

LOOKING AT LAN-CHOU UNIVERSITY FROM THE
STANDPOINT OF TSING HUA
(REPORT ON IMPLEMENTATION OF BOURGEOIS REACTIONARY
LINE ON CADRE QUESTION BY LAN-CHOU UNIVERSITY,
KANSU PROVINCE, JUNE & JULY 1966)

Following is a translation of an article by an investigator of the General Headquarters of Revolutionary Rebels, Lan-chou University, in the Chinese-language newspaper Wen-ko T'ung-hsun (Cultural Revolution Report), Lan-chou, No 27, 11 May 1967, pages 1-2. This source is published in Lan-chou by the Wen-ko T'ung-hsun Publishers of the Lan-chou University "7 June".

"Irrespective of their merits all cadres are excluded and put down. This is what several persons in support of the bourgeois reactionary line have advocated, and they have acted accordingly. The top person in authority in the party taking the capitalist road is the one at whom the spearhead of our criticism and judgment of the bourgeois reactionary line is pointed."--from the editorial of the Jen-min Jih-pao (People's Daily) on "Why the constituent Parts of the Bourgeois Reactionary Line Advocating 'Attack on the Large Mass and Protection of the Handful' Should Be Criticized with Stress"

I

On 1 June 1966, after Chairman Mao personally decided to broadcast the first Marxist-Leninist large-character poster to the whole country, the Cultural Revolution in Lan-chou University at once stirred up a new high tide, and the broad masses of the revolutionary faculty, students, and cadres pointed the spearhead of their struggle directly at the party

persons in authority taking the capitalist road and the reactionary academic "authorities."

On 4 June the Chinese Communist party Central Committee made public its decision to reorganize the old Peking municipal party committee. On the same day the provincial party committee sent a working group, composed of four (later increased to seven) persons and headed by Chang (1728) x, to be stationed at Lan-chou University to control the situation there.

On 7 June a revolutionary incident broke out at Lan-chou University, which shook the entire province. The broad masses of the revolutionary faculty, students, and cadres launched a resolute struggle against the implementation of the bourgeois reactionary line by the working group of the provincial party committee after its entry into the university. They also adopted such slogans as "Use Mao Tse-tung's Thought to Gauge the Provincial Party Committee," and pointed the spearhead of their struggle directly at the handful of provincial party members in authority taking the capitalist road. On that same evening the provincial committee held a whole-night session and decided to dub the "7 June" incident as a "counterrevolutionary Incident" and to send a working group composed of as many as 150 to be stationed at Lan-chou University and suppress the "counterrevolution."

At 2:00 a.m., 8 June, the provincial committee's working group, headed by Lung (7893) x, a member of the Political Department of the provincial military area, entered Lan-chou University. At 8:00 the group called a mass meeting of the faculty, students, staff members, and workers of the whole university and issued a "proclamation," which disregarded the facts and suppressed the broad masses of the revolutionary faculty and students and the broad masses of the revolutionary cadres, announcing the take-over of all party and political leadership and authority in the university. Thenceforth 70 days of white terror, scarcely seen in the whole country before and frightening to the highest degree, commenced in Lan-chou University.

II

Originally Lan-chou University had four leading cadres (a Secretary of the party committee serving concurrently as President of the university, a Deputy Secretary, and two Vice Presidents) and 44 medium-grade cadres ranking above the secretary of the league committee (including a Deputy Director of the party committee, a Secretary of the general party branch, a Deputy Director of the Administrative Department, and vice

chairmen of departments). The school also had 139 cadres ranking above ad hoc departmental directors (including a Deputy Secretary of the faculty and workers' party branch, a Deputy Director of the Instruction and Study Group, a Deputy Chief of the Administrative Section, and a Secretary of the general league branch, an ad hoc post), 38 Political Counselors to the Faculty, and 42 Political Counselors to the students. The total number of cadres was thus 267.

After its entry into the school the working group, in compliance with the directives of the handful in authority taking the capitalist road, attacked the broad revolutionary masses and dubbed them as "counterrevolutionaries," and carried out the reactionary policy of "attack on the large mass and protection of the handful," dubbing the good and comparatively good cadres as "demons and monsters," the "black gang," and "counterrevolutionaries," and inflicting on them cruel political persecution and spiritual and physical tortures.

The persecution of the cadres by the working group can be divided into two stages:

(1) From 7 June to 25 June, the working group ordered almost all cadres to stand aside and adopted the methods of militant struggle and extortion of testimony, forcing them to clarify their relations with the "7 June" incident, seizing hold of such "counterrevolutionaries" as opposed the provincial party committee and the working group, and carrying out the policy of "attack on the large mass and protection of the handful."

(2) From 26 June to 29 July, it was a period in which the dissolution and removal of the working group took place. Under the pretext of "sweeping away all demons and monsters," the group massively got after the "rightists" among the students, faculty, and staff members, crossed the rectification of cadres with that of the masses, and provoked the struggle of cadres with the masses, and that of the latter with the former.

After the removal of the working group the active counterrevolutionary Li Kuei-tzu (2621 6311 1311), consistently boosted by the provincial party committee, monopolized the control of the preparatory committee, and, on the question of cadres, continued to implement the bourgeois reactionary line of "attack on the large mass and protection of the handful."

The concrete behavior of the working group was as follows:

lows:

(1) Class analysis not made of cadres, all of whom were excluded and put down.

After its entry into the school it spread the following assertions among the masses everywhere: "Chiang Lung-chi (3068 7127 1015) is a chief of the black gang, and the various levels of the organization in Lan-chou University are all rotten;" "Lan-chou University is the black headquarters of revisionism;" "It is the Chiang dynasty's base;" and "It is the palace of the King of Hell." Members of the Physics Department working group said to the school's students, "This movement is just the opposite of what happened before. Those who were good are all bad this time." Some even went so far as to assert, "The party and league organizations of Lan-chou University have a black root and a black line, which are to be reflected in party and league members themselves." Others shouted, "Drive out the rank and file that came with Chiang Lung-chi lock, stock, and barrel;" "Not one of the political counselors has not committed an evil;" and "Before they are put down, we cannot raise our heads."

Under the guidance of these reactionary theories the great majority of cadres and party and league members became targets of attack. On 25 June the director of the former preparatory committee, Chu (2612) x, and others pasted a drawing showing the "Ugly Group of the Liu Branch of the Chiang Black Den" (Liu 0491 being the present Secretary of the Physics Department general party branch), dubbing the 30 party and government cadres and 16 student party members of the department as "bosses of black dens," "emperors' fathers," "dog's head advisers," "tigers with smiling faces," "clowns jumping the beams," "spiritual aristocrats," and "ass-head crown-princes," all targets of rectification.

On 15 June Ch'eng P'ing (4453 5493), Deputy Secretary General of the provincial committee, issued the directive, "Active elements" "have the absolute leadership" "in the Cultural Revolution," and "this is called the dictatorship of the proletariat." Thereupon members of the party committee, departmental and division directors, section chiefs were in the great majority of cases ordered to stand aside; and all secretaries of the general party branch in the school were at the same time members of the working group or appointed by it, the appointees being all "leftists" enjoying its favor.

The Deputy Director of the preparatory committee, Li Kuei-tzu, though not a member of the party, regularly attended the conferences of the party and league party committees and

those of departmental and bureau heads called by the provincial council. On 14 August he also attended the conference of the Standing Committee of the provincial council. He regularly read the party's documents. Membership dues paid by all party members in the school were also handled by the preparatory committee.

What is more, the x x department even let the son of a reactionary military officer and a teacher, who were neither party nor league members, preside over an enlarged conference of the general party branch. Hsueh (5641) x x (coming from a large landlord and bogus official family, though he himself belongs to the masses) engaged massively in class restoration, receiving the appreciation of the working group, which let her assume the leadership authority in two instruction and study groups.

(2) Confusion of right and wrong, and distortion of the facts, as well as "attack on the large mass and protection of the handful."

No sooner had the working group entered the school than it adopted the attitude of the "7 June" incident and massively got after "counterrevolutionaries."

On 25 June P'ei Meng-fei (5952 1322 7378), Secretary of the former provincial party committee, said at Lan-chou University, "The targets of the attack do not merely involve a percentage of the teachers, but a hundred percent of them."

Said Ch'eng P'ing, "The targets of the attack constitute 5% in the whole province, but so far as one school is concerned, they cannot be accounted for in this way."

Lung x x, head of the working group, said, "The targets of the attack this time are in important cases those party persons who are in authority."

The head of the working group of the Political Department, x x x, said, "The Political Department is the headquarters of Chiang Lung-chi's revisionism, and the contradictions between our enemies and ourselves in the Political Department amount to 20-30%, and not merely 5%."

So a large number of good and comparatively good cadres were struggled with and attacked, and some who had committed mistakes but who had not yet become three-anti elements were put down.

Of the 44 medium-grade cadres in the whole school 43

or 98% were struggled with; 48 or 97.9% of the 49 members of the general party branch; 90 or 78.3% of the 115 members of the party branch; 34 or 89.5% of the 38 Political Counselors to the faculty, staff members, and workers; 38 or 90.5% of the 42 Political Counselors to the students; 186 or 55.5% of the 338 party members among the faculty and workers; and 104 or 75.5% of the 135 party members among the students.

On the afternoon of 17 June more than 70 were struggled with at one stroke, almost all the important cadres in the various departments of the school being given dunce-caps to wear and beaten up. Afterwards P'ei Meng-fei went so far as to say, "This method of procedure is very good. We should get ready to tell all the working groups later."

For the warning of cadres who were dubbed as "demons and monsters," couplets, threats, and admonitions were pasted on their doors.

On the door of a political counselor of the Chemistry Department no fewer than 12 couplets were pasted in succession, one of which read: "Those who seek to drive away the working group have wicked faces; they can come back to life again only after bowing their heads to confess and quickly handing over."

"Warnings" issued to the attacked "demons and monsters" by the Political Department contained eight items.

(a) To fall into line after work and not to stop on the way.

(b) To report and ask for leave for going to the latrine and obtaining water.

(c) Not to get out of the conference room during intermission.

(d) Demons and monsters not to converse or laugh with one another.

(e) To stay home for the consideration of problems and not to go out on Sundays.

(f) To clean up the conference room twice a day.

(g) Change the quotation concerning the enemy and hang it up in the conference room every day or every other day.

(h) To write in triplicate a confession of one's own

crimes.

Liang (2733) x x, a political counselor of the Chemistry Department, was compelled to kneel down every day and read the following:

"O, Nieh (5119) x x, my father. O, Chiang Lung-chi, my grandfather. The foundation of Lan-chou University is very firm, and x x will not waver in holding to my calling." (Note: Nieh x x is Secretary of the Chemistry Department general party branch)

On the other hand, the provincial party committee's handful in authority taking the capitalist road, headed by Wang Feng (3076 6912), with a view to protecting themselves and the handful of party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, extended their effective protection to certain persons in the former university party committee, without letting the masses expose and criticize them.

On 9 June Wang Feng sent the following telegraphic directive from Sian to the secretaries of the provincial party committee: "Let Ch'en (7115) x x and Chen (3914) x x expose questions." Later he directed, "Let Ch'en x x preside over party committee meetings."

On 10 June P'ei Meng-fei and Ch'eng P'ing directed the Lan-chou University working group as follows: "The party committee should protect Chen x x and Ch'en x x."

On 21 June P'ei Meng-fei sent this directive to the working group, "Absorb Chen x x as a member of the preparatory committee and let him join the working group party committee." Ch'eng P'ing said with special stress, "Chen x x is an old revolutionary and should be protected. Students should organize an inspection team to protect him."

On 21 June, when Chen x x was "going downstairs" from the party committee meeting, he was suddenly greeted with some "good news." With great fanfare the preparatory committee of Li Kuei-tzu brought the good news to Chen and put a big red flower on him, which surprised the latter very much. At the same time the preparatory committee of Li Kuei-tzu pasted out a large number of large-character posters, which declared, "Chen x x is a proletarian revolutionary," and "Whoever dares to touch even a hair on the proletarian revolutionary Chen x x will die without a decent burial-place." But those who had pasted large-character posters for Chen x x--teachers and students alike--were forced to "give themselves up," confess and check, and even be struggled with.

(3) Everyone among basic cadres to be enabled to "surmount barriers" and "lay down their bundles."

Said P'ei Meng-fei, "In attacking a fortress mop up the outside first. In struggling with the landlord in land reform, strike the dogs' legs first," and "Before the landlord is put down the dogs' legs must be struck down."

Some in the working group said, "Don't imagine that the black line is always threaded downward. Sometimes it is threaded upward."

Some others in the working group said, "The movement this time is aimed at the thorough skinning of the party and league cadres." Also, "Lan-chou University is the sworn partner of Chiang Lung-chi and consists of none other than reactionaries."

In accordance with these fallacies, the working group has forced the basic cadres, except the very small minority of so-called "active elements," to stand aside. These cadres were divided into three varieties: First, the so-called "counterrevolutionaries" against the party, socialism, and Mao Tse-tung's thought and "demons and monsters" were subjected to a long-term struggle and not permitted to surmount the barriers. This was called the practice of the dictatorship. Secondly, those cadres who have committed serious mistakes were subjected to the struggle for a time, but in accordance with their performance, permitted to cross the barriers. This was called "liberation." Thirdly, those cadres who have committed general mistakes had to check and confess and then surmount the barriers. This was called "laying down their bundles." Like Tsing Hua University, Lan-chou University had "a large mass of struggle meetings, a large number of processions, and a large batch of reformers at labor." "There were struggle meetings every day," and "street processions and public exhibitions" were the vogue. In one street procession staged by the Chemistry Department on 23 June alone, there were more than 30, including almost all the party and political cadres in that department.

The basic cadres "liberated" by order of the working group had to make thorough confessions and felt that they had been entrapped. Chai (5049) x x of the working group of the Geology and Geography Department said, "You should write as much as possible in making your confessions; otherwise you would not be able to achieve liberation."

So-called entrapment meant that it was necessary to recognize, "The denial of the working group is the denial of

the provincial party committee; the denial of the provincial party committee is the denial of the Northwest Bureau of the Central Committee; and the denial of the Northwest Bureau is the denial of the party Central Committee." It also meant the recognition of the necessity for "the self-conscious implementation of Chiang Lung-chi's revisionist line" and "the self-conscious opposition to the party, to socialism, and to Mao Tse-tung's thought."

Almost all the basic cadres and party and league members had to "surmount the barriers" and "lay down their bundles." So, someone said, "Everything is turned upside down now. Those who were good before are bad now." Also, "In Lan-chou University party members are not equal to league members, who are not equal to the masses, and active elements are not equal to backward elements." Some said with "jubilation," "Fortunately we have not joined this 'revisionist' party. We haven't thought that you (referring to party members and cadres) would have this day."

(4) Militant struggle with the cadres.

Said P'ei Meng-fei, "In beating up people it is, first, necessary to support, and, secondly, to educate."

On the afternoon of 17 June, after a militant struggle with more than 70 cadres in Lan-chou University, Ch'eng P'ing frantically shouted, "The temperature was not high enough. It should have reached 100 degrees, to blow off the lid."

On 17 June Lung x x, head of the working group, said, "In effect a revolutionary movement cannot make use of a moderate struggle. There is no room for such stability."

Someone in the working group also said, "Why the talk about moderate and militant struggle?" It was asked, "Without beating up people how can you mobilize the masses?"

Under the guidance of these fallacious theories given out by the provincial party committee and working group, the struggles that took place at Lan-chou University were almost all militant. There were many varieties of such militant struggles, such as cruel beating, kneeling, wearing of dunce-caps, black badges, "relay races," street processions and public exhibits, "frying beans," "masks," "mounting the tiger stool," etc. When a cadre was subjected to struggle, accusations were brought against him first, he was forced to make written confessions, and these were sealed to serve as evidence.

Owing to the cruel militant struggle, many cadres have

... all are being classified, and some have been forced even to do so. For example, Liang Hsiang-shan, a political philosopher of the Ching Dynasty, was actually changed to "Liang Hsiang-shan" as a result of a movement to change all spiritual names to X. L. Security Chief, Mass Section, during the struggle at Hsing, was able to clean up the books after a thorough search, and his neck was seriously cut after being wrung around a steel pole. He was compelled to drink himself.

(3) Cadres deprived of their political rights and restricted in their personal freedom.

Deprivation of political rights:

(a) Quotations from Chairman Mao not distributed to cadres except as "demons and monsters."

(b) Cadres only permitted to study certain articles assigned from Chairman Mao's works, such as "Whether the Nanking Massacre is a Crime," "Message to Lu Yu-ning (2629 5124 2+9+), etc., "On the Dictatorship of the People's Democracy," "Report on the Investigation of the Peasant Movement in China"--parts on "Very Bad" and "Very Good."

(c) Prohibition at meetings of the slogan "Long Live Chairman Mao," his portrait, his quotations on boards, and the singing of songs containing quotations from him.

(d) Prohibition of participation in mass meetings for "Solidarity to Vietnam and Opposition to the U.S." and for the "Introduction of Experiences in the Study of Chairman Mao's Works."

(e) Party members not permitted to live an organized life or read the party's publications, and even the payment of their party membership fees interfered with.

(f) Not permitted to write or telegraph to the party Central Committee or Chairman Mao.

Limitation of personal freedom: In addition to the confiscation of their personal belongings, including their diaries and private correspondence, cadres dubbed as "demons and monsters" were subjected to different restrictions, which can be summarized as follows:

(a) Confiscation of the school badge and job identification and refusal to issue swimming passes.

(b) Late class attendance and premature departure not permitted, compulsory falling into line coming and going, bowing of the head and bending of the waist while walking required, looking idly around and reading of large-character posters prohibited.

(c) Leave to be asked for taking a drink of water or going to the latrine, and entry in the "Register of Demons and Monsters" required when ascending and descending from upstairs.

(d) Prohibition of going home secretly and going out on Sundays.

(e) Prohibition of whispers and greetings among "demons and monsters" and their contacts with the outside.

(f) Every night briefing with "active elements" on the day's ideological activities and handing in of "confession material" for the day required.

(6) So-called "Demons and Monsters' Labor Reform Teams" organized, to engage massively in "reform at labor."

In the whole school 36 medium-grade cadres, or 82%, were subjected to reform at labor, including 100% of the cadres of six departments. Of the basic cadres 80 or 57.8% were in this category; 26 political counselors to teachers or 68.5%; and 29 political counselors to students or 69%.

A female comrade in the Department of Mathematics and Mechanics (a member of the Propaganda Department of the general party branch) had a miscarriage as a result of excessively heavy work in reform at labor. During the movement of socialist education a political counselor was dubbed as a "tentacle of Chiang Lung-chi" and, after a struggle, was subjected to reform at labor with landlord, rich-peasant, reactionary, and bad elements.

The length of time for reform at labor was indefinite. It lasted more than 100 days for the Mathematics Department between July and the middle of October.

On 29 July the Provincial party committee announced the abolition of the working group. But by relying on the preparatory committee of the counterrevolutionary Li Kuei-tzu, the working group continued to practice the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over the cadres until 21 August, when Li's preparatory committee finally collapsed. At the beginning of September, with the establishment of the "Provisional Cultural Revolution Group" headed by Chu (2612) x, the bourgeois reac-

tionary line of "attack on the large mass and protection of the handful" continued to be implemented against the cadres, until it finally came to an end by the end of October.

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