

A STUDENT'S LETTER TO REVOLUTIONARY REBELLING COMMITTEE

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Comrades of the Revolutionary Rebellng Committee:

I was a member of the old revolutionary rebelling committee. The great proletarian cultural revolution has gone on for more than a year now. The ruthless class struggle has educated me. I am willing to exchange views with you comrades in some respects. The views are very acute. Our great leader, Chairman Mao, taught us: "Either the east wind will overcome the west wind, or the west wind will overcome the east wind. On questions concerning the line, there is no room for compromise." He also said: "A thorough materialist has nothing to fear. We hope that all those who struggle with us will courageously assume the responsibility, overcome the difficulties, and be fearless of frustrations and criticisms the others may put forward to us."

It is in this spirit that I write this letter. The following are my opinions.

(1) The revolutionary rebelling committee was a product of the counterrevolutionary undercurrent and the attempt to restore capitalism from above to below last March. It entirely suited the purpose of the handful of Party persons in power and taking the capitalist road.

The provincial revolutionary alliance was a glorious combat collective. The handful of persons in power and taking the capitalist road in the old provincial Party committee headed by Chao Tzu-yang (6392 4793 7122), adopted a double-crossing

method. On the surface, they pretended to be willing to give up their power, whereas in reality they planned for a counter-attack. They framed revolutionary rebels and on this basis forced the vast revolutionary rebels into a passive position. T'ian Chen-lin (6223 7201 2651) of Canton ruthlessly killed this new product and took the opportunity to revive certain collapsed conservative organizations. He hit the revolutionary rebels in order to achieve his counterrevolutionary purpose of completely restoring capitalism. Such was the counterrevolutionary strategy based on the principle of "one stone killing two birds." In order to realize this criminal goal, a handful of persons in power and taking the capitalist road in the Kwang-tung provincial Party, government, and military organizations collaborated with each other. Through their coordinated activities, they created rumors and distorted facts. Finally, they hit the provincial revolutionary alliance as "a rightist group for the seizure of power" and the vast revolutionary rebels as "counterrevolutionaries."

Is it true that the establishment of the revolutionary rebelling committee in Chung-shan University and the way in which the committee acted just suited the purpose of the handful of Party persons in power and taking the capitalist road? Of course, a great majority of the soldiers were cheated. In March, some people on the revolutionary rebelling committee already said: "This is the general tendency of the situation, not what the people have hoped for." This statement illustrates the mood of the vast members of the committee at that time.

(2) The revolutionary rebelling committee was not an organization raising high the great banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought against the handful of Party persons in power and taking the capitalist road. Instead, from the beginning it was an organization struggling against the revolutionary rebels and the red flag of Chung-shan University and the 31 August unit. In the name of dealing blows to the provincial revolutionary alliance, they actually hit the rebelling group.

To begin with, the revolutionary rebelling committee did not develop from the struggle against the handful of Party persons in power and taking the capitalist road. It became successful when the vast revolutionary rebels made some mistakes and when there emerged an undercurrent from above to below to restore capitalism. The time background and the ideological foundation at that time may clarify the problem.

At that time, it was pointed out that in operating the provincial revolutionary alliance the point should be directed toward the black provincial Party committee, not confined to the red flag commune. However, it was also said: "The purpose of attacking the red flag commune was to attack the black provincial Party committee." "Without hitting at the red flag commune, how could one attack the black provincial Party

committee? We ought to chase all the way up..."

Besides, a considerable number of the committee members set out to have "a long march" when criticism of the bourgeois reactionary line started. Some of them actually wanted to avoid being criticized. When they came back, they had a good opportunity to reverse their cases. In consequence, the line between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie remained uncleared. It is known to the public that some of the capable members of the committee were originally members of the army corps. Thus, inevitably mistakes were made in organizational and political lines.

(3) This concerns the system of democratic-centralism and the mass line in the revolutionary rebelling committee. I think, in this respect, the conservative organizations have a universal law. Since the day of its founding, the revolutionary rebelling committee had never practiced the system of democratic-centralism and the mass line. The masses below repeatedly mentioned this matter, almost everyday. Some of them said: "If the committee still refuses to take the mass line, we will impeach them." Subsequently, they did not do anything to deal with the committee. When a meeting was called, the floor was always monopolized by the officials. Afterwards, the officials immediately announced that the meeting was adjourned. Some of the "little figures" wanted to say something, but they never had the opportunity. Members of the committee repeatedly requested debate. However, the committee only held one such meeting with strict regulations. When the debate became intense, the officials again announced that the meeting was adjourned. All these problems actually arose from the word "conservative," from the execution of the reactionary bourgeois line. It could not be overcome.

In the area of democratic-centralism, none of the committee's cadres was popularly elected. When the masses submitted their opinions to the committee, it was always said that the time had not come yet; "allow us to have more time." When some of the officials in the "court" were transferred, the masses knew nothing about it. Cadres of the committee were all appointed according to "presidential orders" and the principles which the committee followed were very special. For example, during the rectification the service section was afraid of being criticized by the masses for its poor performance of the mass line. To prevent such criticism, the section appointed more cadres. Two of the principles for the selection of cadres were as follows: it would be most desirable to have Party members or candidate Party members or at least Youth League members; it would be most desirable to have the most capable persons, preferably those who had assumed X positions. Because the sub-committee in the Department of Physics was relatively large, cadres were selected from that department.

The leadership of the revolutionary rebelling committee at various levels employed cadres according to these principles. Many of the cadres were able to get positions similar to those they had before. They also looked for certain main cadres in the student association, and their operational method remained the same as before. In this way, how could the mass line be implemented? Some cadres had a senior standing, and because of this they detached themselves from the masses. In fact, they regarded the masses as inferiors. They failed to understand Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Some cadres even stood in the opposite direction of the masses and held the reactionary bourgeois line. They dared not revolt and would not let others revolt either. Secretly, they compiled black data to frame revolutionary comrades.

(4) Since April the revolutionary rebelling committee has actively got at "the great direction" which means that they want to "strike down" all those who are in power.

In the beginning, some cadres had no courage to touch the handful of persons in power and taking the capitalist road. Then others criticized the handful of persons, these cadres thought the criticism was based on "selfish motives." In consequence, they protected all those who were in power. Now, they completely reversed their stand. Take the problem of Ma Hsiao-yun (7456 5135 0061) in Chung-shan University for example. Last year when Ma was struggled against by others, some said that they could not strike him down. They were sympathetic with Ma. Now, these same persons insisted that they must strike down Ma Hsiao-yun, the reason being that Ma is standing on the red flag commune's side.

Last June, the Kwangtung Provincial Party Committee conspired against Liu Tsun-tien (0491 0193 3240). Afterwards, the committee held Ma Hsiao-yun responsible for it. The committee used Ma as a scapegoat. This explains that Ma is not a member of the T'ao-Chao black line. Otherwise, the committee would not have acted like that. Ma is a victim of the reactionary bourgeois line. Where there is suppression, there will be resistance. It is not accidental that Ma stands on the red flag commune's side. Here, I have to question the intention of those who want to strike down Ma Hsiao-yun.

(5) The revolutionary rebelling committee was always proud of the fact that "they have many Party and Youth League members, many cadres, many teachers, and many members of the preparatory committee of the cultural revolution." However, the truth is that these persons are deeply poisoned by Liu Shao-ch'i's book on "Self-Cultivation." Thus, they decided that the revolutionary rebelling committee had no spirit to revolt. They firmly held their conservative stand. When the revolutionary rebels pointed out that they were conservatives, they refused to accept the criticism. It must be noted

their response is consistent with reality.

We must accept the advice. Otherwise, we will move toward the opposite direction. Our only outlet is to eliminate the poisonous influence of the "Self-Cultivation," definitely split with the reactionary bourgeois line, establish the absolute authority of Mao Tse-tung's thought in our mind, raise high the great banner of revolution, and attack the handful of Party persons in power and taking the capitalist road.

My views on the red flag, 8.31, and 120 at Chung-shan University:

It can be ascertained that the red flag and 8.31 are revolutionary leftist organizations at Chung-shan University. They are one of the flags of the great proletarian cultural revolution in Kwangtung. The great test of last March frightened the handful of Party and military persons in power and taking the capitalist road. Their existence promoted the development of the great proletarian cultural revolution in Kwangtung.

On the other hand, the 120 organization came into being on the basis of its effort to collect black data. It collected information in factories, rural villages, government organs, and schools... After the establishment of the revolutionary rebelling committee at Chung-shan University, the 120 became an open organization. It was said that "the 120 organization at Chung-shan University has a complete knowledge of the University's red flag. It has an enormous amount of data concerning the red flag commune." In the name of uniting with workers and peasants, the 120 organization established its conservative forces against the revolutionary rebelling groups. Thus, it impeded the development of the movement.

If we do not have the red flag organization, and if the 120 organization is the only one in Chung-shan University, what will happen to the cultural revolution in the University? What will happen to the great cultural revolution in Kwangtung?

I do not have to explain this in detail. I believe that sooner or later you comrades will understand the problem. In a great movement, there are always mistakes. Do not be discontented with the present situation. The situation will be worse if capitalism is restored. We must look at the main direction. Things eventually depend on the line we take and the class interest we represent. If we take the wrong stand, everything else will go wrong.

Finally, I hope that you will consider my opinions in the spirit of your responsibility to the revolutionary undertakings. I hope you will criticize my incorrect views. /

We can debate on the points where we cannot agree with each other. This will be to the advantage of the revolution.

To those individuals, I would like to point out that if they continue to take the reactionary bourgeoisie line, it will be very dangerous.

Salute to the great proletarian cultural revolution.

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(Note: Fellow student Li Tzu-fang was originally a member of the revolutionary rebelling committee at Chungshan University. He has withdrawn from this conservative organization.)

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