the contradictions, classes and class struggle in the socialist society. Adopting the favorite tactics of the bourgeoisie and the revisionists, Sun Yeh-fang obliterated the class contradiction with the "contradiction between man and thing" and denied class struggle. He did his best to preach that the "contradiction between man and thing" was "the deepest contradiction inherent in the socialist economy" and was the "deepest and most far-reaching common root-cause" of various economic contradictions. He insinuated that Chairman Mao's theory of expounding the economic problems from the plane of the class struggle and the struggle of two roads was separated from the "contradiction between man and thing" and was "a river without source and a tree without root." Lest people did not know where his spearhead was directed against, Sun Yeh-fang deliberately added a sub-title: "Several Points of Understanding after Re-reading Comrade Mao Tse-tung's 'On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People'". He hinted to the readers that the target of his attack was none other than our great leader Chairman Mao.

It is absurd in the extreme to claim that there is only contradiction between man and thing and no anthesis between man and nature, no class contradiction or no class struggle in the socialist society. In advancing this fallacy Sun Yeh-fang deliberately set himself against the Party Center and Chairman Mao and opposed the class struggle and the struggle between the socialist and the capitalist roads as the leading factor in all work. He countered the class struggle and the struggle of the two roads by suggesting that the "key" to economic development was not class struggle but the "contradiction between man and thing." He generalized the "contradiction between man and thing" into this formula: Products . He praised this formula as  
Labor time

a wonderful "new discovery." He said, "Not only are all the secrets of economic problems contained in this formula" but the question of who wins in the struggle of socialism against capitalism was "in the final analysis" "how

to reduce the denominator and enlarge the numerator." According to Sun Yeh-fang's formula, "the proletarian revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist direction must be done away with, and all one gets to do is to "reduce the denominator and enlarge the numerator."

Revolutionary class struggle makes all ogres to palpitate with fear and anxiety. In their class struggle against the proletariat they always with ulterior motive deny class struggle and attempt to benumb the revolutionary will of the people. Counter-revolutionary revisionist Sun Yeh-fang and his ilk never wearied of denying class struggle but actually they took the side of the bourgeoisie and launched attacks on the proletariat in their vain attempt to change the dictatorship of the proletariat into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Sun Yeh-fang's "formula" was deliberately presented to meet the needs of the reactionary class at home and abroad and was a "theoretical" weapon provided for their counter-revolutionary restoration.

Sun Yeh-fang's fantastic and strange theory is nothing new. To cover up their brutal class struggle against the Soviet People, the Khrushchev revisionist clique talked such rubbish as "the socialist society is one without class struggle" and "in the socialist society the unity of various classes takes the place of class struggle that has existed since the ancient time." They accused our Party of "stubbornly looking for non-existent stratum of the exploiting class or the bourgeoisie and looking for class struggle in the socialist society." Sun Yeh-fang sang the same tune as the Khrushchev revisionist clique, and his object, too, was to cover up the frantic attacks of the ogres on the Party and socialism in his vain attempt to make the revolutionary people throw off their guard against such attacks, give up the class struggle and let capitalism stage a come-back.

#### He Is Against Placing Politics in Command

Chairman Mao teaches us that politics is the commander and the soul. Political work is the lifeline of all economic work.

Sun Yeh-fang regards political command as a thorn in his flesh. He viciously attacked political command for "dealing with politics without regard to economics and substituting political explanation for economic explanation -- which is not only an idealist view but, it may be said, is also the thought of lazy-bone in economics." He picked up the worn-out weapon which Bukharin used for attacking Lenin and which was thoroughly refuted by Lenin, and made the charge that political command "has only explained problems in the political sense but not in the economic sense." And he advocated the need for both "explanation in the political sense" and "explanation in the economic sense."

All such are fallacies.

Chairman Mao said: "Economics is the base while politics is the concentrated expression of economics." Such is our fundamental view of the relationship between politics and economics, Chairman Mao pointed out.

(1) In the socialist society there still exist class struggle, the struggle

of two roads and the danger of capitalist restoration. All class struggles are political struggles. If the proletariat wants to defeat the bourgeoisie in this struggle of two roads, it must bring politics to the fore and persist in placing the thought of Mao Tse-tung in command. Otherwise, it will lose its bearings in the grave class struggle, a nation-wide counter-revolutionary restoration will emerge, and there will be a danger that the Party and the State will go into extinction and the heads of millions will fall on the ground. In a word, without bringing proletarian politics to the fore and placing the thought of Mao Tse-tung in command, there will be no dictatorship of the proletariat, no socialism and nothing for the people.

Sun Yeh-fang's reactionary class sense of smell is very strong. Being fearful that placing the proletarian politics in command will destroy everything on which they depend for life, he came forward and opposed placing politics in command. He never wearied of talking about "economics" and "law" as if some "economics" was divorced from politics and as if only he himself comprehended the mystery of the economic law. As a matter of fact, all these were excuses for opposing the political command. He made this nonsensical statement: "The relationship between cost and function is one in which the maximum effect is achieved with the minimum expenditure of labor (living labor and materialized labor). This means placing politics in command, does it not?" He even said downright that placing politics in command "should be included in the concept of economic effect." With Sun Yeh-fang, the so-called expenditure of labor means investment or cost, the so-called economic effect means profit. It turns out that Sun Yeh-fang wanted the political command to be "included" in the "concept" of profit and that his so-called "placing politics in command" means using the minimum investment or cost to make the maximum profit. Obviously, this would mean placing profit in command and placing the bourgeois politics in command in the true sense of the word. In the class society, either the politics of one class or the politics of another is bound to be brought to the fore. In the socialist society, either the politics of the proletariat or the politics of the bourgeoisie is bound to be placed in command of all kinds of work. This is the law.

Placing the politics of the proletariat in command means placing the thought of Mao Tse-tung in command. In attacking the proletarian politics assuming command, Sun Yeh-fang attacked the thought of Mao Tse-tung assuming command. He slandered political command as "idealism" and the "thought of lazy-bone." Is not this a blatant charge that placing the thought of Mao Tse-tung in command is "idealism"? Is not this a blatant charge that to let the whole nation read Chairman Mao's books, listen to Chairman Mao's words and act according to Chairman Mao's directives is the "thought of lazy-bone"? This is a vicious slander on the thought of Mao Tse-tung and is a challenge to the whole nation.

Sun Yeh-fang's fallacies against placing politics in command are obtained wholesale from the poison company of Khrushchev (whom Sun Yeh-fang called his "master") revisionism. Khrushchev revisionists charged that placing politics in command is a "theory that will power is everything" and "overlooks the objective economic law." Sun Yeh-fang also made the charge that placing politics in command is "idealism" and is "denial or belittlement

of the objective economic law." Khrushchev revisionists made the charge that acting according to Chairman Mao's directives means "one does not have to think" and "mechanical carrying out of the will of others." Sun Yeh-fang, too, made the charge that listening to Chairman Mao's words and explaining things with the thought of Mao Tse-tung is "the thought of lazy-bone." Khrushchev revisionists talked such rubbish as "comparison between cost and effect is the soul of economics." Sun Yeh-fang, too, talked rubbish, declaring that the relationship between cost and function means placing politics in command." All this shows that Sun Yeh-fang is in every sense a yes-man to Khrushchev revisionism.

Attacking the General Line, the Big Leap Forward and the People's Commune

Since 1958, the people of our country, under the beacon light of the thought of Mao Tse-tung and the wise leadership of the Party Center headed by Chairman Mao, have taken a big leap forward in various undertakings and set up people's communes in a big way, holding aloft the great red banner of the general line and manifesting high spirits and strong will. In the socialist revolution and socialist construction they have achieved great successes unprecedented in history. Our great achievements started imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries of various countries as well as the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and rightists at home. All the ogres gathered together, used the most despicable means and the most dirty languages to curse our great Party, the great general line, the big leap forward and the people's commune. Seated on the same bench as the ogres at home and abroad, Sun Yeh-fang took an active part in this counter-revolutionary activity.

Sun Yeh-fang launched vicious attack on the general line. He brought up this charge: "The Party's general line and walk-on-two-leg policy, etc., are limited to the super-structure and political science" and are not reflections of "economic relations" and are "subjectivist." Resorting to subterfuge Sun Yeh-fang openly stated that "the law of value is actually another way of presenting the general line" and "the general line for building socialism means uniting cost and function and achieving the maximum effect at the minimum cost." A clear-sighted person can readily see through the vain attempt of Sun Yeh-fang to substitute capitalist way of business for our Party's general line for socialist construction, his objective being to openly restore capitalism.

Sun Yeh-fang launched violent attack on the big leap forward. Imperialist Khrushchev revisionism and the right opportunists and "Three-Family Village" counter-revolutionary gang at home denounced the big leap forward for "placing exclusive reliance on will," "regarding the economic law with indifference," "causing disproportions," "undermining the economy," "blowing hot air" and "talking big." Sun Yeh-fang threw mud at the big leap forward, saying that it caused "serious disproportions," "turned the already created national wealth into waste" and "eaten all the capital." He slandered the big leap forward as "a hot head getting dizzy." He was so conscienceless as to speak Russian, in the presence of foreign revisionists and without



the help of an interpreter, to describe the big leap forward as a product of "a head getting dizzy." Echoing and singing the same tune as all ogres at home and abroad, Sun Yeh-fang used the same abusive terms. Could this be a matter of coincidence? No. This was dictated by their class nature; by the law of class struggle.

Sun Yeh-fang also launched frenzied attack on the people's commune. The people's commune is a new social organization of great significance, created by our people under the leadership of Chairman Mao to meet the need of development of productive forces and is an inevitable product of the political and economic development of our country. Immediately it emerged from the borad horizon of China like the morning sun in 1958, Sun Yeh-fang viciously attacked the people's commune movement, saying that "it deals with the relations of production without regard to the productive forces and tries to be the largest in size so as to leap to the skies at one step" and "it is an error of reckless advance and subjective idealism." He slandered: "In agriculture, at best we still use draft animals to plow the field and are still at the same backward level of productive forces as found in the Ch'in dynasty. This level must be taken into account in the collectivization movement but at that time we seemed to take the view that the bigger the better." He also blatantly made the charge that Chairman Mao's scientific conclusion that the people's commune is "large and just" was "questionable." Sun Yeh-fang's attack on the people's commune was cast from the same mold as the absurdities uttered by the right opportunists and the revisionists that our people's communes "were set up too soon and were a failure," "they went beyond the level of social development and level of mass consciousness", "they came from subjective imagination and skipped over phases."

Barking could not sully the light of the sun. Now the whole world can see that it is precisely because we held aloft the great red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung and stuck to the general line, the big leap forward and the people's commune that we have fulfilled the Second Five-Year Plan ahead of schedule, that we have triumphed over serious natural calamities for three years in succession, that we have smashed the disruptive activities of the Khrushchev revisionist clique against our economic construction, that we have taken the Tach'ing Oilfield and removed the label "oil poverty," that we have turned out 12,000-ton hydraulic press, that we have successfully carried out nuclear explosions on three occasions. The great achievements of the general line, the big leap forward and the people's commune can by no means be obliterated by the outcries of a few reactionaries.

Chairman Mao has taught us: "If we were opposed by the enemy it would be fine for it proves that a dividing line has been drawn by us for our enemy. If the enemy vigorously opposed us and represented us as being very bad and good for nothing, it would be better for it proves that we have not only drawn a dividing line against him but have also been very successful in our work." (2) This is immutable truth. That the class enemies at home and abroad curse our Party's general line, big leap forward and people's commune is precisely a proof that our Party's general line, big leap forward and people's commune are great and correct and that we have achieved a great

success. The greater our success the harder is the time for the class enemy and the more they will ferociously curse us. The reactionaries of the world have cursed us for several decades and the more they curse us the more we get strong while they themselves are ever drawing closer to their distinction.

Crazily Clamoring for "Declaration of War" on Mao Tse-tung's Thought

Sun Yeh-fang hates the thought of Mao Tse-tung to the bone. He viciously slandered Chairman Mao's writings as "dealing with only 'abstraction'" and "endlessly indulging in idle talks on 'abstraction', thus turning abstraction into emptiness or nothingness." Like all the revisionists he flaunted the banner of opposing "traditional dogmatism" and opposed Marxism-Leninism and the thought of Mao Tse-tung. For many years he has consistently styled himself a valiant opponent to "traditional 'dogmatism.'" He said that in economics "traditional dogmatism" means the "theory of natural economy."

Sun Yeh-fang said that the "theory of natural economy" is the thought that "it occupies a self-evident monopolistic position" in China.

He also said that the system of economic management for more than 10 years in China had been drawn up under the "guidance" of the "theory of natural economy."

He also said that the "theory of natural economy fundamentally affects the present theory and practice."

Against what was the spearhead of Sun Yeh-fang's attack on the "theory of natural economy" directed?

As we know, our guiding thought is Marxism-Leninism and the thought of Mao Tse-tung. Our socialist revolution and socialist construction are guided by the thought of Mao Tse-tung. The thought of Mao Tse-tung which is ever entering into the minds of people is the guide to all kinds of our work. Obviously, what Sun Yeh-fang attacked was the "traditional dogmatism," the thought of Mao Tse-tung. The so-called "theory of natural economy" which occupied a "monopolistic position" as he charged was the Marxist-Leninist economic doctrine, Chairman Mao's economic theory.

Sun Yeh-fang shouted his demand that the "theory of natural economy" be regarded as the "enemy" and "war be declared on the theory of natural economy." This means that he wanted to regard the thought of Mao Tse-tung as the "enemy" and to "declare war" on the thought of Mao Tse-tung. Sun Yeh-fang was overweeningly swollen with counter-revolutionary ardor!

The thought of Mao Tse-tung is our guide to revolution and construction while the thought of the bourgeoisie and the revisionist thought are instruments which the ogres of all kinds use to restore capitalism. Counter-revolutionary revisionists like Sun Yeh-fang and his ilk have the most immense hatred for the great thought of Mao Tse-tung and the greatest love

for the bourgeois and revisionist thoughts that are rotten to the core. Simultaneously with cursing the commanding position of Mao Tse-tung's thought for "monopoly," Sun Yeh-fang openly wanted people to learn from the "wise" capitalists, saying that Khrushchev revisionism had given him "the greatest revelation." He shouted: "It cannot be said that all the revisionist wants we may not want." This precisely shows that Sun Yeh-fang wanted the bourgeois and revisionist thoughts to monopolize the ideological position and shaped public opinion in favor of capitalist restoration.

Chairman Mao is the red sun in our hearts and is our life-line. Every word of Chairman Mao's is truth. We most ardently love and adore the thought of Mao Tse-tung and have boundless faith in it. We will forever study, publicize, carry out and safeguard the great thought of Mao Tse-tung. Whoever dares to oppose Chairman Mao and oppose the thought of Mao Tse-tung we will resolutely fight to the end! We will hold aloft the great red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung and completely knock down the counter-revolutionary revisionists like Sun Yeh-fang and his ilk.

#### Sun Yeh-fang's Economic Program for Capitalist Restoration

Sun Yeh-fang viciously attacked the thought of Mao Tse-tung and the leadership of the Party with the object of restoring capitalism in our country. This criminal attempt finds its concentrated expressions in the whole set of revisionist economic programs he has put forward. In his articles and speeches Sun Yeh-fang often wickedly forms a contrast between the socialist system and the capitalist system and slanders socialism as being inferior to capitalism. In the eyes of the revisionist Sun Yeh-fang, socialism is dark and very bad while capitalism is bright and very good indeed. Taking the reactionary stand of the bourgeoisie Sun Yeh-fang is antagonistic and hostile to everything in the socialist society and is quite close and infinitely inclined to everything in the capitalist society. Proceeding from this point, Sun Yeh-fang has brought forward a set of economic programs for restoring capitalism. His programs have the following basic contents: profit as the commander, autonomy of enterprises, free market, guarantee of production by households, the law of value as the primary.

This stuff on Sun Yeh-fang's is nothing new. It is completely a parrotry and is copied from Khrushchev revisionism. He shamelessly said that his "basic views" were copied "from the Soviet comrades." Sun Yeh-fang is China's Liebermann. He declared without sense of shame that he "is the same" as Liebermann, the notorious revisionist economist of the Soviet Union, and "is more thoroughgoing than Liebermann." What Sun Yeh-fang loudly advocates is precisely what is now carried out by Khrushchev revisionism in the Soviet Union.

The question of profit is one talked about with the biggest noise by Sun Yeh-fang since 1956. He makes the charge that we are so enchanted by "magic" that we take "capital and profit" as "capitalist concepts" and "get frightened whenever profit is mentioned and that this causes the "evil consequences" of "disregarding cost and universally belittling the economic results." Shouting himself hoarse, he clamors for "restoration of the reputation of the socialist profit indicator" and "raising the position of the

profit indicator in the system of the planned economic management."

It is sheer calumny to say that the socialist construction "disregards cost" and the socialist enterprises want no profit. Sun Yeh-fang has ulterior motive in his mind when he clamors for raising the "position" of profit and restoring the "reputation" of profit.

Sun Yeh-fang talks rubbish when he claims that the profit indicator is the "most central link in the whole system of planned indicators, and by grasping this link the whole chain can be set in motion." He often compares the entire national economy to an "ox" and takes the profit indicator as the "ox nose," saying that as long as you hold the ox nose (profit indicator) the ox (the entire national economy) will follow you. He attacks the planned economy as a stupid method of raising the ox legs to walk.

Sun Yeh-fang stands for taking the amount of profit as the sole criterion for measuring whether an enterprise is advanced or backward. He says: "Profit is the most concentrated expression of the way an enterprise is managed" and "the most ingenuous indicator" and that "the rate of socially averaged profit on fund is the level to be reached by every enterprise, and those exceeding this level of average profit on fund are advanced and those which fail to reach this level are backward."

Sun Yeh-fang also advocates that the direction in which social investments are made should be determined according to the amount of profit. He considers that in determining "the amount of investments" in various departments of the entire national economy, "economic comparison should be made, that is to say, the average rate of profit on fund should be taken into consideration." This means that investments should be made in the department whose profit rate is high and less or no investments should be made in the department whose profit rate is low.

This stuff of Sun Yeh-fang's is completely the capitalist and revisionist one of placing profit in command. In the eyes of the capitalists in the capitalist society, profit is indeed "the most concentrated expression of the way an enterprise is managed" and "the most ingenuous indicator." The only aim of the capitalists is to make money. Where the capitalists invest their capital is determined entirely according to the level of profit rate. If the capitalist economy is compared to an "ox," then profit is indeed the "ox nose" for all the economic activities of capitalism depend on profit.

The socialist economy is absolutely not and is absolutely not allowed to follow the capitalist pattern.

We run enterprises and undertake construction not for making money but in the interests of the Chinese revolution and world revolution. All our economic work can only follow the general guiding principle for economic and financial work as formulated by Chairman Mao, that is, "develop economy to insure supply" and can by no means follow the example of the capitalists who seek only profit, do more business if profit is high, less business if profit is low and no business if there is no profit.

The distribution of construction funds can only be determined according to the political task of our Party and State and according to the development of the national economy and the needs of people's livelihood. We can by no means distribute construction funds and determine the direction of investments according to the profit rate and sacrifice the fundamental interests of the proletariat and the laboring people as advocated by Sun Yeh-fang.

The central link that sets all things in motion in the socialist economy can only consist in placing the proletarian politics in command. Only by bringing politics to the fore, placing the thought of Mao Tse-tung in command and promoting revolutionization of man's mind can the socialist direction of the enterprises be insured and can the revolutionary enthusiasm and creative power of the worker masses be summoned and the quality and quantity of products raised to the greatest extent. The task of an enterprise is not only to turn out products but also to train personnel and create experiences. Simultaneously with developing production, an enterprise must prepare not only material conditions but also spiritual conditions for the communism to come. For this reason, the most fundamental criterion for measuring whether an enterprise is advanced and how it is managed is whether it brings politics to the fore and brings the proletarian politics to the fore. Enterprises of Tach'ing type are good and advanced because they have brought the thought of Mao Tse-tung and the proletarian politics to the fore.

Sun Yeh-fang wants to use profit for setting all the central links in motion and take profit as the "ox nose" of the socialist economy. This is bound to undermine the planned economy of socialism, lead to anarchy in production, cause the socialist economy to fall back to the capitalist economy and realize all-round counter-revolutionary restoration of capitalism.

#### Advocating Autonomy of Enterprises

Autonomy of enterprises and profit assuming command are twins delivered by Sun Yeh-fang from the poisonous womb of capitalism. To place profit in command and restore capitalism is bound to undermine the centralized and unified leadership of the Party and the State over the socialist economy, disintegrate the ownership by the whole people and make every enterprise an independent kingdom. For this reason, like the renegades Tito and Khrushchev, Sun Yeh-fang ferociously attacks the centralized and unified leadership of the Party and the State over the socialist economy. He slanders the socialist economy under the unified and centralized leadership as "natural economy" like the "primitive commune" and says the "unified and centralized planning organ takes the place of the leaders in the economy of primitive clans and leads the economic activities of the whole society." He accuses the Party and State leadership over enterprises of "binding the hands and feet of enterprises and restricting their initiative." He launches vicious attack on our Party management of economy, saying: "As soon as the Party lays hold on the economy, the economy dies; when it dies, the Party worries; when it worries, it relaxes the hold; when it relaxes the hold, the economy is in disorder; when the economy is in disorder, the Party lays a firm hold on it..... now one thing now another." In the eyes of Sun Yeh-fang, the

socialist economy has entered a blind alley and the only way out is to ask this gang of counter-revolutionary revisionists to restore capitalism.

Flaunting the signboard of dividing authority into "big authority" and "small authority," Sun Yeh-fang stands against the centralized and unified leadership of the Party and the State over the national economy and advocates giving enterprises "function and power to handle all their economic affairs independently." He says that "small authority" belongs to enterprises and "big authority" belongs to the State. The "small authority" he has in mind includes specifically: First, enterprises have the authority to draw up their production plans and the State should not set enterprises planned indicators of variety, quantity and quality. Second, enterprises have the authority to dispose of all their depreciation funds and decide on maintenance and renewal of their fixed assets and even the authority to "buy and sell fixed assets freely." Third, cancel the system of unified State allocation of supplies; enterprises have authority to arrange supply and marketing relations and to buy and sell products freely. In this way, Sun Yeh-fang gives the State "big authority" to manage only two things: investing funds and collecting profits.

According to what Sun Yeh-fang advocates, the relationship between the State and the enterprises will virtually change into one between the lending capitalists and industrial capitalists. Investing funds and collecting profits is the business of the State. After obtaining funds enterprises will decide how to produce and how to do business, and the State need not and has no right to interfere. If things are done like this, then what socialist ownership by the whole can there be? What socialist planned economy can there be?

The socialist economy is planned economy under the centralized and unified leadership of the state of proletarian dictatorship. Chairman Mao said that without a high degree of democracy there can be no high degree of centralization; without a high degree of centralization, the socialist economy cannot be built. Lenin also said: "If production and distribution of products are not placed under all-round State statistic and supervision, the political power of the laborers and the freedom of laborers cannot be maintained, and restoration of capitalist oppression will be unavoidable."

(3) Is it not very clear that Sun Yeh-fang aims at restoration of capitalism when he opposes the centralized and unified leadership of the Party and the State over the socialist economy and advocates autonomy of enterprises?

#### Fomenting Free Market and Guarantee of Production by Households

Sun Yeh-fang and his ilk could not reconcile themselves to the fact that the more than 500 million peasants have embarked on the royal road to socialism. With a view to disintegrating the socialist economy owned by the collective, Sun Yeh-fang, exploiting the Economic Research Institute under his thumb, organized personnel to carry out "investigations," write "reports," hold "discussion meetings" and foment "opening free markets extensively." Sun Yeh-fang and his ilk did not conceal what was on their

minds when they said: "Suppose there are speculative activities, what is the harm? At worst the speculators are allowed to make some money." They even openly wanted our Party to "govern without interference" with regard to the free market.

Market question is an important aspect of struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads. The "free market" advocated by Sun Yeh-fang is entirely a capitalist stuff, representing a vain attempt to open the door to restoration of capitalism over the market question. If their scheme succeeds, a situation will appear in which capitalist "liberalization" takes place, and it will certainly lead to disintegration of the socialist economy owned by the collected and by the whole people.

During the period of temporary economic difficulties in our country, the class enemy blew up the "guarantee of production by households" black wind in the countryside. Sun Yeh-fang, who consistently hated the people's commune to the bone, hurriedly leapt forward and, coordinating with the attack by the ogres of all kinds, advocated "guarantee of production by households" in his vain attempt to overthrow the system of people's communes. Sun Yeh-fang said: "One step too much was taken and it is now necessary to go back by two steps -- to a smaller size." Where should the communes fall back? Back to "guarantee of production by households," i.e., to individual farming, to capitalism. In the eyes of Sun Yeh-fang, the people's commune was an "occult thing" and "something not firm;" "guarantee of production by households or the wind of individual farming is the return of a thing after it has reached its limit." He shouted: "When the masses have lost confidence in the collective, the organizational forms -- from guarantee of production by households to borrowing land to tide over famine -- must not be lightly negated as long as they can promote production."

Sun Yeh-fang said that the "masses have lost confidence in the collective." This was rubbish and a gross slander to the broad masses of our country. The broad masses of peasants, particularly the poor and lower-middle peasants deeply realized from their own experience that the collective economy was their life-line and the people's commune was the royal road to communism. They know that guarantee of production by households" or individual farming would mean going back to capitalism and sinking into the abyss of suffering. The "masses" referred to by Sun Yeh-fang were actually a handful of landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and rightists, a handful of persons who stubbornly followed the capitalist road. Sun Yeh-fang confidently believed that if this handful of ogres shouted and cursed, the people's communes would collapse and we would have "to go back by two steps" and let capitalism restore itself. Sun Yeh-fang once again made a wrong assessment of the situation and laughed too early. Not long afterwards, under the wise leadership of the Party Center headed by Chairman Mao the people of our country beat off the frenzied attacks by the capitalist force and the remnant force of feudalism, consolidated the collective economy, developed agricultural production and made the socialist world ever more stable. And those like Sun Yeh-fang and his ilk, who preached retrogression, advocated "three freedoms and one guarantee" and desperately recalled the soul of the capitalist system, came

to grief.

### The Law of Value Is Primary, He Shouts

Sun Yeh-fang raked his brains to clothe in "theory" his economic program for restoring capitalism. This garment is the "theory of the law of value" he has repeatedly preached. He said: "Of all laws, the law of value is primary." The law of value "signifies a combination of politics, economics and techniques." That is to say, the law of value means everything, and the socialist system, Party leadership, political command and planned and proportional development of the national economy may be cast to the winds.

Sun Yeh-fang denies the fundamental principle of Marxist-Leninist political economy that the law of value is the economic law for commodity production. He lays prostrate before the law of value, worships it and cries "Long live the law of value!" In his view, the law of value plays the role of "promoting technical progress and developing the productive forces" and the "role as a regulator of production," both in the capitalist and in the socialist society and even in the communist society. He decries against denial of the "common character" of capitalism and socialism, saying that "to deny value is to deny the common character... and deny the most fundamental thing in the socialist society." Sun Yeh-fang deliberately confuses the different roles played by the law of value under two social systems. The socialist economy is based on public ownership of the means of production and the economy is developed in planned and proportional ways. Although the law of value functions to a certain degree, yet its role is subjected to strict restriction, so much so that it cannot play the role as a regulator of production, still it is "the most fundamental thing." Sun Yeh-fang represents the law of value as the "most fundamental thing" in the socialist society and as the "character" common to socialism and capitalism. His object is to deny the fundamental antithesis between socialism and capitalism, thereby to provide a "theoretical" basis for his economic program designed to restore capitalism.

Sun Yeh-fang ardently demands that the socialist planned economy be "placed on the basis of the law of value" and "enterprises be allowed to produce cheap-priced and fine-quality goods automatically... under the predominant role of the law of value." He is fully aware that as long as the law of value is elevated to a predominant position and is allowed to play the "role as the regulator" blindly and spontaneously, the whole society will sink into a state of competition and anarchy and into the quagmire of capitalist "liberalization" and the socialist economy will come to nothing. Herein lies the fundamental reason why Sun Yeh-fang and his ilk have long made a big fuss about the law of value.

### Concluding Remarks

The mass of facts enumerated above show that Sun Yeh-fang has frantically opposed Marxism-Leninism and the thought of Mao Tse-tung, ardently preached the counter-revolutionary "theory" of the bourgeoisie and revisionism,



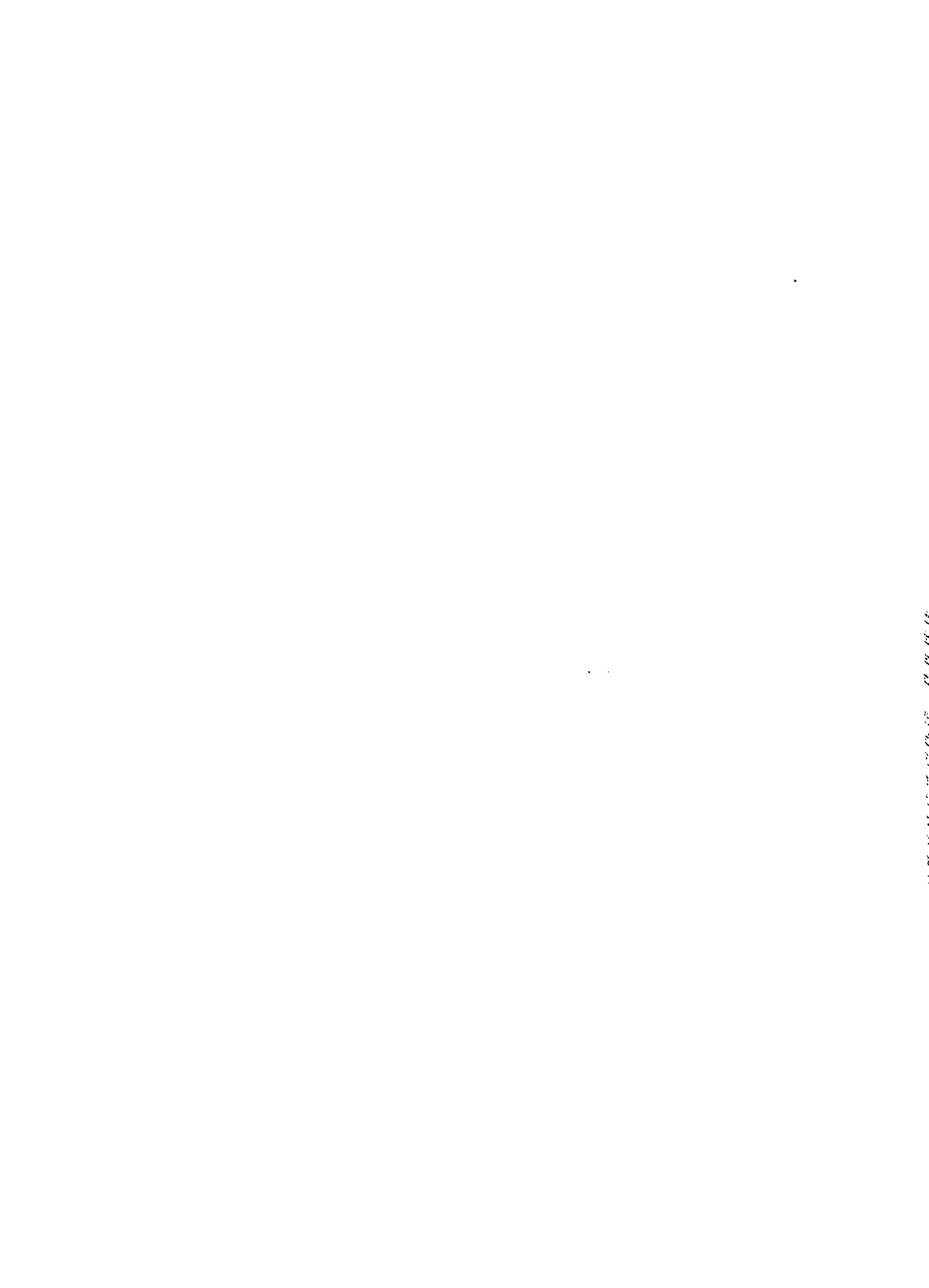
frantically opposed the revolutionary politics formulated by our great, respected and beloved leader Chairman Mao, vigorously advocated counter-revolutionary politics of modern revisionism, frantically opposed the socialist system and strongly demanded restoration of the capitalist system. Sun Yeh-fang himself admits that what he deals with "is a question of system." Yes, "It is a question of system." Our struggle against Sun Yeh-fang is a struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, a struggle of socialism against capitalism and a struggle for consolidating and developing the socialist system and against the capitalist system. This is a life-and-death struggle.

Sun Yeh-fang is an extremely reactionary and stubborn representative of the bourgeoisie. After his anti-Party and anti-socialist words and deeds were brought to light, he still openly shouted that he would "come to battle" and "go stripped to battle." And he declared: "The more some people oppose me the more I am affirmative." "I am a piece of iron plate and will not waver." Chairman Mao has told us: "The diehards may be hard, but they are not hard unto death and in the end they will change into something filthy and contemptible like dog's dung." (4) Like all the stubborn elements Sun Yeh-fang will eventually become a heap of dog-dung.

Chairman Mao has taught us: "Everything reactionary is the same; if you don't hit it, it won't fall. This is like sweeping the floor; as a rule, where the broom does not reach, the dust will not vanish of itself." (5) We will hold aloft the great red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, resolutely fight Sun Yeh-fang, a counter-revolutionary revisionist to the end, resolutely pull out the anti Party, anti-socialist and anti-Mao Tse-tung thought black flag represented by Sun Yeh-fang in the economic circles, knock down the faction in authority which usurps the leading posts of learning and culture and follows the capitalist road and the reactionary academic "authorities," seize back the positions of economics occupied by the bourgeoisie and the revisionists, and let the great red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung flutter forever over the positions of economics!

- (1) "On New Democracy" Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung Vol. II, People's Publishing House, 2nd 1952 edition, p. 657
- (2) "What Is Opposed by the Enemy Is Good and Not Bad Thing", People's Publishing House, 1964 edition, p. 2.
- (3) "The Present Tasks of the Soviet State Power," Collected Works of Lenin, Vol 27, People's Publishing House 1958 edition, p. 232.
- (4) "New-Democratic Constitutional Government," Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Vol II, People's Publishing House 1952, 2nd edition, p. 731.
- (5) "The Situation and Our Policy after the Victory in the War of Resistance against Japan," Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Vol IV, People's Publishing House 1966 edition, p. 1131.

CSO: 3530-D



THE THREE POISON WEEDS OF HOU WAI-LU'S  
COMMENTS OF T'ANG HSIEN-TSU'S PLAYS

[Following is a translation of an article by Wang En-yu (3769 1869 1342), T'ang Yu-yuan (0781 1342 0337), and Meng Hsiang-ts'ai (1322 4382 2088) in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No. 10, 10 August 1966, pages 38-49]

By exposing and criticizing the anti-party and anti-socialist criminal acts of those like Wu Han (0702 2498) in the great proletarian cultural revolution, our eyes have been brightened, and we have been able to unearth yet another anti-party and anti-socialist element, Hou Wai-lu (0186 1120 1687).

Hou Wai-lu is a reactionary bourgeois "authority" in the field of history. He infiltrated the party and, under the cloak of Marxism-Leninism, has been discharging his poison freely for a long time. In 1961, he published three comments of T'ang Hsien-tsu's plays, which are the three great anti-party, anti-socialist, and anti-Mao Tse-tung poison weeds. Without concealment, he declares that he wrote these articles not for the purpose of being ancient for the sake of the ancient, but to bring out the "historical satires which reveal the realistic conflicts," and "contain an underlying meaning... beyond the pen and ink."

Now, let us peel off his mask and see just what the "social realistic conflicts" and the "underlying meaning" are.

From Praising Wu Han's "Dismissal of Hai-ju" to Personally "Breaking through

When Wu Han's anti-party and anti-socialist great poison weed, the Dismissal of Hai-ju, was displayed on the stage in February 1961, Hou Wai-lu, under the heading of "Platitudes," published an article

entitled "from 'Brothers' to Certain Problems in Historical Plays" in the 9 March issue of the Pei-ching Wan-pao, and performed a comical "brother" act with Wu Han, Liao Mo-sha (1675 3106 3097), and Meng Ch'ao (1322 6389), cheering in unison for the appearance of the said play. Hou Wai-lu specially praised Wu Han's "youthfulness" and "fighting spirit." His obscure "theoretical analysis" deceived certain people, who were unable to grasp his true intent. After the great criticism of Wu Han's anti-party and anti-socialist criminal activities, the truth has now become clear. One finally realizes that the "youthfulness" and "brave fighting spirit" of Wu Han extolled by Hou Wai-lu are the "brave" acts of attacking the party and the people and the "fighting spirit" of championing the rightist opportunist elements.

Hou Wai-lu clearly announced that, together with Wu Han, they were "brave young friends possessing 'youthfulness.'" This was definitely not any simple mutual praising, but the common language based on common feelings, common loves and hates, and a common class standpoint. This short article of Hou Wai-lu's greatly elaborated on the "five normal human relationships" and widely advocated the sentiments among brothers, which showed that the handful of people like them were true brothers occupying the same bench and indulging together in criminal undertakings against the party and socialism.

Even while praising the Dismissal of Hai-jui and "admiring Wu Han's pioneering spirit" to such an extent, Hou Wai-lu considered it only a beginning. Thus, from "breaking through the door," he entered "the depth of the interior." It was the "elder brother" encouraging the "younger brother" to crawl one step further on the anti-party and anti-socialist path. Hou Wai-lu's article revealed his ambition and impatience. Seeing the "younger brother" ahead of him, he could not but admit that his own "youthfulness" lagged behind and hastily expressed his desire to emulate the "pioneering" spirit of Wu Han. Thus, not to be outdone, the "elder brother" was determined to demonstrate his own skill.

One must not belittle this short article of Hou Wai-lu's. It was a self-revelation of his reactionary standpoint, similar to that of Wu Han, and a signal bomb announcing his attack of the party and socialism. Thus, he enlisted in the "San-chia Ts'un" anti-party dark gang and joined the anti-party, anti-socialist, and anti-Mao Tse-tung great chorus. Immediately thereafter, borrowing the ancient to ridicule the current, he shot three poison arrows in a row at the party.

1. "The Biographical Data of the Peony Pavilion," 3 May 1961.
2. "Discussing the Ideological Quality of T'ang Hsien-tsu's Tzu-ch'a Chi and Nan-k'o Chi," 15 July 1961.
3. "The Idea and Style of T'ang Hsien-tsu's Han-tan Chi," 16 August 1961.

(The above three articles are collected in the book entitled on Four Plays of T'ang Hsien-tsu, China Drama Publishing House, 1962. Unless otherwise specified, all quotations of Hou Wai-lu are from the said book).

In less than four months' time, Hou Wai-lu shot three poison arrows at the party, at shortening intervals. His deep hatred of the party and his vicious and dangerous scheme were extremely clear.

His three articles are the same kind of merchandise as his "younger brother" Wu Han's poison weeds. If we say that Wu Han misled the people by digging out the corpse of Hai-jui and decorating it with the title of "honest official" and "savior of the people," then Hou Wai-lu seduced man's mind by bringing out the ghost of T'ang Hsien-tsu. With an evil intent, Wu Han declared that Hai-jui possessed a "great integrity" and, though dismissed, was an "honest official" loved and respected by the people; with an unfathomable mind, Hou Wai-lu announced that T'ang Hsien-tsu was "incorruptible" and an "honest official" who had a "living temple" erected in his honor. Through the portrayal of Hai-jui, Wu Han appealed for the "dismissed" rightist opportunists and urged them to emerge from retirement; through T'ang Hsien-tsu and the ghost created by his pen, Hou Wai-lu extolled the "virtues" of the rightist opportunists and cheered them on in their attack of the party. Wu Han praised the emperors and generals and advocated the reactionary idea of "an honest official appealing for the people;" Hou Wai-lu lauded the scholars and the beauties, marketed the rotten bourgeois life philosophy, spread the bourgeois "ideal" of "freedom, equality, and love without discrimination," and attacked the socialist society by means of the half-world of "dreams," "appealing for light" and attempting to change the world. In sum, whatever Wu Han had, Hou Wai-lu also had. The only difference was that Hou Wai-lu wore more camouflages and smeared himself with a thicker "academic" veneer.

However, under the raging torrent of the great proletarian cultural revolution activated and guided by the Party Central with Comrade Mao Tse-tung as the leader, the camouflaging mask was finally peeled off and, similar to the handful of evil spirits, Hou Wai-lu was exposed by the revolutionary people.

#### Spreading T'ang Hsien-tsu's "Fighting Spirit" and Advocating "Chopping down" the Proletarian Dictatorship

In the General History of China's Philosophy of over three million words, of which Hou Wai-lu was the chief editor, several hundred thinkers through the generations were extolled, but there was no mention of T'ang Hsien-tsu. In 1961, Hou Wai-lu suddenly extensively discussed T'ang Hsien-tsu's "progressive thinking" and "fighting spirit." It definitely was not incidental, but indicated a dark and evil political purpose.

Hou Wai-lu extolled T'ang Hsien-tsu for his "apparent progressive thinking," maintaining that such "progressive thinking" constituted a "fighting spirit" to "chop up the world" and "change reality." Why should this "realistic" world be "chopped up" and "changed?" According to Hou Wai-lu's explanation, it was because it was too "dark." He declared that the reality of darkness was the absence of the ways of Heaven and the killing of famous persons in the name of Heaven.

He also said that, under the pen of T'ang Hsien-tsu, from the Emperor of Ch'in and Emperor Wu of Han, to the Ming Dynasty of the 16th century, in which T'ang Hsien-tsu lived, there was no peace, but a world of darkness filled with poverty and death, and power politics and deceit.

He then commented that T'ang Hsien-tsu's Han-tan Chi portrayed a hypocritical, ugly, evil, and deceitful social phenomenon, etc.

According to Hou Wai-lu, because of such darkness in the world, T'ang Hsien-tsu entertained the ambition to chop down the world and change reality, and had the courage to criticize even the Ming emperor. Here, his eulogy of T'ang Hsien-tsu's "fighting spirit" was for no other purpose than to extol the "fighting spirit" of "younger brother" Wu Han's Hai-jui. By advocating T'ang Hsien-tsu's "fighting spirit," he incited the evil spirits to "struggle" against the party and socialism.

For fear that his "underlying meaning" of borrowing the ancient to ridicule the current might be missed, he openly declared that "in regard to the world situation, the ancient and the current are similar," and that the Four Dreams was "a successful work of the period" and "a mirror of history." Though T'ang Hsien-tsu wished to "chop down" the emperors of T'ang and Sung, he really meant the society of the Ming Dynasty of the 16th century. According to Hou Wai-lu, since "the ancient and the current are similar," then, the historical facts reflected in the Four Dreams were also "the realistic social conflicts" of today, and "a mirror" of today.

Hou Wai-lu borrowed the ghost of T'ang Hsien-tsu to advocate "chopping down" our great socialist state and the proletarian dictatorship with the "sword" and the "pen." One will only have to read carefully the passages selected and stressed by Hou Wai-lu in the Complete Collection of Yu-ming-t'ang and T'ang Hsien-tsu's play entitled the Four Dreams to find a great similarity between the "dark reality" as "revealed" by T'ang Hsien-tsu and the many fallacies calumniating and attacking our party during the three years of economic difficulty of our country as advanced by our domestic and foreign enemies. For example, he quoted from T'ang Hsien-tsu's Chin-shui Chu K'ang-hou Hsing-i Chi that "all talents in the world may be insulted and killed." Through T'ang Hsien-tsu, Hou Wai-lu appealed for the rightist opportunist "talents."

Thus he utilized T'ang Hsien-tsu and his works, viciously cursed the revolutionaries who criticized the rightist opportunists with the weapon of Mao Tse-tung's thinking, and falsely accused them for being "unjust" and "hypocritical."

In his "analysis" of the Four Dreams, Hou Wai-lu urged us to follow T'ang Hsien-tsu's example and "chop up the world with the pen" when it was impossible to do so "with the sword." He wrote: "T'ang Hsien-tsu did not chop up the world with the sword. On the contrary, seeing the sufferings of the people and the aggravation of the social conflicts, T'ang Hsien-tsu, instead of becoming pessimistic, adopted the means of chopping up the world with the pen..."

Was he not advocating the "fighting spirit" of "chopping up" our socialist state and proletarian dictatorship with a "sharp pen" and a "sharp sword?!" Was he not calling on the "world chopping... heroes and brave men" to stir up an anti-party and anti-socialist counter-current?!

While the counter-revolutionaries will adopt all kinds of means to overthrow our great socialist state, generally speaking, they will try to either upset the proletarian political power by armed uprisings, or attain their goal of "peaceful evolution" through the struggle in the ideological sphere by spreading the bourgeois influence. They use the two tactics alternately, and this was what Hou Wai-lu meant by using the "sword" and the "pen" to "chop down" the proletarian dictatorship.

Hou Wai-lu's evil intent was apparent when he wildly clamored for "chopping down" the realistic world in 1961.

As every one knows, in 1961, modern revisionism, together with US imperialism and the reactionaries of the various nations, was intensifying its great anti-Chinese chorus, and the domestic landowner bourgeoisie was poised for action, hoping to recoup. When Hou Wai-lu vigorously advocated "chopping down the world" and "drastically reform reality," in coordination with the domestic and foreign reactionary attack at this time, was he not openly turning the spearhead at the socialist system and the proletarian dictatorship?

Comrade Mao Tse-tung declared at the party's tenth central general meeting, eighth session: "Whenever a political regime is to be overthrown, the public opinion must be moulded and the work in the ideological aspect performed first. This is true with the counter-revolutionary class as well as the revolutionary class."

As proved by many historical factual instances, any counter-revolutionary restoration will always begin with the ideological state and the superstructure, moulding the public opinion from the academic, and the literary and artistic, fields, thus sounding the gong for the counter-revolutionary restoration and preparing the spiritual conditions. Was Hou Wai-lu not moulding the public opinion for the capitalist counter-revolutionary restoration?



Hou Wai-lu may say that what T'ang Hsien-tsu revealed was the evils of the feudal society, and what he analyzed was merely T'ang Hsien-tsu's works, which could not represent his own thinking. This is sophistry. We want to ask him the reason for his sudden interest in T'ang Hsien-tsu. Why did he extol T'ang Hsien-tsu to the heavens? What was his criticism of this ancient of 400 years ago? None! When did T'ang Hsien-tsu chop at the world with the sword? When did he do so with the pen? With another axe to grind, Hou Wai-lu time and again quoted T'ang Hsien-tsu's words for the purpose of expressing his own reactionary viewpoint. Did it not expose his ugly and vicious physiognomy? He time and again advocated the "underlying meaning" in T'ang Hsien-tsu's plays and suggested the appreciation of "what is underneath the surface." Was this "the ancient for the sake of the ancient?" When revising Han-tan Chi, why did he want to "omit the superfluous, select the essential, and turn the dream, which the author was compelled to fabricate in order to avoid persecution, into a historical satire revealing the conflicts of reality?" Were they not the "realistic conflicts" of the socialist society as distorted by him which he wished to reveal and ridicule?

Viciously Attacking the General Line, the Great Leap Forward, and the People's Commune, Assaulting the Party Central, and Singing the Praise of the "Dismissed" Rightist Opportunists

That Hou Wai-lu opposed the party and socialism by borrowing the ancient to ridicule the current cannot be denied. Here, let us see how he utilized T'ang Hsien-tsu's words to attack the general line, the great leap forward, and the people's commune.

T'ang Hsien-tsu's Han-tan Chi includes thirty plays, and Hou Wai-lu selected Tsao Chia, which had the construction of the canal between the two capitals as the subject matter, as the most important. He was, in fact, ridiculing the extensive water conservation program of the great leap forward, saying that it was a "wrongdoing," a "failure," "forced labor," and "exploitation of the people." He also said that "it was dissipation and extravagance on the one side, and death and suffering on the other." He contrasted the superficial "miracle" with the underlying "decay." Here, he completely revealed his evil intent of using T'ang Hsien-tsu to ridicule the present.

He pointed out that, underneath the miracle of the canal, the people suffered. By so doing, he attacked our farmland water conservation construction. He insinuated that the water conservation construction was something out of our subjective imagination. Not only thus, but he also indicated that, even if the program were successful, it would only mean promotion to a few officials, but, to the majority of the toiling farmers, it was a great calamity. According to him, it was slave labor which built the canal, thus attacking the



heroic bearing and high morale of our people in their construction of socialism. Such shameless attack and calumny advanced by Hou Wai-lu cannot damage the great achievement and tremendous effect of the farmland water conservation construction in the great leap forward of our country.

Hou Wai-lu also used T'ang Hsien-tsu's words to attack the people's commune. He sang the praise of Chao Chung-i for obtaining hundreds of thousands of mou of land for the people after a series of struggles, and remarked that T'ang Hsien-tsu considered it the best method to rule the country, because "the people gained the right to live..." Thus, he attacked the collective ownership system, because it deprived the people of "the right to live." It was a poison arrow aimed at the people's commune.

Meanwhile, in his article entitled "on the Ideological Quality of T'ang Hsien-tsu's Tzu-ch'a Chi and Nan-k'o Chi," he ridiculed the collective labor of the people's commune as "commandism," "coercion," and in violation of the "nature" of man. He advocated following the "nature" of the farmer, which meant returning to the old way of single operation. According to him, what we are doing now is the same as, or inferior to, the feudal era. Is it not the same as the "single operation" advocated by the rightist opportunists of that time?

Hou Wai-lu's evil intent in praising T'ang Hsien-tsu for his courage to "criticize the emperor" was to support and encourage the rightist opportunists. It was also a vicious attack of our Party Central and Chairman Mao by borrowing the ancient to ridicule the current.

In all his three articles on T'ang Hsien-tsu's plays, Hou Wai-lu stressed the "criticism of the emperor," and even made up instances of such. But did T'ang Hsien-tsu criticize the emperor? Let us check T'ang Hsien-tsu's biography in the History of the Ming Dynasty and find the answer. All he did was advising the emperor with great sincerity, thus expressing his loyalty and devotion. Then, why did Hou Wai-lu insist that he criticized? Apparently, similar to Wu Han's "Hai-ju criticizing the emperor," it was for the purpose of cheering the rightist opportunists on and viciously attacking the Party Central and Chairman Mao.

Hou Wai-lu even juggled the words in T'ang Hsien-tsu's poem entitled "the Story of Emperor Wu of Han," and said that Madam Yin mocked the emperor and declared that he was unfit to be a ruler. Hou Wai-lu apparently had in mind a most malicious political purpose, and aimed his anti-party and anti-socialist poison arrow directly at the Party Central and Chairman Mao.

He also added the phrase "the inhuman world of the road to the capital" to a passage in T'ang Hsien-tsu writing. In the original, though the capital of Ch'ang-an was mentioned, no such phrase was found. Apparently, Hou Wai-lu made it up to attack our socialist reality and revile our Party Central.



While viciously attacking the Party Central and Chairman Mao, Hou Wai-lu vigorously extolled the "dismissed" rightist opportunists. When he cited T'ang Hsien-tsu's eulogy of Chao Chung-i who struggled against the local rich landowners, benefited the people, but was finally betrayed by the "village hypocrites," he was praising the rightist opportunists who were "dismissed" after the Lu-shan Conference. Similar to his "younger brother" Wu Han, he reviled our revered and beloved party and our revolutionary comrades who defended the party and Chairman Mao by calling them "village hypocrites."

In addition to T'ang Hsien-tsu's eulogy of Chao Chung-i, the "honest official of reality," Hou Wai-lu also quoted the praises of the people of Nan-k'o Chun for Shun-yu Fen, another "honest official," to laud the rightist opportunists. Finally, Shun-yu Fen was also dismissed from his post. Hou Wai-lu cited T'ang Hsien-tsu's description of the village elders who insisted on keeping him with them but were unable to do so. The feeling was almost identical with Wu Han's description of Hai-jui's dismissal. Thus, Hou Wai-lu borrowed Shun-yu Fen, an "honest official" supported by "farmers, scholars, and merchants," to erect a "noble" image of the rightist opportunists.

Piercing through Hou Wai-lu's Reactionary "Utopia," the Magic Mirror of "Freedom, Equality, and Love without Discrimination"

Under the excuse of analyzing the ideological quality of T'ang Hsien-tsu's Four Dreams, Hou Wai-lu reviled the "realistic world" for "restraining freedom" and "inequality." He elaborated on the "Utopia" of T'ang Hsien-tsu's Han-tan Chi to curse our socialist system as a criminal world where there was no freedom, nor equality, nor happiness. According to him, this "criminal world" was on the verge of "collapse." He appealed to the people to imitate T'ang Hsien-tsu and "have the determination to reform reality drastically." He regarded the beautiful future of our socialism and communism with "scepticism," and substituted T'ang Hsien-tsu's "Utopia" for our great communist ideal. He clothed T'ang Hsien-tsu's "Utopia" with modern trimmings, whitewashing and embellishing it, and extolling it to his heart's content. Apparently, he utilized T'ang Hsien-tsu's words to advocate an "ideal world" completely opposed to the socialist society. He declared that in T'ang Hsien-tsu's "Utopia," there was neither poverty nor sickness, that the "Utopia" was based on a humanist ideal where life is pleasant and peaceful," that it was the idea of man's rights, that T'ang Hsien-tsu's description of "the teaching of the God of Agriculture" was the right of the people to make a living and the right to life, etc.

We are entitled to ask why, in our great socialist state, Hou Wai-lu advocated a "Utopia" where there were rights to make a living and to life? Did he mean that the people of our society have no such rights? This is ridiculous!

In 1961, just when US imperialism, the reactionaries of the various nations, and modern revisionism stirred up an anti-Chinese tide, Hou Wai-lu proposed such fallacies as "Utopia" and "scepticism" to confuse the people's mind, thus echoing imperialism and modern revisionism and attempting to dissipate the revolutionary determination of the people. By this time, his underlying intent was apparent.

Since the party guidance, the socialist system, and the general line, great leap forward, and people's commune of the socialist construction had all become the objects of his attack, then the "Utopia" borrowed from T'ang Hsien-tsu must inevitably be opposed to the socialist system. In this "Utopia," there was "neither poverty, nor sickness, nor oppression," the people lived "a pleasant and peaceful life," and there was no class or class struggle. It was a paradise on earth. Was this the "Utopia" of T'ang Hsien-tsu's era? No! T'ang Hsien-tsu could not have reached such a "high" level. T'ang Hsien-tsu's "Utopia" in Nan-k'o Chun was quite modest. At most, it called for "less taxes and more grain." It did not go beyond the benevolent rule of Confucianism. Such bourgeois matters as "freedom," "equality," "love without discrimination," "humanism," or "human rights" were not found therein. That Hou Wai-lu arbitrarily "elevated" T'ang Hsien-tsu's "Utopia" was for the purpose of extolling the capitalist world "freedom, equality, and love without discrimination."

As we all know, ever since its beginning, the capitalist world has been displaying the banner of "freedom, equality, and love without discrimination." Even now, US imperialism still vigorously advocates it, calling aggressive actions "the defense of peace," and the decadent capitalist society "the free world." The modern revisionist also promotes "freedom," "equality," "love without discrimination," and "humanism." Hou Wai-lu only gleaned the left-overs of the bourgeoisie and modern revisionism. As we can see clearly, the super-class "freedom, equality, and love without discrimination," and the "humanism" advocated by the reactionary bourgeoisie and modern revisionism, at the very bottom, are the political tools to carry out class oppression and drug the mind of the revolutionary people.

The "Utopia" extolled by Hou Wai-lu was for the same purpose as the "freedom, equality, love without discrimination, and humanism" advocated by the bourgeoisie and modern revisionism.

Could what Hou Wai-lu enjoyed so much in describing be found in T'ang Hsien-tsu's works of 400 years ago? Were they not the trash found in the bourgeois and modern revisionist "classics?" Was not such "ideal" for the purpose of the "peaceful evolution" of socialism into capitalism?

He ridiculed our socialist system and the temporary difficulty of the people, while extolling the capitalist "ideal," and attempted to restore the capitalist system along the path of "peaceful evolu-

tion." This was the secret of the magic mirror of Hou Wai-lu's "Utopia" which he described in great detail in 1961.

### Conclusion

From the above brief analysis, one can see that the T'ang Hsien-tsu extolled by Hou Wai-lu was a distorted T'ang Hsien-tsu speaking for the reactionary bourgeoisie. Hou Wai-lu made use of the corpse of T'ang Hsien-tsu to viciously attack our socialist society and the proletarian dictatorship. Here, the Hou Wai-lu who was unable to "chop up the world with the sword" struck with his pen, utilized the ghost of T'ang Hsien-tsu, and recklessly attacked the party, socialism, and Mao Tse-tung's thinking. The "dreams" and "ideal" of T'ang Hsien-tsu extensively discussed by him were the "new society" sought by him, and this "new society" was the capitalist society. It was pure fabrication when he declared that the topic of Tzu-ch'a Chi was the song of spring. To make it clear, it was only the "early spring weather" sought by Hou Wai-lu in the style of the rightist element, Fei Hsiao-t'ung (6316 1321 6639), who wished to "change the weather."

Hou Wai-lu's opposition to the party and socialism had its historical origin. In 1940, he extolled Chiang Kai-shek for being "the supreme commander-in-chief... completing the great mission of China's resistance war and revolution." ("Sun Yat-sen on the Spirit of the 'Revolutionary Army' and How to Praise the Soviet Red Army," Chung-su Wen-hua (Sino-Soviet Culture), No. 2, Volume 5, 1950). In 1943, he praised Chiang Kai-shek for his "scholarship and military accomplishment... and his deep kindness reaching the people's heart." (Chung-su Wen-hua Semi-monthly, No. 5/6, Volume 14, 1943). Concerning the traitorous treaty signed by the Chiang Kai-shek government with US and British imperialism, he said that "it is a new page in China's modern history, a valuable contribution to international relations, and a state which cannot be overlooked in the ideal world of mankind." ("The Equal Treatment of China by the Soviet Russia and England and America, and the Abolition of Unequal Treaties," Chung-su Wen-hua Quarterly, No. 1, 1943). It shows that he was a faithful slave of US imperialism and the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek faction prior to the liberation. After the liberation, he wormed his way into the reactionary ranks, displayed the sign of a Marxist-Leninist historical "authority," misrepresented himself inside and outside the country, discharged his poison wherever he went, and became apparently an expert in the field of history. His writing is filled with the anti-party, anti-socialist, and anti-Mao Tse-tung merchandise, of which on Four Plays of T'ang Hsien-tsu is but a small part.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung exhorts us: "The ideological struggle between socialism and capitalism in our country requires still a fairly long period of time before its solution. This is because the

influence of the bourgeoisie and the intellectuals coming from the old society will remain in our country for a long time, and so will the class ideology. If we do not adequately understand this situation, we will commit grave errors and overlook the necessary ideological struggle." (Concerning the Correct Handling of the Internal Conflict in the People, People's Publishing House, 1957 edition, page 27). He also says: "Intellectuals entertaining a hostile feeling toward our state are of an extreme minority. This type of people do not like our state under the proletarian dictatorship. They hanker after the old society. The moment there is an opportunity, they will start trouble, wishing to overthrow the Chinese Communist Party and restore the old China." (Talk at the National Propaganda Work Conference of the Chinese Communist Party, People's Publishing House, 1964 edition, page 3). Hou Wai-lu's three great poison weeds are the manifestations of the attempt of the dying reactionary bourgeois intellectuals to restore capitalism in their ideological struggle against us.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is for the purpose of eliminating all bourgeois representative figures who have wormed their way into the party, the government, the army, and the cultural field, criticizing the anti-party, anti-socialist, and anti-Mao Tse-tung reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities," erasing all anti-party, anti-socialist, and anti-Mao Tse-tung black lines, and wiping out all evil spirits. We must raise high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thinking, and thoroughly expose and criticize all Hou Wai-lu's anti-party dark merchandise.

- END -

6080  
CSO: 3530-D

CORNELL  
UNIVERSITY  
SEP 23 1968  
LIBRARY