

PEASANT MOVEMENT IN CANTON SUBURBS

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[From a report by the newspaper's own staff investigators.]

...The revolutionary peasant movement in Canton suburbs came to a head after fruitful results were obtained in the 4-clean-up campaign. It can be roughly divided into 4 stages.

In the first stage, from July to October in 1966, the Red Peasant's Friends of Hsiao-p'ing, Shih-ching, was the first revolutionary peasants set-up emerging in the Canton suburbs. Its nucleus consisted of 7 youths

who guided people in the study of Mao Tse-tung's writings. They expounded to the masses the "23 Points," the significance of exposing the iniquities of the book "Three-Family Village," the "16 Points"; favored the discarding of "4 Old Ways" in the villages and the imposition of restrictive control over "4 classes of people" supported the parade of young fighters' posters in the street; and wrote their poster "4th Warning to Power-holders in the Brigade" to stir peasants to revolutionary action. Several thousand people had already joined in their ranks. At this time, the main tasks were the ridding of "4 Old Ways" and the controlling of "4 categories of people." The power-holders were not yet panicked by these people's activities. Some even had such fine words to say! "These laddies among us seem not bad at all." It looked as if they shared the honor and glory to have bred such fine sons themselves.

In the second stage, from last November to last February, the Red Peasants' Friends had a membership of over 7,000, with 16 divisions in several suburban communes. Meanwhile, other revolutionary peasants organizations like "Kwangtung Red Flag Peasants," "After the British-quellers of San-yuan-li, and "Red Guards Force" of Sha-ho also sprang up, with several thousand members. These organizations quickened their tempo of struggle from exposure of the misdeeds of a handful of power-holders taking the capitalist road to seizure of power from them in a violent way. They precipitated an unprecedented major revolution in the rural villages within a relatively short period. The power-holders within the Party taking the capitalist road now abhorred these revolutionary peasants, and were secretly planning "post-autumn reckoning" with them.

In the third stage, from March to April 15, that is, the period of the ill-wind, Canton's T'an Chen-lin, working in collusion with other power-holders within the Party taking the capitalist road, throttled their dictatorship machinery to clamp down on the revolutionary peasants. The Red Peasants' Friends dwindled from over 7,000 to a little more than 100, while other revolutionary peasants' set-ups were disbanded under pressure. This was a period of extreme trial to the revolutionary peasants who were subjected to white terrorism.

The fourth stage is the period from after the ill-wind to the present. This is the time of recovery and resurgence. As Canton's T'an has withdrawn himself from the limelight and other power-holders within the Party taking the capitalist road are seeking their chances to stage a comeback, the revolutionary rebels among the peasants are re-forming their ranks and re-vamping their organization to prepare for a harder struggle to come. The "Revolutionary Rebels General Command" of Red Flag Poor and Lower-Middle Peasants of Canton Suburbs with a membership of about 15,000, has been formed from the communes of Shih-ching, San-yuan-li, Shi-lung, Chiang-ts'un, Sha-ho, Chu-liao, Jen-ho, and Tung-feng, as well as revolutionary rebels from the Ya-yao and Huang-pi farms. This is an irresistible, ever-growing

force of revolutionary rebels. Despite the absence of recognition from Canton's T'an, it waxes in strength and thrives. It is foreseeable that a rural revolution greater than any ever seen before will break out at any time.

The main targets of attack of the revolutionary rebel peasants were the power-holders within the Party taking the capitalist road in the villages, as well as the various feudalistic and bourgeois thoughts and systems. The onslaught raged like a violent storm among the brigades or production teams where the revolutionary rebel peasants, dominated, whittling down all resistance. In January, they stripped the handful of people, who were in authority within the Party and who took the capitalist road, of their powers. They accomplished what they had set out to do. All the power-holders within the Party that took the capitalist road were forced to stand aside, some being denounced, some exposed, and some sent to labor reform under supervision. Those that had bent under the power-holders within the Party taking the capitalist road now bowed to the authority of the revolutionary rebel organizations. Everyone cannot but agree that there were two different worlds between the first half and the second half of last year.

However, the development of the peasants movement in the Canton suburbs has not been well balanced. At that time, in most of the communes and brigades, the conservative influence still predominated. With the blowing of the ill-wind in March, under the support of Canton's T'an, the conservative influence launched its counter-attack against the revolutionary rebels that had seized power and proceeded with a crackdown on the revolutionary rebel seedlings in other communes and brigades. By now, nearly all revolutionary rebels have either not wrested any power or have lost the powers they gained for a while.

Since power is the all important thing, "All powers to the revolutionary rebels" has now become the war-cry of the revolutionary rebel peasants...

The peasants in the suburbs, taken as a whole, adopt different attitudes towards the great-proletarian cultural revolution in the rural villages. They may be classified according to their attitudes as "conservatives", "middle-of-the-roaders", and "revolutionary rebels." These three groups of people naturally have different impressions of the revolution. During the early stage of the movement, what the conservatives heard and thought about was nothing but: "The X Party Committee is the proletariat's command headquarters", "To oppose the X secretary is to oppose the Party," "You'll never end well if you rebel against the poor and lower-middle peasants," "Let those people with their ulterior motives expose themselves first," etc. Their conclusion was: "The revolt may not necessarily be justified, and the rebels may not necessarily be able to concoct the appropriate climate." Subsequently, much to their surprise, the rebels have managed to single out X X-x — the secretary — as an object of exposure,

to open their barrage against the Provincial Party Committee, to make Chao Tzu-yang "stand aside," to parade their posters in the street, and to paste such things as popular slogans on the notice-boards: "Long live 'Revolutionary Rebellion That Is Justified'", "Long Live Proletarian Revolutionary Rebels", etc. The conservatives have now become puzzled. Some are gradually coming over to the side of the rebels, though not quite wholeheartedly. The majority, however, are still adamant.

The middle-of-the-road people have been vacillating. They first reasoned with knitted eyebrows about things totally new to them this way: "We have all undergone the '4-clean-up' campaign here. Could there be any problem still?", "Most of the cadres here are members of the Party or the Corps and have been born and brought up here. Could there be objects of '3-anti Drive' among them?", "If we follow in your footsteps, who knows whether we would be branded counterrevolutionary or not?" When members of the rebels contacted them and asked: "Would you join us in our organization? Standing aloof all the time will not do you any good," they said: "I don't mind joining, but I'm afraid too many meetings may affect my earning extra points in field work." Then, a large number of them joined in when the rebels succeeded to seize powers last January and were assuming control of the situation. However, as soon as the ill-wind came on them in March, many of these same people withdrew. Some are still worrying as to when the ill-wind might blow again for the second time. Some are figuring in their minds: "Comrades of the armed forces are all supporting the original cadres. It is not very well for us to oppose them. We had better refrain from taking sides, to cause offense to anybody." So, these people are still vacillating. It is up to the rebels to do more work to persuade them and win them over.

The rebels have always been the hard core in the bitter struggle in the rural villages. They pay most attention to the words of Chairman Mao and of the Central (Committee) Cultural Revolution Groups. They are dead enemies to the power-holders within the Party taking the capitalist road. They dare to charge bravely at the bourgeois reactionary line. They have succeeded to scrap the "4 Old Ways" in the rural villages, toppling many big and small counterrevolutionary revisionists to the floor and planting their foot on them. They have come through thick and thin in all four stages. They have not been crushed under by Canton's T'an in spite of their hardest ordeal in the March ill-wind. They have the strongest backbone and have never stopped fighting. They have now restored and re-developed their organization, with themselves as the nucleus. They indicate that they are ready to meet another March ill-wind and would not be afraid of more and more. These revolutionary rebels of the poor and lower-middle peasants are the real revolutionary pioneers in the rural villages...

In March in Canton, black winds were blowing and the weather had its freakish chilly moments alternating with rising heat. Canton's T'an and other power-holders within the Party taking the capitalist road deemed it the right climate for rounding up "a handful" of people undesirable to them.

Working in collusion with each other, they plunged into rampant activities and made large-scale arrests of leading revolutionary rebels in the villages, trying to smother the newly lit up flames of revolution. Before this, they instigated some conservatives to create false public opinion in their favor like this: "The Red Peasants' Friends has committed mistakes in orientation and line, by seizing powers from the proletariat and the poor and lower-middle peasants," "The Red Peasants' Friends is a counterrevolutionary structure under the manipulation of counterrevolutionaries," "You Are Red Peasants' Friends today but Black Peasants' Friends in a few more days," "The Red Peasants' Friends must surrender themselves to the Public Security organizations," "Leaders of Red Peasants' Friends, big or small, must bow low and admit their guilt before the poor-lower-middle peasants," etc. Subsequently, at zero hour March 23, they arrested Huang Chien-po and Li Ching-pang of the Red Peasants' Friends on ungrounded charges and threw them into jail illegally for 50 days. Another man quite unconnected with the Red Peasants' Friends was also nabbed on similar charges. Such white terrorism obliged many people to withdraw from the Red Peasants' Friends whose membership was thus reduced from over 7,000 to just 100 odd. The "After the British-quellers" of San-yuan-li, ruled guilty for having supported the Provincial Revolutionary Rebels Joint Committee, were not allowed to listen to a tape-recorded report by Comrade Lin Piao, and the X Militia Battalion commander openly ordered men of the "After the British-quellers" to quit a public meeting. The black clouds enshrouded not only Shih-ching and San-yuan-li areas, but also Chiang-ts'un as well as the Red Guards Group of the Red Guards Brigade, the Chang-hung Brigade and the Teng-feng Brigade of Sha-ho, and revolutionary rebels of some other communes and brigades. Black records were being prepared about these people's activities and some were about to be sent to gaol. Although many fighters dropped out under pressure and threats, the hard-core members have stuck fast to their posts. They remember the words of Chairman Mao clearly that all this is temporary, darkness will pass, and the light of dawn is right ahead.

The round-up of "handful" black wind is just over, but the impact can still be felt. There is no telling whether we might not have it for a second time. Chairman Mao says: "Be not afraid of big waves and winds. The human society has developed in their midst." It behoves the revolutionary rebel comrades to forge ahead in the direction shown by Chairman Mao.

As a prelude to the March Black Wind, Canton's T'an dispatched large numbers of his henchmen to the Canton suburbs to foster the conservative influence. In the middle of February, they helped form in the Shih-ching commune the "Poor and Lower-Middle Peasants' Revolutionary Rebels Association" as a dead rival to the Red Peasants' Friends and the revolutionary rebel students. Earlier in the same month, they also helped the formation of the "Red United Headquarters" in the Red Guards Brigade of Sha-ho commune to cope with the "Red Guards Group" of the commune.

Towards the end of February, they helped the San-yuan-li commune San-yuan-li Brigade Party Branch secretary to found the "Poor-Lower-Middle

Peasants Revolutionary Rebels" (actually conservatives) to combat the "After the British-quellers" (revolutionary rebels composed of basic-level militia and young peasants); so far, these people have put out only 4 posters, all attacking the "After the British-quellers." There have been numerous other instances of the conservative influence in various other communes and brigades.

On February 19, under the support of Canton's T'an, the conservative influences of various communes managed to form after much conspiracy a massive conservative organization in Canton suburbs, at the premises of Ma-t'i-kang Primary School of the Shao-ho commune, the Canton Suburbs Poor and Lower-Middle Peasant Revolutionaries Joint Committee (or Suburbs Poor Peasant Joint Committee, for short). This is a conservative structure, manipulated by the authorities, developed from top to bottom, designed to fool the extensive poor and lower-middle peasants and to seize and safeguard the powers of a minority. It has recruited members from the top to the bottom and boasts rather unfoundedly a membership of "300,000," and some of the poor and lower-middle peasants that went over may still not be aware that the organization has already changed its name several times. This organization has all the time been directing its attacks against the masses, its men acting as Canton's T'an's warriors in the March Black Wind. It busies itself with the compilation of the revolutionary masses' black records, controls the leadership in production, meddles with economism, and represses the bona fide revolutionary rebels in the suburbs.

After the March Black Wind, Canton's T'an and company are now changing their tactics. They are pretending to "support production," ostensibly taking a neutral stand yet secretly making passes at the conservatives. They get on excellent terms with the conservatives aiding and abetting them in their evil devices, but lend a deaf ear to the words of the rebels. They close their eyes and would not "recognize" the revolutionary rebels' organization of "Red Flag Poor and Lower-Middle Peasants Canton Suburbs Revolutionary Rebels Command Headquarters" founded on June 4. They grab and attack batch after batch of people. They instigated the conservatives to work at the disintegration of the rebel set-ups with these words: "We welcome you to visit us here. You have committed mistakes in orientation and line. We want you to come back to the Chairman's revolutionary line," "Why do you revolt against the poor lower-middle peasants? They are honest-to-goodness people and are devoid of conservatives. Why do you brand them conservatives?"

At the moment, the leadership of nearly all Canton suburban district (offices), communes, brigades, and even production teams is under the control of the "Suburbs Poor Peasants Joint Committee" and its subsidiary structures. They are practically the same bunch of people as the original cadres in the relative communes and brigades, pretending to concentrate on production yet actually suppressing the revolution. Under their control, the revolutionary rebels are deprived of paper and ink to write their posters

with, credit of labor points in certain activities, transports to Canton to attend rallies, and right of reimbursement of rentals for holding meetings, but are meted out the most strenuous assignments in the distribution of work and become objects of concentrated barrage in debates. In comparison, the subsidiary structures of the "Suburbs Poor and Lower-Middle Peasants Joint Committee," can get everything they like. All this bespeaks of one thing: the conservatives have, but the revolutionary rebels have not, the powers. Where there is oppression, there is resistance. The revolutionary rebels that follow the Chairman's revolutionary line must wrest the powers as the first thing in the intense two-road struggle. Only the possession of powers will insure their future success.

The peasants movement has always been an extremely important component part of all revolutionary struggles. Chairman Mao tells us: "China's poor peasants, including the tenant-farmers, comprise about 70 percent of the population of the rural villages.They form the semi-proletariat in the rural villages, the most extensive potential force in China's revolution, the most natural and reliable ally of the proletariat, and the main strength of China's revolutionary forces." Where the Canton suburbs 600,000-strong peasant movement is heading is a matter of immense moment to the great proletarian cultural revolution in Canton.

The poor and lower-middle peasant revolutionary rebels have always played the leading and pioneering role in the course of the peasant movement. They should persist in their close adherence to the orientation of struggle and aim their barrage at the power-holders within the Party taking the capitalist road in the rural villages as well as the diehards that stick to the bourgeois reactionary line, crushing these people's outrageous offensive politically and grasp firmly in their hands the steering gear of proletarian dictatorship. Meanwhile, they should take laborious pains in doing their political work among their befooled class brethren, to win them back to the Chairman's line and to swell their own ranks continuously.

The extensive masses of old poor and lower-middle peasants should wash their head clean of outdated but deep-seated ideas. They should actively partake the great political struggle, without fear of disrupting the order of production and of losing labor points. To engage themselves in revolution in adherence to Chairman Mao's line would be to show their greatest allegiance to Chairman Mao and the Party. Be sure that the simple naivety of your class sentiments is not preyed on by the power-holders within the Party taking the capitalist road to save their skin.

Revolutionary cadres on the agricultural front and in suburban regions and communes should go in groups and systematically to the rural villages where to ally themselves with the poor and lower-middle peasants and to join them in the denunciation of the bourgeois reactionary line and in uncovering the class strife within the government organizations. Cadres within the communes' top-level organizations remain at the moment a dead

piece of iron with hardly any trace of disintegration or struggle as the dormant rebel cadres dare not fight their way out. This affects the two-line struggle in the rural villages seriously. It behoves the rebel cadres within these organizations to rise and join hands with the poor and lower-middle peasant revolutionary rebels before any fresh counter-attacks of the bourgeois reactionary line may be thoroughly broken up.

Revolutionary students must, in full awareness of the vital significance of the suburban peasant movement, detail part of their men to the rural villages systematically, there to ally themselves with the poor and lower-middle peasants, to learn from them, and to remold their own thoughts. In the meantime, they should fight shoulder to shoulder with them together, but should pay attention to the strategy and tactics of struggle and patiently urge the former poor and lower-middle peasants to revolutionary action.

Revolutionary workers should unite with the poor and lower-middle peasants, coordinating with and aiding each other. The consolidation of a workers and peasants alliance will bolster their strength even more. Chairman Mao says: "The poor peasants and middle peasants will not secure their emancipation without the leadership of the proletariat, while the proletariat will not achieve victory in leading the revolution without a strong alliance with the poor and middle peasants."

We cheer the rise of the revolutionary peasant movement in Canton suburbs.

We anticipate the perpetual flying of the grand red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought in every corner of the suburban districts of Canton.