Preface to Mr. Zhao Xu Let history write down this heavy page

 $\mbox{Mr.}$ Wu Yisan and I met in 2007 at the International PEN Conference in Hong Kong. At

that PEN meeting, writers from all over the world gathered together to talk about

literature and creation, and Mr. Yu Guangzhong, a famous writer in Taiwan, also read

poetry and discussed world affairs with us in the auditorium of hong kong Chinese

University, which gave me close contact with some outstanding writers from all over the $\ensuremath{\mathsf{N}}$

world in a short period of time. During this meeting, I was impressed by a man with gray $\,$

hair, a slightly fat body, not much language, busy with conference receptions all day

long, and there was always no time for rest. This person is Mr. Wu Yisan. Time flies so fast, more than ten years have passed since these two meetings, and one day $\frac{1}{2}$

Mr. Wu Yisan emailed me saying that he was counting the victims of 1957, can you sort

out the victims I know and send them to him. So I wrote down a few of the elderly $% \left(1\right) =\left(1\right) +\left(1\right) +$

rightists in my family and told him. About two years later, one day I opened my computer

and saw him send me the 1957 Dictionary of Names of Victims, which he had compiled

statistically. This large dictionary is divided into categories, listing the rightists in each

subordinate county of each province in Chinese mainland, and the names, times, places,

and experiences of people are so detailed that I was really surprised after reading them.

As the preface to the Great Dictionary says, "More than ten years of hard work is

unusual, and without any resources and archives being blocked, there are already more

than 30,000 entries in the 'Great Dictionary' (i.e., cases of rightists). The total number of

pictures and texts exceeds 10 million words. Ó

What a huge project, what a difficult task, I was really surprised to see the original

manuscript, how did an old man over seventy years old complete it in such a short period

of time? Because I have been doing interviews with the surviving right for many years, $\mbox{\sc I}$

know how difficult it is to interview each person, and in addition to resisting the

obstruction and pressure of society, the interviewee and his relatives are afraid of

affecting themselves and their families and refuse to meet with me. I once tried to find

out a person's address through layers of connections, and after contacting me to get on a

plane and go on time, I was turned away by his family, because these people had been

scared in 1957 and the years after the Cultural Revolution. They fear that the speaker is

guilty, and they fear that a careless word will once again plunge into the abyss of doom.

In the process of interviewing, I often have to consult some archives, but it is a simple

file to find an acquaintance, and there must be more than two party members present to $% \left(1\right) =\left(1\right) +\left(1\right) +\left($

do it. Years of experience have taught me that doing this work is not to say that looking

for information and conducting interviews, it is to read so many words once, and how

hard it must be. From this, I know that the person who does this must have a lofty

responsibility to return the true history, and must have a spirit of perseverance and

perseverance, and it is not possible to do this thing without the support of this belief.

Because the pain and disaster brought to Chinese intellectuals by the anti-rightist

movement in 1957 can be said to be overwhelming, and the price paid by the Chinese

people for this is as heavy as a mountain, the huge project of collating and publishing

these precious historical materials cannot be completed without the spirit of moving

mountains without the spirit of foolishness.

Today we recall that Mao Zedong launched this campaign against the Rightists in 1957,

which is a very despicable and vicious campaign of silence in contemporary times, a

perverse perverse act of completely transforming the democratic freedom proposition put $% \left(1\right) =\left(1\right) +\left(1\right) +\left($

forward by the Communist Party of China before seizing power into a feudal dictatorship

in violation of the Constitution, and a further development of thousands of years of literal

prison into a prison of words and speech. More than half a century has passed since this

incident, but the negative impact of the anti-rightist movement on China's politics,

economy, culture, morality and other aspects is long-lasting, and the anti-rightist $% \left(1\right) =\left(1\right) +\left(1\right)$

movement still makes people today have a lingering feeling, and they dare not tell the $\ensuremath{\mathsf{I}}$

truth and talk about the change of color of the right.

Every one of our descendants should reflect deeply today on why our great Chinese

nation has become a nation that does not speak the truth today. In particular, some

morally upright experts and scholars and literary giants of the moment have become

vassals of lying. Why did the authoritarian centralization cause China the Anti-Rightist

Movement, the Three Years Disaster, the Cultural Revolution, the rampant corruption,

and the massacres and disasters, people turned a blind eye, most people were still

immersed in the illusion of singing and dancing, and the intellectuals who were the $% \left(1\right) =\left(1\right) +\left(1\right)$

backbone of society were also deaf and dumb and had no responsibility for the nation and $\,$

society.

Some people say that the anti-rightist movement has broken the backbone of Chinese

intellectuals, destroyed all the elites cultivated since modern China, destroyed China's

moral culture for thousands of years, and caused the new cultural movement in modern $\$

times to die prematurely when it did not fulfill its historical mission. However, the actual

situation is that before the end of the Cultural Revolution, intellectuals, as the target of a

comprehensive dictatorship, were brutally attacked, and the persecuted intellectuals were

afraid of how to carry out social responsibilities all day long. Today, young intellectuals

are brainwashed or intimidated by threats to their interests, and most thoughtful

intellectuals are marginalized and unable to take on social responsibilities.

More than sixty years have passed since the thrilling and protracted political movement

that took place in the land of China in 1957, and now that we have sorted out that

political movement, we soberly realize that without the anti-rightist movement, there

would have been no Great Leap Forward that boasted and rushed forward; without the

crazy Great Leap Forward, there would have been no anti-Rightist turn of 1959, and there

would have been no three-year famine that starved tens of millions of people Without the

three-year famine, there would have been no Liu Shaoqi's "three-point natural disaster

and seven-point man-made disaster" at the 7,000-person congress in 1962; there would

have been no "three-point natural disaster and seven-point man-made disaster" saying,

There will be no unprecedented Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Of course, this is

only a hypothesis, but history has been running on a trajectory of mistakes and mistakes

for more than two decades. These twenty years or so have been a small episode in human

history, but for countless families and individuals, this thrilling twenty years have

plunged many families and individuals into desperate situations, causing their spirits and

bodies to suffer irreparable trauma.

When we study the Anti-Rightist Movement today, we should not only look at how it has

swept away all the intellectuals cultivated in modern and contemporary times and even

modern times, causing countless families and individuals to suffer like slaves, but mainly

depends on how it subverts the excellent cultural traditions of the Chinese nation for

thousands of years and how it completely turns out the ugliest things in human nature, so

that people realize how important it is for institutions and laws to regulate people's

behavior in society. I have seen in interviews and studies for many years that during the

Anti-Rightist and Cultural Revolutions, not only did the leftists frantically beat and

persecute intellectuals and victims, but under certain conditions and circumstances, the $\,$

dirtiest things in human nature were turned over, and the victims themselves and their

families were also doing some dirty things.

In the movement, sons exposed Lao Tzu, wives denounced husbands, husbands posted

big posters to their wives, and friends exposed each other, all of which abounded in the

general environment at that time, and the performance was so ugly. In the anti-rightist

movement, some rightists who served as leading cadres at the beginning of the anti-

rightist movement clearly demarcated a large number of rightists in their units with no

conscience; they were originally an out-and-out leftist, but later they were classified as

rightists and fell into the sandwich ditch because they were beaten down by more vicious $% \left(1\right) =\left(1\right) +\left(1\right) +\left$

and sinister political enemies. The leader of a unit took a fancy to the woman of the unit

worker and classified the worker as a rightist and sent her to reeducation through labor,

thus occupying this woman.

There was an author named "Weimin", who published "Wang Jing's "Brief Discussion

on Administrative Means" in the Gansu Daily on September 6, 1957. What are you

talking about! "Fell into the well to expose and criticize the excellent editor Wang

Jingchao, who was unjustly killed in the Jiabiangou of Gansu Daily", and this "Uighur"

Later, he was exposed and criticized by others and became a rightist. Therefore, there are

always some unsightly things hidden in the depths of human nature, and once there is a

suitable soil, it will grow savagely. Without the constraints of faith, laws and institutions,

people will become bloodthirsty devils in a certain climate and environment. In $\ensuremath{\mathsf{my}}$

interviews with survivors of The Sandwich Ditch, I found that many of the victims were

themselves perpetrators.

There were only more than thirty correctional cadres in the Jiabiangou

farm, and they had

to manage more than three thousand re-education through labor personnel, and the

method adopted at that time was to use the right to rule the right, use a little fly-head

small profit to lure the re-education through labor personnel to inform each other and $% \left(1\right) =\left(1\right) +\left(1\right) +\left($

expose each other, and provoke the labor re-education personnel to brutally beat and

scold each other. The reason why so many people died in the Jiabiangou farm, in addition

to the fact that the whole environment regarded the rightists as reactionaries in the case of

extreme food shortage, the violence and cruelty between the re-education through labor

personnel and the killing of each other was also an aspect that could not be ignored.

Through years of research on the anti-rightist movement, I have found that each

individual life of the victims of the anti-rightist movement has their own unique

experience and stories of blood and tears, but they have all changed their own destiny in

the context of the anti-rightist movement, which is closely related to the fate of the entire

Chinese intellectuals and the future of the Chinese nation. The antirightist movement did

not just draw 550,000 (official figures) of rightists, anti- The Right Movement also gave

the hat of a counter-revolutionary to many intellectuals whose general historical problems

in the purge movement were not marked as historical counterrevolutionaries, and also

gave the hats of counter-revolutionaries or bad elements to the so-called fighters and $% \left(1\right) =\left(1\right) +\left(1\right) +\left($

workers in the People's Liberation Army and factories who had so-called rightist

speeches. In addition, the anti-rightist movement also affected a large number of leading

cadres of the Communist Party who sought truth from facts and were classified as anti-

party and anti-socialist elements and localist anti-party elements. Therefore, the number

of people injured by the anti-rightist movement is far more than the figure published by

the state (one says 550,000, the other says 3.17 million). As for the family members and

relatives affected by the anti-rightist movement, it is roughly estimated that there are no

less than tens of millions of people.

Of course, for this extremely despicable and shameless "yang conspiracy" movement, it

is bound to be ruthlessly and impartially judged by history. History will only condemn

the heinous crimes committed by the initiators of this movement against human culture

and civilization, against human rights and humanity, and against democracy and freedom.

History will also prove that although the initiators and implementers of the anti-rightist

movement are rampant for a while, they are fierce and fierce, and they can

unscrupulously use the power and violence in their hands to cause great tragedies in the

human world, causing tens of millions of innocent people to be separated from each

other, their families to be destroyed, their families to turn against each other, and the

wilderness of violent corpses, bringing endless disasters and suffering to the innocent and

their families. More than sixty years have passed since the Anti-Rightist Movement, most

of the parties concerned have passed away, and although most of them have been

corrected, they have not been blinded, they have not heard the confessions of the whole

people, they have not seen the Chinese people pay such a great price, they have not

learned their lessons, and there is still the possibility of the recurrence of the history of

evil in a new way.

When we study the anti-rightist movement today, we must see why autocrats are so afraid

of intellectuals with independent ideas. Why should they blind the eyes of the Chinese

people and prevent people from knowing the truth of history? Because the regime they

steal is illegitimate. In order to safeguard the self-interest of their vested interests, these

have an "independent spirit, a free mind." Intellectuals will awaken the broad masses of

the people, and they will stab them in the back and panic. They must raise a group of

royal leftists who are controlled by their minds, and now it seems that they have indeed $% \left(1\right) =\left(1\right) +\left(1\right) +\left$

done it; the Cultural Revolution of the Red Guards during the Cultural Revolution has

deprived China of its traditional moral culture, and today's Wumao Angry Youth has

classified the best democracy, freedom, equality, and fraternity of mankind as a Western $\$

trend of thought, and opposing the reform of the political system has become the biggest

obstacle to the progress of history. But we know that the root cause of the mountain of

unjust, false and wrongly decided cases and the spread of corruption is the absence of

supervision and restraint of absolute power above the law.

This leads us to think that a sound system is the guarantee against the recurrence of

disasters. Lord Acton, a British intellectual historian, said: "Power leads to corruption,

and absolute power leads to absolute corruption." "In the same way, power produces an

authoritarian tragedy and corruption, and absolute power leads to absolute historical $\ensuremath{\mathsf{I}}$

tragedy and rampant corruption. Let's think about why those in power don't let people

know the truth about history. Why is it so difficult to disclose the assets of officials in

China? Because the corruption of the powerful and their children's families is so alarming

that these vested interests fear that with democratic freedom and judicial independence

they will lose everything. Today, when we study the anti-rightist movement, we mainly

discuss it from the perspective of the system and the law. A good system is like a good

road, it can make people come and go freely, walk easily, and easily reach the other side

of life's ideals. Because in a good system, the better people are, the more they can fully

express their outstanding talents. Under a bad system, power cannot be effectively

supervised and balanced, and the more talented a person is, the more calamities and

losses he may cause to the country and the people when his selfish desires are inflated.

At present, some vested interests say that the separation of powers, the supervision of

public opinion, the independence of the judiciary, the nationalization of the army, and the

balance of multi-party power are the things of the Bourgeoisie in the West, and from this

absurd statement, then centralized rule, control of public opinion, and the judiciary are

kidnapped by administrative power, and the privatization of the army and the one-party

dictatorship are proletarian things. In today's society, mankind has not only created a rich

material civilization, but also created a brilliant and dazzling spiritual civilization, among

which there are the fruitful fruits of the separation of the three powers, judicial

independence, and other checks and balances, which are the common treasures of

mankind and the wealth that the people of all ethnic groups in the world, including our $\,$

Chinese nation, should share. The facts of history tell us that in the short term, there is

indeed nothing that cannot be done in totalitarian rule, but it is precisely because of this

that once a person with bad character is encountered, it will cause immeasurable disasters

to the country and the people.

"With copper as a mirror, you can wear a crown; with the ancient as a mirror, you can

know the rise and fall; with people as a mirror, you can see the gains and losses." "Now

we are more and more soberly aware of how important it is to rescue history and restore $% \left(1\right) =\left(1\right) +\left(1\right) +\left($

the truth and give the people a real history." For the deception and cajoling adopted by $% \left(1\right) =\left(1\right) \left(1\right)$

the vested interests in order to maintain their rule has reached an heinous point, and $% \left(1\right) =\left(1\right) +\left(1\right) +\left($

history has not only been glorified by them, but the facts have been completely reversed.

Therefore, it is no longer the work of Mr. Wu Yisan alone or a few people to sort out the $\,$

materials of the anti-rightist movement, but should be the responsibility

of every Chinese

of ours. Because it concerns the hope of our Chinese nation to rebuild the spirit of

freedom, re-forge the backbone of the nation, and move toward a democratic and free country.

Mar. 9, 2019

[The author Zhao Xu, born on December 10, 1954, a native of Jishishan County, Gansu

Province, is an associate professor, a member of the Chinese Writers Association, and the $\,$

former vice chairman of the Lanzhou Writers Association, a scholar who has long been

engaged in the study of the history of the Anti-Rightist And Cultural Revolution, and has

published a number of influential novels and historical monographs at home and abroad.

?