

**WORKERS, PEASANTS, AND SOLDIERS ATTACK
ANTI-PARTY AND ANTI-SOCIALIST ELEMENTS**

Following is a translation of the articles in the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), No. 7, Peiping, 11 May 1966, pp 32-38

WHAT IS TENG TO SELLING?

After reading Teng To's "Evening Talks at Yenshan," I was highly indignant! As the type of tree determines the kind of blossom, one speaks for his class. By shooting this poisonous arrow in the dark, Teng To has clearly told us that he is an anti-party and anti-socialist element adhering to the bourgeois viewpoint. Leaving everything else aside, an analysis of his "Great Empty Talk" would make this point very clear.

In his warm class feeling, a child has written a poem to express his ardent love for the motherland, the Party, and revolutionary people of the whole world; and his abhorrence and hatred of imperialism and all reactionaries. This shows that the children of our socialist era are growing fast under the Party education and can distinguish clearly between love and hatred. This is truly a good thing, and every revolutionary is truthfully delighted. Teng To, however, was provoked. He said: "Is this a poem? I am worried about him. If he keeps up writing these things, what will become of him!...and yet this child's poem has been praised. I don't understand the intention." What the revolutionary people regard as a good thing, Teng To thinks of it as a bad thing; and what the revolutionary people praise, Teng To opposes. This is a line of demarcation. Is it not clear what kind of a man Teng To is? To put it plainly, Teng To is provoked because children sing the praise of the motherland and the Party. He is afraid that the younger generation of our revolution will become red successors to the proletarian revolution. This will dispel their dream for a comeback of capitalism.

Is Teng To's "Great Empty Talk" merely aimed at opposing the child's poem? It is not. He is actually engaged in an attempt to oppose the Party

leadership, the enhancement of proletarian politics, and the soaring ambition of all revolutionary masses. To him, all the words which eulogize the motherland, the Party, and the revolutionary people of the world, intended to build up the people's morale and to dress down the enemies, are all "jargon and cliches." Only his trick of referring to the ancient to ridicule the present and his vicious condemnation spoken in the dark against the Party and the People are praise-worthy "good words," and not jargon and cliches. He is truly vicious!

Since Teng To has challenged us from his anti-Party and anti-socialist viewpoint, our people's combatants must rise and meet the challenge. As you, Teng To, have released so much poison, it is our responsibility and rights today to settle the account with you. We must never let the monster slip by! (By Ch'en T'ung-hao [115 0681 3185], platoon leader of a certain Liberation Army unit. Reprinted from Chieh-fang-chun Pao (Liberation Army Journal), 9 May)

Teng To, We Intend to Strike You Down!

In the article "Study More and Criticize Less," Teng To claimed: "To study more and to criticize less is the correct attitude to take in seeking knowledge, and should be promoted." He also viciously stated: "One should study more and criticize all things less, and maintain a humble attitude." What is the meaning of these statements? Was he merely opposed to promoting academic criticism and opposed to the Party policy of letting "A hundred flowers bloom simultaneously and all schools of thought contend?" No, he was not. To put it plainly, he meant that we should peacefully coexist with all monsters, and that we should abandon the struggle and allow bourgeois thinking to run rampant. We should like to ask: will U. S. imperialism and Kuomintang reactionaries also be included in "all things"? Must we also "study more and criticize less" about these arch enemies of the people whose hands are stained with the people's blood? Is it not clear that Teng To's so-called "maintain a humble attitude" means that we should regard enemies as friends, worship enemies as teachers, lay down our arms, and surrender ourselves to the enemies? Teng To, we tell you solemnly: "The philosophy of our proletarian revolutionary combatants is the philosophy of struggle. We have always maintained only one attitude toward our enemies, that is, resolutely waging a struggle to the end, until we have entirely and thoroughly eliminated them. This is the task entrusted to us by the people, as it is also the responsibility assigned to us by history."

Teng To advocated "Study more and criticize less" because he was also not sure of himself. He referred to the ancient to ridicule the present, and opposed the Party and socialism. Consequently, he was afraid of being exposed and thus revealing his reactionary features. In "Study More and Criticize Less" he could cover up the anti-party and anti-socialist crimes committed by him and his gang. In other words, Teng To clamored for the so-called "study more and criticize less" in a vain attempt to change the cultural front into a frontal attack of the Party and socialism, and to prevent our workers, peasants, and soldiers from launching a counterattack.

In his scheme, whoever rose to launch a counterattack would be "superficial in knowledge and provocative in character." This was precisely his plot! Teng To, you could not fool anyone with your trick! We have seen through your reactionary essence. As it is a poisonous weed, we must uproot it and throw it into the compost. I am a soldier and know about revolution. Whoever intends to undermine the revolution and obstruct the progress of the revolution, I will strike down and clear away. Since you are so wanton in opposing the Party and socialism, it is not merely a question of your "provocation," but that we intend to strike you down! (By Lu Chih-tien [7120 1807 1131] squad leader of a certain Liberation Army unit. Reprinted from Chieh-fang-chun Pao (Liberation Army Journal), 9 May).

WU HAN, WE WILL NOT ALLOW YOU TO OPPOSE THE PARTY AND SOCIALISM!

I am a cadre of the rural people's commune and cannot write a scientific thesis regarding the class struggle in the field of the science of history. However, out of indignation, I have something to say regarding Wu Han's naked crime of opposing the Party, the people, and socialism.

First of all, I would like to ask Wu Han: why was it that you picked 1959, when the right opportunists launched their wanton attacks against the Party, to write such a vicious article as "Hai Jui Scolds the Emperor"? Why did you choose 1961, when some right opportunists were "dismissed" by the people, to write the vicious play "Hai Jui's Dismissal"? You claim that you "write the play for the sake of writing a play, write about the ancient for the ancient, deviate from politics, and deviate from reality." However, did you not say before to "study the ancient in order to serve the present," study personages in history in order to "educate the contemporaries," and that historic problems should "be associated with current reality," and that "historic reality should serve current reality, and must not be regarded as a thing of the past"? When we compare the two, how can you claim the truth? What is it that you are selling? Why don't you open the window and speak loud! You don the cloak of a Marxist-Leninist historian, and borrow Hai Jui's countenance to help landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries and bad elements, anti-party and anti-people rightists, and right opportunists, so that these monsters may one day rise again to "reimpose their law and order." What a trick of "referring to the ancient to ridicule the present," and of "pointing to the mulberry and reviling the locust tree!" However, I must tell you: your plot is wrong and you rejoice too soon!

Wu Han always emphasized "historic truth." Well, we shall let the facts speak for themselves. You claimed that there were "honest officials" in the old society who could "uphold justice for the people." This was an attempt to abolish class struggle, to spread illusion, and to curb the people from waging revolution. However, everyone knows how the working people in the old society suffered from ruthless oppression and exploitation by the ruling class. That was the time when "wine and meat spoiled behind red thresholds, while people froze to death on the street." The working people toiled themselves to the state of exhaustion for months and years, but ate and lived like animals. Taking my family as an example,

before the Liberation, although we once cultivated over five mou of land (including land rented from the landlord), nevertheless, we eventually had to sell or mortgage the land to exploiters because of the high land rent and debts, exorbitant taxes, and the pressure of livelihood needs. After that, the seven members in my family lived miserably and conditions became worse each year. We were so poor that there was hardly enough food, and everybody became thin and weak. When my father died, we could not even afford a coffin. My neighbor and cousin Lo Chang-hua [2869 4545 5478] also lived in misery. What kind of life was that for the six members in his family? He was very sick and yet had continued to work for the landlord. The two elder children had worked for the landlord since they were young. The third son and a daughter applied for and were refused work tending cows because they were too young and too weak. They subsequently became beggars and later died since they had no money to seek medical treatment. Under such conditions, where were the "honest officials" who upheld "justice" for the working people? This was an historical truth of the old society.

"To destroy the rule of imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucrat-capitalism in China took the Chinese people more than 100 years and caused them tens of millions of lives before the victory in 1949." [Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, V. 4, People's Publishing House, 1960 ed., p 1190. "Talk with Anna Lousie Strong"] Under the brilliant leadership of the Great Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao, the Chinese people won salvation from the fire pit and eventually stood up erect. Taking my family today again as an example: interms of politics, there are now four Communist Party members, three Young Communist League members, one commune cadre, four production brigade or team cadres, two hsien congress delegates, and one hsien Party congress delegate. In terms of education, there are now one college graduate (currently a middle school teacher), three middle school students, and four school-age children now all enrolled and all wearing red scarves. In financial terms, we are like bamboo rising steadily after a spring rain. There are millions of other liberated families like ours. All this came about because the Party and Chairman Mao led us to wage the class struggle. This is the historic truth of the new society. Our working people will always remember this historic truth for generations to come. We pledge that we will: "Listen to Chairman Mao's words and follow the Communist Party forever!"

Wu Han, you have always considered yourself an "authority" and a "Marxist-Leninist historian," Why, then, did you choose to negate such an unprecedented and extremely great Chinese history of class struggle?

Using "upholding justice for the people" as the signboard, Wu Han also instigated peasants to "repossess land" for individual management. However, our former poor and lower middle peasants clearly realized that only because the Party and Chairman Mao led our peasants in revolution to strike down the feudal landlords were they able to own land for the first time. History has also taught us that the small-peasant economy is like a "peach blossom in the spring which cannot withstand wind and rain." It can only lead to polarization of peasants, with a small number of persons amassing wealth while the majority become poor and bankrupt. For this reason, in order to seek thorough economic liberation, peasants must listen to the Party and Chairman Mao and take to the path of collectivization for a joint upsurge. Consequently, under the correct guidance

of the Party, we consciously and willingly used the land, draft animals, and large farm tools which we received during the land reform to establish co-operatives and further develop them into people's communes. Our former poor and lower middle peasants accordingly have become the backbone of the collective economy, as they have also regarded the collective economy as the root of their own lives. To use the words of our peasants, their determination "cannot be dispelled by thunder, or blown away by typhoon." Now the broad masses of former poor and lower middle peasants invariably protect the interests of their collective economy like they protect their eyes. New persons and new events showing ardent love for the collective are too numerous to recall. In short, the broad masses of the former poor and lower middle peasants cherish unlimited confidence in and hope for the collective economy. May I ask Wu Han: whose "justice" are you "upholding?" We have no need to "repossess land." Nor will we allow the monsters to "repossess land." To tell the truth, you instigated peasants to "repossess land" in an attempt to undermine the collective economy of the people's commune, so that our former poor and lower middle peasants would return to the society of feudalism and capitalism, and suffer again bitterness and hardship. You were day-dreaming, for this will never happen!

Wu Han, you came from I-wu; and we know your background. Born in a family of the exploiting landlord class, you grew up and lived at the expense of the working people, and acquired knowledge through their sweat and blood. Now the people forgive you for your old debts, and give you very high honor and position, in the hope that you will carefully listen to Chairman Mao's words and perform some good things for the people. However, you not only ignore trying to redeem yourself through merits, but, instead, choose to return evil for good. Taking advantage of your position and the authority delegated to you by the people, you try your utmost to uglify the working people, praise those monsters, and even oppose the great Chinese Communist Party.

Wu Han, you are an old hand at re-opening a case at law. You probably remember this: in 1956, your relative, a counterrevolutionary element by the name of Yang Tsu-lin [2799 4371 7207] (who had been a company commander of the puppet troops and owed some blood debts), hid his political background and crimes, infiltrated the rank of primary school teachers, and waged counterrevolutionary sabotage. Upon investigation by our people's government, he was expelled from the rank of teachers. After he returned home, he wrote to you to complain about his case, in a vain attempt to re-open it. At that time, you stood by counterrevolutionary element Yang Tsu-lin, replied to him in a fraternal manner, openly supported his attempt to re-open his case, and even personally wrote to the responsible comrades of the Chekiang People's Government to request re-examination and a new ruling on the case. Subsequently, Yang Tse-lin failed in his attempt because of the proven evidence of his counterrevolutionary crimes. Today you again instigate the right-inclined opportunists to rise "bravely" to re-open their cases. Is it not your intention to undermine socialism and restore capitalism? May I honestly warn you: you can never do this to the awakened working people. If you refuse to repent and choose to stubbornly resist, then, you will only estrange yourself from the Party and the people, go down and out, and remain infamous forever! (By LOU

Sen [2869 2773], acting secretary of the CCP committee of Hsia-lo-chai [0007 7482 1341] Commune, I-wu Hsien, Chekiang.)

CARRY THE CLASS STRUGGLE TO THE END

Chairman Mao has taught us that the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie exists in the entire period of socialist history; that this class struggle is complex, tortuous, and sometimes violent; and that we should never forget class and class struggle. Wu Han's anti-Party and anti-socialist criminal activities once again testify to the truth of Chairman Mao's teachings.

One can see in Wu Han's anti-Party and anti-socialist activities that the bourgeoisie take advantage of all possible opportunities to wage political, ideological, and organizational attacks. Wherever the bourgeois elements are, they will always occupy the ground and poison the people. Wu Han is precisely one of the most wanton among the anti-Party and anti-socialist elements appearing in recent years.

Wu Han has consistently used his status as a historian to oppose the Party and the people.

During the years of the war resisting Japanese aggression, the Chinese Communist Party led the Chinese people in holding high the revolutionary banner resisting Japanese imperialism and in resolutely waging the struggle for national salvation and resisting Japanese aggression. Wu Han, however, complied with Chiang Kai-shek's policy of non-resistance; and not only devoted himself to "academic research" in a pile of old papers, but also vigorously advocated that youths should study useless books and disregard national affairs. When the revolutionary youths rose to oppose Chiang Kai-shek's policy of non-resistance, Wu Han followed Hu Shih's tradition to scold and ridicule the revolutionary youths, slandering the national salvation campaign as a "window-dressing," "keeping up with the modern," and "an artificial display of patriotism." When the Chinese people were opposing the extremely reactionary and decadent Chiang Kai-shek regime, Wu Han again came out and defended the reactionary rule of the Chiang dynasty, alleging that corruption originated from "family interest." When the people's forces led by the Chinese Communist Party gained development, Wu Han worried about possible defeat of Chiang Kai-shek, tried his utmost to offer policy suggestions to Chiang Kai-shek, and urged Chiang Kai-shek to accept "historic lessons" and go all-out to eradicate the Chinese Communist Party.

Following the victory of the war resisting Japanese aggression, Chiang Kai-shek, with support from U. S. imperialism, vigorously attacked the liberated areas and launched the all-round civil war. Wu Han attempted to free U. S.-Chiang reactionaries from all criminal responsibilities. While U. S. imperialism supported Chiang Kai-shek in a vain attempt to eliminate the Communist Party, Wu Han eulogized U. S. imperialism for its "great merit in the history of China."

After the Liberation, Wu Han continued to hold an anti-Party and anti-people standpoint, and used the ancient to oppose the Party and the

people. When the right-inclined opportunists wantonly attacked the Party and socialism, Wu Han encouraged and helped them, and referred to the ancient to ridicule the present, vigorously praising their spirit of "bravery." When the right-inclined opportunists were routed by the Party and the people, and "dismissed from office," Wu Han encouraged them "not to be afraid of defeat and sacrifice" and vainly hoped for another attempt.

Wu Han used historical academic circles to oppose the Party and socialism. He distorted history and claimed that there were "honest officials" in the old society who worked for the welfare of the people. Wu Han beautified Hai Jui and claimed that Hai Jui dared to scold the emperor.

We must brighten our eyes and conscientiously handle these problems. Wu Han is competing with the Party for winning our younger generation. Some old workers and old peasants who personally suffered from oppression and exploitation in the old society have referred to facts to expose the lies of Wu Han. They will never believe what Wu Han and his like may say. Some young people have no knowledge about the officials in the past and merely have seen them as they appear on the theatrical stage in black face, white face, red face, and colorful face. Wu Han takes advantage of this weak point of youths to fool them, and misguides their sense of direction to confuse them.

We must accordingly raise our consciousness and always remember the class analytical method as taught us by Chairman Mao.

In the old society, there was never an "honest official." This fact was determined by the class essence. What the landlord class and bourgeoisie sought were precisely retirement in silk, possession of ten thousand mou of good farmland, promotion and wealth, honor for their families, oppression of the masses, and power and pleasure. They tried by all possible means to oppress and exploit the working people, and made sure that the working people would always toil for them. The difference between the so-called "honest officials" and corrupt officials represented merely their choice of means to exploit and oppress the people. Some applied very obvious and crude means of oppression, while others employed different methods to achieve the same goal. By so doing, one group after another, they came and went without any fundamental change in their control. Their essence remained the same. There was never any "honest official!"

As a matter of fact, the working people have long seen their true features. Whether they were officials of the landlord class or bourgeoisie, high or low in rank, they invariably thought only of themselves. It is their moral creed that "Heaven strikes down those who do not help themselves." In the line: "A court opens to the south, but is closed to those who are right but poor," peasants explained in common language the truth which they learned through their long experience of living in misery.

In the feudal society, there was never any "honest official" like Hai Jui, as propagated by Wu Han. A wolf is a wolf; and will never promptly change into a Buddha by one shake of his body. If Hai Jui were so supported by the masses in his opposition to his emperor, could he possibly become a hsien magistrate and then a governor? Could he earn any promotion? It would be impossible.

The concept of "honest official" was fabricated by the exploiting class, and used by landlords and bourgeoisie to confuse the people, for the purpose of ruling and oppressing the people, and for prolonging their control.

In order to oppose the Party and socialism, Wu Han also "breaks down the door to come out" in an attempt to seize the front in literature and art. He wrote the play "Hai Jui's Dismissal," and arbitrarily claimed that Hai Jui ordered landlords to return farmland to peasants and was "a big star of salvation" to the people. This is simply confounding black and white, and a random talk of nonsense.

Chairman Mao has taught us: "In class struggle, some classes triumph and others expire. This is history, and the history of civilization of thousands of years." Wu Han, however, alleged that four hundred years ago bureaucrat Hai Jui of the landlord class always thought of the masses and stood by the peasants. This was a negation of class struggle and an attempt to urge the peasantry to place all their hopes upon the "honest officials." This was impossible. At that time, landlords applied ruthless political and economic means to oppress peasants to the extreme. The peasantry had no other choice than rising to resist the landlord class by force and to oppose the rule by the landlord class. Wu Han distorted our history of civilization of thousands of years and objected to the revolution of the working people.

Why would Wu Han so distort history, confound black and white, beautify "honest officials," and pronounce them the "people's stars of salvation?" To put it plainly, what he propagates and beautifies are not the so-called "honest officials," but the feudal system and the capitalist system. He attempts to confuse our class demarcation, dilute our love for the Party and socialism, and estrange our class feelings toward Chairman Mao, so that we would hanker after the old society, and the chariot of history would reverse its direction of progress. This is a day-dream which is absolutely impossible to fulfill. The 650 million people will never agree to the comeback of capitalism. We will firmly remember the bitter of the old society and the sweet of the new society, always follow the Communist Party and Chairman Mao, and resolutely carry out the socialist revolution to the end.

Wu Han not only "breaks down the door to come out" in the vain attempt to seize the front of literature and art, but also vainly tries to use the question of morality to oppose the Party and socialism. As pointed out by Chairman Mao, "development of economy and assurance of supply" has been a fundamental principle for our management of socialist commerce. Wu Han, however, pointedly suggests the bourgeois morality of "careful planning for all possible profit" as an important principle for the management of socialist enterprises. Is this not an obvious attempt at restoration of capitalism?

As we know, morality is characterized by class. The bourgeois morality is one of oppressing and exploiting the people, and of hurting others for one's own interest. This is diametrically opposed to the proletarian morality.

Socialist commerce and capitalist commerce are essentially different from each other.

Capitalist commerce calls for "careful planning for all possible profit" and aims at ruthlessly exploiting the working people. Seeking all possible profit, large or small, it attempts by all available means to wrest from the working people their money. The exploiting class takes money from the people and uses it for themselves, in their goal of enriching themselves at the expense of others.

The fundamental goal of our socialist commerce is to serve wholeheartedly production, the people's livelihood, and proletarian politics. This is determined by the nature of the socialist system. Every clerk in our commercial store is serving the people. We will serve our class brothers. Their difficulties are ours. It is our greatest honor to offer them convenience and service. Under this premise, we also call for careful planning; but we do not earn money for the sake of earning money. On the contrary, under the premise of perfecting service to the people, we advocate diligent and frugal management of enterprises, commercial stores, and all undertakings, in enhancing the fine tradition of assiduous struggle, to accumulate capital for socialist construction. All our profits, after all, come from the people and are used for the people. We also speak of profit; but what we speak of is the great profit of socialism and the people. Accordingly, sometimes we will devote ourselves to and strive to perfect a business venture which is unprofitable, or even losing money.

The capitalist businessmen are superficially very courteous to customers. They diligently attend to customers in the hope that the customers will purchase more of their goods and bring them greater profits. We also seek to show a good attitude and enthusiasm toward service; but these are different from those of the capitalist merchants. We aim to serve our class brothers. We perfect our services so as to mobilize their enthusiasm for work and production in socialist construction. This is the noble morality of our proletariat and is something which the bourgeois-minded persons cannot learn, even if they try. The proletarian morality and the bourgeois morality are absolutely incompatible. In order to learn our methods, those who harbor bourgeois ideas must first show a strong determination to remold their thinking and to uproot the bourgeois ideas from their minds before they can learn and achieve success.

It is very obvious that Wu Han urged us to follow the bourgeois principle of "careful planning for all possible profit" in an attempt to change proletarian enterprises into capitalist enterprises, to advocate the capitalist path, and to promote the restoration of capitalism.

Wu Han has always stood completely on the ground of ingratiating himself with Chiang, worshiping U. S. imperialism, opposing the Communist Party, and opposing the people. His background has been a history of consistently opposing the people and the revolution. Chairman Mao said: "It will require a rather long period before reaching a decision on the outcome of the struggle between socialism and capitalism in the field of ideology in our country. The reason is that the influence of bourgeoisie and intellectuals from the old society will remain in our country for a long period. If we do not sufficiently recognize or if we fundamentally ignore this situation, we would commit a grave mistake, and would neglect to promote the necessary ideological struggle." We will firmly remember

this teaching of Chairman Mao, never forget about class and class struggle and place politics in the forefront at all times, places, and in all things. Whatever Chairman Mao says, we will do. We will manage our commercial store as a people's store which is loved and supported by the people, resolutely counterattack the offensive launched by Wu Han in opposing the Party and socialism, and carry to the end the class struggle to promote the proletariat and eliminate the bourgeoisie. [By LI Shu-wen [2621 4790 2429], deputy political director of the Ho-ping Food Store, Shen-yang]

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