

SPEECH BY A MEMBER OF PEKING UNIVERSITY CULTURAL REVOLUTION
COMMITTEE TO OATH-TAKING ASSEMBLY

[Following is a translation of a speech entitled "Dealing a Heavy Blow to the Reactionary Undercurrent of the Bourgeoisie and Pledging Our Lives to the Defense of the Revolutionary Line of the Proletariat," by Sun Peng-i (1327 5570 0001), in the Chinese-language newspaper Hsin Pei-ta, No 63, published by the Hsin Pei-ta Editorial Board of the Peking University Cultural Revolution Committee, Peking, 13 April 1967, pages 1, 3-4.]

Fellow combat friends of the Red Guards of the Hsin-pei-ta Commune, Comrade members of the Hsin-pai-ta Commune, and Comrades of the revolutionary faculty members, students, employees, and workers:

On behalf of the University Cultural Revolutionary Committee, the Hsin-pei-ta Commune, and the Red Guards Headquarters of the Hsin-pei-ta Commune, I give you a militant salute of the great proletarian cultural revolution! (Warm applause.) Our young red regime of the Hsin-pei-ta (Red Guards) is facing a new acid test! We have been engaged in a new fight! (The audience's emotion aroused; they loudly recited Mao Tse-tung's quotations: "We are determined to win the victory without regard for our sacrifice and hardships.")

Since yesterday all revolutionary comrades of the Hsin-pei-ta have formed one will. Their rising combat spirit is a direct blow to those who attempt to overthrow the Hsin-pei-ta! (Warm applause and long slogan-shouting.) Let those wishful thinkers who cherished a beautiful dream, which can never be realized, look at this: Have those of us in Peking University ever had such high combat spirits? (Warm applause.)

In our Peking University, there has emerged an unprecedented, greatly unified situation! (Warm applause.) We are thankful to these people: You have given us a very good above-the-face lesson; you have created for us a favorable and positively good condition to overcome our old shortcoming of "being too moderate." (Long applause.) What is the nature of our spirit today? It is a display and amplification of the glorious tradition of the proletarian revolution and rebellion in Peking University; it is a display and amplification of the fearless proletarian revolutionary spirit of the "May 25th," "June 1st," and "July 19th" incidents! (Long applause.) If there are persons who doubt the fact that Peking University has a tested proletarian revolutionary rebelling force, then we should like to invite them to join our assembly to listen to our battle cries! (Warm applause.) Those of us in the proletarian revolutionary group are happy about the events in the last few days, although a handful of persons in other groups are also happy about the events from a different point of view. According to what I learned, men like Fan Li-ching (2868/4539/0530) were privately pleased with the events and were attempting to take action. Comrades, can we allow them to take irresponsible and blind actions? (No, we cannot! Strike down Fan Li-ching!) Some persons claimed themselves to be reputed and tested left-wingers. But they have never allied themselves with our real proletarian revolutionaries. Instead, they rested their hope on what they termed "the rebelling group"--the handful of reactionary leaders who had controlled our University's Ching-kang-shan and Hung-lien-chun (Red Guards). They were finally defeated by us. Can it be said that since you are in alliance with the opposition, we therefore cannot ask you questions. We want to ask you: Where do you stand after all? (Right! Applause.) Some said that the revolutionary group of Peking University did not lend enough support to other units. In reviewing our situation, we should in principle accept this criticism. We have done very little, and should have done more. On the other hand, however, they took it as proof to completely deny our support to other fraternal revolutionary organizations. If they are not prejudiced, they are certainly forgetful. (Applause.) We do not intend to show off the achievements of our Peking University. However, since they critically brought up the question to us, then we wish to take advantage of the opportunity to say few words. Take the Tung-fang-hung (Red Guards) of the Institute of Geology for example. When they were in the most difficult period, those of us in the revolutionary group of Peking University supported them. Starting with Comrade Nieh Yuan-tzu (5119/0337/2737) and down to the vast comrades

of our group, we all supported them. Perhaps we did not do enough. But that was a question of the degree of our effort. In any event, our heart was close to the revolutionary rebelling group of the Tung-fang-hung in the Institute of Geology. Recalling the time when we were in trouble, what was their attitude? Which group did they support? It was that handful of persons headed by Chu Cheng-chao (2612/2052/2507) who supported the Ching-kang-shan and the Hung-lien-chun in our Peking University. They are primarily responsible for the Ching-kang-shan's participation in San-szu (an organization the nature of which can not be identified).

Thus, we say that they did not support our revolutionary struggle; nor did they help us. Instead, they helped our enemy, helped our opposition. In the past, we did not want to bring up these matters. But when the Party Center drew a correct conclusion concerning the great class struggle in Peking University which lasted several months, they were still reluctant to dismiss from San-szu that small group of notorious reactionary leaders who controlled the Ching-kang-shan. Finally, when they found that we were persisting in our struggle and that the Central Cultural Revolutionary Committee had criticized that handful of persons, they could not help but to fire them. Nominally, Chu Cheng-chao has stepped down. However, his influence remains. We have reason to suspect the integrity of the Tung-fang-hung in the Institute of Geology. In eliminating Chu Cheng-chao's influence, what have they done? (Right! Applause.) We by no means intend to interfere with the internal affairs of our fraternal units. But since you came to fight us right in front of our doorsteps, we have to do some thinking about those problems and keep ourselves on guard. According to our knowledge, it is precisely Chu Cheng-chao's influence and his remaining followers that are playing a shameful role in pioneering the attack against the revolutionary red regime of the Hsin-pei-ta.

For this reason, it may be said that the struggle is not a simple one. It is an internal struggle of the left wing. It is a serious class struggle. (Right! Applause.) Like the basic problem of all revolutionary struggles, the most basic problem of this struggle is the problem of political power. (Right! Long applause.)

If we were not aware of certain events yesterday, then we are definitely aware of the intention of that handful of persons today. In fact, their intention is known to everyone in the street. What they want to do and what their objectives are have become only too clear to us. (Right!)

Like drunk men, they are not really interested in drinks. The so-call "Nationality Palace Incident" was nothing. It was nothing but an excuse. (Right! Applause.) The real thing is that the man behind the scene wanted to realize his great ambition and political conspiracy. At a time when the Party Center already called for a greater unity to seize power from a handful of persons who are in power and taking the capitalist road; at a time when the Party Center already explained that "whereas to attempt to cause a minor split is a wrong doing, to attempt to cause a major split certainly constitutes an offense," that small group of persons still ventured to break our great unity in order to realize their personal ambitions and to exclusively share and monopolize the successful results of the great cultural revolution. Their purpose is to strike down the Red Guards Representative Council in order to take over its power and to kill the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee which was about to be born. (Right! Slogan-shouting.) They have openly called out slogans. The point of their spear is no longer directed toward Nieh Yuan-tzu alone; nor is it exclusively directed toward the revolutionary comrades of our Hsin-pai-ta. There are reasons to believe that they have directed the point of their spear toward the Central Cultural Revolutionary Committee. (Right!) In saying this, we are by no means exaggerating the facts or intending to frame them. It is clear that their mind has already spoken for itself. Using their attack against Nieh Yuan-tzu as a pretext, they have made the issue clear: They wanted "the Hsin-pai-ta to get out of the Red Guards Representative Council" and they also wanted "Nieh Yuan-tzu to withdraw from the Council." They asserted that "Nieh Yuan-tzu is not qualified to participate in the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee," and that "the leading committee of the Red Guards Representative Council must undergo a complete reorganization." They wanted to change the "old San-szu," and charged that "by what qualification was Nieh Yuan-tzu able to become the chief of the leading committee of that Council?" They said: "We don't trust you; after all who is protecting you?" They demanded that the man behind Nieh Yuan-tzu be exposed. (The entire audience was astonished; they shouted slogans and pledged to sacrifice their lives to protect the Central Cultural Revolutionary Committee. They cited quotations from Mao Tse-tung's works: "We must support all those who are opposed by our enemies, and oppose all those who are supported by our enemies.") Thus, it can be said that this struggle is not a simple problem of internal contradictions.

At present, the struggle is a fight to seize power, a question of who is to control the proletarian state. Such being the case, we simply cannot make any compromise with our opposition; nor can we be patient any more. Let all these decaying words--compromise and patience--go to hell! (Right! Long and stormy applause. Slogan-shouting.) In the face of such a serious political struggle, we can only do what we have to do. Never yield a single inch of our territory; fight for every bit of power; fight for every inch of territory! (Right!) We are not doing this for ourselves or for the small group of our Hsin-pei-ta. We do this for the entire class, for the proletarian revolution of the whole world. (Right! Long and enthusiastic applause.)

Some comrades asked: "In doing this, are we consistent with the over-all direction of the struggle?" (Consistent!) We think there is nothing inconsistent. We have criticized the reactionary bourgeois line represented by Liu Shao-ch'i and Teng Hsiao-p'ing. We did this for no other purposes than to consolidate and develop the red regime of the proletariat. But today when we are striving to establish a proletarian regime, they are attempting to destroy it. Crushing their attempt has thus become our first and foremost task. And this is our over-all direction! (Applause.)

Currently, in view of the situation in Peking, there has emerged such a state of affairs in the great proletarian cultural revolution. On the one hand, the entire situation is not only greatly in our favor, but is also increasingly working to our advantage. On the other hand, there exists an undercurrent to restore capitalism. This undercurrent is manifested in many areas. One of them is this: Some of the former counterrevolutionary revisionists and gangsters are attempting to reverse their cases. For example, within the Central Departments of Propaganda and United Front Work, there exists such a force which consists of a black gang of accessories attempting to reverse their cases and launching a second counterattack against us. Comrades, can we allow them to do this? (No, we cannot!) There is still another group of persons who, in order to exclusively enjoy and monopolize the successful results of the proletarian cultural revolution, justified their means by their ends. Whoever is useful to them, whoever is of service to them, and whoever is in support of them would be given an honorary title: "revolutionary rebel," in spite of the background of the person receiving the title. These reactionary forces employed dirty means: They would recruit one group while

beating the other. They used all kinds of improper means to cheat and threaten others. When they failed to produce sufficient evidence in a debate to justify their behavior, they would throw out their last card by saying that XX XX was supporting them. But no matter who this person is, if he violates Mao Tse-tung's thought, he is equally wrong. (Right!) From the standpoint of a proletarian revolution, to conceal one's viewpoint is a shame. (Right! Applause.) It is necessary for me to once more express my viewpoint: In my view, the representative of this force or the leading core of this force is not a school, but an organ, a group of real trouble-makers. Who are these people? They are the group of people headed by Wu Chuang-chih (0702/0298/0796) in the University Department, in the Yen-an Commune of the Ministry of Higher Education (Right!), in the Red Guards Liaison Station of the Department of United Front Work of the Central Committee. (Right!!) With respect to other units, although they have many people working for them, in my view they are merely used as professional fighters and tools. (Right!) In regard to the situation in these organizations, let me say few words. Take the Yen-an Commune of the Ministry of Education for example. There are at least five persons in that Ministry who have been identified as traitors. (Strike down the traitors!) Some traitors are wicked. Take Lu Cheng-I (4151/2973/5030) for example. According to the existing data, he is not only a traitor, but is also possibly a special agent hidden among us. Another is a Northerner. After the Kuomintang took over Mukden, she deserted the Communist Party and married a Kuomintang army official. In that capacity, she became an official's wife. In 1949, she secretly came to Peking and got into the Party again. Now, she is a leading member of the Yen-an Commune. There is still another woman whose husband deserted the revolution while serving as secretary of a district Party committee in Honan. He betrayed a revolutionary comrade, who happened to be Comrade Nieh Yuan-tzu's nephew. This young man was beaten to death shortly after he joined the Party at the age of sixteen. Who did it? It was that woman's husband. And the woman was right there with her husband. Later, she changed her name. Now, she viciously cursed Comrade Nieh Yuan-tzu. We have reason to believe that this isn't a matter of individual versus individual, but a struggle of one class against another! (Right!) Among these traitors, there prevailed a very dirty philosophy. Here is the theme: "The more we betray, the more we become leftists." Comrades, is it a damn ridiculous theory? (Yes!) Their dirty thesis met with strong resistance from those comrades in the Yen-an Commune who wanted to undertake the revolution.

Many of these comrades openly fought against the traitors and exposed the latter's shameful thesis. (Slogan-shouting and warm applause.) It was this group of gangsters who in the past supported T'ao Chu and in turn received T'ao Chu's favor. However, they are political speculators. Relying upon their market information, they often undertook certain unexpected actions. Thus when T'ao Chu was in, they actively supported him. After he was out, they became heroes, claiming themselves to have been against T'ao Chu all the time. These people are the so-called "ever-lasting" activists. In our view, they are political speculators who take everyone for their mother as long as she feeds them. (Right! Long applause.) But it is also these gangsters who have obtained some people's wholehearted support. We really cannot understand why is it? The gangsters have a beautiful dream. They made preparations for the seizure of power. They had a blueprint for the promotion of officials. We have obtained this promotion list. They had a very wishful thinking dream, namely, after seizing power Lu Cheng-I will have the first chair in the Ministries of Higher Education and Education. Comrades, we have struck down a Chiang Nan-hsiang (5592/0589/5046). Can we replace him with Lu Cheng-I? (Cannot!) We absolutely cannot. Strike down Lu Cheng-I! We have relatively detailed data and investigation reports about him. We can publish these materials in the city and throughout the country. There is another thing, namely, Wu Chuang-chih's gang in the Red Guards Column of the University Department. Who after all is Wu Chuang-chih? We have all reasons to suspect that he is not a leftist with good reputation. Instead, he deserves extensive political investigation. Why do we say this? During the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression, Wu was an editor of a newspaper belonging to the Kuomintang's Bureau of Investigation and Statistics. Later, he organized the "Democratic Association" with Wu Han (0702/2498). After the war was over, Wu Chuang-chih became an editor and reporter of the reactionary newspaper of the Kuomintang, Ta-kang Pao. In that capacity, he directly served the Kuomintang. According to a report by a comrade of the Mao Tse-tung Thought Red Guards in the Central Department of Propaganda, Wu Chuang-chih was very influential in the old society. When you lost something and reported the case to Wu, he would be able to recover the stolen object for you in a few days. This is what Wu was. In the past, he wrote few relatively good articles with his associates. But we must say that he is not a leftist. We cannot just take those writings as the criterion to form our judgment. He wrote smart articles. But that was a show. Some said that the Central Cultural Revolutionary Committee was supporting Wu.

We have no knowledge of this. In other respects, we must look at his behavior during the cultural revolution. Just look at what he did to those who opposed him and his followers. Some masses objected to the idea of making Pan Tzu-nien (Math.4907/2737/1628) a duly member of the cultural revolutionary committee. Then, these masses became their opponents. How did they treat these opponents? The opponents originally belonged to the Red Guards Column. All their offices and dormitories were sacked, searched, and looted by the Red Guards Corps controlled by Wu Chuang-chih and Pan Tzu-nien. After breaking into a place, the invaders would immediately deploy guards at various posts, cut off wires, and use hatchets and hammers to break into offices and open office file cabinets, pull out everything, and assault others in presence. According to incomplete statistics, since the 20th [of March], of the more than 300 members of the Red Guards Column in the University Department, 94 were beaten up, dozens were frisked, more than 50 had their houses searched, and 45 were illegally struggled against, detained, or kidnapped. 116 offices, 133 office desks, and 48 safes and file cabinets were broken and searched. Food tickets worth 60 chin, cotton tickets worth 37.5 feet, Jen-min-pi 200 yuan, a great amount of personal correspondence and dairies, and many of Chairman Mao's pictures were all stolen.

Comrades, these are the people who firmly believed in violence--beating, housebreaking, and looting. They rose to their positions by this kind of practice. Can we always believe that they are unswervingly leftist? There is another unit which published articles all over the places and put their men in various positions. This is an abnormal phenomenon which deserves our attention. (Right!) Some of them have spread rumors, saying that Chou Ching-fang (0719/2529/2455), a former member of the University Department, is a representative of the Central Cultural Revolutionary Committee. Still others told the Workers Representative Council that Chou Ching-fang is a member of the Central Cultural Revolutionary Committee. They exaggerated facts in order to protect themselves and to scare others. In reality, Chou's case is not true. They created a false impression. Take our neighboring People's University for example. In that university, opposition to Hsiao Chien (5135/0467) means opposition to Wu Chuang-chih, and opposition to Wu Chuang-chih means a great crime. Today, I want to take this opportunity to make it clear to the public that I am against Wu Chuang-chih. (Warm applause.)

Next is the case of the Red Liaison Station. Headed by Hung T'ao (3163/3447) and Liu Cheng (0491/6747), a small group of persons stole away more than 90 cases of secret state files. They took away all files of the People's Political Consultative Conference, many of which containing foreign military secrets. Afterwards, they distributed the secrets to individuals. Now many important files are missing. According to the materials in our possession, it shows that Hung T'ao and his followers are closely associated with the "Hsiang-chiang-feng-lei," an organization which has been identified as a reactionary group. In addition, they are also in secret connection with the "Hung-chi-chun (Red Flag Army)," which, too, is an identified reactionary organization. However, there has emerged a very strange incident: Hung T'ao and his followers took away a large amount of secret state files. In the course of doing this, the Red Guards Headquarters of the Nationality College and the K'ang-ta Commune, feeling responsible to protect state secrets, stopped them and delivered them to a public security organ. What was the result? Those who stole the files became revolutionaries, and those who stopped them from stealing the files became counterrevolutionaries. Comrade Cheng Tsung-ping (6774/1350/1627) of the Red Guards Headquarters was confined in a prison for fifteen days. What was all this about? We cannot help but to say: We cannot make ourselves slaves; we cannot blindly obey orders. (Right!) It is this group of persons who formed themselves into the largest group of opportunists in Peking. Blindly, they attempt to seize the fruits of the great proletarian cultural revolution through the application of various conspiratorial means. However, we must tell these gentlemen: We are determined to achieve a complete victory in this cultural revolution and will never allow a superficial change. It was because of this that although in the past Peking University remained "moderate," it did not meet with their approval. The proletarian revolutionary group in Peking University is a legitimate one. But because of this, we become an obstacle to those who have ambitions. In consequence, they created contradictions among us and agitated us to struggle with one another. Now, since you initiated the struggle, we are going to fight it to the end. It will not be dictated by your will. (Right! Long applause.)

Comrades, we must notice that there is a superficial phenomenon outside the University. It gives the people the impression that Peking University is in isolation and is being opposed by many other units. This is a phony phenomenon. We believe that we are proletarian revolutionaries.

We have friends throughout the world. Those comrades who had differences with us, including many comrades of the X X Unit who had signed their names to express their differences with us, are still supporting us. Therefore, in analyzing the situation of the cultural revolution in Peking, we must take this fact into account. At the same time, we should also notice that those whose opinions on certain matters are different from ours can remain our combat friends. Here, I want to once again express my views. Organizations like the Ching-kang-shan in Ch'ing-hua University and the Hung-chi in the Peking Aviation Institute are still our combat friends. We should fight together with members of those units! (Applause. Slogan-shouting.) We fully believe, and you will soon find out, that regardless of the existing differences and misunderstandings, we are destined to be united in the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution. (Applause.)

At present, the question is this: What should we do? Should we tolerate the situation in order to achieve a compromise? Or, should we hit back right at the point? (Hit back right at the point!) Right! We can only hit back right at the point. Unity can survive through struggle; if we retreat, it cannot exist. (Right! Applause.) (The audience loudly recited: "We are determined to win the victory regardless of sacrifice and hardships.") Then, what is the strategy of our struggle? This we were told by Chairman Mao: We should hide and never fire the first shot. "Be rational, take hold of the advantages, and maintain the planned move." "If others do not invade us, we should not invade others; if they come to invade us, then we must strike back." (Applause.) We are not being sentimental; nor are we getting emotionally upset. We do all this not for the sake of individuals or individual groups, but for the sake of the entire class, for the complete emancipation of all oppressed peoples in the world! Since we are fighting for such a lofty ideal, it naturally follows that we should demonstrate the fearless and heroic attitude of the proletarian revolutionaries and march ahead in the storm of rains! (Slogan-shouting.)

Among this audience, there are possibly combat friends and comrades from other fraternal units. We have openly expressed our point of views. Now, if you have other opinions, we welcome you to speak out or criticize us. We do not have time to mention to you certain concrete cases, partially because of my "moderation." However, in the future we shall transmit such messages to our fellow students and comrades through broadcasting, wall posters, and propaganda leaflets.

We must do this because we have a fundamental evaluation of this situation: We are convinced that the proletarian revolutionaries of Peking University are all capable of doing proper thinking. On the basis of facts, and under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought, they are able to draw correct conclusions. We shall never ask proletarian revolutionaries to blindly obey "the intentions of the headquarters."

In the morning, a handful of persons from the Institute of Geology and some misguided persons came to our University and willfully created a disorder. On our campus, they called a so-called "complaining meeting" and struggled against our students. They coerced our students with such means that are more cruel and evil than those they used against the black gangsters and enemies. From these facts, the public can further appreciate the acuteness and seriousness of the struggle. After creating a disorder in our University, they started spreading rumors all over the place. Using their traditional tricks, they accused us of having committed this and that sort of crimes without regard to the fact that it was they who came to our house to beat our people and to obstruct our effort to achieve the great proletarian cultural revolution. Throughout the world, there is no such thing. It is entirely a bandit's logic. (Right! Applause.) Today, I learned that there is a 10000-man "oath-taking assembly" in the Institute of Geology, with the attempt of continuing their attack against the Hsin-pej-ta Red Guards. Are we afraid of this? (No, we are not.) Among the proletarian revolutionaries, there is no such a word as "afraid." We can tell those people that as far as we are concerned, we have never for a single day or a single moment forgotten to prepare for our fight. However, if you want impose the war on us, we are going to fight it to the end. (Long applause and slogan-shouting!)