

Yan Changgui: "On the "Yang Conspiracy" Against the "Rightists"
(2018.1.5Email).

Is it wrong not to publish or to less of a period of positive opinions and not to counter-criticize the wrong opinions? This newspaper and all party newspapers carried out the instructions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China between May 8 and June 7, and this is exactly what it is. Its purpose is to make the glamorous rays, cattle ghosts and snake gods "roar and shine", let the poisonous weeds grow and grow, so that the people can see and be surprised that there are still these things in the world in order to annihilate these ugly species. That is to say, the Communist Party sees that the struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat is inevitable. If the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois intellectuals are allowed to wage this war, the newspapers will not publish positive opinions for a period of time, and will not publish the rampant attacks on the bourgeois reactionary rightists, and all the Party organizations of the organs and schools of rectification will not return this rampant attack for a period of time Strike so that the masses can clearly see whose criticism is benign and whose so-called criticism is malicious, so as to gather forces, wait for the time to be ripe, and carry out a counterattack. Some say it's a conspiracy. We say, this is a conspiracy. Because he told the enemy in advance that the cattle, ghosts, and snake gods could only annihilate them if they were out of the cage, and the poisonous weeds could only be easily hoed out if they were unearthed.
- Mao Zedong, "The Bourgeois Orientation of Wen Wei Po Should Be Criticized."

First, shift from rectification to anti-"rightists."
On May 1, 1957, the "Instructions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on the Rectification Movement" was published in the People's Daily, which announced the beginning of the Communist Party's rectification of the

wind - "opening the door and rectifying the wind". The CPC Central Committee and party organizations at all levels have done everything possible to mobilize people from all walks of life to help the Communist Party rectify its work style, and have held various forums to let the participants speak freely, know everything and say everything they want, and give advice to the party and the government at all levels. From May 8 to June 3, the United Front Work Department of the CPC Central Committee invited responsible persons of democratic parties and non-party democrats to hold forums, which were held 13 times. More than 70 speakers spoke. From May 15 to June 8, the United Front Work Department of the CPC Central Committee and the Eighth Office of the State Council jointly held a national symposium of business people at 25. At the meeting, 108 speakers took the floor. Party organizations in institutions of higher learning and party organizations in many other units also actively held forums to solicit opinions. Mao Zedong and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China closely followed the situation at the various forums. When they think that various forums to help the party rectify the work style have appeared one after another in society, some so-called "anti-party and anti-socialist" remarks have appeared one after another, they exclaimed that "major matters are not good"! On May 15, Mao Zedong wrote an article entitled "Things Are Changing" (Note: The date of May 15 was set later, not this day, but in fact it may have been finalized in mid, late May or even later; before and after the finalization, it was undoubtedly circulated at the highest level of the Central Committee, and the printing and distribution within the party was 6 12 December). The article was not published until 1977, after Mao's death, when it was published in the fifth volume of the Selected Works of Mao Zedong. The article, in theory, states: "For months people have been criticizing dogmatism, but letting go of revisionism. Dogmatism should be criticized, and without criticizing dogmatism, many wrongs cannot be corrected. The time has come to criticize revisionism. In fact, on the one hand, it is pointed out that people outside the Party "are mostly right in their criticism of us and must be accepted" and that "some of the criticisms of the Rightists are also correct and cannot be erased entirely." On the other hand, he also warned the whole party in a sensational and murderous manner: "In the recent period, among the democratic parties and in the institutions of higher learning, the

rightists have shown the most resolute and rampant performance" and "they are desperate to blow up a typhoon of level seven or above that harms crops and destroys houses on this part of China." "Now the right-wing offensive has not yet reached its peak, they are rejoicing", "We are going to let them run wild for a while, let them reach the top." The more rampant they are, the more beneficial they are to us. People say: Fear of fishing, or: lure the enemy deeper, gather and annihilate. Now a large number of fish have surfaced on their own, and do not catch them." And pointed out: "The right has two ways out. One, clamp the tail and change the evil. One, continue to fool around and kill yourself. Gentlemen of the Right, where to go, the initiative (for a short period of time) is in your hands. (See Mao Zedong's Manuscripts Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China, vol. 6, Central Literature Publishing House, 1992 edition, pp. 469-474) This article shows that Mao Zedong has made up his mind to turn the Communist Party's rectification into a reversal The "right" is gone. In practical work, we have also begun to make intensive arrangements for anti-"rightists."

Second, the first document against the "rightists" and "Yang Conspiracy" From mid-May to early June, the central authorities issued successive directives (many of which were written by Mao Zedong himself) proposing strategies for countering the struggle against the Right, the most important of which was the strategy of further exposing the "Rightists", namely: letting the "Rightists" go At will, they "get better and better the more arrogant they are," and party members do not speak for the time being, "do not move according to the soldiers," make preparations in advance, and wait for the opportunity to counterattack.

On May 14, the "Instruction of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on Reporting Criticism of The Work of The Party and Government by Non-Party Figures" stated: " Recently, people outside the Party in various localities are carrying out criticism of the work of the Party and the government, which is a very good phenomenon, and this will not only greatly help our Party to rectify the work style and eliminate the estrangement from people outside the Party, but also expose the appearance of right-leaning elements among the masses. We Party members should not refute the erroneous criticisms of non-Party figures, especially the statements of right-leaning elements, so that they can speak freely. Newspapers in all parts of our country should continue to fully

report the remarks of non-Party personages, especially those of right-leaning and anti-communist elements, and must report them as they are and without whitewashing, so that the masses can understand their faces, and this will be of great benefit to educating the masses and educating the middle elements. (See The Annals of Deng Xiaoping, Vol. II, Central Literature Publishing House, 2009, p. 1363) This "instruction" was drafted by Deng Xiaoping and said "Do not refute it at this time", "fully reported", "as is", "as is" Without whitewashing", it can be said that it is the meaning of "Yang Conspiracy" that was first revealed after the rectification began. Although this directive does not propose the concept of "rightists", it does refer to "rightists" and "anti-communists" Juxtaposed, "right-leaning" and later "right-leaning" actually mean the same thing. During the day and evening, the Politburo and politburo standing committee members met successively (see Biography of Mao Zedong (1949-1978), pp. 690-691; Deng Xiaoping Chronicle (1904-1974), vol. II, vol pp. 1362--1363), it can be concluded that this document is the result of these two meetings of the central high-level.

Retrospective :

On January 18, Mao Zedong said at a meeting of the secretaries of the party committees of the provincial, municipal, and autonomous regions: "Generally speaking, counter-revolutionary remarks are of course not allowed to be released. But it does not have to appear as a counter-revolutionary, so it can only be released, so that it can be used to identify and struggle against it. Among some professors, there are also all kinds of strange arguments, don't want the Communist Party, the Communist Party can't lead him, socialism is not good, and so on. They have some thoughts, which they did not speak of in the past, and a hundred schools of thought contended, and let them speak, and these words will come out.... They're coming out now, and they're going to sweep us away. Do you want restoration? "Those who are inside and outside the party who are holding the wave and the Hungarian incident are holding it well!" Open Poznan, open Hungary. At this moment, the head appeared, the ants came out of the hole, and the turtle king eight came out. (The Collected Works of Mao Zedong, Vol. V, People's Publishing House, 1977, pp. 338, 333, 334).

On January 27, Mao Zedong said at a meeting of the secretaries of the party committees of the provincial and municipal party committees and autonomous regions: "For the democrats, we must let them sing the right stage drama, let them

criticize, ... As for the kind of people like Liang Shuming, Peng Yihu, and Zhang Naiqi, if they have farts, they will let them go, and it is advantageous to let them go, so that everyone can smell it, whether it is fragrant or smelly, and after discussion, strive for the majority, and isolate them. If they want to make trouble, let them make enough trouble. A wicked man is his own hell. The more wrong they are, the better, the bigger the mistakes they make, the better, so that the more isolated they are, the more they can educate the people in the negative. (Selected Works of Mao Zedong, vol. V, p. 355).

Mao Zedong's speeches on January 18 and 27 clearly contained the strategy of "luring the snake out of the hole." It should be said that this tactic is a frequent and indispensable means used by all politicians at home and abroad in ancient and modern times in political struggle (or war) (such as Mao Zedong's military famous sayings: "Luring the enemy deeper", "mobilizing the enemy, as far as I can reach", and so on. But there is no conclusive evidence that Mao Zedong's strategy of "luring the snake out of the hole" at this time is directly related to the anti-"rightist" struggle that began in June of the same year. Because at this time Mao Zedong did not seem to have the intention of waging a large-scale struggle against the "rightists"; the strongest evidence of this is: Mao Zedong February 27 When making a report on the correct handling of contradictions among the people at the Eleventh (Enlarged) Session of the Supreme Council of State, he said: After the Polish-Hungarian incident, the situation in China was very stable. There is a little bit of wind and wave, called "the wind rises, blowing a pool of spring water", and there is no such wind and wave as the one caused by the seventh-level typhoon. (See History of the Communist Party of China.) Volume II (1949-1978), vol. 1, p. 444) and this is quite different from the estimate in "Things Are Changing" of May 15, where it says: " In order to achieve their intentions, the anti-communist rightists are desperate to blow up a typhoon of more than seven levels in this part of China that will damage crops and destroy houses. The debate in academic circles about when Mao Zedong's strategy of "luring the snake out of the hole" in the struggle against the "rightists" began Is it related to not being able to distinguish this difference? And to make this distinction is also to regard the Central Directive of May 14 drafted by Deng Xiaoping as "the earliest revealed meaning of 'Yang Conspiracy'" cause.

On April 10, the People's Daily published an article entitled "Continue

to let go,
implement the policy of a hundred flowers blooming, and a hundred schools
of thought
contend," in which Mao Zedong talked to the person in charge of the
People's Daily and
said after inquiring about the writing process of this editorial: ...
What exactly is the
policy toward intellectuals now? There are only two families, one
bourgeois family and
one proletarian family. Seventy or eighty percent of intellectuals are in
the middle.
Contending is the two intellectuals who strive for this intermediate
state. Intellectuals
cannot control their own destiny. Some people say that capitalist private
ownership is
changing into socialist public ownership, "if the skin does not exist,
Mao will be
attached." "Where else will there be bourgeois intellectuals? No, the
hair of the
intellectuals can be attached to the skin of the bourgeoisie or to the
skin of the proletariat.
It is now necessary to attach itself to the skin of the proletariat.
..... Today's intellectuals
are "in Cao Ying's heart in Han." Their souls are still on the bourgeois
side. History says
that Cao Cao was a traitor. Don't believe those interpretations, in fact,
Cao Ying is not
bad, at that time Cao Cao represented the progressive side, and Han was
in decline. To
solve this problem of being "in the Cao camp", intellectuals must stick
well on the skin of
the proletariat and become proletarian intellectuals. (See Biography of
Mao Zedong
(1949-1976), pp. 665-666.)
On April 30, Mao Zedong held the 12th (enlarged) session of the Supreme
State Council,
on the topic of the rectification movement of the whole party. Mao Zedong
said in his
speech: I have wanted to rectify the wind for several years, but I can't
find an
opportunity, and now I have found it. Anything that involves many people
cannot be
done without sports. The general topic of rectification is to deal
with contradictions
among the people and oppose the three doctrines.
..... Rectification will affect outside the party. Provide for voluntary
participation by non-
Party members and free withdrawal ...
..... In the period of great social changes, intellectuals suffered
hardships. Mainly in the
social sciences, there is a question of the economic basis here. The
economic base on
which the five million intellectuals of the past were attached is now
crumbling. Some
people say that private property is gone, what are the two sides? This is
not true. "If the
skin does not exist, the hair will be attached"... Now five million
intellectuals eat the food
of the workers and peasants, the food of state ownership and collective
ownership.

Now intellectuals are somewhat unconscious, and their corners (economic base) have long been hollowed out.... The old economic base is gone, but their minds have not changed, and their minds have been drilled in for many years. Now Mao is attached to the new skin, but the ideology still thinks that Marxism-Leninism is not good. (See Biography of Mao Zedong (1949-1978), pp. 671-672.)

-- On the same night, Mao Zedong gathered the responsible persons of various democratic parties at the Tiananmen Tower to hold a forum and asked them to help our party rectify the work style. Mao said: Now is a new task in the new era, the class struggle is over, and war is declared on nature. It also talked about the ideological transformation of intellectuals. He focused on calling on democrats to expose bureaucracy in the education, health and other sectors. With regard to the leadership system of institutions of higher learning, Mao proposed that Deng Xiaoping be responsible for holding forums with non-party figures, the Democratic League, the 93rd, and so on, to solicit opinions on the issue of having the right to hold office and the school party committee system. Mao's speech encouraged people outside the party to make critical comments to the party and helped the party's enthusiasm for rectifying the work style. (See Li Wei-han, "Memories and Studies", Central Party History Publishing House, 1986, p. 831).)

On May 4, Mao Zedong drafted the Directive on Inviting Non-Party Personages to Help Rectify the Work Style for the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, which said: " In the past two months, at various meetings attended by non-Party personages, the analysis of contradictions among the people and the criticism of the mistakes and shortcomings made by the Party and the Government have been extremely beneficial to the Party and the People's Government in correcting their mistakes and enhancing their prestige. Some of these criticisms are incorrect, or some of the views in a criticism are incorrect, and of course they should be counter-criticized, and they should not be allowed to prevail in erroneous ideas and not answered But most of the criticism is pertinent and extremely beneficial to strengthening unity and improving work. Even erroneous criticism has exposed the face of some people and helped us to help them carry out ideological transformation in the future. (See Mao Zedong's Manuscripts Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China, vol. 6, p. 455).)

III. The content and implementation process of the Yang Scheme (Part I).

Turning back, we will continue to talk about the issue of opposing the "rightists" and "conspiracies."

On May 16, Mao Zedong drafted the Central Committee's Directive on Dealing with Current Criticism from Non-Party Figures, which stated: "... In recent days, a small number of people in society with anti-communist sentiments have been eager to try and make some inflammatory remarks in an attempt to guide the correct direction of correctly resolving contradictions among the people, consolidating the people's democratic dictatorship, and promoting the building of socialism in the wrong direction. We told you this on May 14th. In order to study the problem, I would like to ask you to read more than a few newspapers; in some places, for example, in Shanghai, criticism outside the Party is quite tense, and we should grasp the situation well, try to unite the majority of the middle forces, gradually isolate the Rightists, and strive for victory. (See Mao Zedong's Manuscripts Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China, vol. 6, p. 478). The concept of "right wing" may have appeared for the first time in a CCP central document. (Press: As mentioned earlier, Mao Zedong's May 15 article "Things Are Changing" used the concept of "rightist" many times, but the "May 15." "Day" was decided later, and that article cannot yet be said to be a central document. --Author). On May 19, Peking University posted its first big-character poster. By the 22nd, Peking University's large-character posters had surged from dozens to hundreds. Many of its contents are called for the abolition of the party committee responsibility system, freedom of speech, assembly, and association, and the opening of banned books. People call these moves "Five." The 19th Movement". Guangming Daily and Wen Wei Po reported it as "Peking University's 'Democracy Wall'." On May 23, Lin Xiling (Cheng Haiguo) of Chinese University came to Peking University to give a speech declaring that China is now "feudal socialism." In the most tense days, Mao Zedong sent people to Peking University, Tsinghua University, Beijing Normal University, Renmin University, and other colleges and universities almost every day to read big-character posters and understand the situation. He asked the staff around him: "Do you think the Communist Party can sit steadily?" "During that time, he was worried. He recalled at the enlarged meeting of the Politburo on May 29, 1958: "I was a person who was often worried, especially at the end of May last year when the Rightists attacked, and I

ate in bed and
did business. Looking at those materials one day, it is all scolding us.
He also spoke at the
Second Session of the Eighth National Congress of the Communist Party of
China on
May 20, 1958: "When the Rightists are attacking wildly, which one is not
in a hurry?" I
think everyone is a little anxious. I was in a hurry, anxious to think of
an idea. In fact, it
was not just Mao Zedong who was anxious at that time. At that time, on
May 23, 1957, at
the enlarged meeting of the Politburo, Deng Xiaoping said that quite a
few people were in
a "hurry." He said: "Isn't this movement scary? For example, there are
quite a few senior
cadres in our party school, all comrades of the provincial party
committee and the
prefectural party committee, and they are very worried there. There is a
reason for this
concern. You said that when you saw that scolding the mother, I was not
in a hurry, and it
was difficult for me to imagine, so I was a little anxious. In the first
few days, there was a
little urgency in people's hearts. Later, when I saw that reactionary
thing, the more I
settled down and felt comfortable. Some people worry about whether there
will be chaos.
The overall estimate is that there will be no chaos. (See Biography of
Mao Zedong (1949-
-1978), pp. 696--697.)
On May 20, the "Instruction of the Central Committee of the Communist
Party of China
on Strengthening leadership over the current movement" pointed out: "The
current
situation is that in Shanghai, Beijing and other places where the
movement has already
begun, the rhetoric of right-wingers is quite rampant, but some people's
reactionary
features have not yet been exposed or have not been exposed enough." In
the previous
period, it was not advisable for Leftists to speak much, while Communists
adopted the
policy of not speaking for the time being", and "in a short period of
time, Party members
are still better off not speaking for the time being". The directive also
requires the party
committees of all provinces and municipalities to instruct the propaganda
departments
and party newspapers to immediately begin to classify and study the
reactionary speeches
and other bourgeois viewpoints of the right wing, and to prepare to
publish a number of
papers and editorials at an appropriate time to refute and criticize
them. (See Biography
of Mao Zedong (1949-1976), p. 697; Deng Xiaoping Chronicle, vol. II, p.
1365).)
On May 22, Liu Shaoqi presided over a meeting of the Politburo of the CPC
Central
Committee to discuss the Fourth Session of the First National People's
Congress. In his

speech, Liu talked about the issue of launching a rectification campaign and isolating the Rightists, and pointed out: It is very necessary for our party to carry out rectification. Now there are many opinions outside the Party, and there are opinions within the Party. If it is quite seriously divorced from the masses and does not rectify the work style, our Party will be slowly destroyed (Press: On May 14, Mao Zedong said: "If the Party is not rectified, it will be destroyed." "ÑAuthor). Ninety percent of the opinions of non-party figures are correct. Some incorrect opinions, don't be busy, don't push back all at once. There is a revisionist trend of thought in the international community, there is also such a trend of thought in China, and there is also a trend of thought in the Party. We let it go for a while and then get ready to fight back. The question of reorganization is now taking place on all fronts in our country, there are left, center and right factions in all classes, and when the struggle is not unfolding, the center always stands with the right ... To unite the centrists with us and isolate the Right is to fully expose the Right. (See Liu Shaoqi Chronicle, volume II, Central Literature Publishing House, 1996, p. 403).) On the 23rd, Liu Shaoqi presided over an enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and listened to Deng Xiaoping's report on the rectification movement and the struggle against the Rightists (the title of this report is "Liu Shaoqi's Chronology", which is also published by the CPC Central Committee Literature Publishing House, "Biography of Mao Zedong (1949-1976)" and "Deng Xiaoping Chronicle", and "History of the Communist Party of China" published by the CPC Party History Publishing House The second volume (1949-1978), on the title of this report, all blocked the anti-rightist issue, this different statement and practice, is worth playing; by the way, this may be the first report of Deng Zuo's struggle against the "rightists", in fact, in the whole anti-" He pointed out that the purpose of the rectification movement is, first of all, to overcome bureaucracy, sectarianism and subjectivism within the Party and to correct the phenomenon of detachment from the masses. The second is to unite the majority of non-party figures and isolate the rightists. This is something new that adds with the development of the movement.... Secondly, the rightists were exposed. Typical remarks of the right must be published in the newspaper, and when they are published, they will educate the Communist Party, they will educate the centrists, and they will also

educate the left. (See Deng Xiaoping Chronicles, pp. 1367-1368).)

In fact, this meeting is also concretely implementing the requirements of the article "Things Are Changing" and preparing to shift from rectifying the situation within the party to carrying out the anti-rightist struggle in the whole society. (See History of the Communist Party of China.) Volume II (1949--1978), vol. 1, p. 449) sums up that this enlarged meeting of the Politburo of the Central Committee is to clearly establish and formulate in the form of a meeting "to lure the enemy deeper" and "deeper." The strategy of guiding the cow, ghost and snake god out", that is, the strategy that people are accustomed to calling "luring the snake out of the hole".

By the way, according to the memories of the materials I have seen, at this enlarged meeting of the Politburo, some central leaders said: "We just want to catch big fish," "We just want to harm people's hearts," and so on.

Fourth, the content and implementation process of the "Yang Conspiracy" (Part II).

According to the materials I have seen, in order to implement the strategy of "luring the snake out of the hole", the central government held a meeting of provincial and municipal party secretaries on May 27. At this meeting, Deng Xiaoping also made a "report on the rectification movement and the struggle against the rightists." On the evening of the 26th, Mao Zedong and the responsible comrades of the central authorities listened to the report of the secretary of the provincial and municipal party committees and spoke, and spoke again on the 27th. In both speeches, Mao Zedong focused on the issues that had exposed the rightists to the fullest. He said: "Now we must try to take measures within a few weeks (two or three weeks) to make a big deal out of it", "This time will make the rightists scold a dog blood sprinkler, we don't want to pay back." "Now, whether criticizing the central or the local, one is malicious and the other is benign (including the right part and the wrong part). Whether it is criticized by the central or local governments, the People's Daily must publish it and take pictures. "What do you think?"

As long as it is basically the same, the meeting will not open. 'Hurry forward, run day and night for the country', and everyone will go back tomorrow for two or three weeks. (For Deng Xiaoping's report at this meeting, see Deng Xiaoping's Annals.)

Why adopt the strategy of "luring the snake out of the hole"? According to the saying at the time, it was because: First, only by luring the "snake" out could it be "caught". Mao Zedong pointed out: "Only by letting them out of the cage can the cattle, ghosts, and

snake gods annihilate them, and only by letting them emerge can the poisonous weeds be easily hoed off." (Selected Works of Mao Zedong, vol. V, p. 437) April 5, 1958 At a meeting of some provincial and municipal party committee secretaries held in Wuhan, Mao Zedong also said: "If a snake does not let it out of the hole, how do you catch a snake?" It is to have a period of time, let these bastards come forward, let those newspapers fart, let them sing a period of drama, the rightists see it and look angry, this is called the ambition of the long enemy. Then the people grasped the good reason, in fact, grasped the braid, and could fight and catch. "Second, it is conducive to educating and winning over the middlemen. That is to say, only by fully exposing the rightists can the middle elements be surprised, so as to draw a clear line with the rightists and resolutely stand on the side of the left. The comments of the revolutionary old man Li Wei-han on this tactic are incisive. He said: "In political struggles, it is impossible not to pay attention to tactics, and to lure the snake out of the hole against the enemy and gather and annihilate it." And in the struggle against the "Rightists", "to apply a set of struggles against the enemy to the people confuses the enemy and us." This lesson is profound. (See Li Wei-han, Memories and Studies, pp. 843, 835).)

While further exposing the "Rightists," the Party Central Committee has actively made preparations for waging a struggle against the "Rightists."; in fact, fully exposing the "Rightists" is an important preparation in itself ?

On May 26, the People's Daily published Mao Zedong's speech when he received the delegates to the Third National Congress of the Youth League on the 25th. The speech pointed out: "The Communist Party of China is the core of leadership of the people of the whole country. Without such a core, the cause of socialism cannot be victorious . . . All speech and action that departs from socialism is utterly wrong. "If all previous instructions were within the Party and were "confidential" and were limited to a certain level of transmission, which many people do not know; then Mao Zedong's speech was published in the press, not only to the Party, but also to outside the Party." Hello", and it is a direct mobilization order to counter the "right".

On June 3, the United Front Work Department of the CPC Central Committee held a forum for responsible persons of various democratic parties. At the meeting, Li Wei-han solemnly pointed out that the criticisms and opinions put forward at the forum "are quite a certain part of them wrong. This sentence was added by Mao Zedong when

he reviewed
Li Weiha's speech in order to greet people outside the party. (See
History of the
Communist Party of China.) Volume II (1949--1978), vol. 1, p. 449).
On the morning of 6 June, Zhang Bojun, first vice chairman of the Central
Committee of
the China Democratic League, chairman of the Central Committee of the
Peasants' and
Workers' Party, vice chairman of the All-China Political Association, and
president of
Guangming Ribao, invited six famous professors (Zeng Zhaoxiao, Huang
Yaomian, Fei
Xiaotong, Qian Weichang, Tao Dayong, Wu Jingchao) and several others to
hold an
emergency meeting to discuss the situation of Mingfang. The meeting,
known in history
as the "June 66 Conference," aroused great vigilance from Mao Zedong, who
commented: "They are a reactionary social group, and they regard the
absolute
superiority of the proletariat as an absolute disadvantage." Lighting
fires everywhere can
incite workers and peasants, and the students' big posters are convenient
to take over the
school, and the loud bang is loud, and it is about to erupt, the world is
in chaos in an
instant, and the Communist Party is immediately finished, which is the
estimation of the
current situation made by Zhang Bojun to the sixth professor in Beijing
on June 6.
(Selected Works of Mao Zedong, vol. V, p. 437) It is clear that, in Mao's
view, the
rightist offensive has reached its "culmination."
On the same day, Mao Zedong drafted the "Instruction of the Central
Committee on
Stepping Up rectification of work style", which pointed out: "The organs
at the provincial
and municipal levels, institutions of higher learning, and organs at the
prefectural and
municipal levels should use the method of loud and loud rectification of
work style, so
please step up the rectification work at that time ..." It is of great
benefit to the democratic
parties and members of society to let out constructive criticism and
destructive criticism
(i.e., destructive criticism) so that they can be dealt with separately.
This is a large-scale
war of ideas and politics, and we must win the battle, and we are fully
qualified to win
the war. The situation in Beijing proves that a large number of
reactionary and erroneous
ideas have been exposed in the democratic parties, institutions of higher
learning and
many organs, and the reactionaries have taken the opportunity to be
active, but they
account for only a few percent of the number of units, only one percent
of the most
reactionaries, and more than ninety percent of them are centrists and
leftists. Please pay
attention to the number of your units, in the movement, according to the
left, center and

right standards, line up, so that you have a good idea. (See Mao Zedong's Manuscripts

Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China, vol. 6, pp. 491-492).)

On the same day, Mao Zedong also had another instruction. That is, on June 5, Lu

Dingyi, director of the Propaganda Department of the CPC Central Committee, submitted

to Mao Zedong a June 4 "Briefing on the Rectification of Work Styles in Colleges and

Universities," in which he said that a student at Peking University had written an article

entitled "My Worries and Appeals," saying that the Party Central Committee had begun

to split, and that Chairman Mao's "Rectification situation in colleges and universities"

had begun to split. The policy of "mingming" and "letting go" was countered by ninety

percent of the people in the party and the conservative forces within the party, and some

people wanted to force Chairman Mao to step down. This article was mimeographed and

printed on and off campus, and the shock was great. Mao Zedong's comments in this

"Bulletin": "Shangkun printed and distributed it to all the Central Committees in Beijing.

Completely disinformation, but worth noting. (See Mao Zedong's Manuscripts Since the

Founding of the People's Republic of China, vol. 6, p. 493).

The Biography of Mao Zedong (1949-1976) (Part I) recounts the situation of Mao

Zedong from mid-May to early June 1957, saying: "These days, Mao Zedong's work is

very intense, meeting and talking every day, understanding the situation, analyzing the

dynamics, Research countermeasures. (See page 705 of the book) Yes, Mao Zedong

began to devote all his efforts to the struggle against the "rightists" from mid-May!

Fifth, start to fight back against the "rightists."

From the above-described tactics and arrangements to fully expose the "rightists", it can

be seen that the formal development of the struggle against the "rightists" is only a matter of time and timing.

On June 6, at a forum convened by Xi Zhongxun, secretary general of the State Council,

Lu Yuwen, member of the Central Committee of the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee and assistant secretary general of the State Council, read out an anonymous

letter he received on May 25. The letter said that he was "playing for the tiger" and

intimidated him to "turn back early" or "will not forgive you", and said, "If the

Communist Party only recognizes you as a group of people," "one day it will lead to

extinction." He said: "I don't understand why some people are allowed to say only

negative things and not positive things, and they are so hateful to those who say positive

things." He proposed: "We should think deeply about where our criticism of the Communist Party really came from. Where are you going? (See Biography of Mao Zedong (1949-1976), p. 703.)

Mao Zedong was determined to seize this incident and this opportunity to organize a counterattack against the "rightists".

On June 7, Mao Zedong talked to Hu Qiaomu and Wu Lengxi. According to Wu Lengxi recalled:

As soon as we sat down, Chairman Mao said cheerfully that today's newspaper published

Lu Yuwen's speech at the forum, saying that he had received anonymous letters

attacking, insulting, and intimidating him. This gives us a good opportunity to fight back against the right.

Chairman Mao said that the good thing about this anonymous letter is that it attacks

people outside the Party and is a member of the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee;

it is good that it is anonymous and is not signed by someone with a name or a surname.

For the past few days I have been thinking about when to seize what opportunity to

launch a counterattack. Now the opportunity has come to seize it and launch a struggle

against the right in the form of a People's Daily editorial. The editorial was titled "Why Is

This?" "Ask such a question in front of the reader and let everyone think about it." (See

Biography of Mao Zedong (1949--1976), p. 704.)

On June 8, people's daily published an article titled "Why is this?" The editorial pointed

out: "In the name of 'helping the Communist Party rectify the situation', a small number

of rightists are challenging the leadership of the Communist Party and the working class,

and even openly clamoring for the Communist Party to 'step down.'" ? They are trying

to take advantage of this opportunity to overthrow the Communist Party and the working

class, to overthrow the great cause of socialism, to pull history backwards, to retreat to

the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, but in fact to retreat to the semi-colonial status before

the victory of the revolution, and to put the Chinese people back under the reactionary

rule of imperialism and its lackeys. But they forget that today's China is no longer the

China of the past, and that the broadest masses of the people will never allow it to set

history back. By the way, some people say that this editorial was written by Mao Zedong,

which is not true; but this editorial was indeed written and published according to Mao

Zedong's thought and under the specific guidance of Mao Zedong. The editorial was

titled "Why Is This?" After the editorial was written, Mao Zedong changed

a few words
and asked Hu Qiaomu to publish it in the People's Daily the next day, and asked xinhua news agency to broadcast it to the whole country that evening. (See Biography of Mao Zedong (1949--1976), vol. 1, p. 704).)

On June 8, Mao Zedong drafted for the Central Committee instructions for the "Organizing Forces to Counter the Rampant Attacks of the Rightists," which emphatically stated: "... Colleges and universities organize forums for professors, put forward opinions to the Party, and try their best to make the Rightists spit out all the poisons and publish them in the newspapers. You can ask them to give a speech to the students and let the students express their attitudes freely. It is best to let reactionary professors, lecturers, teaching assistants and students spit out their toxins and speak freely. They are the best teachers. The directive goes on to say: (against the "Right")

"This is a great war (the battlefield is both within and outside the Party), and without victory in this battle, socialism cannot be built, and there is some danger of events in Hungary." Now we take the initiative to rectify the situation, take the initiative to bring out the possible Hungarian incident, divide it into various organs and schools for exercises, deal with it, and divide it into many small Hungaries, and the party and government basically do not collapse, only a small part of the collapse (this part of the collapse is just right, squeezing out the pustule), and the benefits are extremely great.

(See Mao Zedong's Manuscripts Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China, vol. 6, pp. 497--498).)

The June 8 Editorial and Directive marked the official beginning of the struggle against the "Rightists". Since then, the central authorities have successively issued instructions, and the People's Daily has continuously published editorials and relevant reports to guide the whole country in waging a struggle against the "rightists."

Sixth, do not tolerate adultery and give the "rightists" a devastating blow

After the anti-"rightists" began, Mao Zedong and the Party Central Committee called for not to tolerate adultery and to deal a devastating blow to the "rightists." Let's take some excerpts from the instructions of Mao Zedong and the Central Committee in June in this regard.

On June 10, Mao Zedong drafted the "Instructions of the Central Committee on the Steps and Tactics of the Struggle against the Rightists," which pointed out: "The conditions in Beijing are ripe, and the People's Daily began to fight back against the

reactionaries on

June 8. "The situation is different in different places, and when to start fighting back

depends on the local situation." "Whether it is democratic parties, university professors,

or university students, there are some rightists and reactionaries, and they are the ones

who have caused the most trouble in this movement, who have a complicated history, or

who are traitors, or who have been rectified in the past three anti-rebellions, or the

children of wealthy capitalists, or those who have relatives who have been suppressed."

..... Zhang Bojun and Luo Longji are desperately engaged in subversive activities, their

ambitions are very great, the party wants to expand, political leaders have equal power,

and actively seize the right to education, saying that in half a year or a year, the world

will be in chaos. Mao Zedong couldn't get mixed up, so he wanted to resign. The

Communist Party is divided and will soon be overthrown. Their ambitions are enormous.

It is entirely capitalist line, admitting that socialism is false In this campaign, it is

imperative that reactionaries be swept in the face of the public. (Mao Zedong's

Manuscripts Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China, vol. 6, pp. 502-503).

On June 14, the People's Daily published Mao Zedong's "The Bourgeois Direction of

Wen Wei Po in a Time" signed by the "Editorial Board of this newspaper," stating: "

Shanghai Wen Wei Po and Beijing Guangming Daily have published a large number of

good reports and articles in the past time. However, the basic political orientation of these

two newspapers became, in a short period of time, the direction of the bourgeois

newspaper. In one period of time, these two newspapers, using the slogan 'A Hundred

Schools of Thought' and the rectification movement of the Communist Party, published a

large number of articles and inflammatory reports that expressed bourgeois views without

being prepared to criticize..." (Mao Zedong's Manuscripts Since the Founding of the

People's Republic, no. 6 volume, p. 508).

On 26 June, the Directive of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on

Cracking Down on and Isolating Bourgeois Rightists pointed out: "A few days ago, the

bourgeois Rightists, who were attacking the working class in a frenzied manner, have

now begun to regress. We must conscientiously organize the masses, the Left and the

'center-Left' elements among the democrats, strike iron while it is hot, firmly grasp the

class enemies that have been exposed, carry out internal and external attacks, and

mercilessly deal them with annihilating blows. (Biography of Mao Zedong (1949--1976), p. 709) In fact, this instruction has two notable sentences: "... Remember not to appease adultery and carbuncle remnants at a critical juncture in the class struggle. 0

On June 29, when Mao Zedong reviewed and revised the "Instructions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on Winning and Uniting The Centrists," he added: "The number of rightists and extreme rightists, among the 34 colleges and universities in Beijing and dozens of organs, needs to be named and criticized in various fields There are about 4,000 people in the country. Just 10 days later, on July 10, Mao's estimate doubled. By the time of the Third Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee in September, there were more than 62,000 rightists in the country, and according to the "thorough bottom" at the meeting, there were about 150,000 rightists in the country. By the end of the entire movement, there were 550,000 rightists in the country (according to many people saying that this number was more than that), which was 400,000 more than the "thorough bottom" of the Third Plenum! (See Biography of Mao Zedong (1949--1976), vol. 1, pp. 709--710; Bo Yibo, Review of Several Major Decisions and Events, Vol. II, Central Party School Press, 1993, pp. 619--620.) page).

VII. Conclusion

Mao Zedong has always despised and been hostile to intellectuals. Especially since the Polish-Hungarian incident, When Mao Zedong talked and drafted documents on many occasions, he repeatedly sneered, ridiculed, and insulted intellectuals. From June 8, 1957, according to the strategy of "luring the snake out of the hole" formulated by the Party Central Committee and Mao Zedong, that is, according to what Mao Zedong said, "Yang Conspiracy." A vigorous and extremely brutal struggle against the "Right"Ñin Mao's words, a "war of ideas and politics." The "Great War" was fought in the land of China for more than a year, and more than 550,000 "rightists" were fought among 5 million intellectuals. Millions of people have been implicated and afflicted. Almost all those who have been branded as "rightists" are elites Ñ political elites, academic elites, technological elites, artistic elites, and the struggle against the "rightists" has cost them 20 For many years, there have been good opportunities to serve the country and the people, and many people have died on death row or starved to death in the northern wilderness and other places of labor reform. This is not only a disaster and a loss

to be branded as a "rightist" and their relatives, but also a disaster and a loss to the entire country and nation Ñ a loss that will never be irredeemable. From a legal point of view, the struggle against the "Rightists" in 1957 was greater than the anti-"Hu Feng counter-revolutionary clique" in 1955. It has further broadened the precedent of "punishing crimes by words" indefinitely. The struggle against the "Rightists" is completely wrong, and the lessons of the struggle against the "Rightists" deserve our eternal remembrance!

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