



**THE GREAT
SOCIALIST
CULTURAL
REVOLUTION
IN CHINA**

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**HOLD HIGH THE GREAT RED BANNER OF
MAO TSE-TUNG'S THOUGHT AND ACTIVELY
PARTICIPATE IN THE GREAT SOCIALIST
CULTURAL REVOLUTION**

— Editorial of the *Liberation Army Daily*
(*Jiefangjun Bao*) of April 18, 1966 —

Chairman Mao Tse-tung has taught us that classes and class struggle continue to exist in socialist society. He has said that in China "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 struggle to foster what is proletarian and liquidate what is bourgeois on the cultural front is an important aspect of the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the socialist road and the capitalist road and between proletarian ideology and bourgeois ideology. The proletariat seeks to change the world according to its own world outlook, and so does the bourgeoisie. Socialist culture should serve the workers, peasants and soldiers, should serve proletarian politics, and should serve the consolidation and development of the socialist system and its gradual transition to communism. Bourgeois and revisionist culture serves the bourgeoisie, serves the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists, and paves the way for the restoration of capitalism. If the proletariat does not seize hold of the cultural positions, the bourgeoisie is bound to do so. This

is a sharp class struggle. Since the remnant forces of the bourgeoisie in our country are still fairly large, since there are still a fairly large number of bourgeois intellectuals, since the influence of bourgeois ideology is still fairly strong and since their methods of fighting us have become increasingly sly and insidious, we shall find it difficult to see the struggle that is taking place and may fall victim to the sugar-coated bullets of the bourgeoisie or we may even lose our positions, if we slacken our vigilance or relax in the least. In this respect, the issue of which will win, socialism or capitalism, is not yet settled. The struggle is inevitable. Failure to handle it properly will give rise to revisionism.

Our People's Liberation Army, the people's armed forces created and led by the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao, is the most loyal tool of the Party and the people, and the mainstay of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It has always played an important role in the revolutionary cause of the proletariat, and it will do so in this great socialist cultural revolution as well. We must acquire a deeper understanding of the situation with respect to the class struggle in the ideological field, hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and unswervingly carry the socialist cultural revolution through to the end together with all the people of our country and make the literary and art work of our armed forces play a powerful part in giving prominence to politics and promoting the revolutionization of the people.

SHARP CLASS STRUGGLE ON THE CULTURAL FRONT

The past 16 years have witnessed sharp class struggles on the cultural front.

In both stages of our revolution, the new democratic stage and the socialist stage, there has existed a struggle between two classes and two lines on the cultural front, i.e., the struggle

between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie for leadership on this front. In the history of our Party, the struggles against both "Left" and Right opportunism also included struggles between the two lines on the cultural front.

Wang Ming's line was a bourgeois trend which was once rampant within our Party. In the rectification movement which started in 1942, Chairman Mao gave a thorough theoretical refutation first of Wang Ming's political, military and organizational lines and then, immediately afterwards, of the cultural line represented by him. Chairman Mao's *On New Democracy* and *Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art* are the most complete, the most comprehensive and the most systematic historical summaries of this struggle between the two lines on the cultural front. They have carried on and developed the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and theory on literature and art.

After our revolution entered the socialist stage, a whole series of important struggles on the cultural front were waged under the direct leadership of the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman Mao, such as the criticism of the film *The Life of Wu Hsun*,¹ the criticism of the book *Studies in the "Dream of the Red Chamber"*,² the struggle against the Hu Feng counter-revolutionary clique,³ the struggle against the Rightists, and the great socialist cultural revolution of the last three years. Chairman Mao's two works, *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* and *Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work*, are the most recent summaries of the historical experience of the movements for revolutionary ideology and literature and art in China and other countries. They represent a new development of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and theory on literature and art.

These four brilliant works form an important part of the great thought of Mao Tse-tung. They represent the peak of the contemporary Marxist-Leninist world outlook and theory on literature and art. They are the supreme guide for our

work in literature and art and suffice for the needs of our proletariat for a long time.

In the decade and more since the founding of our People's Republic, a black anti-Party and anti-socialist line running counter to Mao Tse-tung's thought has existed in our literary and art circles. This black line is a combination of bourgeois ideas on literature and art, modern revisionist ideas on literature and art and what is called the literature and art of the 1930s [in the Kuomintang areas of China]. Its typical expressions are such theories as those of "truthful writing",⁴ "the broad path of realism",⁵ "the deepening of realism",⁶ opposition to "subject matter as the decisive factor",⁷ "middle characters",⁸ opposition to "the smell of gunpowder",⁹ and "the merging of various trends as the spirit of the age".¹⁰ Most of these theories were refuted long ago by Chairman Mao in his *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*. In film circles there are people who advocate "discarding the classics and rebelling against orthodoxy", in other words, discarding the classics of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought and rebelling against the orthodoxy of people's revolutionary war. As a result of the influence or domination of this bourgeois and modern revisionist counter-current in literature and art, there are only a small number of good or basically sound works among post-liberation works about people's wars, the people's armed forces and other military subjects which truly praise revolutionary heroes and serve the workers, peasants and soldiers and socialism; some are anti-Party and anti-socialist poisonous weeds, while many works are somewhere in between. Some works distort the historical facts, concentrating on the portrayal of erroneous lines instead of the correct line; some describe heroic characters who, however, always violate discipline, or create heroes only to make them die in an artificially tragic ending. Some works do not present heroic characters but only "middle" characters who are actually backward people, caricatures of workers, peasants or soldiers;

in depicting the enemy, they fail to expose his class nature as an exploiter and oppressor of the people, and even go so far as to prettify him. Then there are other works concerned only with love and romance, pandering to philistine tastes and claiming that love and death are eternal themes. All such bourgeois, revisionist trash must be resolutely opposed.

The struggle between the two roads on the front of literature and art in society is bound to be reflected in the armed forces, which do not exist in a vacuum and cannot possibly be an exception to the rule. Our armed forces are the chief instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Without the people's armed forces led by the Party there would have been neither the victory of our revolution nor the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism, and the people would have nothing. Inevitably, therefore, the enemy will try by every means to undermine our armed forces from all sides; and they will inevitably use literature and art as a weapon to corrupt our armed forces. We must be very much on our guard against this. However, not everybody shares this view. Some claim that the problem of the orientation of literature and art in our armed forces is already solved, that what remains is mainly the problem of raising our artistic level. This fallacy is most pernicious and is not based on concrete analysis. In point of fact, some works of literature and art of our armed forces are taking the right direction and have reached a comparatively high artistic level; some are taking the right direction but their artistic level is low; some have serious defects or mistakes in both political orientation and artistic form; and some are anti-Party and anti-socialist poisonous weeds. During the great upheavals in the class struggles on the literary and art front since liberation, some literary and art workers in the army have failed to pass the test, committing major or minor mistakes. This shows that literary and art work in the armed forces has also been influenced to a greater or lesser degree by the black anti-Party and anti-socialist line. In accordance with the instructions of the Central Committee of the

Party and Chairman Mao, we must actively participate in the great socialist revolution on the cultural front, completely eliminate this black line and liquidate its influence on the armed forces. After we are rid of this black line, still others may appear and the struggle must go on. This is an arduous, complex, long-term struggle which will take dozens of years, perhaps hundreds. It is vital for the revolutionizing of our armed forces, for the future of the Chinese revolution and for the future of the world revolution that we should unswervingly carry the great socialist cultural revolution through to the end.

A NEW SITUATION IN THE GREAT CULTURAL REVOLUTION

Since the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party in September 1962, when Chairman Mao called upon the whole Party and the entire Chinese people never to forget classes and class struggle, the struggle to foster what is proletarian and liquidate what is bourgeois on the cultural front has developed further.

The last three years have seen a new situation in the great socialist cultural revolution. The most outstanding example is the emergence of Peking operas on contemporary revolutionary themes. Those working to reform Peking opera, led by the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman Mao and armed with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought, have launched a heroic and tenacious offensive against the literature and art of the feudal class, the bourgeoisie and the modern revisionists. Peking opera, formerly the most stubborn of strongholds, has thus been radically revolutionized, both in ideological content and in artistic form, and this has started a revolutionary change in literary and art circles. Peking operas with contemporary revolutionary themes like *Red Lantern*, *Shachiapang*, *Taking the Bandits' Stronghold* and *Raid*

on the *White Tiger Regiment*, the ballet *Red Detachment of Women*, the symphony *Shachiapang* and the sculptures *Rent Collection Courtyard* have been approved by the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, and enthusiastically acclaimed by Chinese and foreign audiences. They are pioneer efforts which will have a profound and far-reaching impact on the socialist cultural revolution. They effectively prove that even that most stubborn stronghold Peking opera can be taken by storm and revolutionized and that foreign classical art forms like the ballet, symphonic music and sculpture can also be remoulded to serve our purpose. This should give us still greater confidence in revolutionizing other forms of art. At the same time, these successes deal a powerful blow at conservatives of various descriptions and at such views as the "box-office value" theory, the "foreign currency value" theory and the theory that "revolutionary works cannot travel abroad".

Another outstanding feature of the great socialist cultural revolution in the past three years is the widespread mass activity of workers, peasants and soldiers on the ideological and literary and art fronts. Workers, peasants and soldiers are now writing many fine philosophical articles which express Mao Tse-tung's thought in a practical way. They are also producing many fine works of literature and art to praise the triumph of our socialist revolution, the big leap forward on all the fronts of socialist construction, our new heroes, and the brilliant leadership of our great Party and our great leader Chairman Mao. The numerous poems by workers, peasants and soldiers which appear on wall-newspapers and blackboards are especially noteworthy, since both in content and form they represent an entirely new age.

During these few years an excellent situation in the cultural work of our armed forces has also emerged. Since Comrade Lin Piao took charge of the affairs of the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Party, he has taken a firm grip on literary and art work and given us many

important instructions. The Resolution on Strengthening Political and Ideological Work in the Armed Forces passed at the enlarged meeting of the Military Commission in 1960 clearly specifies that literary and art work in the armed forces "must, in close conjunction with the tasks of the armed forces and in the context of their ideological situation, serve the cause of fostering proletarian ideology and liquidating bourgeois ideology and consolidating and improving fighting capacity". Most of our literary and art workers in the armed forces have given prominence to politics, creatively studied and applied the works of Chairman Mao, lived with the companies or in the villages and factories, taken an active part in the socialist education movement, linked themselves with workers, peasants and soldiers, further tempered themselves and remoulded their ideology, and raised their level of proletarian consciousness. As a result, they have produced excellent plays like *On Guard Beneath the Neon Lights*, excellent novels like the *Song of Ouyang Hai*, and some fairly good reportage, soldiers' poems, music, dances and fine art. A number of promising writers and artists have emerged.

Of course, these are merely the first fruits of our socialist cultural revolution, the first step in a long march of ten thousand *li*. In order to safeguard and extend this achievement, to carry the socialist cultural revolution through to the end, we must work hard for a long time. The literary and art workers of our armed forces must strive to make a worthy contribution.

CREATE NEW AND ORIGINAL SOCIALIST AND PROLETARIAN WORKS AND FOSTER GOOD MODELS

To create a new socialist literature and art, we must foster good models, and leading comrades must see to this themselves. Only when we have good models and successful experience in

producing them will our arguments prove convincing, and will we be able to consolidate the positions we hold.

We should have the courage to blaze new trails, to create new and original socialist and proletarian works. The basic task of socialist literature and art is to strive to create heroic workers, peasants and soldiers armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought. Chairman Mao has pointed out:

If you are a bourgeois writer or artist, you will eulogize not the proletariat but the bourgeoisie, and if you are a proletarian writer or artist, you will eulogize not the bourgeoisie but the proletariat and working people: it must be one or the other.

So the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie on the literary and art front centres on which class to eulogize, which class to portray heroes from, and which class to choose men from to occupy the dominant position in works of literature and art. Here lies the line of demarcation in the literature and art of different classes.

The fine qualities of the heroes who have appeared from among the workers, peasants and soldiers nurtured by Mao Tse-tung's thought are the epitome of the proletarian class character. We should enthusiastically create heroic images of workers, peasants and soldiers. We should create typical characters and not confine ourselves to actual persons and events. Chairman Mao has said that "life as reflected in works of literature and art can and ought to be on a higher plane, more intense, more concentrated, more typical, nearer the ideal, and therefore more universal than actual everyday life". This means that our writers must sum up the material from real life accumulated over a long period to create typical characters of various kinds.

To create heroic characters successfully, we must adopt the method of combining revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism, and must not adopt the bourgeois method of critical realism or romanticism.

Writers in the armed forces should make it their glorious task to depict revolutionary wars, propagate Chairman Mao's theory of people's war, and create heroic characters in revolutionary wars. When we write about revolutionary wars, we must first be clear about their nature — ours is the side of justice, the enemy's is the side of injustice. Our works must show our arduous and heroic struggles and sacrifices, but must also display revolutionary heroism and revolutionary optimism. While depicting the cruelty of war, we should not dwell excessively on its horrors. While depicting the arduousness of the revolutionary struggle, we should not dwell excessively on the sufferings. The cruelty of a revolutionary war and revolutionary heroism, the arduousness of the revolutionary struggle and revolutionary optimism are the unity of opposites, but we must be clear which is the principal aspect of the contradiction; otherwise, if we put the emphasis wrongly, a bourgeois pacifist trend will emerge. While depicting the people's revolutionary war, whether in the stage in which guerrilla warfare was primary and mobile warfare supplementary, or in the stage in which mobile warfare was primary, we must correctly show the relationship between the regular forces, the guerrillas and the people's militia and between the armed masses and the unarmed masses under the leadership of the Party.

It is no easy matter to produce good models of proletarian literature and art. Strategically we must make light of this task, but tactically we must take it seriously. To create a fine work is an arduous process, and the comrades in charge of literary and art work must never adopt a bureaucratic or casual attitude towards it but must work hard, sharing the writers' joys and hardships. As far as possible, they must get their material first hand. They should not be afraid of failures or mistakes. They should allow for failures and mistakes and let people correct their mistakes. They must rely on the masses, get the opinions of the masses and refer back to the masses, so that by repeatedly undergoing the test of practice

over a long period a work may become better and better and achieve the unity of revolutionary political content and the highest possible perfection of artistic form. In the course of practice they must sum up their experience in good time, gradually grasping the laws of various forms of art. Otherwise, no good models can be produced.

There are many important revolutionary historical and contemporary themes which urgently need portrayal in a planned and systematic way. A powerful nucleus of truly proletarian writers and artists will be trained in the process.

EMANCIPATE THE MIND, OVERCOME SUPERSTITION

The socialist cultural revolution must overthrow certain things and establish others. If certain things are not thoroughly overthrown, others cannot be truly established. To carry out the socialist cultural revolution and create a new socialist literature and art, we must emancipate our minds and overcome superstition.

We must overcome our superstitious reverence for what is called the literature and art of the 1930s [in the Kuomintang areas of China]. At that time the Left-wing literary and art movement followed Wang Ming's "Left" opportunist line politically; organizationally it practised closed-doorism and sectarianism; and its theory of literature and art was virtually that of such Russian bourgeois literary critics as Belinsky,¹¹ Chernyshevsky¹² and Dobrolyubov,¹³ bourgeois democrats of tsarist Russia who had bourgeois ideas, not Marxist ones. The bourgeois-democratic revolution is a revolution in which one exploiting class opposes another. It is only the socialist revolution of the proletariat that finally destroys all exploiting classes. Therefore, we must not take the ideas of any bourgeois revolutionary as the guiding principle in our proletarian ideological or literary and art movements. There

were of course good things in the 1930s too, namely, the militant Left-wing literary and art movement led by Lu Hsun. Towards the end of the 1930s, some Left-wing leaders influenced by Wang Ming's Right capitulationist line abandoned the Marxist-Leninist class standpoint and put forward the slogan of "a literature of national defence". That was a bourgeois slogan. It was Lu Hsun who put forward the proletarian slogan, "Literature of the masses for the national revolutionary war." Some Left-wing writers and artists, notably Lu Hsun, also raised the slogans that literature and art should serve the workers and peasants and that the workers and peasants should create their own literature and art. However, no systematic solution was found for the basic problem of how to integrate writers and artists with the workers, peasants and soldiers. The great majority of these men were followers of bourgeois nationalism and democracy, a number of whom failed to pass the test of the democratic revolution, while others have not given a good account of themselves under the test of socialism.

We must overcome blind reverence for Chinese and foreign classical literature. The classical literature and art of China and those of Europe (including Russia) have exercised a considerable influence on our literary and art circles, and some people have looked on them as models and accepted them in their entirety. But Chairman Mao has taught us that "uncritical transplantation or copying from the ancients and the foreigners is the most sterile and harmful dogmatism in literature and art". Ancient and foreign works should be studied too, and refusal to study them would be wrong; but we must do so critically, making the past serve the present and foreign things serve China.

As for the relatively good revolutionary literary and art works of the Soviet Union, which appeared after the October Revolution, they too must be analysed and not blindly worshipped or, still less, blindly imitated. Blind imitation can never become art. Literature and art can only spring from life which is their sole source. This is borne out by the whole

history of ancient and modern literature and art, both Chinese and foreign.

PRACTISE DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM, FOLLOW THE MASS LINE

All leading personnel in literary and art work as well as writers and artists must practise democratic centralism, support the practice of "letting all people have their say" and oppose the practice of "what I say goes". We must follow the mass line and see to it that politics are given prominence. In the past, writers sometimes produced a piece of work and, turning a deaf ear to the opinions of the masses, forced the leadership to nod in approval. This way of doing things is very bad. The cadres in charge of literature and art should always bear in mind two points in dealing with creative work in literature and art: first, they must be good at listening to the opinions of the masses; second, they must be good at analysing these opinions, accepting those which are right and rejecting those which are wrong. There are no perfect works of literature and art, but if a work is basically good, we should point out its shortcomings and errors so that it can be improved upon. Bad works should not be hidden away but brought out for appraisal by the masses. We must not be afraid of the masses but should have firm faith in them, for they can give us much valuable advice. And through such appraisal those whose ideas are confused will improve their powers of discrimination.

ENCOURAGE REVOLUTIONARY, MILITANT, MASS CRITICISM OF LITERATURE AND ART

We must encourage revolutionary, militant, mass criticism of literature and art, break the monopoly of literary and art

criticism by a few "critics" (those going in a wrong direction or lacking in militancy). We must place the weapon of criticism of literature and art in the hands of the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and integrate professional critics with critics from among the masses. We must make this criticism more militant and oppose unprincipled vulgar praise. We must reform our style of writing, encourage the writing of short, popular articles, transform our literary and art criticism into daggers and hand-grenades and learn to handle them effectively in close combat. Of course, we must at the same time write some longer, systematic articles of greater theoretical depth. We must present the facts and reason things out, not use jargon to frighten people. This is the only way to disarm the self-styled critics of literature and art. Critics must give warm support to works which are good or fundamentally sound, while pointing out their shortcomings in a helpful manner. And principled criticism must be made of bad works. In the theoretical field, typical fallacies on literature and art must be thoroughly and systematically criticized. We must not mind being blamed for "brandishing the stick". When some people accuse us of over-simplification and crudity, we must make our own analysis. Some criticisms we make are basically correct but are not sufficiently convincing because the analysis and the evidence adduced are inadequate. These should be improved. Some people who start by accusing us of over-simplification and crudity drop the charge when they gain a better understanding. But when the enemy condemns our correct criticisms as over-simplified and crude, we must stand firm. We must have regular criticism of literature and art; it is an important method of waging the struggle in the field of literature and art as well as of Party guidance of the work in this field. Without correct literary and art criticism we cannot maintain a correct orientation in literature and art or enable creative work to flourish.

USE MAO TSE-TUNG'S THOUGHT TO RE-EDUCATE CADRES IN CHARGE OF LITERATURE AND ART AND REORGANIZE THE RANKS OF WRITERS AND ARTISTS

To carry out a thoroughgoing socialist cultural revolution, we must re-educate the cadres in charge of literature and art and reorganize the ranks of writers and artists. As far back as the struggle on the Chingkang Mountains, the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army set up a red contingent of writers and artists under the direct leadership of Chairman Mao and the brilliant guidance of the resolution of the Kutien meeting. During the War of Resistance Against Japan, with the growing political and military strength of our Party and army, our contingent of writers and artists made great headway. In the base areas and in the armed forces, we trained a considerable number of revolutionary literary and art workers. Especially after the publication of the *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*, they maintained the correct orientation, persisted in the path of integrating themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers, and played a positive role in the revolution. The question now is that, after the liberation of the whole mainland, some people were unable to resist the corrupting influence of bourgeois ideas when we entered the large cities, with the result that they have fallen out in the course of our advance. And the newcomers among the literary and art workers in the armed forces have brought with them the influence of various bourgeois views on literature and art. There are also a small number of people who have not been remoulded at all, but cling stubbornly to the bourgeois stand.

Our literature and art is a proletarian literature and art, a Party literature and art. What distinguishes us above all from other classes is the principle of the proletarian party spirit. We must realize that the spokesmen of other classes also have their principle of party spirit, and a very strong one

too. We must firmly abide by the principle of the proletarian party spirit and combat corruption by bourgeois ideology in the following three fields, i.e., the ideas guiding creation in literature and art, the organizational line and working style. We must draw a clear line between our ideology and bourgeois ideology; we must never peacefully coexist with it.

The literary and art workers in our armed forces have various problems, but for the majority of them, the question is to acquire a correct understanding, to receive more education and to attain a higher level. We must regard Chairman Mao's writings as our supreme guide, seriously study and grasp his teachings on literature and art, and pay special attention to putting them into practice and creatively applying what we learn to our thinking and actions, so that we really master Mao Tse-tung's thought. We must carry out his instructions and "for a long period of time unreservedly and wholeheartedly go among the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, go into the heat of the struggle, go to the only source, the broadest and richest source", to integrate ourselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers, remould our thinking, raise the level of our political consciousness and wholeheartedly serve all the people of China and of the world, with no thought of fame or profit and without fear of hardship or death. We must make it our life-time endeavour to study Chairman Mao's works, devote ourselves to the revolution and remould our thinking. Only thus can we carry out Comrade Lin Piao's instructions and be ready to pass any stiff test with flying colours in our thinking, our life and our professional skills. Only thus can our literary and art work better serve the workers, peasants and soldiers, serve socialism and help to consolidate and raise the fighting capacity of our armed forces.

An upsurge of the great socialist cultural revolution has taken shape and is now assuming the form of a mass movement. This great revolutionary tide will wash away the mire

of all the old bourgeois ideas on literature and art and usher in a new epoch of socialist proletarian literature and art. Confronted with this excellent revolutionary situation, we should be proud to be thoroughgoing revolutionaries. Our socialist revolution is a revolution to eliminate the exploiting classes and all systems of exploitation once and for all and to root out all exploiting class ideas, which are injurious to the people. We must have the confidence and courage to do things never previously attempted. We must raise still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and, under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party, Chairman Mao and the Military Commission, actively participate in the great socialist cultural revolution, unswervingly carry it through to the end and strive to create a new socialist literature and art worthy of our great country, our great Party, our great people and our great army.

NOTES

¹ *The Life of Wu Hsun* was a pernicious film slandering the revolutionary tradition of the Chinese people and advocating bourgeois reformism and capitulationism. Wu Hsun was a landlord's toady in the Ching Dynasty, but the film presented him as a great man who was willing to sacrifice himself to provide the sons of poor peasants with a chance to study. An editorial of the *People's Daily* on May 20, 1951 sternly pointed out the reactionary nature of this film and called on the whole country to criticize it. This was the first large-scale criticism of reactionary bourgeois ideas after the establishment of New China.

² Yu Ping-po, the author of *Studies in the "Dream of the Red Chamber"*, evaluated the novel from an idealist viewpoint, using bourgeois methods of textual research. In September 1954 a nation-wide movement was launched to criticize it. This was a struggle between proletarian and bourgeois ideology and against bourgeois idealism.

³ The Hu Feng counter-revolutionary clique: Hu Feng was a renegade who sneaked into the ranks of the revolution. After liberation he organized a secret clique among literary and art circles to carry out counter-revolutionary activities. In 1954 he presented a 300,000-character "suggestion" to the Central Committee of the Party, viciously attacking the Party's policy and Mao Tse-tung's teachings on literature and art. In May and June, 1955 the *People's Daily* published three collections of

material on Hu Feng's counter-revolutionary clique, thoroughly exposing and smashing its counter-revolutionary plot.

⁴The theory of "truthful writing" was advocated by the revisionists. The counter-revolutionary Hu Feng was an exponent of it, and so was Feng Hsueh-feng. They had ulterior motives and under the cover of "truthful writing" tried to oppose the class character and tendency of socialist literature and art, as well as the use of the socialist spirit in literature and art to educate the people. They advocated "truthful writing" in order to seek out the "seamy side" of life in socialist society and the rotten things left over from history, so as to paint out splendid socialist society in dark colours.

⁵The theory of "the broad path of realism" was advocated by some anti-Party and anti-socialist writers and artists who, opposing Chairman Mao's *Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art*, argued that it was out of date and urged that a different and broader path should be found. This was the nature of "the broad path of realism" advocated by Chin Chao-yang and others. In their view, the correct, broad path of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers was too narrow, was "hard-boiled dogmatism" and "confined writers to an unalterable, narrow path". They argued that each author should write whatever he pleased according to his "different personal experience of life, education and temperament and artistic individuality". They wanted writers to abandon the worker-peasant-soldier orientation and explore "new fields which would give unlimited scope to their creativeness".

⁶Shao Chuan-lin, formerly Vice-Chairman of the Chinese Writers' Union, advanced the theory of "the deepening of realism" while advocating "writing about middle characters". According to this theory, writers should depict "the old traits" in the people, summarize "the spiritual burdens of individual peasants through the centuries" and create complex "middle characters". They should write about "everyday" events to "reveal the greatness in trivial things" and attempt to show "the rich diversity of the world in a crumb of rice". To Shao Chuan-lin, the only realist writing was that depicting "middle characters" riddled with inner contradictions, summarizing "the spiritual burdens of individual peasants through the centuries" and presenting the "painful stages" of the peasants' transition from an individual to a collective economy. This, he contended, was the only way to "deepen realism", whereas praising the revolutionary heroism of the people and describing the heroes among them was neither true nor realistic. This theory of "the deepening of realism", which was taken directly from bourgeois critical realism, is thoroughly reactionary.

⁷The theory of opposition to "subject matter as the decisive factor", which was opposed to the socialist view of literature and art, found keen support from Tien Han, Hsia Yen and others. Proletarian writers must consider what subject matter is of value to the people before they start writing and a specific subject should be selected and written up in order to foster proletarian ideology and liquidate bourgeois ideology

and encourage the masses to be firm in taking the socialist road. But to advocates of this theory, these correct views were restrictions and fetters which "must be thoroughly eliminated". Under the pretext of enlarging the scope of subject matter, they proposed discarding the classics of revolution and rebelling against the orthodoxy of war. They argued that too many of our films dealt with the revolution and armed struggle and that unless a break was made, no really new films could be produced. Other advocates of this theory were in favour of writing works with "human interest", "love of mankind", "insignificant people" and "minor events". The aim of these proposals was actually to lead literature and art astray from the path of serving proletarian politics.

⁸The chief exponent of the theory of "middle characters" was Shao Chuan-lin. He put forward this proposal time and again between the winter of 1960 and the summer of 1962. He slandered the vast majority of our poor and lower-middle peasants as people in an "intermediate state" vacillating between socialism and capitalism. He hoped that more writing about middle characters would undermine readers' faith in socialism and serve to curb or oppose the creation of heroes of the socialist age in works of literature and art.

⁹Opposition to "the smell of gunpowder". Modern revisionist literature plays up the horrors of war and propagates the philosophy of survival and capitulationism to sap the people's fighting will and serve the needs of the imperialists. In recent years there were also some people in China who repeatedly clamoured that our writing reeked of gunpowder and our stage bristled with guns, and that this was inartistic. They wanted writers to discard the classics of revolution and rebel against the orthodoxy of war. This theory was in essence a reflection of the revisionist trend in our literary and art circles.

¹⁰"The merging of various trends as the spirit of the age" was an anti-Marxist-Leninist fallacy put forward by Chou Ku-cheng, who denied that the spirit of the age is the spirit which propels the age forward and that the representative of this spirit is the advanced class which propels the age forward. He argued that the spirit of the age was a "merging" of the "different ideologies of different classes", and that it included "pseudo-revolutionary, non-revolutionary and even counter-revolutionary ideas". This was a thoroughly reactionary theory aimed at class conciliation.

¹¹V. G. Belinsky (1811-1848) was a Russian democrat, literary critic, thinker and writer on aesthetics who opposed the serf system and the despotic rule of the tsar in his literary criticism.

¹²N. G. Chernyshevsky (1828-1889) was a Russian democrat, critic and writer who upheld revolutionary democratic ideas and opposed the tsar and serfdom.

¹³N. A. Dobrolyubov (1836-1861) was a Russian democrat and critic of literature and art who engaged in activities against the rule of the tsar and the serf system.

NEVER FORGET THE CLASS STRUGGLE

— Editorial of the *Liberation Army Daily*
(*Jiefangjun Bao*) of May 4, 1966 —

The publication of our editorial "Hold High the Great Red Banner of Mao Tse-tung's Thought and Actively Participate in the Great Socialist Cultural Revolution" has evoked a great response both inside and outside our army. The broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and revolutionary cadres, showing a high degree of revolutionary enthusiasm, have sent in articles and letters; they are actively participating in the struggle and voicing their deep indignation at the black anti-Party and anti-socialist line in the cultural field. They understand that the current great polemic on the cultural front is definitely not a question concerning only a few articles, plays and films, nor is it merely an academic debate. It is an extremely sharp class struggle. It is a struggle to defend Mao Tse-tung's thought, a struggle on a cardinal issue of right and wrong. It is an acute, protracted struggle on the question of which will win out in the realm of ideology, the proletariat or the bourgeoisie. We must energetically foster proletarian ideology and liquidate bourgeois ideology in academic work, education, journalism, literature and art and other spheres of culture. This is a crucial question affecting the deepening of our country's socialist revolution at the present stage, a question concerning the overall situation, and an issue of prime importance affecting the destiny and future of our Party and state as well as the world revolution. We revolutionary fighters should none of us stand aloof or be indifferent to this struggle. We must respond to the call of the Party, hold high

the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, take an active part in this class struggle and resolutely carry the great socialist cultural revolution through to the end.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung teaches us that classes and class struggle continue to exist in socialist society and that the struggle between the road of socialism and the road of capitalism still goes on. The socialist revolution on the economic front (in the ownership of the means of production) is insufficient and cannot be consolidated by itself. There must also be a thoroughgoing socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts. A very long period of time is needed to decide which will win out in the struggle between socialism and capitalism in the political and ideological fields. Several decades will not suffice; anywhere from one to several centuries will be required for success. In fact, as Chairman Mao has pointed out, there has never been a year, a month or even a day in the 16 years since liberation when the class struggle on the cultural front has halted. We have had, for instance, the criticism of the film *The Life of Wu Hsun* in 1951, the criticism of the book *Studies in the "Dream of the Red Chamber"* and then of the reactionary ideas of Hu Shih in 1954, the criticism of Hu Feng and the struggle against his counter-revolutionary clique in 1955, the counter-attack against the fanatical onslaught of the bourgeois Rightists on the cultural front in 1957, the emergence of numerous bourgeois and revisionist poisonous weeds in the form of films, dramas and literary works since 1959 and our struggle against them, the criticism of Yang Hsien-chen's theory of "two combining into one" in 1964, and the current great polemic which, begun with the criticism of Wu Han's *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office*, is now being carried to a greater depth. One struggle has followed another, each increasingly profound. After we are rid of this black line, others may appear and the struggle must go on. This shows that class struggle is independent of man's will and is inevitable. The anti-Party and anti-socialist elements will stubbornly show their bourgeois nature

by every possible means. You cannot expect them to do otherwise. These people give verbal support to socialism, but in reality they are infatuated by capitalism and cling to the corpse of the bourgeoisie. They are hostile to the dictatorship of the proletariat and have a deep-seated resentment against and hatred of the Party and socialism. Whenever there is a suitable climate, they will give vent to these feelings, and whenever some wind stirs the grass, they will raise their ugly heads. After being repeatedly exposed, criticized and dealt blows by the broad masses, they will resort to more covert, crafty, roundabout and zigzag tactics to continue their attacks on the Party and socialism.

The noteworthy thing is that in the present new situation of class struggle, the attacks launched against us by this handful of anti-Party and anti-socialist elements have new features. They are waving "red flags" to oppose the Red Flag and donning the cloak of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought to oppose Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought. Taking advantage of the functions and powers given them by the Party and Government, they have put some departments and units under their control, resisted the leadership of the Party and committed anti-Party and anti-socialist crimes through the instruments in their hands. These people are mostly so-called authorities, and they are rather "well known" in society. They are still worshipped by some people who do not know the facts. They think that they still possess enough capital to have a trial of strength with the proletariat and they desperately defend the stronghold of bourgeois ideology. Their anti-Party and anti-socialist activities are not isolated or accidental but are in tune with the international anti-China chorus raised by the imperialists, the modern revisionists and the reactionaries, in line with the activities of the overthrown reactionary classes within our country to attempt a come-back and in co-ordination with the anti-Party activities of the Right opportunists within our Party. Their anti-Party and anti-socialist activities are to a certain extent

deceptive and are extremely harmful. Our struggle with them is a life-and-death one. We must be fully aware of this and maintain sharp vigilance. As for those who have turned out a number of bad works but are at one with the Party and socialism, their shortcomings and errors can be rectified in the course of practice. A strict distinction should be made between these comrades and the handful of anti-Party and anti-socialist elements.

Before our nation-wide victory, Chairman Mao Tse-tung warned us:

After the enemies with guns have been wiped out, there will still be enemies without guns; they are bound to struggle desperately against us; we must never regard these enemies lightly. If we do not now raise and understand the problem in this way, we shall commit very grave mistakes.

Restoration of capitalism invariably takes the form either of violence or of "peaceful evolution", or of a combination of both. U.S. imperialism and the other class enemies at home and abroad attempt not only to overthrow us by violence but also to conquer us by "peaceful evolution", by the use of "sugar-coated bullets". In a hundred and one ways, they are spreading reactionary political and ideological viruses and the bourgeois way of life in an attempt to corrupt and corrode the Communists, the proletariat and the other revolutionary people, hoping to bring about the degeneration of some weak-minded persons in our ranks into bourgeois elements and to make socialism gradually retrogress to capitalism. It is indeed a profound lesson that the Soviet Union, the first great socialist state founded by Lenin and born amid the salvos of the October Revolution, has been going down the road of capitalist restoration through a process of "peaceful evolution" under the control and manipulation of a handful of revisionists who have usurped the leadership of the Party and state. Chairman Mao Tse-tung teaches us:

Class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment are the three great revolutionary movements for building a mighty socialist country. These movements are a sure guarantee that Communists will be free from bureaucracy and immune against revisionism and dogmatism, and will for ever remain invincible. They are a reliable guarantee that the proletariat will be able to unite with the broad working masses and realize a democratic dictatorship. If, in the absence of these movements, the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and ogres of all kinds were allowed to crawl out, while our cadres were to shut their eyes to all this and in many cases fail even to differentiate between the enemy and ourselves but were to collaborate with the enemy and become corrupted and demoralized, if our cadres were thus dragged into the enemy camp or the enemy were able to sneak into our ranks, and if many of our workers, peasants, and intellectuals were left defenceless against both the soft and the hard tactics of the enemy, then it would not take long, perhaps only several years or a decade, or several decades at most, before a counter-revolutionary restoration on a national scale inevitably occurred, the Marxist-Leninist Party would undoubtedly become a revisionist party or a fascist party, and the whole of China would change its colour.

We must keep this teaching of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's firmly in our minds and never forget the class struggle in the period of socialism; we must never ignore the battle against the enemies without guns.

Chairman Mao also teaches us that "any given culture (as an ideological form) is a reflection of the politics and economics of a given society, and the former in turn has a tremendous influence and effect upon the latter" and that "a cultural revolution is the ideological reflection of the political and economic revolution and is in their service". He further says:

. . . while we recognize that in the general development of history the material determines the mental and social being determines social consciousness, we also — and indeed must — recognize the reaction of mental on material things, of social consciousness on social being and of the superstructure on the economic base.

In the 16 years since liberation, the economic base of socialism and the political power of the dictatorship of the proletariat have been established in China and are daily growing stronger. The socialist revolution on the economic and political fronts has won great victories. However, the political viewpoints and the ideology of the overthrown bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes still have strong influence. They not only impede the development of the economic base of socialism but are actively employing bourgeois and revisionist culture to pave the way for the restoration of capitalism. The question of which will win out in the ideological sphere is far from settled. We must pay great attention to the reaction of the superstructure on the economic base and to the class struggle in the ideological sphere. The victory of the socialist revolution on the economic and political fronts cannot be consolidated without the victory of the socialist revolution in the ideological sphere.

We must never think that the wild attack launched against us by this handful of revisionist and bourgeois elements is merely a "scholars' rebellion" which will amount to nothing much. We must never regard our struggle against them as only paper polemics that have no effect on the overall situation. In fact, every counter-revolutionary restoration starts in the realm of the mind — including ideology, the superstructure, theoretical and academic work, literature and art — so as to mould public opinion. This was what happened when the Khrushchov revisionists usurped the leadership of the Soviet Communist Party. Likewise, in Hungary in 1956, it was a number of revisionist and bourgeois writers,

artists and intellectuals who organized the Petofi Club and acted as the shock brigade in the counter-revolutionary riots. The present furious attacks against our Party and against socialism by a handful of revisionist and bourgeois elements in our country represent their attempt to realize their fond dream of restoring capitalism. If we are not vigilant against these enemies without guns, do not counter-attack them resolutely, but give bourgeois ideas free rein and allow their plots to be carried out, there is the danger that the foundations of our socialism will be undermined and that our country will change its colour.

The Chinese People's Liberation Army is an army of workers and peasants founded and led by the Party and Chairman Mao; it is the mainstay of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the defender of the cause of socialism. We must keep close watch on the enemies with guns and be ready at all times to defeat armed attacks by U.S. imperialism and its lackeys; at the same time, we must be highly vigilant against the enemies without guns and firmly crush the bourgeoisie's criminal plots against the Party and against socialism. The cadres and men of our army should not only be brave soldiers charging through enemy fire on the battlefield but also staunch proletarian fighters against "sugar-coated bullets" on the political and ideological fronts. We must follow Chairman Mao's teachings, fully recognize the protracted, tortuous and complex nature of the class struggle in the period of socialism and never forget the existence of class struggle. We must arm our minds with Mao Tse-tung's thought and observe, analyse and deal with everything from the viewpoint of class struggle and with the method of class analysis. We must criticize erroneous things, uproot poisonous weeds and strike down ogres of all kinds whenever we see them; we must never allow them to run wild and incite and create trouble.

It is on the basis of Chairman Mao's theory on the existence of classes and class struggle in socialist society that

Comrade Lin Piao issued his directive on giving prominence to politics. Politics is the struggle of class against class. To give prominence to politics means that we must give prominence to proletarian politics, take Mao Tse-tung's thought as the guide and class struggle as the key link, and wage the struggle to foster proletarian ideology and liquidate bourgeois ideology. Our armed forces do not live in a vacuum. Through various channels, class struggles in society will inevitably be reflected in our armed forces and in the mind of every one of us. We must never underestimate the influence on us of the class struggle in the ideological sphere. Good works of literature and art and good articles can help raise our political consciousness and heighten our fighting will. But bad films, plays, novels and articles, if we do not examine them, criticize them and boycott them, will poison our minds, gradually transform us and lead us on to the wrong track. Historical experience proves that no enemy, however ferocious and whatever his tricks, is to be feared. What is to be feared is that we ourselves should relax vigilance and let ourselves be disarmed mentally. The present great socialist cultural revolution is a most vivid, most practical education in class struggle and is also a test for every cadre and man in our army politically and ideologically. Every comrade must closely follow and give great attention to the development of the present great cultural revolution with a high sense of political responsibility and great revolutionary fervour, and actively join this great struggle to get himself tempered, educated and remoulded and raise his political consciousness in the process.

The era of Mao Tse-tung is the era in which the workers, peasants and soldiers master revolutionary theory. They are demonstrating their role as the main force in this great socialist cultural revolution. Although the "scholars", "specialists" and "professors" who oppose the Party and socialism don all sorts of cloaks, strike grand poses and deliberately turn simple things into mysteries, they can neither

daunt nor mislead us. We have the all-conquering weapon of Mao Tse-tung's thought and ardent hearts loyal to the Party, to socialism and to Mao Tse-tung's thought. Truth is with us. The cadres and men of our army have a firm and clear-cut political stand, keen political awareness and discerning eyes. They can distinguish between the enemy and ourselves and between right and wrong. Provided we make efforts to study and apply Chairman Mao's works creatively, arm ourselves with his thought, dare to despise the "authority" of the revisionist and bourgeois elements and dispel blind faith in them, we will certainly be able to see through the true features of these ogres and monsters and expose them to the light of day. Let us hold ever higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, resolutely destroy the black anti-Party and anti-socialist line of the bourgeoisie and the revisionists, and carry the great socialist cultural revolution through to the end!

ON "THREE-FAMILY VILLAGE"

— The Reactionary Nature of *Evening Chats at Yenshan* and *Notes from Three-Family Village* —

BY YAO WEN-YUAN

On April 16, 1966 the fortnightly *Frontline* (*Qianxian*) and the *Peking Daily* (*Beijing Ribao*) published some material under the title "A Criticism of Three-Family Village and *Evening Chats at Yenshan*" with an editorial note. The note says:

Our magazine and paper published these articles without timely criticism; this is wrong. The reason is that we did not put proletarian politics in command and that our minds were influenced by bourgeois and feudal ideas, and hence in this serious struggle we lost our stand or vigilance.

This is a gross lie. The author of *Evening Chats at Yenshan* is Teng To, while *Notes from Three-Family Village* represents a "gangster inn" run jointly by Teng To, Liao Mo-sha and Wu Han. Teng To was the editor-in-chief of *Frontline*, and he controlled and monopolized the leading posts in the ideological and cultural work of Peking Municipality. He and his cronies of Three-Family Village made *Frontline*, the *Peking Daily*, the *Peking Evening News* (*Beijing Wanbao*), etc. instruments for opposing the Party and socialism, pursued a rabid anti-Party, anti-socialist, Right opportunist, i.e., revisionist, line and served as spokesmen of the reactionary classes and the Right opportunists in their attacks on our Party. Could this be just a case of "loss of vigilance" and of publication "without

timely criticism"? After letting loose so many vicious blasts against the Party and socialism, how can they claim that their minds are only a little "influenced" by bourgeois ideas? We must thoroughly expose this huge swindle.

Everyone still remembers that at the start of the criticism of Wu Han's drama, *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office*, Teng To feigned a correct posture. After hectic plotting, he used the pen-name Hsiang Yang-sheng and wrote a long article, "From *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office* to the Theory of Inheriting Old Ethical Values", which appeared simultaneously in the *Peking Daily* and *Frontline*. This article, which was designed to save Wu Han under the guise of "criticizing" him, was a thoroughly anti-Party and anti-Marxist poisonous weed. Does the prominence given by both the *Peking Daily* and *Frontline* to Teng To's article "criticizing" Wu Han merely show a "loss of vigilance"? Merely a "relaxation of the class struggle on the cultural and academic front"? No, not at all. Their vigilance is very high. They spared no effort in their class struggle against the Party and the people. When they saw that the problem of Wu Han could no longer be glossed over, Teng To hastily came out with a fake criticism; but one who had always acted a negative role could not act a positive role convincingly, and so left a great many holes. Then, as soon as it became clear that even Teng To could not be saved, they hastily wrote another fake criticism in the name of the editorial departments, stubbornly fighting back to prevent the struggle from going deeper. But this sham was even more obvious, and there were even more holes. They are trying to deceive people by this talk of not putting proletarian politics in command and not making a timely criticism, hoping by their bogus criticism of Teng To and Three-Family Village to fool the readers and the Party into believing that they are on the side of truth.

How can they clear up the problem by taking such an attitude? How can they "unfold serious criticism"? The editorial note says that Wu Han "time and again . . . spoke on

behalf of the Right opportunists who were dismissed from office". This was something which they first tried to cover up but which they now have to admit because it was exposed earlier on. The editorial note also says that Liao Mo-sha was "a protagonist consciously opposing the Party, socialism and Mao Tse-tung's thought". But the reference to Teng To towards the end simply says that he "glorified dead men and stubbornly advocated learning from them. . . . He propagated a large number of feudal and bourgeois ideas, opposing Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought". No mention, however, is made of his anti-Party, anti-socialist activities, which makes the whole thing hard to believe. Do the countless poisonous weeds in the 150-odd articles of *Evening Chats at Yenshan* and in *Notes from Three-Family Village* just advocate "learning from dead men"? Do they just propagate feudal and bourgeois ideas? Do they represent only an ideological mistake and not a political problem? Is it logical and credible that two out of the three brothers in Three-Family Village are anti-Party and anti-socialist, while the third who actually did most of the writing merely advocates "learning from dead men"? Starting with a great flourish and then petering out and making a fake criticism in the hope of slipping by, they are simply putting on a show of criticism to resist the instructions of the Central Committee of the Party. Isn't this clear enough?

The material under the title "What Did *Evening Chats at Yenshan* Actually Advocate?" compiled to support the editorial note covers two whole pages of the *Peking Daily*, and yet it too tries to gloss over the sharp political questions. The sub-titles of the various sections read: "Distorting the Party's Directive 'Let a Hundred Flowers Blossom and a Hundred Schools of Thought Contend', Advocating Complete Freedom for Bourgeois Ideas"; "Idealizing All Aspects of the Feudal Social System"; "Using Corpses from Old Feudal Times to Resurrect the Bourgeoisie"; "Propagating the Ex-

plotting Classes' Decadent Philosophy of Life"; and "Using Ancient Things to Satirize the Present and Attacks by Innuendo". Sub-titles reveal the tendency and judgement of editors. This method of editing suggests to the reader that *Evening Chats at Yenshan* contained little or nothing which was opposed to the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman Mao or which supported the Right opportunists, and was different in character from *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office*. Prominence is given in the first section to the distortion of the Party's policy of "let a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend", while "Using Ancient Things to Satirize the Present" is put at the end with a few mild comments and one or two examples for the sake of appearances. Anyone with a discerning eye can see at a glance what the editors are up to.

When we investigate the matter, however, we find that it is not at all as they present it. A great mass of political comments, which grossly slandered the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman Mao, supported the Right opportunists and attacked the General Line and the cause of socialism, are either left out or abridged, while some of the most obviously vicious comments using ancient things to satirize the present and oppose the Party and socialism have been included in other sections in a deliberate attempt to make them stand out less; and there is not a single word about the pernicious nation-wide influence of *Evening Chats at Yenshan*. On the other hand, excerpts which did not touch on vital problems are presented with a great fanfare. There is an attempt to turn big issues into small ones and slip through. In particular, the editors have concealed the fact that the mass of articles attacking the Party written by Teng To, Wu Han and Liao Mo-sha during this period were not produced independently of each other but were produced by the partnership of Three-Family Village under direction, according to plan and with clear co-ordination. Wu Han was in the van and Liao Mo-sha followed close behind, but of these three warriors

the real "commanding general", the manager and boss of the Three-Family Village gangster inn was none other than Teng To himself.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has taught us: "We must firmly uphold the truth, and truth requires a clear-cut stand." ("A Talk to the Editorial Staff of the *Shansi-Suiyuan Daily*") In a sharp and complex class struggle, all sorts of disguises are bound to be encountered. Only when we hold high and in prominence the revolutionary banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, adhere to principle, persist in the truth, and speak out clearly without mincing our words to expose the true nature of things, can we avoid being taken in by disguises. Since *Frontline* and the *Peking Daily* have suddenly raised the problem of *Evening Chats at Yenshan* and *Notes from Three-Family Village* but are concealing the truth, it is obviously the duty of all revolutionaries to make a thorough exposure of the reactionary character of these writings. Despite the jumble of trash in them, once we make an analysis we can see that they consistently follow a single black anti-Party and anti-socialist line, just as "Hai Jui Scolds the Emperor" and *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office* do, and some dark clouds have been raised up over China's political skies in the last few years. It is now time to reveal the inside story of this big Three-Family Village gangster inn more fully.

HOW DID EVENING CHATS AT YENSHAN AND NOTES FROM THREE-FAMILY VILLAGE COME ON THE STAGE?

Evening Chats at Yenshan and *Notes from Three-Family Village* came on the stage close on the heels of *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office*. They formed a deliberate, planned and organized major attack on the Party and socialism, master-minded in detail by Three-Family Village. One look at the time-table will give us a clear picture of what happened.

Hai Jui Dismissed from Office was published in *Peking Literature and Art (Beijing Wenyi)* in January 1961. Today, the reactionary nature of this drama has become increasingly evident. It directed its spearhead precisely against the Lushan meeting and against the Central Committee of the Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, with a view to reversing the decisions of that meeting. The clamorous message of the drama was that the dismissal of the "upright official Hai Jui", in other words of the Right opportunists, was "unfair" and that the Right opportunists should come back to administer "court affairs", that is, to carry out their revisionist programme. It was then the urgent desire of the author to support a Right opportunist come-back and resumption of office so as to bring about the restoration of capitalism. This was also the common desire of the "brothers" of Three-Family Village.

The drama was praised and supported by certain people as soon as it was published; and the "brothers" of Three-Family Village went wild with joy in the belief that their vanguard had won the first round. Rubbing his hands with glee, Liao Mo-sha wrote in the *Peking Evening News* on January 2, 1961, "After the winter drums have sounded, the spring grass begins to grow. . . . An all-out effort will begin in spring." This was early spring for Three-Family Village. Then, on February 16 Liao Mo-sha wrote an open letter to Wu Han, "congratulating" him on "breaking through the door and dashing out . . . in order to encourage people to greater efforts". He suggested "a division of labour and co-operation" between "history" and "drama". On February 18 Wu Han in his role as vanguard replied to his "elder brother", "May I suggest to you, brother, that you too break through the door and dash out?" And he added boastfully, "You say I have broken through the door and dashed out; you have hit the nail on the head. That is precisely what I have done. This door must be broken through." What an aggressive posture, what brave airs! It really looked as if he meant to fight it out. He

believed that the time for the offensive had arrived and that with the production of *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office* the winter drums had sounded and the gang should ready themselves for "an all-out effort".

On February 25, 1961, one week after the shout, "This door must be broken through!", Wu Han in an article "Meetings of 'Immortals' and a Hundred Schools of Thought Contending" burst out with the statement, "We must have a series of meetings of 'Immortals' at different levels right down to the grass roots. . . . Since the men at the grass roots are doing practical work and are in touch with reality, their problems are more concrete, striking and concentrated." He called on all those at the grass roots level "with misgivings in their hearts" to go into action. He shouted about "clearing away all obstacles along the forward path of contention by a hundred schools of thought". And he boasted smugly, "Perhaps I can be rated as an intellectual, having studied for more than forty years, taught in universities for some twenty years, and written several books." Thus he considered that, with his capital and the backing of the bosses behind the scenes, the time had come for the anti-Communist bourgeois intellectuals to take the stage and show their prowess.

In March 1961, amid this great fanfare and in the "dramatic" atmosphere of night and cloud raised by *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office*, immediately after Wu Han had "cleared the path" with his staff, the commanding general took the stage. With *Evening Chats at Yenshan*, he "broke through the door and dashed out" "at the suggestion of friends". Teng To said he had been "compelled to mount horse", but this is wrong. Rather, he was "begged to mount horse". After the vanguard had cleared the way, and with another "brother" wielding the whip for him, wasn't it time for the commanding general to mount horse?

Close on the heels of Wu Han's preface to *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office* came *Notes from Three-Family Village*. In August 1961, when the reactionary classes in the country were in-

tensifying their attacks, Wu Han made a special point in his introduction to the same book, "This drama lays stress on the uprightness and tenacity of Hai Jui, who was undaunted by force, undismayed by failure and determined to make a fresh start after defeat." He actively incited and supported the Right opportunists who had been "dismissed from office" to renew their attacks on the Party. In this preface he gloated over the way in which his friends were helping to plan his campaign and claimed that his effort was "a modest spur to induce others to come forward with valuable contributions", to "induce" many other poisonous weeds to come out. Then on October 5, 1961, in an article entitled "Show Concern for All Things" in the column *Evening Chats at Yenshan*, Teng To quoted the couplet:

*Sounds of wind, rain and the reading of books
all fill my ears;
Family, state and world affairs, I show concern
for them all.*

He declared with deep feeling that this "fully reflects the political ideals of the scholars of the Tunglin Party", and that "this couplet has a really profound significance". The Tunglin Party was an "opposition party" within the landlord class during the Ming Dynasty. The reason why Teng To so much admired their "political ideals" was that the term "opposition party" resounded in his mind. Apparently, he felt that all the "sounds of wind and rain", all the ill winds and pestilential rains of the time, had induced such a state of restlessness that he must take a step further to live up to his "political ideals", "show concern for all things", and launch even more open attacks on the Party and on socialism. Only a few days later, on October 10, 1961, the "Three-Family Village" signboard was publicly hung up in *Frontline*, edited by Teng To, and this underground factory was turned into an open partnership. The three partners concentrated their fire, and in its first issues extremely vicious

attacks, like "Great Empty Talk" and other articles, were launched against the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party.

The appearance of *Evening Chats at Yenshan* and *Notes from Three-Family Village* signified another offensive against the Party, which was planned, organized and under direction, following up on *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office*. Only by linking up the writings of the Three Families can we get to the bottom of this gangster inn's secrets.

A BLACK LINE AND GUSTS OF ILL WIND

Teng To explained how the topics for *Evening Chats at Yenshan* were chosen when he said, "I often thought of, saw or heard of things which struck me as problems, and these at once provided topics." Since Teng To was in a position of leadership, what things did he see? What people did he hear talking? His remarks disclose that these evening chats were written to deal with "problems" from real life over which he felt dissatisfaction. Some of the vicious anti-Party and anti-socialist stuff was first heard and then written up by him. In all cases, the points of departure and themes of these essays were important current political issues intimately bound up with reality, and were by no means just the "idealizing of the ancients". This clue, provided by the author himself, helps us to see clearly that *Evening Chats at Yenshan* and *Notes from Three-Family Village* are shot through and through with the same black anti-Party, anti-popular and anti-socialist line as that followed in "Hai Jui Scolds the Emperor" and *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office*, namely, slanderous attacks on the Central Committee of the Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung; attacks on the General Line of the Party; all-out support for the attacks of the Right opportunists who had been "dismissed from office" in an attempt to reverse earlier correct decisions concerning them; and support for the frenzied attacks of the feudal and cap-

italist forces. In step with the changes in the situation of the class struggle at home and abroad and with the different "problems" thought of, seen and heard of, they selected different lines of attack and there was a division of labour, in which they complemented and responded to each other, in whipping up a succession of black waves and gusts of ill wind.

The Ninth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party, held in January 1961, pointed out:

The great achievements of our country during the last three years show that the Party's General Line for socialist construction, the big leap forward and the people's communes suit the realities of China. . . . in view of the serious natural calamities which affected agricultural production for two successive years, the whole nation must concentrate in 1961 on strengthening the agricultural front.

The communique of this plenary session pointed out sharply:

. . . a very small number of unregenerate landlord and bourgeois elements, accounting for only a few per cent of the population . . . invariably try to stage a come-back. . . . They have taken advantage of the difficulties caused by the natural calamities and of some shortcomings in the work at the primary levels to carry out sabotage. (Communique of the Ninth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China)

These elements stirred up an anti-Party and anti-socialist ill wind, did their utmost to slander and vilify the socialist cause of the Party and the people and abused the Central Committee of the Party in a futile attempt to overthrow the Party's General Line. Serving the political ends of the bourgeois and landlord class elements who were attempting a come-back, *Evening Chats at Yenshan*, which appeared soon after the plenary session, exploited certain economic difficulties caused by the grave natural calamities to concentrate on stirring up an evil flurry of attacks on the General Line

and on bolstering up the restorationist activities of the landlord and capitalist classes.

On March 26, 1961, Teng To raised the slogan, "Welcome the 'miscellaneous scholars' ". Who were these "miscellaneous scholars"? According to him, they were those "with a wide range of knowledge" and knowing "an assortment of bits of everything". He said: "The noted scholars of yore could all, more or less, be classified as miscellaneous scholars." He added the warning to the Party: "It will be a great loss to us if we now fail to acknowledge the great significance of the wide range of knowledge of the 'miscellaneous scholars' for all kinds of work of leadership and for scientific research work." "Work of leadership", please note. Here is the vital issue. From these words of Teng To's it is quite clear that the "miscellaneous scholars" were none other than the unregenerate elements and intellectuals of the bourgeois and landlord classes, a handful of characters of dubious political background, as well as such reactionaries as the "scholars" of the landlord and bourgeois classes. The motley collection of the dead—emperors, generals and ministers, scum of all sorts, feudal die-hards, and charlatans like geomancers—all of whom Teng To wrote about with great awe in his articles, have their memorial tablets in the ancestral temple of the "miscellaneous scholars". Using their "knowledge" as their capital, such characters are trying desperately to intrigue themselves or climb into leading positions at different levels and change the nature of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In demanding that we recognize the "great significance" of the "miscellaneous scholars" for the "work of leadership", Teng To was, in effect, demanding that the Party open the door to those "miscellaneous scholars" who had taken the capitalist road and allow them to lead in "all kinds of work of leadership" and in "scientific research work"—in other words, in the academic and ideological fields—and so to prepare public opinion for the restoration of capitalism. He styled himself a first-rate "miscellaneous scholar". At

that time some bourgeois elements were eagerly urging the "leadership" to "respect" their "wide range of knowledge" of how to carry out capitalist exploitation. They wanted to use this "knowledge" of theirs to change socialist enterprises into capitalist enterprises. The slogan "Welcome the 'miscellaneous scholars'" raised by Three-Family Village in support of the seizure of leadership by members of the exploiting classes must not be regarded as mere empty talk. Did not the "miscellaneous scholars" of Three-Family Village actually control a number of leading positions?

On April 13, 1961 Teng To demanded in his essay "Guide Rather than Block" that "everything" should be "actively guided to facilitate its smooth development". "Blocking the path of the movement and development of things" is "doomed to failure". "Everything", please note, including those dark, reactionary things that are anti-Party and anti-socialist. If we are to persist in the socialist road, we have to block the road to the restoration of capitalism; if we are to support all new-born, revolutionary things, we have to strike down all decadent, counter-revolutionary things. As the saying goes: "There is no construction without destruction, no flowing without damming and no motion without rest." To clear the way for the tide of revolution, we must dam the tide of reaction. By demanding that instead of blocking we should "facilitate the smooth development" of "everything", including anti-socialist things, was not Teng To clearly demanding that we should practise bourgeois liberalization and bend and surrender to the ill winds which were blowing at the time, the winds of "going it alone" (i.e., the restoration of individual economy) and of the extension of plots for private use and of free markets, the increase of small enterprises with sole responsibility for their own profits or losses, and the fixing of output quotas based on the household? "Guiding" meant paving the way, and these men styled themselves "the vanguard paving the way" — for the capitalist forces. Three-Family Village counted on the "failure" of socialism and the

"certain triumph" of the black wind of capitalist restoration, and thought they could now openly throw themselves into the arms of the reactionary forces for the development of capitalism!

On April 30, 1961, in an essay "The Theory of Treasuring Labour Power", Teng To levelled a direct attack on us for not "treasuring labour power". Mentioning the dictatorship of the proletariat and that of the landlord class in the same breath, he argued that "as far back as the periods of the Spring and Autumn Annals and the Warring States and thereabout", "through the experience of their rule" the exploiting classes "discovered certain objective laws governing the increase and decrease of labour power" and were able to calculate the limits on "the labour power to be used in all kinds of capital construction". Teng To demanded that "we should draw new enlightenment from the experience of the ancients, and take care to do more in every way to treasure our labour power". Everybody knows that we give the utmost attention to treasuring labour power. In all its work the Chinese Communist Party proceeds from the fundamental interests of the broad masses of the people and is wholeheartedly in their service. On the other hand, none of the slave-owner and landlord classes in history cared about anything but the insatiable and cruel exploitation of the working people, thus arousing the slaves and the peasants to one great uprising after another. How could they recognize the "objective laws governing the increase and decrease of labour power"? All this was merely an attempt to slander the General Line and the great leap forward as not "treasuring labour power" by exploiting the temporary difficulties caused by the natural calamities at the time, and a demand that we should give up the General Line of going all out, aiming high and building socialism with greater, quicker, better and more economical results, give up developing agriculture in a big way and abandon the revolutionary policy of energetically building a prosperous country through self-reliance, but instead use the landlord class's "ex-

perience as rulers" to undermine the dictatorship of the proletariat. What Teng To was saying, in other words, was this: It is "beyond your capacity" to carry on through self-reliance. This is "excessively forced". Call a halt at once. Give it up quickly and use the old methods of the "miscellaneous scholars" of the landlord class! Was this not clearly co-ordinated with the vicious attacks of U.S. imperialism and modern revisionism? Had we followed this line, not only would we have had no Taching, no Tachai, no atom bombs, but we would have been reduced to an imperialist colony.

It is by no means accidental that both before and after the publication of this article, Teng To ranted in favour of learning from the Khrushchov revisionist clique. In his essay "The Way to Make Friends and Entertain Guests", he advocated "learning from" and "uniting with" countries "stronger than our own" and said, "We should be pleased if a friend is stronger than we are." In the essay "From Three to Ten Thousand", he swore, "If a man with a swelled head thinks he can learn a subject with ease and kicks his teacher out, he will never learn anything." This was a vicious attack on our struggle against modern revisionism and a demand that we ask the revisionists in and let the wolves into the house. We want to learn from all the experience and lessons beneficial to socialist construction that the world provides, but we must never learn from revisionism. We warmly welcome the victorious development of every revolutionary cause, but we must never welcome revisionism. In his series of indirect accusations "reviling the locust tree while pointing to the mulberry", Teng To sings exactly the same tune as the Right opportunists, slandering the Party line for socialist construction as "forced" and claiming that China's only "way out" is to "learn from" the Soviet revisionist clique and practise revisionism in China.

In stirring up this evil wind, Three-Family Village raised a hullabaloo and cleared the way for the release of all kinds of monsters from confinement, collaborating from within with sinister forces from without. In league with the reactionaries in

China and abroad and with the modern revisionists, it made dastardly attacks on the Party's General Line for socialist construction, the great leap forward and the people's communes, and painted modern revisionism in glowing colours in a vain attempt to create public opinion favourable to a comeback by the Right opportunists.

In June and July 1961 Three-Family Village let loose another vicious blast. July 1 was the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of China. Holding high the red banner of the General Line, the great, glorious and correct Chinese Communist Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung was leading the Chinese people forward triumphantly along the socialist road amidst sharp struggles against reactionaries in China and abroad and against serious natural calamities. Not reconciled to their defeat, the domestic reactionary forces and the Right opportunists who had been dismissed from office were trying harder than ever to have the previous decisions reversed, in an attempt to negate the repudiation of the Right opportunists at the Lushan meeting and the fruits of the various other major political struggles since liberation. It was at this moment that the "brothers" of Three-Family Village shot poisoned arrows thick and fast at the Central Committee of the Party in support of the Right opportunists.

On June 7, 1961 Wu Han described another "trumped-up case" in an insidious article ostensibly written in memory of Yu Chien. He glorified Yu Chien who had been dismissed from office, calling him "unbending and simple", and a man whose "spirit will live for ever". He made a point of stating that Yu Chien had been "rehabilitated", that "Yu Chien's political enemies failed one after another", and that he was moreover appointed "Secretary of War (Minister of National Defence)". "Rehabilitate" is a modern term which no emperor would ever have used. By using it, Wu Han betrayed what was in his mind, namely, that the proletarian revolutionaries would fail one after another and the Right opportunists would soon be rehabilitated.

On June 22, 1961, shortly after Wu Han's article on Yu Chien, Teng To published "The Case of Chen Chiang and Wang Keng". It was so blatantly vicious that the author's heart misgave him and he dared not include it in the collected volumes of *Evening Chats at Yenshan*. We can find it, however, in the *Evening Chats* column in the *Peking Evening News*. The author claims to have picked this "anecdote" up from some old books because it was so "thought-provoking". The article threw out hints about a "deliberately exaggerated and trumped-up case", but the revelation comes in the last paragraph, which reads:

By the reign of Empress Dowager Ming Su, the Sung government was growing daily more corrupt. There was no intelligent and capable prime minister at the top with responsible assistants to take charge of personnel and administration, while the local officials lower down did exactly as they pleased.

As a result, he wrote, "this case was inflated and complicated." This was venomous slander, directed against our Party and expressed in the counter-revolutionary language of landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists. The ostensible attack on Empress Dowager Ming Su and on the prime minister was a malevolent denigration of the Central Committee of the Party, while the statement that "local officials lower down did exactly as they pleased" was a malicious denunciation of Party cadres at various levels, a charge that the Right opportunists and other anti-Party elements had been unjustly treated. He even used the modern term "inflated". What sort of thought was provoked? Was it not the thought that would pave the way for reversing the previous decisions on the Right opportunists and other anti-Party elements? Was it not the thought that would release monsters to attack socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat? What is particularly interesting is the fact that Teng To pinned his hope of reversing the previous decisions on an

"intelligent and capable prime minister" coming forward and seizing the leadership. To those with discerning eyes, it is as clear as daylight what kind of people he was appealing to for the seizure of power. This is the true voice of the commanding general of Three-Family Village. He refrained from including this article in the collection, but the harder one tries to conceal a thing, the more it attracts attention.

At the same time, in another article "The Prosperity and Decline of Two Temples", Teng To gave full vent to his feelings about the fate of two temples. One had had many worshippers and was "famed far and near", while the other was "in decline" and "ignored all along". For fear that others might not understand his meaning, he urged readers to apply this to "similar situations", implying that we had cold-shouldered the Right opportunists and stopped paying tribute to them. Teng To expressed strong dissatisfaction over the fate of being "ignored all along" that had overtaken those anti-Party, anti-socialist clay idols who had fallen from their political pedestals, the Right opportunists and other anti-Party elements who were utterly spurned by the Party and the people. He wanted the Party to "esteem" them highly again, to put these clay idols "in decline" back in their shrines.

Immediately afterwards, Wu Han in his introduction to *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office* cried even more openly, "Although Hai Jui lost his post, he did not give in or lose heart." He shouted about the need to be "undismayed by failure and determined to make a fresh start after defeat". This was the common cry of Three-Family Village at the time, and certainly not an isolated phenomenon. They not only incited the Right opportunists to try again, but also redoubled their own efforts.

On July 25, 1962 Three-Family Village came out with a most venomous anti-Communist article, entitled "Special Treatment for 'Amnesia'". They vilified responsible Party members as suffering from "amnesia", which made them "quickly forget what they have seen and said . . . go back on their own word and fail to keep faith", and become quite "capricious". They

proposed "hitting the patient on the head with a specially made club to induce a state of 'shock' ". They were not only using exactly the same language as the Right opportunists to slander the Central Committee of the Party which they hated; they actually wanted to finish off the proletarian revolutionary fighters with one blow. What poison! Were they not hoping to render revolutionaries unconscious or kill them so that revisionism could seize power? This article was a stark revelation of their deep class hatred for the Party, an attack on our Party made completely from the stand of the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists.

The series of facts listed above definitely proves that *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office* not only represented Wu Han's personal political attitude but was a prelude to the anti-Party, anti-socialist political activities of the Three-Family Village clique in support of the Right opportunists who had been "dismissed from office". The members of this small clique, who pinned their hope on the seizure of power in the Party and government by the anti-Party, anti-socialist elements, stirred up an adverse current. "Like mayflies trying to topple the giant tree, they ridiculously overrated themselves"—the slanderous attacks by this handful of anti-Party, anti-socialist elements could not damage the great prestige of our Party in the least, but only revealed their own criminal features, aroused the people's anger, and ended up in their repudiation by the Party and the people.

The Three-Family Village offensive was at its most frenzied from the start of publication of *Notes from Three-Family Village* until March 1962, when the Third Session of the Second National People's Congress met. In the first place, during this period, the imperialists, reactionaries and modern revisionists abroad had intensified their anti-China chorus, which was very noisy for a time. At the 22nd Congress of the CPSU in October 1961, the leadership of the CPSU systematized the revisionist line which it had been gradually developing since the 20th Congress, and pushed further ahead with

its revisionist political line for splitting the international communist movement and restoring capitalism. In China, the reactionary classes and their political agents, aiming to come back to power, took advantage of the three consecutive years of serious natural calamities we had suffered to launch a still wilder all-out attack in the political, economic and cultural fields in a futile attempt to overthrow the Party leadership and the dictatorship of the proletariat at the very time when we were implementing the policy of "readjustment, consolidation, filling out and raising of standards".

Two articles typified how Three-Family Village sized up the situation during this period. The first, "On Waves" by Wu Han, appeared on January 1, 1962. With irrepressible fanaticism he hailed the "wave" that had been pounding society "during the past half year and more". He joyously declared that "this is a really big tidal wave", advertising the counter-current against the Party leadership and the dictatorship of the proletariat as one of its achievements. He predicted that this "tidal wave" would grow "bigger and bigger". Blinded by inordinate ambition, Wu Han believed that the gang he belonged to would win and the adverse current of revisionism would become the main stream. Shortly afterwards, on February 4, in his article "This Year's Spring Festival" which later he dared not include in the collection *Evening Chats*, Teng To wrote even more explicitly, "The bitter cold of the north wind will soon come to an end. In its stead a warm east wind will blow and a thaw will soon set in on this earth." Was not "thaw" one of the terms in the out-and-out counter-revolutionary vocabulary used by the Khrushchov revisionist clique against Stalin? Blinded by inordinate ambition, this gang now predicted that by 1962 socialist New China would "soon come to an end", that the dictatorship of the proletariat would be toppled by the anti-socialist adverse "tidal wave" and "in its stead" there would be a Right-opportunist or revisionist regime, that Three-Family Village would gain greater influence and would be able to do

whatever it wanted. Comrades, you can see how eagerly this group wished China to have a revisionist "thaw"!

It was with this estimate of the situation that Three-Family Village launched its wild all-out offensive.

On November 10, 1961 Teng To came out with his article "Great Empty Talk" in *Notes from Three-Family Village*. In ostensibly criticizing a child's poem, he indirectly condemned the statement that "the East Wind is our benefactor and the West Wind is our enemy" as "empty talk", "jargon", "cliches" and "pomposity". This was a flagrant denigration of the Marxist-Leninist scientific thesis that "the East Wind prevails over the West Wind" as "empty talk". Teng To said, ". . . in certain special situations such great empty talk is inevitable", hinting to readers that what he was condemning was not the child's poem but our Party's ideological weapon for carrying on the struggle and educating the masses in "special situations", that is, in the international and domestic class struggle. What was Teng To's purpose? It was to slander the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, which leads us forward, as "empty talk", to get us to abandon Mao Tse-tung's thought in our political life, and to give up the Marxist-Leninist line. He went so far as to make the arrogant demand that our Party should "say less and take a rest when the time comes for talking". If Mao Tse-tung's thought were laid to rest, would it not become possible for revisionist ideas to run rampant? This desperate denunciation of Mao Tse-tung's thought could not do it the least harm; on the contrary, it showed even more clearly that Mao Tse-tung's thought is an ideological weapon of unlimited revolutionary force which makes all monsters tremble with fright.

In close co-ordination with the above, Three-Family Village brought out a series of articles attacking Mao Tse-tung's thought and maligning revolutionaries. *Evening Chats at Yenshan* came out with the article "Give It Up and You Will Be on Firm Ground". Its central idea was that the Party should "give up" the General Line for socialist construction,

and it ridiculed those who would not give it up for being "blind" and "looking for trouble". It demanded that the Party should "boldly give it up" so as to come down to "firm ground", i.e., the ground of capitalism. On November 25 Liao Mo-sha also published two articles, "Wherein Lies Confucius' Greatness?" and "Jokes About Being Afraid of Ghosts". In the first he sang the praises of Confucius for being "rather 'democratic' and welcoming criticisms of his theories", implying that the Party should encourage bourgeois democracy and thus allow the reactionary elements to come forward and attack Mao Tse-tung's thought. In the second he vindictively slandered Mao Tse-tung's thought and vilified revolutionary Marxist-Leninists as "braggarts who claim that they are not afraid of ghosts but are actually frightened out of their wits by them". He tried to show them up as "utterly ridiculous". Everybody knows that the great Chinese Communist Party and the great Chinese people, educated by Mao Tse-tung's thought, are not only not afraid of monsters and ghosts, but are determined to destroy all the monsters and ghosts in the world.

*Only heroes can quell tigers and leopards,
And wild bears never daunt the brave.*

This couplet sums up the fearless heroism of the great Chinese people. Such heroism prevails over all evil trends. Liao Mo-sha even planned to edit a collection of *Stories About Being Afraid of Ghosts*. Was this not open collaboration with the reactionaries, both in China and abroad, and the modern revisionists to defame the Chinese people who are not afraid of ghosts, to defame our Party and the revolutionaries who persist in following Mao Tse-tung's thought?

The day after the appearance of these two articles, "Two Foreign Fables" was published in the *Evening Chats at Yenshan* column as a further attack on so-called bragging. It claimed that "even now one can always and everywhere find such braggarts", and clamoured viciously, "We will certainly not let

these charlatans off lightly." Do you want revolution? Do you want to keep the interests of the country and those of the world at heart? Do you want to rely on your own efforts to overcome difficulties? All this is "bragging" and "boasting". Three-Family Village will settle accounts with you. When this article was included in the collection, the author deleted the sentence, "Instead of being overcome, difficulties will daily grow in number and seriousness." See how maliciously these men ridiculed our Party's policy of self-reliance in overcoming difficulties! They even thought that the difficulties would grow in number. A little later, Wu Han in his article "Chao Kuo and Ma Su" made use of two historical tales about what he called "talking big to impress people" and "boasting" in order to satirize the present and urge us to "review now" the "lessons of failure", the "lessons of harming oneself and others and ruining the country". Obviously, Wu Han imagined that the great Chinese people had "come to grief", that the General Line had "failed", and that the Right opportunists would soon come to power. The gust of foul wind which started with Teng To's "Great Empty Talk" was closely coordinated with the clamour for the advent of the Right opportunists to power. As we read these words again today, at a time when a vigorous new upsurge is taking place in China's socialist construction, we can come to only one conclusion — such anti-Party and anti-socialist "heroes" are never able to see the great strength of the masses, they are blinder than the blind in their estimate of the political situation.

Comrades and friends! These slanders and attacks, with Teng To's articles at their core, were made within such a short period of time, concentrating on the same targets and using identical terms. Is it possible that they were not organized and co-ordinated in a planned way? How frenzied they are in opposing the Party and socialism! How can we fail to be aroused to great indignation! How is it possible for us not to smash them to smithereens!

A subsequent series of articles also "breaking through the door and dashing out" directed the attack even more crudely against the Central Committee of the Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung. In an exceptionally savage attack they shifted the emphasis from political to organizational problems.

In an article "Is Wisdom Reliable?" published on February 22, 1962, Teng To urged the "emperor" to "seek advice from all sides". He emphasized that "one need not plan everything oneself" and said with ulterior motives that "when a man plans everything himself, flatterers will seize the chance to say things to please him". By this he certainly did not mean that those in leading positions should listen modestly to opinions from below; what he wanted was the acceptance by the Central Committee of the Party of the revisionist line which he and his like supported. They insolently warned the Party that some people "will eventually suffer heavy reverses" if "they . . . make all decisions themselves in the hope of achieving success with original ideas", without accepting "good advice" from "below", in other words from Three-Family Village. This was an open demand that their scheme to restore capitalism should be made the Party line and a scurrilous aspersion on the Central Committee of the Party. Their "good advice" was that we should take the revisionist road and restore capitalism, which would throw more than 90 per cent of the Chinese people back into a state of dark and cruel oppression. This "good advice" was exceedingly bad advice. Here, as on the question of fragrant flowers and poisonous weeds, the revolutionary people and the handful of anti-Party, anti-socialist elements are diametrically opposed in their views on what is good and what is bad. They do not speak a common language.

On February 25, 1962, only three days later, there appeared another article, "The Royal Way and the Tyrant's Way". Now the Marxist theory of the state teaches us that both the "royal way" and the "tyrant's way" are ways of dictatorship by the landlord class, forms of counter-revolutionary violence. However royal in appearance, all landlord rule was nevertheless

essentially tyrannical. "Benevolent government", so-called, was merely a mask for sanguinary counter-revolutionary violence. As Lu Hsun sharply pointed out, "Though the Chinese royal way appears to be the opposite of the tyrant's way, in actual fact they are complementary. The tyrant's way invariably precedes and succeeds the royal way." (*Collected Works of Lu Hsun*, Chinese edition, People's Literature Publishing House, Peking, 1963, Vol. 6, p. 10.) Teng To, however, extolled the "royal way", saying that "after all, even in ancient times the royal way was much better than the tyrant's way". Why did he eulogize the dictatorship of the landlord class in this most absurd manner? He did so with the aim of making us accept the "lesson" he had fabricated: "Thus people can see at a glance how those who wanted to be tyrants made enemies everywhere and became very unpopular!" He even translated this into "our language" (the language of Three-Family Village), saying that "the tyrant's way . . . can be interpreted as the arrogant subjectivist and dogmatic way of thinking and arbitrary style of work". Isn't this a tune we have heard only too often? The modern revisionists have been eulogizing U.S. imperialism, which is vainly attempting to establish world hegemony, as an angel of peace, and have been calumniating China, which is firmly opposing U.S. imperialism, as "bellicose" and "seeking hegemony". At home the reactionary classes actively advocated the liquidation of struggle in our relations with imperialism, the reactionaries of various countries and modern revisionism and the reduction of assistance and support to the revolutionary struggle of other peoples, and attacked us as being "isolated" and "making enemies everywhere". If we compare the language used, it is evident that when *Evening Chats at Yenshan* slandered those who "wanted to be tyrants", "made enemies everywhere", "became unpopular" and were "arbitrary", their target was the revolutionary line of our dictatorship of the proletariat, and they were parroting the reactionaries in China and abroad. This was certainly not merely a question of

"idealizing the feudal social system", as the article in the *Peking Daily* claimed.

On March 29, 1962 there appeared the article "In Defence of Li San-tsai". The title itself was odd. Nobody in our time was attacking Li San-tsai, who lived four hundred years ago; so why this cry for the "defence of Li San-tsai"? According to the article, Li San-tsai was "a positive historical figure", a great hero who "attacked dark feudal politics". But when we look up the *History of the Ming Dynasty*, we find something quite different. He was a butcher who ferociously suppressed peasant uprisings, who "used many tactics to capture and destroy big brigands and evil men", and whose life was a record of sanguinary crimes. He was an out-and-out flunkey of the landlord class, a loyal servant of "dark feudal politics", who repeatedly memorialized the emperor to wipe out those he called "trouble-makers" and "big brigands" in order to "preserve for ever" the rule of the landlord class. Now what was the real purpose of "defending" such a man?

In fact, Li San-tsai was a careerist who wanted to climb into the cabinet. Because he was at loggerheads with the ruling faction of the landlord class, he kept attacking them as a member of an "opposition party", and used the slogan of "pleading for the people" in his memorials to the emperor. In this dogfight he was "dismissed from office". Teng To praised this member of the "opposition party" who "resigned from office" and passed him off as a great hero because he wanted to use this dead man to defend the Right opportunists. He focussed on what happened after Li's dismissal. "Even after Li San-tsai had finally retired home, they [the corrupt die-hard forces] again trumped up the charge against him of 'stealing imperial timber to build his private mansion'. . . . Li San-tsai repeatedly memorialized the emperor . . . but the court of Emperor Wan Li dared not make a thorough investigation of the facts." This statement, "dared not make a thorough investigation of the facts", was concocted to hint at something else, since the historical records make it clear that certain

officials did go to investigate the matter. Teng To simply wanted to use it to laud to the skies the Right opportunists who had been "dismissed from office", to obstruct the struggle of the revolutionary people to make further investigations into their criminal activities, to have the verdict on them reversed, and to back them in their renewed attacks on the Party by writing "memorials".

"In Defence of Li San-tsai" was a sequel to *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office*. Li San-tsai was just another Hai Jui, another "upright official" dismissed from office. Isn't this abundantly clear?

Instances of Three-Family Village's direct attacks on the Central Committee of the Party, on Chairman Mao and the General Line are too numerous to quote. But it is clear even from some of the evil blasts after the publication of *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office* how shocking the secrets of Three-Family Village are, what virulent class hatred this handful of men have for the Party and the cause of socialism, and what lavish praise and support they have given the Right opportunists, i.e., the revisionists. They hoped that China would change its colour from red to black. Their "gangster inn" is an important den of restorers of capitalism, a nest of poisonous snakes which we must expose thoroughly and destroy completely. Our fighting task today is to step forward and destroy Three-Family Village and carry the revolution through to the end!

DOING EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO PROMOTE "PEACEFUL EVOLUTION"

In addition to writings openly opposing the Party, the people and socialism, *Evening Chats at Yenshan* and *Notes from Three-Family Village* contained most poisonous weeds in the form of so-called "academic discussion", "textual research" and "relaxation". Under the cover of "learning useful knowl-

edge, both ancient and modern", they launched all-round attacks on socialism. They did not merely "idealize the feudal social system" and "glorify dead men", but had their own practical political objectives. On the one hand, in co-ordination with the black line of shameless opposition to the Party, the people and socialism, they used the cover of "history", "knowledge" and "things of interest" to dull the revolutionary vigilance of the people, hoodwink more readers and extend their influence. On the other hand, they employed what is called "the gentle method of decapitation" to conduct all-round attacks on the proletarian line consistently upheld by the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung in all fields, and used the ideas of the landlord and bourgeois classes to corrode the revolutionary cadres and revolutionary people in every way in order to promote "peaceful evolution". Whoever is addicted to and obsessed by all this will degenerate and become a new bourgeois element. The dual tactics of Three-Family Village consisted of using sharp poisonous arrows and all kinds of sugar-coated bullets.

In the very first article of his *Evening Chats at Yenshan*, Teng To put up the signboard of grasping "one-third of life". He said that "people's attention should be called to treasuring one-third of one's life [i.e., one-third of 24 hours each day] so that, after a day's labour or work, everyone can learn some useful knowledge, both ancient and modern, in a relaxed mood". Taken at face value, "one-third" referred to one's spare time. But of course what Three-Family Village wanted was not merely this "one-third", its real aim being to subvert the entire system of the dictatorship of the proletariat and bring about the restoration of capitalism. But "one-third" could very well serve as a smokescreen for seizing the remaining "two-thirds". In asking everyone to read *Evening Chats at Yenshan* "in a relaxed mood", they were trying to dull the people's revolutionary vigilance; beginning by corroding "one-third of the life" of those who were not firm in their revolutionary stand, they aimed at corroding the whole of their lives and

making them serve as the organized force and social basis for the Three-Family Village clique in recruiting more and more people and promoting "peaceful evolution".

Making abundant use of the form of replies to readers, Teng To spoke at length in his articles in *Evening Chats at Yenshan* of how he received young people, of how he got "enlightenment" and "suggestions" from "fellow-townsmen", "comrades", "friends", "children", "editors", "students" and "teachers" and even from the "working staff" in various departments, and of how he answered their "questions". It can be seen from all this how extensive were the activities of Three-Family Village. The spreading of anti-socialist ideas went hand in hand with these extensive activities of theirs. They poisoned the minds of some persons and pulled people over to their side. Under the cover of imparting knowledge, they feverishly tried to lure young people into the Three-Family Village gangster inn. Suffice it to mention only two examples. In "Poor, But with Lofty Ideals", Teng To said, "The day before yesterday, a young student came to see me. . . . He said that he intended to write a paraphrase in the vernacular of the *Lives of Poor Scholars* by Huang Chishui of the Ming Dynasty and asked me if I approved of the idea." The *Lives of Poor Scholars* is the biography of members of decayed landlord families; in particular, it is a eulogy of the "moral integrity" of the landlord class and therefore can have most pernicious influence on people today. This student was seriously corrupted by bourgeois ideology, but he had not yet made up his mind whether or not to write the paraphrase. It must have seemed to Teng To that he had hit the jackpot. He not only praised the student's intention as a "very good idea" but immediately seized the opportunity for a long political lecture, linking the work of paraphrasing the *Lives of Poor Scholars* with the idea of showing "respect" for the landlord class and of learning from its "lofty moral integrity", and insinuated that the biography could be used as an "example to learn from" for certain people "when they happened to meet

with unexpected difficulties in the future". Is this not clearly a case of pushing someone down a well and then dropping rocks on him? Is this not using the student to serve the "poor scholars" of today, that is, the anti-socialist elements? Another fellow, "a student writing from the Peking Broadcasting Institute" was also strongly influenced by bourgeois ideology. Obsessed by vulgar interests, this student saw nothing but the "long hair of a certain woman on a bus", and he asked Teng To to tell him "what inspiration we can get from such long hair". Teng To promptly wrote an article that is typical of the decadent class. He not only supported this student but also widely publicized various cases of "long-haired beauties" from the most licentious imperial courts in history. Is this not leading those who are already corrupted by bourgeois ideology further down the road of decadence and turning them into new bourgeois elements? All the young people who have been under the corrupting and seductive influence of Three-Family Village should step forward and indict Teng To and his gang for their criminal schemes.

When one looks from this standpoint at these writings advocating a reactionary ideology, their political aims are only too clear.

Teng To and his gang energetically pursued a reactionary bourgeois educational line, preparing their forces organizationally for the restoration of capitalism. Using the bourgeois theory of human nature as the basis of education, they preached that "one should, in the main, agree with Mencius when he said that 'all men are born good' ". They opposed the use of the class viewpoint for analysis and for educating the younger generation in an attempt to cover up their crime of poisoning the minds of young people. They went so far as to assert that "the whole set of methods used by opera schools of the old type was in line with educational principles" and that "it should be completely adopted in every field of society". They wanted to replace the class line by the so-called principle of "employing people according to their talents" and thereby to

train, large numbers of successors of the landlords and bourgeoisie "in a planned way". They did their best to spread such ideas among the young people as "the method of combining teaching oneself with family tradition", "becoming a famous scholar" through "hard study", "laying a foundation" by "reading all the materials available", etc. Here the question is not merely one of seeking fame and becoming an expert in the bourgeois way; more important is the fact that they intended to corrode and drag over some people by this method, assemble a bunch of disciples of Three-Family Village, turn them into propagators of their anti-Communist ideas, and transform certain young people into instruments of Three-Family Village for restoring capitalism. Using honeyed words to lure the youth to become "scholars" and "famous persons", the Three-Family Village clique harboured most vicious designs.

They persisted in a reactionary bourgeois line in academic work, preparing the intellectual ground for the restoration of capitalism. They raised the slogan of "learn more and criticize less", saying: "The attitude to take towards everything is to learn more and criticize less." They pilloried those holding the revolutionary banner high as "fault-finders", who "love to resort to censure at the slightest opportunity" and who "are bound to come to grief". What does the slogan "learn more and criticize less" mean? It means that while they should be allowed to malign Mao Tse-tung's thought, extol landlord and bourgeois culture and strive for the restoration of capitalism by their "academic work", we should not be allowed to criticize the culture of the bourgeoisie and landlord class, and the revolutionary people are to be deprived of the right to criticize them. All this amounts to saying that the culture of the exploiting classes has to be accepted in its entirety and regarded as sacrosanct imperial edicts. The core of their reactionary academic line is attack on the proletariat, support for the bourgeoisie, the strengthening of the control exercised by their gang over academic departments and encouragement for

the unrestrained growth of all poisonous weeds, including the highly poisonous ones of Three-Family Village.

The same is true of literature and art. In line with "learning more and criticizing less", they created the slogan "give equal treatment to everything". They said, "All dramatic works are equal, be the themes modern or traditional. We must give equal treatment to both." In class society, there is no such thing as supra-class equality, and equality between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie simply does not exist. The only question is who will win. Support for the revolutionary modern drama of the proletariat necessarily calls for criticism of the old drama of the landlord class and the bourgeoisie. To proclaim that "there are good plays completely suited to present-day needs" in the "dramatic heritage" inevitably brings in its wake attack on and suppression of revolutionary modern drama. Their intention in raising the slogan "give equal treatment to everything" was to kill two birds with one stone: to attack all measures of full support to revolutionary modern drama as well as to boost the numerous poisonous weeds and protect them against criticism, thus making these weeds serve their anti-Party and anti-socialist activities.

They persistently upheld the reactionary moral code of the landlords and the bourgeoisie in an effort to restore the rule of the exploiting classes in the field of social relations. They recommended these classes' utterly decadent philosophy of life, including "moral integrity", "loftiness and aloofness", "patience", "money-making", etc. They advocated learning "the virtue of patience" from the reactionary philosopher Chu Hsi, the "refractory spirit" of "contempt for labour" from Chang Shih, the method of "complying with the rites by setting restraints on oneself" from Confucius, etc. They even urged the restoration of the feudal form of greeting — clasping one's own hands in front. This amounts to an open appeal for us to go back to the old China of feudalism and capitalism! Comrades! Just imagine. If all these things came to pass, wouldn't

all the new communist morality and practices be trampled underfoot? Wouldn't our society be turned into a dark world with the feudal order as its standard? If we were to show respect for elements of the exploiting classes when seeing them, wouldn't it mean that the counter-revolutionaries had regained power? Wouldn't the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers be once again subjected to cruel oppression by these "gentlemen" with "moral integrity", these stubborn elements of the exploiting classes?

As dutiful sons of the landlord class, they publicly demanded that biographies of its members should be written up. Please read this passage by Teng To:

In the past, in editing the local chronicles of various places, it used to be the practice to list the "rural gentry" and then collect data and write separate biographies of each one. If we should now compile the chronicles of Peking, we should obviously consider giving proper place to the old and young Mi's of Wanping (referring to Mi Wan-chung and Mi Han-wen, bureaucrats of the Ming and Ching Dynasties respectively).

"In the past" means the era of feudalism and the period of reactionary Kuomintang rule; "it used to be the practice" means the "practice" followed by the landlords and squires, particularly the despotic landlords, and all those nauseatingly acclaimed as "rural gentry" were prominent members of this class. That "we should now" write biographies of the "rural gentry" means that the landlords and local despots, overthrown since the land reform, should be placed on top again together with their ancestral tablets and that the broad masses of the poor and lower-middle peasants should be trodden down again by the "rural gentry". This shows that their madness knows no bounds. Responding to the call of the commanding general, *Notes from Three-Family Village* brought up this question time and again, demanding that warlords, bureaucrats, landlords and other "negative figures" be hon-

oured with biographies. This was an attempt at restoration in the most profound sense of the term. It was precisely an attempt to increase the political capital of the landlord class and the bourgeoisie and to create conditions for them to rule again over the Chinese people. The masses of workers, peasants and soldiers will never permit the purposes of such criminal activities to be attained!

What has been given here is only a fraction of the relevant material. Even so, it can be seen that all the propaganda put forth under the guise of imparting "learning" and "knowledge" has a single focus—opposition to Mao Tse-tung's thought, the total negation of socialism, the effort to bring about the degeneration of cadres and young people, and the complete and out-and-out restoration of capitalism.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said, "The proletariat seeks to transform the world according to its own world outlook, so does the bourgeoisie." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People") Three-Family Village relished portraying all that was decadent and reactionary, and this exposes its reactionary world outlook. Here one can see right into the rotten souls of the warriors of Three-Family Village. Wu Han has an "epigram", "Spare time is a free world where one's prime interest can roam at will." This reveals that when they donned the Communist cloak to attend meetings, do their work, give reports . . . , all this was a disguise which they assumed reluctantly, and not their "prime interest". It was during their "spare time" at Three-Family Village that their true countenance, their "prime interest", came out without inhibitions. Apart from conspiring against the Party and socialism, they indulged in gluttony and pleasure hunting, gossiped about raising cats and dogs, lauded landlords, collected antiques, played mah-jong, and engaged in trade and in the same kind of pursuits that are common among Soviet revisionist intellectuals. They were capable of indulging in all kinds of rottenness ranging from acidly reciting the poet Tu Fu's lines, "The rich do not die of hunger, Most scholars fail in

their career", to getting sweet inspiration from the "miracle of long-haired beauties". They are double-dealing hypocrites. They have put some of their ideas into words to corrupt our people and our Party.

Do you want to know the meaning of "peaceful evolution"? Then just look at the living examples of Three-Family Village. All their nasty talk, their activities and aims add up to "peaceful evolution" in the truest sense of the term. We can draw profound lessons about class struggle from these horrid teachers by negative example.

STRATAGEMS IN RETREAT

In September 1962 the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party was convened. At this meeting Comrade Mao Tse-tung issued the great call to the whole Party and the people throughout the country never to forget class struggle. The meeting raised high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and sounded the clarion call for resolute struggle against the forces of capitalism and feudalism seeking restoration. It pointed out, "This class struggle inevitably finds expression within the Party." Deeply alarmed, the monsters and freaks of all descriptions trembled with fright. Seeing bad weather ahead, Three-Family Village began to beat a retreat, with its commanding general withdrawing first. Soon afterwards, in his "Announcement to Readers" in the fifth volume of *Evening Chats at Yenshan* in October 1962, Teng To said, "I am discontinuing *Evening Chats at Yenshan* because I have recently turned my attention to other things in my spare time."

The last essay in *Evening Chats at Yenshan* published on September 2, 1962 was entitled "The Thirty-six Stratagems". "Of the thirty-six stratagems, decamping is the best." This remark indicated that he was about to slink away. However, in collecting these "chats" in one volume, the author, fearing

that this might leave a trace of his slinking away, placed this particular essay in the middle of the volume instead of at the end in disregard of the order of publication. This article says with a deep implication:

... "decamping is the best" was not the only stratagem Tan Tao-chi employed; without employing other stratagems he could not have succeeded in getting away, much as he wanted to. Thanks to several co-ordinated stratagems, such as those of deceptive military deployment and sowing discord among the enemy . . . he succeeded in making good his retreat.

After the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party, Three-Family Village, besides continuing its attacks, did indeed employ "several co-ordinated stratagems" with the intention of "making good its retreat" once the revolutionary people started their counter-attack. This is why they have staged numerous other fascinating performances. Let us see some of their stratagems:

1. Making the following hypocritical announcement in the fifth volume of *Evening Chats at Yenshan*:

For some time I have been compelled to "mount horse" in writing *Evening Chats*, and I now dismount in order not to feel dissatisfied with myself any more. It will not be too late to write again when there is really something to write about in future and when I feel the urge to do so.

Here Teng To was trying on the one hand to explain that he had not made deliberate attacks and that both in "mounting" and "dismounting" he was acting under compulsion and, on the other hand, to give a hint that "in future" when the situation became favourable, he would write again and start all over again.

2. Retaining their position, namely, the column of *Notes from Three-Family Village*, and continuing their attacks while writing a number of articles like the "Ode to Petroleum" as

a gesture of approval for "Comrade Mao Tse-tung's policy of self-reliance" in order to cover their retreat.

3. Encouraging papers elsewhere, which, inspired by *Evening Chats at Yenshan*, had opened up "special columns for miscellaneous essays, to carry on for a long time to come" so as to retain more positions.

4. Taking down the signboard *Notes from Three-Family Village* in July 1964, lest the criticism of Liao Mo-sha's article "There Is No Harm in Ghost Plays", which was unfolded from 1963 to 1964, should expose Three-Family Village as a whole.

5. Letting Liao Mo-sha write a sham self-criticism in which he ascribed "the cause of my mistake" to "the bourgeois world outlook" which "still dominates my mind", and to his being "forgetful of the fact that classes, class contradictions and class struggle still exist in our socialist society". Please note that Wu Han repeated this almost word for word in his own "self-criticism" at a later date! Liao Mo-sha added that he had "unconsciously lent a helping hand to the bourgeois and feudal forces in their wild assaults on the Party and socialism". Since Liao Mo-sha was a mere "helping hand" to Meng Chao, there would, of course, be no need to make an inquiry into Three-Family Village. What a wonderful stratagem!

6. After the criticism of *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office* began, Teng To hastily wrote a "critical" article under the pseudonym Hsiang Yang-sheng, saying that the "guiding thought" and the "basic idea" of the play was "to propagate the moral code of the feudal ruling class" and solely "to propagate historical idealism". In doing so, on the one hand, he tried to cover up the political motive and the politically reactionary nature of the drama, thus trying to save Wu Han and to lead the discussion into a blind alley. On the other hand, he implied that such an entity as Three-Family Village did not exist and that he had "broken away from" Wu Han. Towards the end of his article, he added a line of reminder to Wu Han: "It is also my hope that Comrade Wu Han will

continue to write if he has anything to say . . . , to make an analysis and a study of things in a truth-seeking way." Here he was instructing Wu Han on how to make his next move.

7. Wu Han responded immediately to his call and wrote more than one article to show his "gratitude" to Hsiang Yang-sheng, while continuing his furious attacks in the name of "self-criticism". Emboldened by the backing he had received, Wu Han proceeded to lavish praise on himself and, taking over for his own use the weapon employed by Liao Mo-sha in the latter's "self-criticism", he said, "Correct thinking has not established a dominant position in my mind" and, "in a word, I have forgotten the class struggle!" Hsiang Yang-sheng's "criticism", he added, "has helped me realize my mistakes". As if this would enable him to get away!

8. Finally, seeing that the situation was getting pretty hot for them, they suddenly "criticized" Teng To in the name of the editorial departments and used every stratagem for slinking off to cover their retreat.

Can all these "co-ordinated stratagems" enable them to "make good their retreat"? They have played a great many tricks and indeed have gone to extreme lengths in cheating people. But they have seriously underestimated the ability of the revolutionary people to see things in their true light and the determination of the proletariat to carry on with the revolution. Can they lock up their secrets? Can they slip away? Led and educated by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the broad masses of the revolutionary people are determined to eradicate this black anti-Party and anti-socialist line. These persons think their different stratagems very clever. Actually the things they have done are stupid and only serve to expose them. They have not only common reactionary political ideas but also a common programme of action; theirs is an anti-Party, anti-popular, anti-socialist clique of a handful of individuals. Is this not crystal clear?

In March 1962, when the frenzied attacks by Three-Family Village reached their zenith, Teng To published a poem entitled "Black Swan" in the *Peking Evening News*. One verse reads: "When the spring breeze brings dreams and the lake waters send forth their warmth, I alone have foresight!" How he exulted in his keen "foresight"! But his "foresight" has failed this time. It is the revolutionary people who have grasped Mao Tse-tung's thought that have real foresight. Look, are not the secrets of Three-Family Village being gradually exposed by the broad masses of the people?

THOROUGHLY UPROOT THREE-FAMILY VILLAGE AND ELIMINATE THE POISON IT HAS SPREAD

One cannot help asking why is it that such wild, venomous and unscrupulous activities opposing the Party and socialism on the part of Three-Family Village could have gone on for several years? Could it be that the only reason lay in "not putting proletarian politics in command"? What was put in command if not proletarian politics?

Since the criticism of *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office* began, people have been exposing its reactionary nature, its political motive which was to lend support to the Right opportunists, and Wu Han's ugly history of opposition to the Communist Party, the people and the revolution. But it is only when we view *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office* in the context of all the activities of Three-Family Village and ascertain the latter's role in the acute class struggles of the last few years that we are able to get down to the very roots of these big poisonous weeds, uproot them thoroughly and destroy this big inn of gangsters.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said, "Everything reactionary is the same; if you don't hit it, it won't fall." ("The Situation and Our Policy After the Victory in the War of Resistance

Against Japan") The fact that since the criticism of *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office* the Three-Family Village clique has tried to make a stand at every step and carried on the fight while beating a retreat again confirms this universal truth. In no circumstances will the reactionary classes and their representatives retire from the stage of history of their own free will. Only when the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers rise up and wage arduous struggles step by step will the proletariat be able gradually to wrest back positions from these "miscellaneous scholars".

The tentacles of the Three-Family Village clique have reached into many departments. *Evening Chats at Yenshan* has exerted a bad influence throughout the country. Under the signboard of "knowledge" and a "fine style", it attracted a number of people who lacked political discrimination. It did not lack admirers and followers in journalistic, educational, literary and art, and academic circles. Teng To himself has boasted, "The viewpoints and theses in many of the articles are approved by friends." "Letters sent to me by readers from afar have increased." "In order to satisfy readers' requests, some newspapers in other places have also adopted the same form and published special columns for miscellaneous essays which impart knowledge." A number of articles were also written to echo certain viewpoints of *Evening Chats at Yenshan*. On September 9, 1961 the *Peking Evening News* advertised the publication of these essays in boldface characters, bragging that "the author has grasped certain contemporary questions", and that they are "both rich in ideological content and useful in enriching knowledge". The paper tried by every possible means to spread the pernicious effects of these essays among the people. As a result, they did much to corrode people's minds and spread their poison far and wide. It is imperative for the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers to come forward and thoroughly expose in all their aspects the evils done by *Evening Chats at Yenshan* and *Notes from*

Three-Family Village and conduct still more penetrating criticism. Only in this way can their bad effects be liquidated.

The course of events from the criticism of *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office* to that of *Three-Family Village* has been one of stirring class struggle. It is a great revolution in the political, ideological and cultural fields. Faced with so arduous and militant a task, we must dare to make revolution.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's words encourage us: " 'He who is not afraid of death by a thousand cuts dares to unhorse the emperor' — this is the indomitable spirit needed in our struggle to build socialism and communism." ("Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work") Today we very much need to give play to this principled and critical spirit which proceeds from the interests of the cause of communism. All those who oppose Mao Tse-tung's thought, obstruct the advance of the socialist revolution, or are hostile to the interests of the revolutionary people of China and the world should be exposed, criticized and knocked down, whether they are "masters" or "authorities", a *Three-Family* or a *Four-Family Village*, and no matter how famous they are, what influential positions they hold, by whom they are directed or supported, or how numerous their flatterers are. On questions of principle, it is either the East wind or the West wind which must prevail. For the sake of the socialist revolution, of the defence of Mao Tse-tung's thought and of the cause of communism, we must have the courage to think, to speak out, to break through, to act and to make revolution.

*The Golden Monkey wrathfully swung his
massive cudgel,
And the jade-like firmament was cleared of dust.*

No matter how much poisonous fog or blinding dust has been spread by *Three-Family Village*, it will certainly be thoroughly cleared away by the spirited struggle of the millions of workers, peasants and soldiers who are armed with the "mas-

sive cudgel" of Mao Tse-tung's thought. The brilliant light of Mao Tse-tung's thought will penetrate all the dark corners and show up all the monsters and goblins in their true colours.

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