

# MINUS



JULY  
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(7 YEARS TO 1984)

《E ARE ALIVE  
AND KICKING IN  
HONG KONG!

*(The English alphabets have been constructed with the use of Chinese signs.)*

**= WE ARE ALIVE AND KICKING IN HONG KONG!**

This issue of Minus 7 consists of three round table discussions. "On the Rise of Hua Kuo Feng" and "From Adoration to Rebellion" were conducted by the Huang Ho Group while "Democracy in China" was conducted by the editors of Undergrad, the Hong Kong University student paper. All participants were active in the Red Guard movement during the Cultural Revolution and have fled to Hong Kong at various times since 1970. The discussions were held at different times in the early part of 1977 before the formal reinstatement of Teng Hsiao-ping. It should be obvious to the readers that these ex-Red Guard friends/comrades have a range of different views on various issues discussed. Needless to say, Minus 7 is prepared to associate with only those libertarian socialist views expressed. Naturally, readers of Minus 7 will have to form their own opinions.

An additional piece of information which may be of interest to our readers: the Yue Shuet and Wu Man who took part in the discussion on Democracy in China were the same Yu Shuet and Wu Man whose works had appeared in the book, "The Revolution is Dead; Long Live the Revolution". Together they are working on a book on the Social Personality in China, part of which is being serialised in a Hong Kong "independent" monthly magazine. It indeed is a mind-blowing job and one would only wish that it will appear in English as soon as possible.

Finally if you have found Minus 8/7 has something to contribute to the understanding of China and the world libertarian revolution, send us a donation, large or small, to support us. We are desperately in need of bread.

In our next issue, there will be translations of Pa Chin's new works, an analysis of monopolistic capitalism in "communist" China today, etc. It will definitely be out in September as we want to stick to a monthly schedule.

## On The Rise Of Hua Kuo Feng

**Chairman:**

We have gathered together today to discuss from our own perspective the elimination to the Gang of Four by Hua Kuo-feng and his succession to the chairmanship of the Chinese Communist Party.

**Mak Ho:**

I believe this is an important event – a crucial moment – in the history of China. I consider it important and crucial because the elimination of the Gang of Four and the rise of Hua Kuo-feng signified the end of the Mao Tse-tung era, the end of the Mao Tse-tung line. To put it alternatively, a period of revisionism which Mao did not want to see has begun.

**Kim Chung Yan:**

Exactly, from the reports of the press and letters from relatives, the people were indeed jubilant about the downfall of the Gang of Four. They were happy not because "this is another great victory of the Mao Tse-tung revolutionary line", as the Chinese communist press would want us to believe. Quite the contrary, people were happy because they felt that the tiresome line of Mao Tse-tung came to an end and now they could relax a little bit.

**Wu Pun:**

That end is not temporary but permanent. The ecstasy of the Chinese people observed in the press, their letters and TV indicated that the total rejection of the Gang of Four by the people was not because of their character or personality only but also because they faithfully pursued the line of "continuous revolution" which the people have become very tired of. National production could not develop. This was the main thing which the people "watched with their eyes and with hatred in their hearts". From now on, whoever seizes the state power will have learnt the lesson not to pursue the Mao Tse-tung line.

**Wong Yang:**

During the last years of Mao Tse-tung, especially when the Three Red Banners policy had failed and Liu Shao-chi had taken over the administration of national affairs, Mao Tse-tung was extremely lonely. He found no one among his old comrades who could be trusted and relied on to carry through his line faithfully. (Interjection: Since the Tsungyi Conference, Mao Tse-tung never really trusted anyone. He engaged in struggles constantly inside the party; he was always waging struggles against his "assistants".) During the Cultural Revolution, Mao Tse-tung gave up completely his old comrades. He depended on Lin Biao for support and groomed the Gang of Four. After the Cultural Revolution, with the fall of Lin Biao, Mao became totally dependent on the Gang of Four. Mao died in September but his line was not ended then – it was taken up by the Gang of Four. Only now after the fall of the Gang of Four can we say that the era of Mao Tse-tung and his line formally end.

**Huang Chi:**

The rise of Hua Kuo-feng was more a case of a hero created by objective circumstances. The people of China had gone through the Cultural Revolution and the torturing of various political struggles within the 10 years after the Cultural Revolution. Their patience had been stretched to the limits. This was well manifested

by the Tienanmen incident. When we examine this peoples' action which was claimed to be counter-revolutionary, we can see that all the slogans were aimed at the Gang of Four and the line of Mao Tse-tung. Hua Kuo-feng eliminated the Gang of Four and this corresponded to the needs of the people. Therefore, up to some extent, Hua won the acceptance of the people and the cadres. I believe that he has gained a fair bit of political capital as a result.

Kim Chung Yan:

Hua's defeat of the Gang of Four and his subsequent rise to power, to me, are two things. Undoubtedly his defeat of the Gang of Four will be recorded as his achievement in history but I have doubts as to whether his rise to power is firmly established.

Mak Ho:

My feeling is that Hua Kuo-feng's rise in power does not have a firmly established political foundation. We can see that Hua's attainment of his present position was based on the words "With you in charge, I am at ease". Even people overseas like us are aware that it was but a tactical measure; surely the people and cadres in China would have felt the same. I don't think the very little capital Hua Kuo-feng has attained through the elimination of the Gang of Four is sufficient to command the subordination of the old party members. His inadequacy lies in the fact that Hua was not involved in the process of setting up the party, the army or the state. Only after his rise to power do we find some "memoranda" in the People's Daily to record the experiences of Hua Kuo-feng. How can this convince the old party cadres and the army to submit?

Chan Man:

The re-run of the operatic film "The East Is Red" puts Chairman Hua in a disadvantageous position because the film has mentioned not a word of Chairman Hua, not a picture of him, nor are there the big characters "With you in charge, I am at ease". One does not see any trace of Chairman Hua in the series of vigorous struggles and important events. (Laughter)

Huang Chi:

Hua Kuo-feng and his supporters must know this well. Therefore, ever since the rise in the prominence of Hua, there has been the publication of some memoirs not infrequently to praise the kind administration of Hua in Hunan and his guerilla experience in Shansi. (Interjection: Many people first learnt of Hua Kuo-feng's guerilla experience this way.) There was an article in the People's Daily with the headlines "Hunan was liberated by the Defeat of the Gang of Four". Once again, Hua Kuo-feng was branded as a great saviour.

Mak Ho:

Intra party struggles being a permanent feature, the lack of a solid political foundation is endangering the position of Hua Kuo-feng. But this may be a good thing to the people because if Hua started worrying about this, he would be prepared to give concessions to the masses in order to win them over in the struggle with his opponents.

Kim Chung Yan:

One thing seems to be certain: Hua Kuo-feng would try to carry through the spirit of the speech by Chou En Lai made in the Fourth National People's Congress ie. to promote the national economy.

Wu Pun:

It is impossible not to be concerned with promoting the economy. The economy has never really been tackled in the ten years after the Cultural Revolution. The never-ending struggles and the "continuous revolution" had caused severe damages to the economy. If that was to continue, anything which was preserved or accumulated before the Cultural Revolution would have been "eaten" up.

Kim Chung Yan:

During the Cultural Revolution when I participated in the revolutionary link-up, I went to the North-east. It was extremely cold then and on the train I met an army personnel. He was telling me that in order to meet the needs of the massive number of Red Guards, even the military cotton jackets and trousers in storage in Shenyang were taken out for the "red guards of Chairman Mao", not to mention food storage. As he was talking, he also sighed.

Mak Ho:

In promoting the economy, Hua Kuo-feng was active and conferences on all fronts, agricultural, industrial etc., were organised. From the speech he made at the second "To Learn From Tai-Chai" conference, we can clearly observe that he was different from the Gang of Four in that he did not stress class struggle or the use of struggle as a stimulant to production. He uses more realistic means to improve the people's livelihood.

Kim Chung Yan:

I can see that the whole country from top to bottom is pursuing this more realistic line. There were directives to the rural areas in the Kwangtung province recently, which were reported even in the local left-wing press. The directives consisted of three main points: first, to accumulate fertilisers; second, to prepare for protection from cold; and third, to seize early and good harvest with all means. Nothing was said about "struggles". Such policy would have been criticised as "right wing deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts" and "reversing the position of the key link and the less important items."

Chan Man:

This is quite similar to the methods used by Liu Shao-chi to remedy the disastrous conditions as a result of the failure of the "Three Red Banners" policies. Hua Kuo-feng engaged in practical work from the beginning. The Gang of Four were empty theoreticians and Hua knew that the people would be more prepared to accept his more practical ways and would thus increase his own popularity.

Wong Kee:

I have received several letters which mentioned that the workers once hoped that Teng Hsiao-ping would raise their salaries but now they harbour hopes that their wish may be fulfilled by Hua Kuo-feng. This change can prove that Hua Kuo-feng's measures have to a certain extent succeeded. To say the least, people were hopeful.

Wong Yang:

Furthermore, control over literary and artistic activities has been relaxed. Many old artists have now reappeared and this has brought about defrosting warmth in the whole country. People can now relax a bit and this is a welcomed change.

**Mak Ho:**

However and whatever Hua Kuo-feng said his being loyal to the line of Mao Tse-tung, his practical deeds conformed to none of the line Mao wanted to implement over the past ten years. To use a political cliché in China, it is a case of "hoisting the red flag to oppose the red flag". Hua is hoisting the banner of Mao Tse-tung to criticise Mao Tse-tung.

**Huang Chi:**

Hua had to act this way because his political foundation was not well established. He reached his present position by holding up the sign of Mao Tse-tung and the words "With you in charge, I am at ease". So even when he lifts his little finger, he has to demonstrate that he executes the Mao Tse-tung line loyally. Yet he understands the impracticability of the Mao Tse-tung line. Here, Hua has been very clever in making use of the Mao before 1958 and rejecting the Mao after 1958. Most obvious is the re-issue of Mao Tse-tung's "On the Ten Great Relationships".

**Wong Yang:**

If we look at Hua from this perspective, then Hua has not exactly defected from the Mao Tse-tung line. He is pursuing the set of policies formulated by Mao before 1958 when Mao was more clear headed.

**Chang Pang:**

In my opinion, the distinctive feature of Mao Tse-tung thought is "continuous revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat" i.e. to carry out revolutionary struggle within the communist party. This theory was upheld by the Gang of Four as a creative development of Marxism-Leninism and was developed after 1958. Hua Kuo-feng appeared to have cleverly negated this distinctive feature of Mao Tse-tung thought.

**Wong Yang:**

The set of policies implemented by Hua concerning the economy and other aspects are more liberal and practical. Hua would wish that China moves towards Great Order. This will bring a sign of life to China.

**Chairman:**

Undoubtedly, the era of Mao Tse-tung has ended with the fall of the Gang of Four. Does that mean the beginning of the era of Hua Kuo-feng?

**Chan Man:**

We cannot be so definite. We have already commented on the shallow foundation of Hua's rise in prominence. In my opinion, even his own political future is very much uncertain. It is doubtful whether his succession has been the wish of Mao Tse-tung.

**Kim Chung Yan:**

My feelings are similar. For several years before the death of Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese communist propaganda machine lavishly praised Empress Lui and Wu and eagerly promoted women's power; the Gang of Four were responsible personally for the organisation of the series of conferences on agriculture, industry and even military affairs. The intention of Mao Tse-tung concerning his successor seems very obvious.

**Wu Pun:**

The political difficulties which Hua Kuo-feng faces on his rise to power are greater than the economic ones. Therefore he was progressing slowly to tackle the political

difficulties. In some areas, he seems to have found no ways to deal with them. The most obvious is the failure of the new propaganda machine to issue a high standard theoretical critique of the Gang of Four. The criticisms of the Gang so far were just exposures of the evils of the Gang in the style of big character posters. So far there has been no in-depth critique of the system of thought of the Gang.

Chan Man:

How can this theoretical criticism take place? It will be a critique of the thoughts of Mao Tse-tung. (Laughter)

Wong Yan:

Furthermore, although the Gang of Four were eliminated, the verdict on the masses taking part in the Tienanmen incident has not been reassessed. This is disappointing.

Chan Pang:

Similarly, the reinstatement of Tang Hsiao-ping is much talked about by the people but Hua Kuo-feng and his supporters have simply tried to avoid the question.

Wong Yang:

The end of the era of Mao Tse-tung is the end of the line of Mao Tse-tung and is also the end of Mao Tse-tung's authoritarian feudalistic rule. What Hua Kuo-feng has put in place is another form of feudalistic rule. This rule is dictatorship over the people. Democracy and freedom continue to be suppressed.

Chan Man:

China enters a new era only when the masses take real participation in running their country. But this would not be allowed by Hua Kuo-feng.

Mak Ho:

As long as the Chinese communist bureaucracy continues to exist, there is no possibility of people's participation in government.

Huang Chi:

This is the greatest difficulty that Hua Kuo-feng faces. The Chinese people Hua seeks to dominate have been baptised by the Cultural Revolution and have been bathed by democracy and freedom. They understand and fight for their rights. Today, our relatives no longer just want to be well-fed. This constitutes a great threat to Hua Kuo-feng and the new ruling clique in China.

Wong Yang:

Hua Kuo-feng will certainly resort to suppression.

Huang Chi:

Hua uses the Gang of Four as a pretext and everyone who refuses to listen to him is condemned as Gang of Four. Such a tendency can be witnessed from the propaganda in relation to the "Down with the Gang of Four" campaign. With the rise of Hua Kuo-feng, a lot of old cadres and old bureaucrats have been reinstated. They take revenge at the masses who criticised them in the past.

Chan Man:

In actual fact, the criticisms of bureaucratic privileges by the masses were correct. For example, once Teng Hsiao-ping in Szechuan wanted to play cards and a certain Mr. Yang was airlifted to Szechuan to play cards with Teng. Today, supplies and housing are both inadequate in Canton but the houses in Cherry Blossom Village are so luxurious and the supplies to the high class military barracks at Tung Shan in Canton never seem to run out and whatever needed is supplied. The masses are not allowed to sing the popular songs of Hong Kong. It is an offence just simply to listen. But in the Cherry Blossom Village, it is openly performed.

**Mak Ho:**

What worries us is that the democratic forces for freedom, old or new, which appeared during and after the Cultural Revolution, (like Li I-che) would be suppressed by Hua Kuo-feng, using the Gang of Four as a pretext. Surely, such forces represent a threat to the Chinese communist leaders much greater than the Gang of Four.

**Huang Chi:**

Furthermore, during the Cultural Revolution, the masses formed their own spontaneous organisations eg. those in Wuhan and Kaingsi. These organisations were definitely not "tools manipulated by the Gang of Four" but their views on many questions differ from those of the power holders. Before the fall of the Gang of Four, the two factions in the Communist party both hoped to make use of the mass organisations to hinder their opponents. As a result, the organisations had not been suppressed. But now, one faction has become completely dominant and I am concerned with the fate of those involved in the organisations. They were comrades fighting side by side with us.

**Chan Pang:**

Some old friends have written and told about the cruel suppression of the rebels all over the country.

**Wong Kee:**

This is most regrettable. The real hope of China lies with the rebels. I suppose Hua's "Great Order" means the restoration of the old order.

**Kim Chung Yan:**

We earnestly hope that the overseas Chinese and people in the rest of the world while being concerned with dissidents struggling for human rights in the communist countries in Eastern Europe and Soviet Russia and concerned with the black majority under white minority rule in Rhodesia, would also be concerned with those fighting for freedom and democracy in China. These brave souls have shed much of their blood during the Cultural Revolution and at the Tienanmen incident.

**Chairman:**

We have discussed for quite a while. The tendency in China today is that the people desire peace and stability and aspire for improvements in their living standard. They want improvements in the economy. Under these circumstances, although Hua Kuo-feng does not have a well established political foundation, his policies were mainly concerned with promoting the economy, and therefore Hua and his collaborators' position would be stable for some time. His elimination of the Gang of Four will be recognised as a positive thing in Chinese history. But while one appreciates his efforts to criticise the Gang of Four, the more important thing is to be concerned with the new forces for freedom and democracy and the fate of these forces. One must not forget their present struggle for the future of China. This is the greatest wish of those of us who are present in this discussion. Thank you.

## FROM ADORATION TO REBELLION LOOKING BACK ON MAO TSE TUNG'S RECEPTION OF THE RED GUARDS

### THE RECEPTION

**SHI HEI FUANG** — It had been 10 years since the reception of the Red Guards by Mao Tse Tung. The incident had played an important part in promoting the Cultural Revolution and had revealed the psychological state of youths. Those who had participated in the reception and taken part in the Cultural Revolution had gathered here today to reflect and review the incident.

**LI MOU HEI** — I did not meet Mao Tse Tung at all. The moment I knew of the reception, I rushed to Peking with a friend. We were subjected to a military drill there, which considered of learning the method to wave during the reception and how to shout slogans etc.

It was about that time I caught scarlet fever and was hospitalized. My wardmates were young people from all over the country. Everyone presumed that the reception would be held soon and were very anxious to recover in time for this big event.

Then one day the doctors told us to watch the television. I thought 'It must be Chairman Mao's reception, and it was so. Everyone became depressed for all the trouble they took to come to Peking was wasted through their illness. I did not see anyone cry though I felt it was a pity. The doctors tried to console us by telling us that everyone had participated in the reception even though it was on TV, and that it was like the real thing.

The next day, the doctors told us to watch television again for another reception. We deeply regretted that we had not left the hospital the night before. Regretfully we watched the program, but we believed that another reception would be held the next day and requested to be discharged from hospital. The request was turned down as we had contagious disease. We could not go through the gates as it was guarded therefore we scaled the walls. The whole ward escaped.

When I returned to the school unit, the soldiers there told us it was the last (8th) reception. I refused to believe him and waited in Peking for over half a month. The situation did not look favourable and the weather turned cool. I knew this time I could not see Mao Tse Tung, held my hopes for next Spring and left.

**JIN CHUNG YAN** — I participated in the 11th Nov. reception (the 7th one). Thinking back it was rather amusing. I am near-sighted but I lost my spectacles on the train. The 2nd day in Peking, I went to make another pair. Usually it takes about 5 days, but two days later, on the morning of the 11th, we were notified that our unit was arranged to attend the reception on that day. I was dismayed at the thought of my spectacles. After we arrived at our designated spot I hurried to the optical shop and told the shopkeeper that I could not do without my spectacles that day as Mao Tse Tung would be receiving me. The shopkeeper was most sympathetic, saying that it was my honour and that he would see to the matter at once. And to be sure he had the spectacles ready in a short time. I did not even check the focus, paid the man and hasten back to the reception spot.

The people waited in line on both sides of Tien An Men Square. They were allocated 2 eggs and one bun each. The Liberation Army was out front keeping order. Mao Tse Tung was to ride by in a jeep, one among several methods of reception.



We waited for a long time. People started to leave the lines to get something to eat, to go to the toilet or just fool around. At midday, the trumpets suddenly blared out the "East is Red". Everyone thought that Chairman Mao had arrived. They returned to their lines and stretched their necks, but they could see nothing. Then everyone relaxed again. I strolled around the square with some friends, took some photos, when suddenly the fanfare sounded again. Everyone hurried back inline, but nothing happened. This situation repeated several times, just like the story of the boy who cried 'wolf' and people began to disregard the trumpets.

Finally the "East is Red" sounded again. We at first did not believe that the reception had started. We saw far away the Liberation Army on motor cycles riding in 2 straight lines of about 10 each. I could not remember whether it was two military trucks or 4 full of guards holding the red book of Mao's writings behind the motorcycles. Mao Tse Tung and Lin Piao's jeep was right behind the trucks.

The mass of people started to surge like the ocean. Everyone cried out excitedly 'Chairman Mao has come', 'Long live Chairman Mao.' I was in the ninth or tenth row. The people in front of me kept jumping up and down. With a quick turn of mind, I clambered on the back of the person in front of me and saw clearly Mao Tse Tung and Lin Piao. The person whose back I was on tried to shake me off, elbowed me, but I was unaware of anything else at that time. At last when I jumped down, a youth from the north grabbed my hands and shook them hard, crying 'I have seen Chairman Mao, I have seen Chairman Mao'. I was somewhat bewildered for I did not know him. He was like mad, shaking my hands and shouting. I was similarly excited but my response had not been as strong as his.

The ground was littered with trodden eggs, buns, apples, berries and shoes. But I am sure that the response of the people has been spontaneous. It was this way after waiting for half a day that I finally caught a glimpse of Mao Tse Tung and Lin Piao, even for a few seconds.

HO YIEN TSAI - I participated in one that was very disciplined, unlike the unorganised situation just mentioned.

That time I was staying with an engineering unit in Peking. Everyday we underwent drilling at the Peking University for Teachers' Training. We marched, shouted slogans, recited the writings of Mao Tse Tung. Training was strict in that the citations must be as of one voice, singing must be in unison. Songs chosen were East is Red and Sailing the oceans Depend on the Helmsman etc. We trained for about three days.

On the day of the reception, we drove to Tien An Men Square. The people were seated in a zigzag way. Mao Tse Tung would be riding by in a jeep to receive people on both sides. The Liberation Army were seated in front but I did not notice they were armed. After we were in line, we were searched, and had to search each other's pockets for any hard objects which temporarily were held by the authorities. One school-mate had to hand over his spectacle case. Then apples, eggs, buns were distributed. I remembered that toilets were everywhere. It was man-holes in the middle of the Square, like those in Hong Kong, and surrounded by a cloth to make a toilet. There was music all the time. It was noisy. Several hours went by, and Mao Tse Tung did not appear. People at the back started to push forward so that the front line became tightly packed. The P.L.A. in the front would sometimes stand and sit down again. Each time they did so, they caused a commotion in the crowd till they sat down again.

Finally, I heard people shouting 'Long live Chairman Mao'. My school-mate and I believed the time had come, and shouted loudly with the rest of the people. The P.L.A. all stood up to maintain order.

Very soon, Mao Tse Tung appeared in a jeep 500 yards from us. He passed by very quickly. I saw that he was well-built, with rosy cheeks. I did not believe he wore make-up for he was healthy then.

JIN CHUNG YAN – I also noticed that Mao Tse Tung was big, like a mountain of a man, especially when Lin Piao was beside him. My impression was that the Vice-chairman could not match up with the Chairman – he was too small.

HU YIEN TSAI – The people pushed forward with all their might, and the P.L.A. frantically held them back. When Mao Tse Tung's jeep drove by me, the driver stepped on the brake. I discovered that Mao Tse Tung seemed not to be subject to the law of motion. People normally would fall forward when a car braked, but Mao Tse Tung did not even budge a hair. I was not purposely studying these details, but just got this impression from paying too much attention to him.

People around me were frantic in their excitement with tears and all. I was no different. It was difficult to describe the scene. There were some girls from Kweichow beside me. They were small, and as they could not jump high enough to see, they tugged at other people's hands like it was going to make them taller.

JIN CHUNG YAN – I was with a performing group of artists in which some of the members were older people, but their reaction was the same.

HO YIEN TSAI – I was overwhelmed at that time; even lost my voice. Franky I was not that crazy over Mao Tse Tung, but I could not help being excited along with the rest of the people.

WUN YIN – In mainland China, situations take over the individual. Everyone tried to behave in the same way so that they can feel they are doing the right thing.

TIEN MAN LING – There is bound to be some kind of unconscious resistance inspite of the circumstances. I had not seen Mao Tse Tung, but I had been to Shao Shan. When I saw the bed Mao Tse Tung slept on, I felt it was a sacred thing, but on the other hand, I suspected the genuineness of the bed. Communist propaganda had mentioned that before the communist party took over the country, the graves of Mao Tse Tung's ancestors were almost demolished, how could the bed survive? I felt it was pretentious and it made me uneasy. I returned to my senses at once, but nevertheless that thought flew through my mind.

HUANG CHEUK BIN – I felt the same. When I saw those bamboo chairs and bed at the Canton Farmers' Movement Training Centre I had doubted whether they were genuine. This doubt hinged on suggestion of deceit.

SHI HIE FENG – I felt the same at Shao Shan. When the guide introduced the bed in which Mao was said to be born, he said that this was the place where the Red Sun rose. I immediately felt nauseated. How could the sun have risen from a bed?

But returning to the point, I think that among the people at the reception, the majority of the youths admired and adored Mao Tse Tung, including myself.

Why worship Mao Tse Tung?

JIN CHUNG YAN – There were quite a lot of people who were out of their minds especially those who came from the countryside and those who were 12 or 13 years old. Their only purpose and satisfaction was to see the red sun – Mao Tse Tung, in Peking. Before they came to Peking, they had never seen any big cities. Their seeing Mao Tse Tung was like going to the Vatican to see the Pope.

NGWEI CHI WA – I think that the enthusiasm was linked with the propaganda  
10 Communist China had been spreading for over 10 years, that only heroes could see Mao

Tse Tung. Therefore when a person had a chance to see Mao Tse Tung, his status would raise and wild enthusiasm followed.

JIN CHUNG YAN – From the moment we started to read and write, this value had been instilled into us through newspapers and magazines. Those who had seen Mao Tse Tung had to make a report at city/district meetings. In our heart, the person who had seen Mao Tse Tung was more glorified than being a hero.

TIEN MAN LING – This situation certainly persisted. I often asked people whether they had seen Mao Tse Tung, as if asking could express my own feeling for him.

LI MUA HAI – I did not see Mao Tse Tung, but my sister did. She was very young – 13, and very naive. The moment she set foot in the house she burst out announcing that she had seen Mao Tse Tung. As she went to Peking from the outskirts of the country with her school-mates, she was treated as a minority group and given front seats. They had a very good view and all of them broke into tears.

Later the reception became one of her strengths in an argument. When she got herself in an unfavourable situation in a quarrel, she would just pull out the 'she had seen Mao Tse Tung' bit.

HUANG CHEUK BIN – My sister was the same. She lost her overcoat at the reception. She nearly died of illness in Peking. She had no depth of thought at all but she was equally excited.

WEN YING – Even before the Cultural Revolution, the people had regarded cadres as a kind of god. They felt important in meeting a mayor of a city, not to mention Mao Tse Tung.

JING CHUN YEN – Among the thousands of youths who rallied at Tien An Men Square, many admired Mao Tse Tung out of 'rational understanding', especially the city youths like I was. I believe that the image of Mao Tse Tung's righteousness and greatness in our hearts had greatly influenced me, especially after the propaganda by Lin Piao.

Young people usually imitate their heroes. Communist China manipulated this tendency to propagate hero worship. A difference could be seen before and after Lin Piao's advocacy of Mao's writings. Before, heroes like Huang Kai Kwong, Law Shing Kau etc. were said to be loyal to their country, their people, their party and their leader. Mao's power had not been emphasized yet. But after Lin Piao publicized Mao's writing heroes like Lui Feng, Wong Kit, Chao Yu Lu, the 8th Battalion on Nanking Road etc. revealed that their source of strength came from Mao's thoughts and writings. To imitate these heroes, first it would be necessary to study Mao's thoughts. Therefore Mao's halo became deeply stamped in the hearts of youths.

WEN YING – This kind of pre-Cultural Revolution propaganda had been forced into our minds without maturing into any kind of stable grounds for further development. Should Liu Shao-chi overthrow Mao and blame everything on him at the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, Liu might have taken the place of Mao in the hearts of young people.

NGEI CHI WA – There is little possibility of this. I rebelled at the start of the Cultural Revolution and was regarded as counter-revolutionary and ambitious. I believed I was right then, and the Communist Party was good except for a few bad people around. My first thought was that Mao Tse Tung would support me. Why had not I thought of Liu Shao Chi or Chou En Lai? The Cultural Revolution had just started and I had not known that Liu Shao Chi would be overthrown.

TIEN MAN LING – Mao Tse Tung did not leave much impression on me before the Cultural Revolution. But during the revolution when I became the target of – struggle and

assistance was nowhere in sight, I wept before the picture of Mao Tse Tung. After I was "liberated", my enthusiasm for him soared to infinite heights. I even wanted to walk to Peking to see him, as if my loyalty could not be proved otherwise.

SHI HAI FENG – My admiration for Mao Tse Tung was not blind ardour. I was labelled counter revolutionary, rightist during the start of the Cultural Revolution and was dismissed from the working team. After "liberation", I felt that it was Mao Tse Tung who saved me, and also, his slogans touched those thoughts which were in my mind. I regarded him as symbol of a revolutionary.

WEN YING – This image of a revolutionary had a lot to do with the wild enthusiasm at Tien An Men Square. Many Chinese youths were given the 'positive' side of communist education before the Cultural Revolution. They wanted to build an utopia in China through communism. But the Chinese government did not allow democracy or freedom. For example even if they desire to become a night soil worker, the assignment of service had to come from a labour unit. If no work had been assigned to you, you would have to stay jobless. When these youths pointed out the loop-holes in the system, they were accused of being dissatisfied with the organisation. Their ardour came to nothing but bad feelings.

Mao Tse Tung blamed everything on the capitalist roaders. He pointed out that the 'capitalist counter-revolutionary line' was distrust of the masses and extortion of the people. His line was belief in the masses, reliance and respect for the people. With this spirit he called upon young people to rebel against anything that was unreasonable. All the young people were inspired as I was. From the editorials of Red Flag, the People's Daily, I thought Mao Tse Tung would lead China toward a prosperous future. I joined Mao Tse Tung and the destiny of China together, and proclaimed him from my heart. Most of the people I knew were like this. We cheered and leaped for Mao Tse Tung, and even died for him in the movements and campaigns which followed. This ardour for the future of China mixed with blind devotion and worship could be seen at Mao's reception. During the development of the Cultural Revolution to its final stages, Mao Tse Tung developed the blind devotion part but the revolutionary part which so many young people fervently waited for never come. The young people had to reevaluate the situation again.

SHI HEI FENG – I am of the opinion that China had been successful before the Cultural Revolution in creating the image of Lui Feng which modelled a new personality for young people. On one hand it was setting up an image of Mao Tse Tung and on the other it stresses that Lui Feng was constantly undertaking self-evaluation and self-criticism, and regarded the self as unimportant. Only through working for the communist project, the communist party, Mao Tse Tung, could life be meaningful. Everyone was affected by this to different extents.

There was a certain group, including myself, who had not completely undergone a re-modelling of our personality, but the effect was definitely felt, when we went through some meaningless self-criticism. But our admiration for Mao Tse Tung out of some misconception was no less than those blind devotees. This misconception was caused by limited outside stimulus. China was shut in by iron curtains. All we knew was the everything was attributed to the strength of Mao Tse Tung. This distortion of the rational mind was different from religious worship.

HUANG CHEUK BIN – There were some less radical people and using the Chinese communist lingo, they had pure passion of the proletariat. Their feelings were reciprocal of their gains, as Mao Tse Tung helped them to rise from their station of life.

## The Change From Follower of Mao to Against Mao

**JIN CHUNG YAN** - I believe that Mao had it coming when his great image shook on the pedestal in young people's hearts. I remembered when Mao Tse Tung agitated young people against Liu Shao Chi, he had made an issue out of Liu's divorce of Wong Chien to marry Wong Kwong Mei, in that it was surrender to capitalism. But from Snow's "Red Star Over China" which I read before the Cultural Revolution, I found that Mao Tse Tung had a wife, Hu Tse Ching. She had even hosted Snow at dinner. But Mao's marriage to Chiang Ching must have resulted in his divorce with Hu Tse Ching. I at first thought it was the need of the revolution as well as it was the personal life of the leader. But creating an issue out of Liu's case as infringement of revolutionary principles made me think about Mao himself. His marriage with Chiang Ching was no more innocent than Liu's marriage with Wong Kwong Mei. If Liu Shao Chi disowned the proletariat as a result, Mao's character was no better. He renounced himself when he renounced others.

**LIU FONG FONG** - I had a colleague, Young, at the Chinese People's University who died at a military struggle. He was utterly loyal to Mao Tse Tung and Chinese Communism. His diary and poems, later published as a booklet, were full of enthusiasm for Mao Tse Tung and Chinese Communism. In our group of students and teachers, he was considered the martyr for Mao's revolutionary ideals and we laid a memorial stone in the university garden for him.

When the workers propaganda team came to the People's University, Young was labelled to be a tool of the class enemy and he was criticized.

This sudden shift in emphasis shocked us. For whom had Young shed his blood and was it worthwhile?

**LI MUA HEI** - In the early stages of the movement, Mao Tse Tung set down 16 guidelines for the Cultural Revolution. One of them pointed out that the leaders of the Revolution should be elected according to the principles of the Paris Commune, elected by the people and supervised by the people. The People's Daily, Red Flag, pointed out that the principle should apply to all institutions of power that it was basic guarantee of anti-revisionism and prevention of revisionism. I had accepted it then.

But at the setting up of the Kwangsi Revolutionary Committee, this principle was lost. Wei Kwok Ching was appointed by the Central Committee to establish a provincial revolutionary committee, and he in turn appointed the subcommittees. There was no election of any kind. A few school-mates and I brought up the 16 guidelines and the pronouncements of the People's Daily to oppose this violation of the principles of the Paris Commune. The struggle was fierce and many died.

Finally, the Central Committee made an announcement, that this method of setting up Revolutionary Committees was a strategy formulated by Mao Tse Tung and those who were against it were against Mao Tse Tung. We had become counter-revolutionaries. The principle of the Paris Commune had been advocated by Mao Tse Tung and now it was discarded by he himself. Maddened, we queried among ourselves - could revolutionary principles be changed at will? What kind of trick was it?

**LIU FONG FONG** - The workers propaganda team coming to the university was also a factor that caused us to change. That time Yao Wen Yuan's Critique on Tao Chu's two books had been published, and the workers propaganda team made use of it to scold us everyday. We were deprived of the right to speak. The students and teachers concluded in private that they had started the Cultural Revolution: when they were needed as spearheads they were cherished and supported. Now that they were no longer needed they

became 'stinking intellectuals'.

**HUANG CHEUK BIN** – I had worked for a few years in a farm before the Cultural Revolution, but the workers propaganda team also insulted us as 'stinking intellectuals'. Now I know that the few years of hard work in the country could not have changed our status.

**JING CHUNG YAN** – Comparison made the difference. When the workers propaganda team came to our school, they assisted one group to persecute another student of another group, hung him on a tree and flogged him. It upset us for the 'capitalist reactionary' work teams sent by Liu Shao Chi did not beat people up in the school. Now these workers propaganda teams brought with them Mao's mangoes and beat people up. Would it be the revolutionary line of Mao Tse Tung?

**NGEI CHI WA** – From the start to the end of the movement to 'grab the few in the army', Mao Tse Tung had become too much to bear. We went to the military district to struggle against the officers who refused to support the people. But subsequently we were accused of 'trespassing military territory and anti-liberation army'. We were only following Chairman Mao's and the Central Committee's instructions. The editorials of Red Flag, The People's Daily and Liberation Army News were directing the revolution then. They were silent when we were arrested. I felt that Mao Tse Tung and those in the Central Committee had no guts. They did not admit their mistakes, but rather let the masses take the blame.

**LI MUA HEI** – The Central Committee wanted the split in the country to unite at the end of the Cultural Revolution. There were 3 senior high students in Kwangsi Liu Chau who thought that union meant relinquishing the principles of revolution. They felt it was surrendering and wrote an essay entitled "New Critique of the Gotha Programme" based on the viewpoint of "Critique of the Gotha Programme" to criticize what was being done. As the article was well written, Kwangsi's Wei Kwok Ching could not find any fault with it and redirected it to the Central Authority. Chiang Ching, Chen Po-Ta, Kang Seng and other people were furious. Kang Seng pointed out, in one of his speeches, that a high school student could not have written such an article or have read the references. Chiang Ching insisted that there must be someone behind it all, and that he must be exposed.

I had met the writer, and his two other school-mates who discussed the writing of the essay with him also confirmed that there was no one behind the incident. The student was tried and labelled counter-revolutionary. Since the Central authority decided that he had someone behind him, he had to have one, and they finally arrested his political science teacher. Both of them were imprisoned.

We felt very strongly for the student and teacher, and realised that trusting, relying and respecting the masses implied that the people should obey the direction. When the spirit of the people veered from the prescribed path, the tail of the fox showed through. The authorities' suppression would be 10 times stronger than Liu Shao Chi. Had Mao not taken "trust in the people" as his motto, we would not had been so disillusioned.

**JIN CHUNG YAN** – It was a joke that Mao Tse Tung trusted the people. Chao Chi Yang was the number one capitalist roader then and all factions Kwangtung exposed him for criticism. No one regarded him as a cadre, but Mao Tse Tung just nodded his head and Chao Chi Yang resumed his post. The people of Kwangtung and us agitated for nothing.

**HUANG CHEUK BIN** – Near the end of the Cultural Revolution, young people were outrageously treated. Singing during work was regarded as capitalistic, and became one of our crimes during the "one strike three antis" campaign.

And, the working class and farmers could save land for themselves while educated

youths could not or they would be advocating "petty farmers economy" and "individualism."

One year at mid Autumn Festival, the farmers refrained from killing poultry to change the tradition. A few youths pooled to buy a duck, cooked and ate it by the hills. When they were discovered they were severely criticized.

There were many other similar incidents. Under the extremely suffocating pressure, the thoughts of young people had to change.

WEN YING – The change in our generation would be said to be brought about by Mao Tse Tung himself. He wanted the young people to overthrow Liu Shao Chi and gave them the 4 freedoms: to speak out, to let out, to debate, and to write big-character posters. Mao got what he wanted but the young people did not hand back the weapons that were given to them. When we came to a dead end and could find no answer in Mao's writings, our spirit of mass democracy made us discard Mao's way in search for a reasonable answer. From then on we assumed democracy and freedom to interpret the events which took after the Cultural Revolution – the going to the countryside, Lin Piao's incident, and analysed the existing society. We grew to understand what the Chinese people wanted and felt pained at the fate of China under the rule of Mao Tse Tung.

JIN CHUNG YAN – Change could not be brought about in a day, but the Cultural Revolution was a start. The few years of rustic life, the instability of the Chinese Communist government all constituted factors of change in a young person's mind.

Mao Tse Tung's hunger for power had been satiated at the Cultural Revolution. He received cheers at Tien An Men Square from thousands and thousands of people, far more than any emperor had received. In the same revolution, he finally lost the love and devotion of the new generation.

The young people who participated in the Cultural Revolution gave their youth, sweat and even blood. But when they threw away the bondage of Mao's thoughts, they then understood the real destiny of China.

NGEI CHI WA – Mao Tse Tung's image had been entirely destroyed in the Lin Piao incident. Even though Mao had used the 4 freedoms, trust in the people, principles of the Paris Commune etc. to deceive us, he was undefeatable. But Lin Piao could trick Mao to make him his successor. It made me realise that Mao Tse Tung was not omnipotent after all.

## DEMOCRACY IN CHINA

QUESTION: Based on your living experience in China, can you tell us in concrete terms the kind of democratic rights that the Chinese people are granted? How are the democratic rights provided by the constitution being realised in practice? How can people's opinions be transmitted to the decision makers?

YUE SHUET: Concepts like "constitution" and "democracy" were alien to us; we were not familiar with the constitution, nor did we have any knowledge of legality. Overseas Chinese might know the constitution better than we do.

MAK HOI: Prior to the Cultural Revolution, there were few cases where people put forward their opinion to the top decision makers. We merely obey the Party and lend ourselves to accept the Party's education. For example: during high school days there was

a team organisation (note: this refers to the Young Communist League, an organisational unit under the direction of the Party) and we only listen to the instruction of the Party, seldom doubting the infallibility of the Party branch. Students being like this, the peasants are even more ignorant. Paying no attention whatsoever to the constitution, they are very realistic. Only at the brink of hunger do they stir things up. Generally speaking, nobody cares for the constitution because what is stipulated in the constitution may not be implemented in reality. Say for instance the case of the People's Congress – we only know that this is a national meeting called upon by the Party. As to how the deputies to the People's Congress are elected, we don't know a thing. We have never elected any deputies. We only learn that so and so are representing us to attend the People's congress from unconventional sources and that they come back as the Congress is flopped again from unconventional sources.

YUE SHUET: In no case are there objections to the Party's policy. All that people are expected to do is to confirm the correctness of the Party by actions. For example during the Great Leap Forward, the Party's policy is to promote production. Heads of production teams have to give false reports on the quantity of production to conform to the Party's policy. As a result, the team has to give in a much higher amount of public grain to the Centre and the peasants are met with hunger. There was once a leader who was fired because he reported the actual quantity of production though this same act won him the respect of the peasants.

QUESTION: What have been said cover only the state of affairs before the Cultural Revolution. Is the post-Cultural Revolution situation any different?

YUE SHUET: During the Cultural Revolution, the people can make use of the "Four Great Freedoms" to criticise the cadres but this kind of criticism can never go beyond the narrow confines of Mao Tse-tung thought.

MAK HOI: At the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, there has been an assertion of the importance of democracy and of the initiation of the masses. This is however primarily aimed at defending the revolutionary line of Chairman Mao so that it has its limitation. For instance, there were once two red guards in Peking who, after analysing a speech of Lin Piao, discovered that Lin Piao's saying of "spend 99% of the time in the works of Mao, and the other 1% in learning Marxism-Leninism" is unscientific as Marxism-Leninism should provide the foundation for Mao Tse-tung thought. These two people, correct though they may be, were finally condemned as counter-revolutionary and arrested because their criticism "opposes Chairman Mao's Headquarter". During the Cultural Revolution, we can even criticise and launch a struggle against cadres at the provincial level but once a cadre is decided upon by the Party Central as Chairman Mao's man, he is immune from criticisms. In sum, prior to the Cultural Revolution, we have complete faith in the top leadership and try hard to follow the instructions. Take for example during the Learn from Lei-feng campaign, anyone secretly engaging in wrong acts (such as reading obscene novels) will keep on criticising himself until he is driven by his guilty feelings to give up the act. In fact the Cultural Revolution erupted under the instruction of the Party and the Renmen Ribao serves as the Party's mouthpiece. Despite the limitations set by the Mao Tse-tung thought, people have to depend more on their own independent judgment. When the people apply Mao Tse-tung thought to the reality, they find that many cadres – from the school's party Committee to City Committee and finally even Mao himself – are Corrupt. The Cultural Revolution does bring up a group of people who are capable of analysing question and casting independent judgement. People like Li I che can only be the product of the Cultural Revolution.



WU MAN: The totalitarian personality moulded before the Cultural Revolution is shattered during the Cultural Revolution. To give an example, there are people condemned as counter-revolutionary for their objection to Lin Piao. But these people have not been rehabilitated even after Lin Piao's fall because they have not only rejected the "authority" of Lin but also the totalitarian personality of the whole society hence rendering themselves unacceptable by the society. This is the same with the fate of those who oppose the Gang of Four.

FANG KUO: After the Cultural Revolution, the Chinese people changed drastically. They began to think and analyse independently and expressed their own view. Before the Cultural Revolution, the young people under the control of the Communist Party via the Young Communist League were reduced to docile instrument of the Party. Liu Shao-chi's "On The Conduct of Communist Party Member", one article which must be read by those who wished to be enrolled as member of the Young Communist League, merely called for the total subservience of the young people at the foot of the Party. This same point is manifested in the words of oath taken at the enrollment. I myself had gone to the village under the summons of the Party after I left school. Everything inside the farm of the military district to which I belonged was under the control of the Party. Once I learned that somebody was organising a chess group outside the Party and reported them to the League. That group was at once condemned as "freaks and monsters". Another group of Chiu Chowese was also dissolved by the Party Committee. During the "Four Clean Up" Movement, many cadres had to confess all their past mistakes, none of which however were akin to "taking the capitalist road". When I was learning from Lei-feng, I spent many nights browsing through the Four Volumes of Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung but still could not make out the difference between socialism and capitalism. Later I tried to find an answer to this question by searching through Works of Marx and Lenin. Once someone in the farm went mad. As prefect, I had the privilege of reading his "mad man diary". One paragraph described the case when he, witnessing the priority a son of the leading cadre had in entering the military school, asked himself how much hard toil had he to bear before he can reach his goal. This paragraph of the diary inspired and provoked a lot of questions inside me: Why should sons of leading cadres have special privileges while us common people have not? What in fact is socialism? How could we bring about a just and equal society? To answer these questions, I spent more than a year learning works of Marx and Lenin until the outbreak of the Cultural Revolution. Mao Tse-tung's big character posters were put up and I began to realise that it was wrong for me to dwell on the Privileged life of a cadre in the Cherry Blossom Village. So I wrote a big character poster "The Manifestation of Capitalist Line In the Farm". Thus began my journey of a rebel. During the Cultural Revolution, I was most impressed by the rebel forces of Hunan. They had the courage to expose the deeply entrenched contradictions of the whole society and pointed out that the post-Liberation China had changed - a "privileged stratum" had emerged and the original revolutionaries had become rulers obstructing the revolution. Later, when the "Anti-Lin Anti-Confucius" campaign started, the rebels repressed during the Cultural Revolution were released. Some of them, notably Li I-che brought forth theoretical analysis more matured than Yang Hze-kwang's "Whither China?". And yet, such faithful Marxist-Leninist as Li I-che was condemned as counter-revolutionary. I could not but ask: Why should people, discontented with the Party as they were and putting forward their own opinions, be condemned as counter-revolutionary? Is this the way a

government who claims "to serve the people" should have behaved? I believe that revolutionaries, once committed to administrative task, will be detached from the feeling of the masses. When I was in the farm, I had once been responsible for receiving Wong Yung-sheng (note: Wong had been commander of the Kwangchow military district). After touring around the farm in his car once, he said to us, "Not bad." and then inquired after our livelihood. Under that circumstances, how can we answer anything but "Fine!" ! How can practices like this be not detached from the feeling of the people? An intellectual youth once boastfully remarked, "Premier Chou, though he may be capable when administering national affairs, should seek my consultancy when he comes to formulating policies concerned with intellectual youths - for how can he know about the difficult life we are having here? "A poster in Hunan also reads: "Chang ping-fa's expenses in one month are sufficient for an intellectual youth's livelihood for 20 years!"

**QUESTION:** You have pointed out that before the Cultural Revolution, you were all docile instruments of the Party. How and why is such obedience to the Party being ensured?

**MAK HOI:** Before the Cultural Revolution (particularly after the Hundred Flowers Bloom) China had basically refuted Liberal Democracy, calling it capitalistic and regressive. We are told by the education we received that democracy is merely a means of overthrowing feudalism by the bourgeoisie and is hence not belonged to the proletariat. We know nothing about the different brands of thoughts of the West to the extent that years after Yugoslavia has been criticised, we are still not too sure of what sort of society Yugoslavia is! Apart from the education of thought, obedience is also ensured by means of administrative suppression. Forwarding opinions to the class teacher too often will be criticised, recorded as having committed mistakes, greatly hampering one's future prospect. Many "counter-revolutionaries" were so labelled merely because their opinions ran into conflict with the Party. For example, the once First Secretary of Kwangsi province Wei Kuo-ching was blocked by a big lorry while he was driving down a very narrow road and he did not manage to get ahead until driving for some twenty meters. The lorry driver was at once arrested and accused of wanting to assassinate the senior. The whole story was not disclosed until the cultural Revolution (Wei is at present the First Secretary of Kwangtung and political commissar of Kwangsi military district.). Here in China, laws are what the leading cadres said and disobeying the authority meant violating the law. In fact, prior to the Cultural Revolution, all those who dared to forward oppositional opinion could not but end up tragically. "Different opinions" were only tolerated when they were concerned with how to carry out the party policy in the best possible way. Hence, one could suggest many a ways to learn from Lei-feng and forward ideas such as beaking down the window panes for steel refining during the Great Leap Forward but no oppositional opinions were allowed. The father of a friend of mine was secretary at the District Committee during the Great Leap Forward (District Committee is quite high a ranking power machinery below which we have Provincial Committee, Commune Party branch, and production team party branch.). Based on his past experience as peasant, he would not believe the miracle of ten thousand Tallies of production per mou. On personal investigation, he discovered the fact of false reporting. He was later accused of "right deviationist" for his not having faith in Communism as an impetus for rapid economic development. Actually, cadres who refused to give in false reports during the Great Leap were much supported by the peasants but they would never be able to get promoted to high positions.

**QUESTION:** How are political movements carried out in China?

FANG KUO: Taking "Socialist education movement" (or the Four Clean Up Movement) as example, what it propagates is "carry on the socialist education incessantly; everybody needs to be reformed". The target of struggle is the so called "capitalist roader" who can be identified by their "laziness, gluttony, expropriation of other's properties, greed and degradation of character". The movement can be divided into several stages: the first one is "getting into the water" where the working team sends its policy of "Be lenient to those who confess; be harsh to those who refute "Past misdeeds will not be counted" to the cadres, hoping that they will confess. At the second stage, poor lower and middle peasants and brilliant workers are selected to join the Four Clean Up Working team where they will be taught about the party's policy. What follows is the cadres' "putting aside the workload and confess to the working team" i.e. cadres are sent home to write their confessions which are then read out to the public. After the confession, cadres have to pay back for all they have expropriated with corrupt means. Last come the "Getting out of water" stage: usually those who are selected as typical ones will get out of water sooner and are treated more leniently. I personally feel that this sort of movement is closer to formalism and can hardly answer questions arising from China's road to socialism.

MAK HOI: I had once paid a visit to the testing ground where the Four Removals movement was first put on trial. There, only after the party sent its working team, pointed out exactly that it wanted to ferret out certain corrupt cadres and to select new cadres that the people dared giving their opinion. When the movement ended, there was the need "to reestablish the cadres' authority". In my own opinion, all political movements have the following two characteristics: Firstly, they are all under the control of the Party; secondly, they are movements whereby the superior "purifies" his subordinates and never the vice versa.

There was in 1965 a thought reform movement called "Hsin (uphold) -wu (proletariate) -Mei (eliminate) -Zhi (capitalist)" (meaning uphold proletarian thoughts, eliminate capitalist thoughts). The method it adopted was "Face to face, back to back" i.e. in a group meeting of about ten people, each would start exposing the crime of the other while at the same time confessing his/her own capitalist thoughts; the group would then break up and each was asked to expose the crime of others once again, this time without the latter's knowing it. For fear of leaving out certain traits of his own capitalist style of life which may be "exposed" by others, everyone tried hard to confess as much past misdeeds as possible. Not knowing exactly which acts were capitalist and which not, some would

which may be "exposed" by others, everyone tried hard to confess as much past misdeeds as possible. Not knowing exactly which acts were capitalist and which not, some would just tell all he could think of and let the party decide. After these frightening experience, no one would dare express contrary opinions any more.

QUESTION: What has been said are mainly concerned with situations before the Cultural Revolution. Has the situation in any way changed after the Cultural Revolution? Can the setting up of the three-in-one alliance, for example, bring about a devolution of power to the people?

MAK HOI: Nothing much has changed. The people's opinion can hardly be reflected in the three-in-one alliance.

FANG KUO: There are two stages of the three-in-one alliance: the three-in-one 19

alliance of the army, cadres, and the masses and that of the old, middle-aged and young. During the first stage, representatives of the masses were at first able to express their own opinions. After 1969, however, unitary leadership was emphasised and the alliance fell into the hands of the army. The army representatives were unable to engage in administrative work permanently so the idea of delegating power to the old cadres was bred. On meeting objection from the masses, the Centre proposed the three-in-one alliance of the old, middle-aged and young as a compromise. The alliance, paying due respect to the experience of old cadres as well as taking care of the enthusiasm of the masses, sought to stress the cooperation of the old cadres and the masses. Even though the representatives of the masses expressed discontent at the arrangement, they were finally suppressed.

**YUE SHUET:** In my opinion, Mao Tse-tung knew exactly what system he was heading at. His organisationsalism inevitably led to the corruption of revolutionary ideals so that he had to initiate political movements once in a while to renew cadres. As for the comparison between the pre-and the pro-Cultural Revolution Situations, I feel that the democratic ideals of the people are regressing and not progressing. Not to mention those truly "rightist", students during the Hundred Flowers period had already put forward questions concerning relations between workers and peasants, and the separation of power. This surely is more progressive than at the Cultural Revolution. The control over the people's thoughts is executed through a kind of religious indoctrination: Communism is good thereby disallowing any form of individualism.

**QUESTION:** A new question: you must have known that the Cultural Revolution saw the emergence of Shang wu-lien which later wrote several famous essays, notably "Whither China?"; after the Cultural Revolution, we also have Li I-che and their "Concerning the Socialist Democracy and Legality". What are the differences in their analyses of and solution to China's problem?

**FANG KUO:** I thought that we should view them as a process of development. Yang Hsi-kwang was only 19 when he wrote "Whither China?". Due to his lack of societal experience, what he wrote was somewhat "naive". His essay is anarchist in spirit but it is impossible to smash the entire state machinery of China at that time. However, the essay is particularly good in critically pointing out the new contradiction of the new society, paving the road of rebellion for the Li I-che big character poster. Li's viewpoint is definitely more mature and I am sure there will be more progressive essays to come (for example there is a "Tientsin Li I-che big character poster" although we have not the chance to read it). However, Li I-che, not having the sufficient social experience, had not touched upon questions like corporate management, and the administration of the State Council either.

**MAK HOI:** The spearheads of Li and Yang's struggle were directed to the same target: the "bureaucracy" of the party. Their struggling strategies however, Yang called for the entire smashing up of the bureaucratic class and the setting up of communes. Li, on the other hand, demanded that people may be granted democracy to guard against the privileged and privileges and called for the setting up of a legal system to ensure the effective execution of people's democratic rights. Li saw that the replacement of old cadres by new ones can never solve the problem since the new cadres themselves will ultimately become corrupted too. Hence, he regarded democracy and legality as the better guarantee.

**YUE SHUET:** I don't think we should call Yang Hsi-kwang's proposal "naive" but "idealistic" rather. His "peoples Commune of China" has not been realised because the present ruling machinery is too oppressive to be smashed at once but not because of the

impracticability of the idea of Commune itself.

MAK HOI: Yang had not paid attention to what came after the overthrow of the bureaucrats but Li had put forward "democracy and legality" as a concrete means to restrict the bureaucratic privileges. The fact that cadres get easily corrupted is mainly due to the people's lack of democracy for effective check against the senior cadres. Therefore I feel that Li's suggestion is more basic as well as more realistic.

YUE SHUET: But why is there no democracy in China? Yang attributed this to the one party dictatorship. Li, however, accepted the one party dictatorship as necessary only that it has to be guarded against by laws. Can Li's method really solve the problem? Don't forget that the laws he proposed can be accepted by the rulers!

WU MAN: I think that Yang Hsi-kwang purifies Marx's ideals and for the first time sows the seed of Marxist Humanism. Hence, Yang's masterpiece can be likened to a "Beautiful Sunrise". I am very much astounded by Yang's essay. For the first time, he made known to the Chinese people the fact that what China is having now is not Communism. Li I-che is more concerned with the problem of man's existence. He had witnessed slaughter more atrocious than that of the Kuomintang and the Fascist so that he tended to approach the question from "the possibility of men's existence". I think that there is no such distinction as "naive" or "mature" between the two. Yang put forward a question many had forgotten while Li said what many dared not say.

FANG KUO: Yang's idea of "Peoples Commune of China" is directly influenced by Marx's discussion of the "Paris Commune". In Changsa, I once had a discussion with Hsi-kwang. Upon reading the draft of "Whither China?", I suggested that he may think about Lenin's saying of "State capitalism is still needed during the dictatorship of the proletariat." Nevertheless Yang's essay was soon published. Anarchism had once been realised in Changsa of Hunan: little red guards went into the street to direct the traffic and they did it well. However, Changsa is a very small city only with very few cars. It is questionable whether the same can be applied to larger cities. In my opinion, having ideals alone cannot be qualified to be "progressive". Ideals must be incorporated with the reality. Entertaining ideals is form of regressive act rather.

MAK HOI: In fact, the people in general have no fervent demands for democracy. The peasants are particularly "backward" in this aspect. Under such circumstances, even when there are two parties or commune committees, the leaders will still inevitably be corrupted. The most basic thing to do now is therefore transmitting democratic ideas to the people so that they can have the courage to check against the cadres, and protecting them from being avenged.

FANG KUO: Many people are keen in the pursuit of political democracy but there is in fact a sharp contradiction between political democracy and economic centralism. For example, one needs money to publish newspapers. In a state of economic centralism, such "investment" can only come from the state which, as the boss of the press, will certainly not allow the people to criticise the state through the press. I believe that true politicians are all pragmatists. As history has demonstrated; during the revolution, ideals like equality are held high but after the revolution, all these ideals will be betrayed.

YUE SHUET: The reason why Li I-che has been suppressed is not that the state cannot accept the idea of legality but rather Li dares to voice oppositional opinions. Actually, "socialism" like capitalism has its flexibility and it can grant the people legality sooner or later. We should therefore think in terms of the crisis of all mankind.

## STORY OF THE BUTTERFLY KNOT

Madam Nixon is coming tomorrow!

Once this news was disseminated from the above, the whole of Peking's Wang Fu Chiang Street Kindergarten was stirred up in excitement.

Yu Hsiang-tung, Supervisor of the Revolutionary Committee, was busy directing the teachers to decorate the classrooms: telling them to hang a valuable Chinese painting here, put a pot of elegantly posed plant there; paste the walls in the east over with welcoming slogans, and paint on the windows in the west welcoming portraits . . . Having rushed through the instructions once, Yu Hsiang-tung hastened off to remind the staff that the front gate, the corridor, the playground must be cleansed and washed and the walls be polished. They were also told to remove those broken desks and chairs, martley things and rubbish to the ditch inside the school garden and cover them up with wooden boards over which thirty pots of flower were to be put on top.

At once, the teachers and staff were enthusiastically engaged in decorating or cleaning.

The vice-supervisor, Chang Yi-jao could not be exempted from work either: he was busy phoning up various places: urging the tailoring factory to sew up a hundred and forty one suits of blue trousers and white shirts, a hundred and twenty eight coloured short skirts and round necked white blouses; inquiring after the Si-dan Shopping Centre for the hundred and twenty eight butterfly knots and cosmetics; and finally, running over to the hall to rehearse with the young actors.

Rays of warm golden sunlight spilled over the Peking City. Light breezes blew over, tenderly caressing the big solemn Tien An Men. Once in a while two doves would fly across the blue sky, towards places remotely away.

Admist words of welcome, Madam Nixon stepped into the Wang Fu Chiang Street Kindergarten. After Yu Hsiang-tung had delivered his welcoming speech, Madam Nixon, driven by the waves of applause, walked up the stage to recieve two garlands and two boquets of flowers from two ruddy cheeked boys and two pretty girls dressed in white blouses and short skirts, with butterfly knots pinned onto their hair. Madam Nixon delivered her votes of thanks very slowly, pronouncing clearly every word, as if she wanted to make those lovely buds blossom with her sincere gratitude.

The programme began. To begin with, a girl acting as Tieh-mei (a character in the "Red Lantern") sang a verse of "Having also a Bright Red Heart".) Then a boy, acting as Yiang Tse-yung (Taking The Tiger Mountain), sang a song called "Going up The Mountain To Hunt Tigers". His excellent performance won tremendous applause from Madam Nixon and her followers. Meanwhile, the Peking Opera Sa Ka-pong was ready to be staged.

While the performances were reaching climax, down the stage a girl was talking stealthily to a boy: "Putting on rouge and powder, wearing long blue trousers and black shoes — see how bourgeois you are!" "How about you? Putting on lipsticks, drawing eyebrows, wearing coloured skirts and butterfly knots — just like a little monster! Shame on you!" the boy retorted. The girl, apparently dismayed, whispered, "My elder sister said that she often wore skirts and butterfly knots when she was young." "That was the time of Liu Shao-chi." "What about now?" " . . . the revolution requires us to be so." the boy answered uncertainly. Their conversation was drowned by a wave of applause. The performance was coming close to an end.

Madam Nixon suddenly looked at her watch, remembered something, uttered a few words to her followers and walked over to say something to Yu Hsiang-tung. Yu nodded

and then announced the welcoming party ended. Madam walked onto the stage, shook hands with the young sectors, kissed them goodbye and hurried away.

The car was moving fast on the highway. Suddenly, Madam Nixon gave off an exclamation and told the driver to drive back to the kindergarten. On being asked why by her followers, she explained, "Forgotten to take some photos with them!" This awakened many and the followers could not help blaming each other for such carelessness.

When Madam and her followers re-entered the kindergarten, they were astounded. The place was still the same as before but where had those lovely kids with ruddy cheeks, coloured skirts and butterfly knots gone?

Desks, chairs and lots of many other things were lying about untidily in the hall and on the stage. The classrooms were all empty – those valuable paintings and flowerpots had all disappeared. Groups of children were playing in the playground. Despite their ragged clothing and undernourished looks, their expression remained as childish and innocent.

(From Huang Ho No. 2)

Editor's note: we wish our comrades in U.S. will seek to confirm the story with Mrs. Nixon. Confirm also if she has a mink coat.

## "THE HEART OF A GIRL"

A spectre roams on the continent of China today. The spectre is not the "Communist Manifesto", not is it Teng Hsiao-ping. It is a short spicy novelette of 4000-5000 words by the name of "The Heart of a Girl". This novelette had shaken the central authorities and Wang Hung Wen personally commented, "The author and the mimeographer of the 'TheHeart Of A Girl' must be severely punished". These few words had led to the execution of more than fifteen people. However, the author could not be found. Those executed were merely mimeographers.

Since the Great Cultural Revolution and the destruction of the "four olds", the Chinese continent had almost become a cultural desert: only Chiang Ching's eight model operas and plentiful documentaries on Sihanouk's travels were to be seen. The young people were in extreme poverty spiritually. They were bored with the model operas and the smiles of Sihanouk because such films had been seen so many times. So they came to like this spicy novelette.

As far as commercial value is concerned, "The Heart of A Girl" is one of the costliest books. There were only 30 odd pages in mimeographed form: and the writings were large, yet the selling price was \$50 RMB. Those who were making copies of the book had very little sleep and food in order to complete the copying – not to miss a single word.

On the artistic level, the novelette would probably just gain zero mark because of its banality. Yet, that such a thing could have shaken the heaven and earth (the central and regional authorities) and moved the Ghosts and Gods (freaks and monsters) was indeed a miracle. Some said that the novelette was written by an educated youth in Shanghai. Some

said it was imported from Hong Kong . . . . . There were all kinds of speculation . . . . but the novelette was really nothing when compared to the spicy novels found in Hong Kong.

I had had the opportunity to read this novelette and below is a summary of it:

I (the first person, the girl addressing herself) am very pretty. Wherever I go, young lads always look at me, staring at my breast. My gentle cousin even told me that he loved me. So we went to the woods and for the first time I tasted sex. Unfortunately my cousin was transferred to Shanghai. After he had gone, I was so unbearably lonely that I fell in love with a physical education teacher. He was so strong that he looked like a military general. He was an overseas Chinese coming back from the capitalist world and he had seen so many sexual films, books . . . . . knowing practically everything about sex! So I had a civil one (my cousin) and a military one (the P.E. teacher). I am the happiest girl in this world.

Workers Control of Industry

Peoples Control of the Community

PEST-CONTROL of the BOURGEOISIE

*Now it is 1977 and just seven more years, it will be 1984. Minus 8 then is now Minus 7. Like Minus 8, Minus 7 will continue to be published by the Alternative Press Syndicate (Asia-Pacific) which is the co-ordinating body for the underground and alternative press in the Asian-Pacific region. Minus 7 is distributed free of charge to all members of the APS. Subscription rate for institutions and individuals who can afford it is \$10 US. Send draft or money order to Minus 8, 180 Lockhart Road, 1st floor, Wanchai, Hong Kong.*

*We apologise to those who have subscribed and not heard from us for some time. We hope that Minus 7 will come out much more regularly than Minus 8 (hopefully, once every month). Our difficulty is of course in the main a matter of finance. Donations and contributions are therefore greatly appreciated. In the past months, much of our financial resources has been diverted to financing the 300 page publication in English, "The Revolution is Dead; Long Live the Revolution!" subtitled "Readings on the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution from an ultra-left perspective" The price of the book is \$8.00 US per copy to readers of Minus 7.*