

"cheng-feng" rectification movement

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(1)

"The Hundred Flowers Campaign and the Chinese Intellectuals" --  
Roderick MacFarquhar

Student  
Strikes  
in  
Shanghai  
Munich  
Beijing

In (May, 1956) Mao made a speech which had the slogan "Let a Hundred Flowers Bloom, let a hundred schools contend" which was never published and which was originally intended to be only for the literary field, but which developed into so immense a campaign that even the quick totalitarian suppression of it, and the whole so-called "rectification campaign" which claimed that 'instead of one hundred flowers blooming one hundred weeds were shown still stands for the brief period of opposition. Indeed, it will go down in history.

Obviously, in the summer of 56, there were strikes by workers and students, which were originally thought not to be serious, or at least could be controlled from the top. This was followed by a speech by Mao on Feb. 27, 1957, which however was not published for some months after some heavy editing, and which admitted that "some people" were taking advantage of the Hungarian Rev'n, and hoped that this criticism would develop into one in China but etc., etc., (speech on how to handle contradictions among the people).

page 140-141: ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ Lin-Hsi-ling, student, (People's Daily, June 30): "True socialism is highly democratic, but the socialism we have here is not democratic. I call this society a socialism sprung from the basis of feudalism... She called certain phenomenon a class system, saying that it had already entered all aspects of life, saying that the social system itself produced 'three evils'.. because she could not theoretically explain how socialism ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ produced the three evils she said with ulterior motives that the ~~social~~ productive forces in both the Soviet Union and China were very low and that these two countries had not yet eliminated class differences... moreover quoting Engels theory that one country cannot construct socialism and Lenin's dictum that socialism is the elimination of class, she arrived at the conclusion that present-day China and Russia are not socialist. She loudly demanded a search for 'true socialism' and advocated using explosive measure to reform the present social system.

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Page 234 (NANA, Canton, May 14) Workers' Strikes: "since last year, workers in the province have involved themselves in thirteen strikes and trouble-making incidents. The contradictions find main expression in the following points;

Irrational wage system....

Want of democracy in factory management. According to the report of the Canton Committee, if all the factory superintendents in the municipality were elected by the workers, less than 50% of the existing factory superintendents would get themselves elected....

The question of workers' welfare. Some of the problems involving public mess halls, lavatories, medical clinics and dormitories which could and should be solved are left unsolved. In the case of those which ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ cannot be solved, the reason is not made known to the workers. This is also a cause of dissatisfaction among the workers ....

*Chickens  
in the  
New China*

*100 strikes, and  
trouble making incidents  
and then...*

*NCNA, Canton May 14,*

*New China  
News Agency*

Page 242-3 People's Daily, May 9, The Daily Worker Peking, May 21 and 22  
~~we speak of the dissatisfaction of the workers with the trade unions~~  
In fact, they openly say "Trade unions were cast aside because they were  
concerned with production and not with the workers." "That is why  
some workers in Canton, Changsha, Wuhan, Hsinhsiang and Shihkiachwang  
dubbed their trade unions "Workers' Control departments" led by the  
administration, "tongues of the bureaucracy" and "tails of the admini-  
stration" etc.... is it not a crisis in the trade union work that  
trade unions are divorced from the masses to such a degree.

\*\*\*\*The author divides the book into an introduction which he calls  
"The End of an Illusion" which refers to the hundred flowers campaign  
or more specifically the six weeks in early summer of 1957 in which  
what became known as "blooming and contending" flowered before the  
rectification campaign began; then a prelude called "A Feeling of  
Early Spring" which refers to the speech of Mao on Feb. 27, 1957  
the actual text of the speech published on June 18 and the first  
and immediate reaction to it, that is to say to the admission that ~~there~~  
there were contradictions among people, and therefore in the Chinese  
Republic. There is also an epilogue by G.F. Hudson who tries to  
analyse ~~the~~ "China and the Communist Thought" which ended with the  
Nov. 57 manifesto of the 12 ruling CP's of the Sino-Soviet bloc, the  
onslaught on Tito, the execution of Imre Nagy, and the Khr.-Mao  
meeting in Peking in July 58. "or one thing, Russia immediately  
denies that there were any contradictions in Russia, which was a  
socialist society.

The overwhelming part of the book, however, pages 35--260, called  
"Blooming and Contending" ~~is~~ is actual articles from the official  
Communist China press which take up the opposition of every segment  
of society although heavily weighted for the intelligentsia, never-  
theless it includes peasants and workers, forms of leading non-c'ists  
in the bourgeois world, religious and minority groups. All of them  
opposed the total party control. For example, People's Daily, June 2  
quotes one of the non-C'ist editors saying "in my opinion the key lies  
in the idea that the world belongs to the Party". I think a Party  
leading a nation is not the same thing as a Party owning a nation."  
Or the NCNA, Peking June 18 contrasts the lend-lease of the U.S. with  
the kind of relief gotten by China from Russia that did not repay for  
anything it took: "it will take our country more than ten years to  
repay the loans from the S.U. if we can ever repay them. Besides we  
have to pay interest to the S.U. China fought for socialism but look  
at the result."

*(b) Peking, China Dem League (Engineer - Tientsin  
Civil Eng. Designing Bldg. "When... 1st series  
...")*  
Page 57 (NCNA June 9): "the way I look at it now is that the rev'n was  
worse than a change of dynasties and living in such a society is heart  
breaking."

Pages 73-6 Two rebellious C'ist journalists: Liu Pin-yen from the Chinese  
Youth newspaper who had joined the Party in Sept. 44 referred to the  
ranking cadres as "a privileged class" and another C'ist from the NCNA,  
Tai Huang stated "the old ruling class has been overthrown but a new  
ruling class had arisen. The evolution of this will lead to an amalga-  
mation with Taiwan."

*July 20*

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*Go to page 4  
Latter claim of the place*

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The scholars were particularly bitter ~~and~~ at the Ch'na People's University in Peking (People's Daily, May 31) they openly spoke about the masses may overthrow you. This cannot be described as unpatriotic for the ~~XXXXXX~~ C'ists no longer serve the people .... When the CP entered the city in '49 the common people welcomed it with food and drink and looked upon it as a benevolent force. Today the common people choose to estrange themselves from the CP as if its members were gods and evils.... the party members behave like plain-clothes police and place the masses under their serveyance. The party members are not to be blamed for this, for the party organization instructs them to ~~XX~~ gather information. "

~~XXX~~ Yang Shih-chan on May 17, 57 sent a tenthousand word letter to Mao some of which was published on July 13 which said: "Comparing our method of massacre with that adopted by the fascists at Auchswitz, the latter appeared more clumsy and childish (at any rate they hired executioners ~~XXXXXX~~ but more prompt and benevolent).

*Yang Shih Chan, Secretary of Normal College, Shenyang*

The CP has 12 million members, less than 2% of the total population, and ~~one of the scholars asked, "are the 600,000 people to become the obedient subjects of this 2% of the population?"~~ (page 106) ~~not of principle in this!~~ page 107: "There has been no socialist democracy in the years since the ~~XXXXXX~~ liberation, and what democracy there is is only in form and not even the pseudo democracy of capitalist countries." ~~Chang Po-sheng~~ head of the propaganda dept. of the C'ist Youth League in the Normal College in Shenyang. "All kinds of important questions are decided upon by six persons -- chairman Mao, Liu Lshao-ch'i, premier Chou-en-lai and those above the rank of the sec'y general of the party center. The destiny of 600,000,000 is dictated by the pen of these six men and how can they know the actual situation? At best they can make an inspection tour of the Yellow River and swim across the Yangtse" (the reference is to Mao swimming across the Yangtse in May 1956) .

It was not uncommon for these critics to refer to the ruling party leaders as "feudal princes and stinking charlatans". The youth were as usual the most militant and did not limit themselves to talk but engaged in quite a few strikes and demonstrations, and the leader of these was Lin Hsi-ling. Naturally all of them later began to be referred to as rightists, counter-revolutionaries and when references would be made to the fact that the students said that the rule was "not much different from Hitler's rule" it was always in order to point the finger at them. For example, in the Kiangsi Daily, Sept. 6, the write-up on the "attempt to recreate the Hungarian incident" and (page 169) some began to talk like Chang Po-chun, first deputy chairman of the Democratic League, who said: "students at the Hankow school under the ministry of education will present a petition. Students strike in other places and the situation is serious... if the students appear in the streets and the people follow things will get out of control " (People's Daily, July 4)

(9)

The final section deals with the reaction of the rulers to this open opposition and the so-called anti-rightist campaign that followed "the blooming and contending". (Pages 265-277 has Mao-tse-tung's speech as it appeared and the differences in the Warsaw version which obviously was the original way the speech was written before the June publication. Particularly interesting is page 270 which obviously tries to make Mao ~~the~~ the discoverer of the contradiction; "Marx and Engels did not know about these problems for obvious reasons. Lenin mentioned them but did not enlarge upon them, because during his lifetime, as a result of foreign intervention it was difficult to speak about internal problems only. As for Stalin ~~his~~ his opinions can be considered only negatively." The "them" is a reference to "contradictions" and he reveals that up to ~~1954~~ 1954, 800,000 were "liquidated" as enemies of the people.