

ACTIVITIES OF THE GEOLOGY INSTITUTE TUNG-
FANG-HUNG ON 8 APRIL AND 11 APRIL

[Following is a translation of an article entitled "A Long-Conspired Counterrevolutionary Incident: The Truth of the 8 April and 11 April Incidents Engineered by Hung T'ao and a Handful of Persons from the Tung-fang-hung of the Institute of Geology" in the Chinese newspaper, Hsin-pei-ta, No. 63, published in Peking by the Hsin-pei-ta Editorial Board of the Peking University Cultural Revolutionary Committee, 13 April 1967, pp. 6-8.]

I.

The Red Liaison Station of the Nationality System of the Central Department of United Front Work headed by Hung T'ao (3163/3447), Liu Cheng (0491/6747), and Han Ko-lu (7281/2047/7627), following their destruction of the 5 April "assembly for the complete criticism of Liu-Teng's counterrevolutionary revisionist line in the exhibition of nationality work," created a large-scale violent struggle in collaboration with the Tung-fang-hung Commune of the Institute of Geology and other organizations at the Nationality Cultural Palace and Nationality organ in the mornings of 8 and 9 April. They manufactured a counterrevolutionary incident which was shocking to all others.

They conspired this counterrevolutionary incident for a long time. It was planned and organized.

They created the "8 April" counterrevolutionary incident in order to block the criticism of the counterrevolutionary revisionist line of a handful of Party persons--Liu Shao-ch'i, Teng Hsiao-p'ing, Wu Lan -fu (3527/5695/1133), Li Wei-han (2621/4850/3492), Hsu Ping (1776/0393), and Liu Chun (0491/2504)--who are in power and taking the capitalist road in the work of nationality affairs. The actual engineers of that black exhibition were that small group of royalists. Thus, when we raised our revolutionary flag to attack that black exhibition, they were frightened. In collaboration with

a group of ill-willed persons, and by cheating certain mass organizations which did not understand the fact of the matter, they created the violent struggle and diverted the over-all direction of criticizing Liu and Teng.

They destroyed the great alliance of the proletarian revolutionary group. Within the Red Guards Representative Council, they did not make efforts to get united, to direct the point of spear to a handful of Party persons who are in power and taking the capitalist road and enacting reactionary lines. Instead, they directed the point of spear toward fraternal revolutionary organizations. They hit one group while recruiting another. They engineered splits and thus diverted the movement to other directions. The Ta-ching Oil Commune, the Pei-wai Red Flag Brigade, and the three Red Guards organizations of the People's University joined our joint committee. Afterwards, in order to attack these organizations, they ignored the revolutionary principles and distorted the situation. They called in some of units in those organizations (such as the Peking Petroleum Commune, the Pei-wai Red Flag Rebellious Group, and the New People's University Commune) which had some differences with us to participate in the violent struggle. What should be particularly mentioned is the fact that they conspired to isolate the Hsin-pei-ta, to undermine it, to attack Comrade Nieh Yuan-tzu, and to direct the point of spear to the Red Guards Representative Council. How vicious was their intention!

They openly resisted the directives of the Central Cultural Revolutionary Committee, destroyed the eight articles of the Military Affairs Commission of the Party, attacked the two directives ratified by Comrade Ch'i Pen-yu (2058/2609/4416) of the Red Guards Representative Council, viciously insulted comrades of the Liberation Army, and scolded Comrades Wu Te (0702/1795) and Nieh Yuan-tzu and other representatives of the Central Cultural Revolutionary Committee. They became crazy and wild. Can this situation be tolerated?

This handful of fascist rioters fully demonstrated their animal's character. They started a big fight and broke a nationality organ into pieces, with the result that state property suffered grave losses. During the violent struggle, almost every soldier on our side got beaten up. More than ten of them were seriously injured; several hundreds slightly wounded. They broke into file offices confidential offices, and opened up file cabinets. They took away secret documents and data as well as materials criticizing Liu-Teng's counterrevolutionary revisionist lines.

We should solemnly serve a warning to the handful of indecent guys in the Red Liaison Station and the Tung-fang-hung of the Institute of Geology that you must plead guilty to the Central Cultural Revolutionary Committee, the revolutionary rebelling organizations of various units, and the Liaison Committee for the complete criticism of Liu-Teng's counterrevolutionary and revisionist line in the exhibition of nationality work. We also order you to return to us all the office materials and documents, the files of the nationality organ, materials of the revolutionary worker-peasant-soldier rebelling group of the Nationality Commission, its broadcasting equipment, and the personal notes, money, and articles of our combat soldiers that you had taken away from us. You must confess your guilt and assure us that similar incidents will not recur.

We once again solemnly announce: We must rebel against the counterrevolutionary and revisionist line displayed by Liu and Teng in the exhibition of nationality work. We will fight it to the end. We will raise high the great red flag of Mao Tse-tung's brilliant thought and resolutely stand together with the Central Cultural Revolutionary Committee. No matter how great the resistance is, we are convinced that the final victory belongs to us.

II.

The Red Liaison Station headed by Hung T'ao, Liu Cheng, and Han Ko-lu as well as a handful of royalists unilaterally emphasized the seizure of power at the Nationality Palace in January. Afterwards, they became "the bureaucrats of the exhibition" and monopolized that "black exhibition." For several months, they have not written a single wall poster criticizing that black exhibition. The 2-7 Corps of the revolutionary rebelling group of the Nationality Palace submitted on many occasions that they be given convenience (such as opening the exhibition hall and providing materials) so that they could start criticism. However, all these requests were rejected by the royalists of the Tung-fang-hung Commune of the Nationality Palace.

In the beginning of March, knowing that negotiation would lead nowhere, the 2-7 Corps organized its own data office to criticize the black exhibition. However, they met with many obstacles. In consequence, they were unable to do their work in depth. In its opinion, the 2-7 Corps considered Liu-Teng's black exhibition a great poisonous weed to Mao Tse-tung's thought. It is necessary to mobilize the entire Party and the whole nation to eradicate it. Criticism of the black exhibition was a sacred and inviolable

right of our revolutionary rebels. Thus, in the afternoon of 31 March, we took over part of the materials criticizing the black exhibition. In the same evening, we posted an announcement formally firing the first shot to the black exhibition. In the afternoon of 1 April, we called an oath-taking assembly in the great hall of the Nationalist Palace to celebrate the decisive victory of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in the revolutionary committee of the nationality system and to denounce the counterrevolutionary revisionist line of Liu and Teng in nationality work. After the meeting, we marched into the exhibition hall and staged a demonstration.

The "Red Liaison Station" headed by Hung T'ao, Liu Cheng, Han Ko-lu and a small group of royalists sensed that the situation was not in their favor. Thus, at nine o'clock in the morning of 1 April, they hastily posted a public notice "criticizing the investigation group of the nationality exhibition." They posed all kinds of gestures to give people the impression that they, too, intended to criticize that exhibition. It was obvious that they posted the public notice only after seeing the 2-7 Corps' notice in the morning of 1 April. "In order to take the initiative," they changed the date of their public notice from April 1 to 31 March. The revolutionary action of the 2-7 Corps received support from many other revolutionary organizations. Nineteen units formed a "joint committee for the criticism of the exhibition" and on 4 April, they formally issued a joint statement to this effect.

On 5 April, the revolutionary group of the nationality system, the First Red Corps of the Hsin-pei-ta, and other revolutionary organizations called an "assembly to criticize Liu-Teng's counterrevolutionary revisionist line." Right after the opening of the meeting, a handful of royalists from the Red Liaison Station tore up the signs of the assembly and forcibly seized our microphone in order not to let us talk. Chairman Mao's Red Guards and the soldiers of the revolutionary groups cannot be frightened or suppressed. We continued our fight, because the Party Center and Chairman Mao gave us the right to criticize. But these royalists were unwilling to give up. After a few days' arrangement and planning, they finally manufactured the large-scale violent struggle and counterrevolutionary incident on "8 April".

III.

At 9:30 in the morning of 8 April, through an agreement among the 2-7 Corps of the Nationality Culture Palace the Tung-fang-hung Commune, and the Garrison Platoon, both sides were allowed to take their men into the exhibition hall to inspect objects on display and to criticize. On

our side, we had about seventy to eighty persons from the 2-7 Corps, the Kang-ta Commune of the Nationality College, and the Hsin-pei-ta Commune. We entered into the exhibition hall according to what was previously arranged. However, the royalist organization of the Nationality Palace--the Tung-fang-hung Commune (the unit attempting to seize power)--unilaterally breached the agreement and refused to open the door. After several times of futile negotiations, we were compelled to break the inside lock of the front door. Then, we orderly entered into the exhibition hall while loudly reciting Chairman Mao's quotations. About eleven o'clock in the same morning, they (the other side) sent over about two to three hundred persons from the Tung-fang-hung of the Nationality College, the 8-8 Rebellious Group of the Nationality Theater, the Iron-Stick Combat Corps of the Nationality Research Institute "to protect the scene." "You came into this hall illegally, and we have the right to protect state property." "You belong to the 'royalist' brand and therefore have no right to inspect the hall." After uttering these absolutely ridiculous accusations, they started attacking us. Seven or eight of them formed a group to assault one comrade of ours. They cursed us by saying: "These royalist clowns of yours have no right to criticize Liu and Teng." "Who did let you in?" "You came in illegally. So, get out!" "You are in collaboration with the royalists; you are counterrevolutionary revisionists." "Surrender your materials. You have no right to take away these materials." They viciously insulted us and used words which even cannot be mentioned. They attacked our comrades and forced us out of the exhibition hall. Worse yet, they searched our bodies and took away five notebooks and other materials. Besides, a group of our comrades who were inspecting the Tibetan Hall and the Kwangsi Hall were dragged out by a handful of violent people from the Tung-fang-hung of the Institute of Geology in the form of "sitting an airplane." Chuang Tse-p'ing (5445/0463/1627), originating from a capitalist family, took the advantage of the opportunity to bite a finger of a female comrade, Chao Tai-ching (6392/1132/6930). Fresh blood came out from the finger right on the scene. A female soldier of the Hsin-pei-ta Commune was thrown out of the hall by six men. In order to avoid the further expansion of the incident, our comrades initially withdrew from the exhibition hall and at the same time lodged a very strong protest against that group of violent people.

Beginning the afternoon of 8 April, they increased their force according to plan. Gradually, they surrounded tightly the northern chamber of the nationality organ, blocked its front door, and continuously attacked our comrades in the courtyard of the organ.

After four o'clock in that afternoon, a handful of violent people from the Tung-fang-hung of the Institute of Geology smashed the Sa-chia-ping Corps of the First Peking Opera Theater, which was positively recognized and supported by Comrade Chiang Ching. Afterwards, they went to the Nationality Commission to commit other violent acts. Suddenly, the number of their fighters increased to more than two thousands. Following that, and aside from the conservative organizations of the nationality system, they further sent for more than three thousand persons from the Tung-fang-hung of the Institute of Geology, the Ching-kang-shan Commune of the Peking Normal University, the Peking Petroleum Commune, the Pei-wai Red Flag Rebellious Group, the Yen-an Commune of the Ministry of Education, the columns of the University Department, the Red Flag of the Ministry of Agricultural Machinery, and the New People's University Commune.

For purposes of self-defense, we also received support from some of our fraternal units and revolutionary organizations. Together, we had about more than one thousand persons from the K'ang-ta Commune of the Nationality College, the Ta-ching Petroleum Commune, the Pei-wai Red Flag Brigade, the Revolutionary Combat Corps --acting in accordance with the Sixteen Articles--of the January Storm of the Institute of Chemistry, and the Peking Commune of the Ministry of Education.

In order to avoid a violent struggle, we sought for solutions from various angles. On the one hand, we reported the situation to such responsible comrades of the Red Guards Representative Council as Nieh Yuan-tzu and K'uai Ta-fu (5566/1129/1381), and made telephone calls to the Peking District Garrison Command, Comrade Li Fu-chun's (2621/1381/2504) office, the staff office of the Central Cultural Revolutionary Committee, and the Military Affairs Commission of the Party. On the other hand, we took the initiative to find ways and means to negotiate the problems. We phoned a responsible person (named Chao) of the Tung-fang-hung Headquarters in the Institute of Geology to seek a solution in order to avoid a violent struggle. However, he ruthlessly turned us down.

At this point, our people (one each from the Hsin-pei-ta, the Ta-ching Petroleum, and the Red Eagle of the Light Industry) took the initiative to approach the Tung-fang-hung of the Institute of Geology in order to open a negotiation. However, by taking advantage of our initial approach, the Tung-fang-hung refused to discuss the possibility of avoiding a violent struggle. Thus, the negotiation broke down.

Later, they named Peking University and the Pei-wai Red Flag as the organizations to negotiate with. We immediately agreed with them and sent out our delegates. Without any justification, the Tung-fang-hung of the Institute of Geology put forward the following four conditions:

- (1) Such conservative organizations as 2-7 and K'ang-ta must withdraw from the Liaison Committee for the complete criticism of the exhibition;
- (2) The materials taken away must be all returned to their original places;
- (3) An open criticism must be made;
- (4) We were willing to make criticism in alliance with all genuinely revolutionary rebelling groups.

At the same time, they let it be known: "If not acting in accordance with the Four Articles, there is no room for negotiation." By coincidence, words came to us that the Red Guards Representative Council let Nieh Yuan-tzu and K'uai Ta-fu draft two directives, which were already agreed upon by Comrade Ch'i Pen-yu. Upon hearing this news, a responsible person of the Institute of Geology became extremely upset. He said: "These two directives are great poisonous weeds and therefore against Mao Tse-tung's thought." Once again, the negotiation broke off.

Appendix:

The Two Directives of the Red Guards Representative Council:

(1) Contradictions have arisen from among the units subordinate to the Red Guards Representative Council. Violent struggles are absolutely not permitted. At present, both parties should leave the Nationality Palace, the Nationality Commission, and avoid contact with each other (this includes the two parties involved in the contradictions; the organ itself is excepted).

(2) Materials in possession of either party should not be transferred and destroyed; they should remain in the hands of the party which is presently in possession of the materials.

Where contradictions exist, it shall be the duty of the Red Guards Representative Council to conduct negotiations and seek solutions.

by

8 April, 6:00 p. m.

Nieh Yuan-tzu and K'uai Ta-fu
Red Guards Representative
Council

However, soldiers of the Tung-fang-hung of the Institute of Geology loudly shouted: "The Council's two directives are conspiracies!" "Without investigation and study, the Council tends to protect Peking University!" Sun Chang (1327/7068), a member of the 8-8 Corps of a theater angrily said: "We are not to withdraw; we are not to withdraw. We shall firmly hold our posts. Can Nieh Yuan-tzu and K'uai Ta-fu represent the Central Cultural Revolutionary Committee? What are their positions?" Another person from the Tung-fang-hung of the Institute of Geology declared: "We can withdraw from the Red Guards Representative Council!" Others even tore up the two directives right on the scene. Following that, the Tung-fang-hung of the Institute of Geology immediately announced a statement: "These two directives are great poisonous weeds, against Mao Tse-tung's thought." Later, they revised the statement by incorporating it into a "solemn announcement" to resist Comrade Ch'i Pen-yu of the Central Cultural Revolutionary Committee and the directives of the Red Guards Representative Council. [The following is the text of the announcement:]

A SOLEMN ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE TUNG-FANG-HUNG
COMMUNE OF THE INSTITUTE OF GEOLOGY

At six o'clock in the afternoon of 8 April, Nieh Yuan-tzu and K'uai Ta-fu of the Red Guards Representative Council issued two directives. For these two directives, the revolutionary committee of our commune hereby solemnly issue the following statement:

1. Nieh Yuan-tzu and K'uai Ta-fu of the Red Guards Representative Council issued two directives without discussing the matter with the entire body of the Standing Committee, let alone the entire body of the Council members. They have no concept of right and wrong at all; they have no concept of the two-line struggle. These two directives are completely wrong and also completely illegal.

2. Through study, the revolutionary committee of our commune decided that we should completely deny these directives and never execute them at all.

3. Nieh Yuan-tzu and K'uai Ta-fu are responsible for all grave consequences arising from these directives.

by

8 April, 1967
9:00 p. m.

The Revolutionary Committee of
the Tung-fang-hung Commune of
the Peking Institute of Geology

During that period, they had never stopped the violent struggle. Around seven 'clock, Ma Hsing-feng (7456/5281/7685), a combat comrades of the K'ang-ta Commune in the Nationality College, was thrown out from a window by the violent people. His head hit the ground and was unable to stand up for a while. At this point, a hooligan of the Opera Theater gave him a violent kick. In consequence, Ma lost his consciousness and was sent to a hospital for emergency treatment.

At 10: 30 p. m., April 8, after cutting off our outside telephone lines, the violent people started to smash and break our doors and came right into our places.

Before taking further action, a propaganda vehicle of the 8-8 Combat Corps under the Nationality Opera Theater, which directed the violent struggle, made a broadcast reciting Chairman Mao's quotation: "In his relations with the people, Chiang Kai-shek fights for every bit of power and every amount of interest. What about us? Our policy is an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth; we fight for every inch of territory." Following this, they ordered: "We call the intention of all organizations and combat units that you must act according to our original plan."

Once the order came down, a large-scale violent struggle began.

Using wood sticks, chairs, stones, rocks, and iron hooks used for the prevention of fires as their weapons, they broke into the east and west gates, opened the windows of the typing offices, and swarmed into our rooms to start a big fight. A pregnant woman was caught in the fight and cried: "Please help my baby!" No one paid attention to her. Five or six of the invaders grabbed a person and threw him out of the window. A female soldier from the Pei-wai Red Flag was also thrown out of the window from the first floor. When she hit the ground, her eyes, nose, and bones were all hurt. She lost her consciousness and became almost dead right on the scene. When she was taken out of the place, a hooligan of the Nationality College pointed to the injured and said: "Look! What is the result of their demonstration!" Wu Kuei-lang (0702/2710/5695), a fighter of the Worker-Peasant-Soldier Revolutionary Rebellng Corps of the Nationality Commission, and Huang Po (7806/3877), member of the K'ang-ta Commune of the Nationality College, were both thrown out of the window. Before they were able to stand up, several hooligans kicked their stomachs and thus inflicted serious injuries on them. Li Chin-tzu (2621/6855/1311) of the Nationality Publishing House was kicked out of the house. Some of the violent people said angrily:

"She belongs to the Korean Nationality; so let her taste it." They injured her left arm and neck. Li said to them that "You are bandits." They replied: "We'll come back to you later on to clear up the account." During the violent struggle, they spread words to all places, saying that "This is a two-line struggle; it doesn't matter if we beat someone to death." "What is the position of Peking University on the ladder of power; we let you taste our rebelling spirit."They divided their men into two lines. One by one, they threw us out, beat and kicked us with both their fists and feet. Many of our comrades lost their shoes. When they tried to take back their shoes, they got kicked again. Someone said with a cold smile: "To undertake a revolution, you ought to work harder..." They were simply a gang of fascist hooligans.

When the violent people fought us savagely, our soldiers persisted in the principle of waging civilized struggle, not violent struggle. Arm in arm, we protected each other and loudly shouted: "Strike down Liu Shao-ch'i," "Strike down Teng Hsiao-p'ing," "Fight a civilized struggle, not a violent struggle," and "Don't violate the Sixteen Articles." Our comrades, though got beaten up and insulted, remained a just stand, held their positions, and with tears in their eyes, repeatedly shouted: "Long live Chairman Mao! Long live Chairman Mao!" In addition, they loudly recited Chairman Mao's quotations.

At this point, the Red Guards Representative Council sent five delegates to our place. Members of the Tung-fang-hung of the Nationality College blocked the gate and would not let them in. With the consent of a responsible person of the Tung-fang-hung, Chang X X, the delegates similarly suffered attack, insult, and malediction. Members of the leading core of the Red Guards Representative Council and a responsible person of the Institute of Light Industry were assaulted and lost consciousness right on the scene. Another delegate of the Council was illegally frisked and his personal materials and notebooks were all taken away.

Around the midnight, the violent struggle continued to expand. Upon hearing the incident, soldiers of the Liberation Army of the garrison platoon in the Nationality Palace came to the scene. They read the Eight Articles of the Military Affairs Commission of the Party to the violent people of the Tung-fang-hung of the Institute of Geology who were still engaged in the fighting inside the building. They asked everyone on the scene to act in accordance with the Eight Articles personally signed and issued by Chairman Mao and Vice Chairman Lin. They loudly announced: "No violent struggle shall be permitted!" However, members of the Tung-fang-hung of the Institute of Geology replied:

"The Liberation Army should support the left wing!" It meant that they wanted the Liberation Army to support their violent struggle. After the departure of the Liberation Army soldiers, the violent people completely ignored the Eight Articles and resumed the violent struggle to a larger extent.

A group of violent people from the Tung-fang-hung broke into the telephone office of the Nationality Commission. Our fighters and operators tried to argue with them with reason and invited the Liberation Army soldiers on the scene to make a fair comment. However, those hooligans from the Tung-fang-hung replied by saying: "Those revolutionary soldiers of the Liberation Army may remain here; those who are against the revolution should get out of this place right away!"

At twelve o'clock, Comrade Chang X X, secretary of Comrade Ch'i Pen-yu of the Central Cultural Revolutionary Committee, came to solve the problems. As soon as Comrade Chang entered the third floor of the Nationality Palace, he was surrounded and insulted by a group of violent people from the Tung-fang-hung and the 8-8 Revolutionary Rebellious Group of the Nationality Opera Theater. Taking advantage of their overwhelming force, they questioned Comrade Chang X X: "How do you solve problems?" Chang replied: "My opinion is such that both parties should immediately withdraw from this place!" Up hearing this, they retorted: "If they don't hand out the materials, we shall never leave this place." They loudly scolded Chang: "You are a mess!" They also announced: "We are not to listen to the two directives issued by Nieh Yuan-tzu and K'uai Ta-fu!" At this point, Comrade Chang X X took a just stand and pointed out: "I honestly tell you, these two directives were decided by the Office of the Central Cultural Revolutionary Committee." The mobsters pointed to Chang's nose and said: "You don't seem to come from the Central Cultural Revolutionary Committee. The Committee has no such directives!" Comrade Chang X X replied: "Today, do you ask me to come here to solve problems or to criticize me? If you ask me to come here to criticize me, let's go ahead. Do you want me to say that you are "revolutionaries" while they are "royalists"?" Shamefully, they replied: "Right!" Comrade Chang X X firmly refused; he said: "Right now, I cannot answer this question of yours."

At two-thirty in the morning of 9 April, the Central Cultural Revolutionary Committee sent delegates, including Wu Te and Nieh Yuan-tzu, to hold a meeting on the second floor in the Nationality Palace. They transmitted the messages of the Central Cultural Revolutionary Committee to representatives from both parties and asked them to "immediately withdraw from the Nationality Palace and the

Nationality Commission." In the meeting, representatives of the Tung-fang-hung created a disorder and refused to obey the instructions. One of them shouted: "Those who are on the Tung-fang-hung side get out of this meeting!" This was an attempt to break the negotiation. In addition, they made intolerable challenge and insult to Comrades Wu Te and Nieh Yuan-tzu as well as members of the Hsin-pei-ta. They loudly spoke to the audience: "Nieh Yuan-tzu has done all inconceivably bad things." "Why cannot we oppose Nieh Yuan-tzu and K'uai Ta-fu? Why cannot we scold them?" "What is Nieh Yuan-tzu's seniority [in the Party]? What is the number of her position? We want to restore the San-szu." "Since January the overall direction of Peking University has been wrong." "Suppress the royalists in Peking University and K'ang-ta!" "What is the number of position of the Hsin-pei-ta? They live on their old assets." "Those of you in the K'ang-ta desparately followed Peking University. There will be no good end for you. Peking University is a royalist. Desperately, it tries to protect Nieh Yuan-tzu."

On the third floor of the Nationality Palace, the Tung-fang-hung Broadcasting Station sent out a message systematically and viciously attacking the Hsin-pei-ta. After delivering the message of the Central Cultural Revolutionary Committee, the Committee's delegate Chang X X, Comrades Wu Te and Nieh Yuan-tzu came out of the building. A handful of persons from the Tung-fang-hung of the Nationality College and the Institute of Geology pointed to Comrade Nieh Yuan-tzu's nose and cursed her with all kinds of dirty words.

At this moment, the mobsters in the northern chamber of the Nationality Commission had seized the last room. Comrade Chang X X, who represented the Central Cultural Revolutionary Committee to handle the materials here in this building, asked the mobsters to get out of the building and to keep the materials as where they were. However, the mobsters ignored his demand and acted in their own way. They broke the locks of five rooms where all confidential files, documents and materials of the past seventeen years were stored. In addition, they opened by force twenty wood cabinets and two file cases. They took away a large amount of confidential documents and the manuscripts of our wall posters and materials criticizing the black exhibition. When the mobsters rushed down stairs, they continued to attack us while looting materials. They continued to refuse to execute the directives of the Central Cultural Revolutionary Committee.

It was not until five or six o'clock in the morning that their organizations began to withdraw. The Tung-fang-hung of the Institute of Geology withdrew at seven o'clock; the Tung-fang-hung of the Nationality College did at nine

IV.

Altogether, we had about 1500 persons on our side. According to preliminary statistics, 700 to 800 of them were beaten and at least twelve persons were either injured and lost consciousness on the scene. The more than three hundred comrades who were besieged in the office building of the Nationality Commission were almost all forced out or kidnapped out of the building. Sixty two persons were thrown out of a single window in the telephone office.

Comrade Huang Po (7806/3877) of the K'ang-ta of the Nationality College suffered an injury in his head and had to take a rest in bed for three days. Comrade Ma Lien-po (7456/6647/3134) of the Peking Commune in the Ministry of Education had two bones broken. Comrade Wang Hsien-liang (3769/6343/5328) of the same commune was knocked off by a group of persons, resulting in the breaking of a finger. Comrade Fan Lien-chun (5400/6647/0689) in the first year of the Department of Political Science and concurrently a member of the Red Army Corps of the K'ang-ta Commune of the Nationality College received five hour assault and on three occasions he was forced to write confessions. The loss of material objects cannot be estimated at this point. Within the Nationality Commission Building alone, they, the mobsters, broke a front gate, smashed seventeen windows, destroyed thirty pieces of glasses, took away two loudspeakers, cut off three telephone lines, looted more than 400 pieces of the movement's materials, pictures, and the original manuscripts of wall posters, and broke seven tea glasses. What was more intolerable was that they openly tore up Chairman Mao's picture. This is the act of an active counterrevolutionary. We demand that they be severely punished!

V.

The handful of royalists, such as Hung T'ao, Liu Cheng, and Han Ko-lu, had desparately tried to protect the black exhibition. Later, seeing that the 2-7 Corps fired the first shot, they immediately changed their stand. On the one hand, they took away a certain amount of articles of criticism to be used as their assets; on the other hand, they did not allow the 2-7 Corps to participate in the criticism. Finally, they turned their back on the 2-7 Corps by imposing the crime of protecting Liu and Teng on that particular Corps.

They constantly imposed the label, "conservative organization," on such revolutionary organizations that have always persisted in the overall direction of the revolution. These include the 2-7 Corps, the Worker-Peasant-Soldier Rebellious Corps, and the 11-4 unit of the Department of United

Front Work. In addition, they also labelled other revolutionary organizations which supported the organizations mentioned above as conservative groups, or they would just say that these revolutionary organizations were cheated.

At the time when they broke the "5 April" assembly, they had conspired to stir up a violent struggle and through which to destroy the 2-7 Corps and the Worker-Peasant-Soldier Rebellling Units. Because of our insistence on civilized struggle, they failed to carry out their conspiracy.

On 2 April, a responsible person of the Tung-fang-hung of the Nationality Palace agitated the audience of a meeting by saying: "They have taken away the materials. Now, we have to change our position from the passive to the active." Following that, someone immediately suggested: "To be active, there are two ways. One is to take back the materials through the submission of a report to the Central Cultural Revolutionary Committee by Hung T'ao and the University Department; the other is to take back the materials by force."

On 6 April when the conservative organizations of the Red Liaison Station and the responsible persons of the Tung-fang-hung of the Nationality Commission were debating with the revolutionary leftist organizations of the Nationality Commission (i. e., members of the Worker-Peasant-Soldier Revolutionary Rebellling Corps), they served a "warning": "You wait and see. After a couple of days, there will be persons rebelling against you."

On 8 April, the entire counterrevolutionary incident was carried out under the direction of Hung T'ao, Liu Cheng, the responsible persons of the Yen-an Commune of the Ministry of Education, and the responsible persons of the Tung-fang-hung of the Institute of Geology. All of them sat in the third floor of the Nationality Palace. A right-hand fighter of Hung T'ao's, named Wei Ching-feng (7279/3194/1496), personally directed the fight on the scene.

VI.

The handful of violent people from the Red Liaison Station and the Tung-fang-hung of the Institute of Geology have done a disgraceful conduct. They have caused the indignity of the vast revolutionary masses, including the revolutionary comrades within the Tung-fang-hung organizations of the Institute of Geology and the Nationality College.

After witnessing this tragedy, a comrade worker said angrily: "I have never seen this kind of violent mobsters. They are not rebels, but simply bandits!"

In the morning of the same day, when members of the Tung-fang-hung from the Institute of Geology and the Nationality Palace got together to beat those of us who came to inspect the exhibition of the palace, one of our comrades introduced our situation to a student in the Tung-fang-hung of the Institute of Geology. After listening to our comrade's story, that student refused to participate in the fighting.

On 9 April, a comrade of the Tung-fang-hung of the Institute of Geology came to the exhibition hall. A comrade of our liaison committee exchanged views with him. He said: "We are not sure about what we are doing, because we do not understand the inside situation."

On the same day, the K'ang-ta Commune of the Nationality College received a "most resolute supporting and comforting" letter from three persons in the X X Combat Corps of the Tung-fang-hung Commune of the Nationality College. The following is the text of the letter:

MOST RESOLUTE SUPPORT AND MOST SINCERE GREETING

Dear Combat Friends of the Red Guards Headquarters and the K'ang-ta Commune:

You have raised high the critical banner of the proletarian cultural revolution and denounced the bourgeois reactionary line of Liu and Teng in the exhibition of nationality work. The overall direction of your conduct is entirely correct. It is a revolutionary conduct. Wonderful! We will firmly support this revolutionary action.

However, our Tung-fang-hung Commune is manipulated by a handful of royalist clowns and extreme "leftists." In collaboration with certain social organizations which have no knowledge of the truth, they staged a political attack against you with the purpose of hurting you. They falsely accused your revolutionary action as "counterrevolutionary action" and distorted your criticism as "a phony criticism." They said that your real intention was to protect Liu and Teng and that "it was a great deception," They further said that you wanted "to protect Liu and Teng to go through checkpoint." There are countless such false accusations. What is intolerable is their repeated interruption of your criticism assemblies. Worse yet, they single-handedly created the terrible "3 April bloody incident. They used fascist violent means to treat our class brothers and inhumanely beat and kicked you, grabbed your hairs, kidnapped your comrades, and created the bloody "3 April" incident. This is a grave political railroading. We express our indignity to this incident and also wish to send our friendly concern to those class brothers who have been wounded.

We want to serve a serious warning to that handful of fascist mobsters: You don't distinguish friends from foes and employed those means which are normally used to deal with enemies to treat our class brothers. On the basis of the crimes you have committed, you deserve death penalties. This account must be liquidated. If you dare to create similar incidents, we will hold you responsible for all consequences!

By

X X X three persons from the X X Combat Corps of the Tung-fang-hung Commune of the Institute of Geology

VII.

At a time when the national revolutionary rebelling groups and the entire body of instructors and students of the Hsin-pei-ta picking up the powerful stick of Mao Tse-tung's thought to deal with and to launch a general attack against Liu Shao-ch'i and Teng Hsiao-p'ing who are in power and taking the capitalist road; at a time when the Peking Revolutionary Committee was about to be born, the proletarian revolutionaries are getting greatly united and taking control of political power; at a time when the vast teachers and students in our university are using our pens as knives to criticize the black "self-cultivation of mind," the handful of persons (who have other ambitions) from the Tung-fang-hung Commune of the Peking Institute of Geology manufactured the unprecedented, grave " 11 April " violent incident under the agitation of the pig-head staff chiefs X X X, X X X, Hung T'ao, and Liu Cheng. They launched a violent attack against the young red regime of our Hsin-pei-ta.

The "April 11th" incident is the continuation and development of the "8 April ." incident.

The handful of damn guys from the Tung-fang-hung of the Institute of Geology did many notorious things in the "April 8th" incident. However, they refused to repent. On the contrary, under the pretext of debating with the Hsin-pei-ta Commune, they picked up six propaganda cars and invaded our campus at six thirty in the afternoon of 11 April. Using their time-honored skills to create rumors, they distorted facts, spread confusions, and willfully attacked the revolutionary teachers and students of Peking University. When we set up a stand in the great mess hall and invited them to come in so that we could debate with each other, they refused to do so. Instead, they said: "The handful of damn guys in the Hsin-pei-ta! Don't get nervous." In the face of such a serious political challenge, all of us in Hsin-pei-ta, including teachers, students, staff members, and workers, were getting angry. Nevertheless, the Hsin-pei-ta Commune and its Red Guards Headquarters still had hoped to solve the contradictions and differences by peaceful means. On many

occasions, we negotiated with some of the people in the Tung-fang-hung of the Institute of Geology, in the hope that through the use of four great weapons we could reach an agreement and achieve unity. Regrettably, they showed no sincere desire to solve the problems. A member of the Tung-fang-hung of the Institute of Geology said: "Since we don't understand the situation, how can we negotiate with them." This guy disclosed the secret. On the basis of his words, it is clear that they came to Peking University not for other purposes than to create disorder and split.

In the next morning, our university was prepared to hold an assembly to struggle against the reactionary bourgeois element, Wang Kuang-ying (3769/0342/5391). In order to successfully conduct the assembly, the Hsin-pei-ta Commune and its Red Guards issued a statement to stop the "debate," in the hope that their propaganda cars would leave the campus before nine o'clock. However, instead of leaving Peking University, they used their loud speakers to denounce the university's teachers, students, and workers. They insulted the resolutely revolutionary leftist, Nieh Yuan-tzu, and said: "Peking University is a royalist group; it protected P'eng Chen, Lu P'ing (7120/1627), work teams, and so forth..." "In the course of the great cultural revolution, what achievements has Peking University made?" But this was not all. They further insulted us by saying that our planned assembly tomorrow for the struggle of the reactionary bourgeois element, Wang Kuang-ying, was nothing but a "show." They declared that they were going to us troubles to the end. They said they wanted "to destroy this independent kingdom of Peking University." Some of them were even more crazy. They openly agitated "to disorganize the Red Guards Representative Council and to restore the San-szu." They shouted: "Let Peking University stand aside"; "Let Nieh Yuan-tzu get out of the Red Guards Representative Council." They took our sincere advice for nothing but a wind passing through their ears. They regarded our retreat and concession as our weak points. They did their best to enlarge the incident, to beat as many people as they could, and staged a violent attack against the young red regime of the Hsin-pei-ta.

VIII.

The handful of damn guys from the Tung-fang-hung of the Institute of Geology allied themselves with a group of masses who did not understand the true situation and collaborated with certain monsters in society to create disorder in Peking University. They attempted to create a large-scale violent incident to realize their shameful political aims, which they cannot tell other people. From this, they attempted to destroy the great unity achieved in the proletarian revolution and thereby to destroy the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Timely and energetically, the revolutionary teachers, students, staff members, and workers of Peking University exposed their conspiracy to expand the incident. In order to avoid conflict and to shift the overall direction of the struggle, we asked them to leave the Hsin-pei-ta. Such a request is reasonable and fair. However, they set their propaganda machine in its full operation and continued to viciously attack us. A guy from the Institute of Geology said: "Chairman Mao wrote the heading, "Hsin-pei-ta," for you. How much does it mean? When our fellow students pushed the question, he angrily retorted: "Don't show off your influence on the basis of others' power." Another fellow shouted: "How did Nieh Yuan-tzu become a section chief of the Red Guards Representative Council? We must drag the man out from the backstage." They pointed the spear toward Chairman Mao, who is the red sun in our hearts. They really deserve death.

While denouncing viciously Comrade Nieh Yuan-tzu, this handful of mobsters described the notorious Chu Cheng-chao, who used to be a leader of the Tung-fang-hung in the Institute of Geology, as a "junior revolutionary general." The Central Cultural Revolutionary Committee had earlier drawn a conclusion about Chu Cheng-chao. However, these mobsters still wanted to take the dead body out of the coffin. Is it that the point of their spear is directed toward the Central Cultural Revolutionary Committee?

In the course of confusion, a guy, named Wang, from the Tung-fang-hung of the Institute of Geology, took off his mark and penetrated into the rank-and-file of Peking University. He agitated the university's students by saying: "Overthrow this command car (a propaganda vehicle of the Tung-fang-hung)!" In saying this, he attempted to create another bloody incident; then, he could shift the blame to others. Certainly, we picked out this guy and exposed his scheme.

At ten o'clock in the evening, the Tung-fang-hung of the Institute of Geology gathered about several hundred persons outside the east gate of our campus. The combat members of our commune would not let them come in. They paid no attention and came into our campus over the walls.

At eleven thirty, a large number of persons, well-organized and well-directed, came into our university and loudly scolded us. The state of affairs was getting worse. Five minutes past twelve o'clock, they once again challenged us to engage in a violent struggle. They kidnapped our fellow students and on many occasions, beat our students. This group of mobsters had brought tape recorders and cameras with them. They photographed the scenes which they had arranged in advance.

When our fellow students tried to stop them, they hit them with their fists.

At one o'clock in the morning, a telephone call came from the Central Cultural Revolutionary Committee. It transmitted a three-point directive, ordering all outside units to leave Peking University. No violent struggle is permitted. Our university's broadcasting station repeatedly transmit this three-point message to the public. However, the handful of persons from the Tung-fang-hung of the Institute of Geology openly resisted this order. Instead withdrawing from Peking University, they called in more forces to break into our campus gate and created a larger violent struggle. They invaded our university's garrison force and thus obstructed our preservation of peace and security. Without feeling ashamed, they declared: "Violent struggle is an act of revolution!" In direct opposition to the Central Cultural Revolutionary Committee's directive, they said: "The directive of the Central Cultural Revolutionary Committee is not consistent with Mao Tse-tung's thought; we must resist it!" Look, how crazy they were.

After three o'clock in the morning, they gathered their forces on the east play ground of our university to hold the so-called "punitive meeting." They struggled against three of our comrade fighters, beat and kicked them, and physically tortured them. After the meeting, this small group of damn guys kidnapped our soldiers, cruelly tortured them, forced them to accept their deal with both threat and temptation, and exercised the traditional fascist tricks. Can or cannot it be tolerated?

IX.

Chairman Mao taught us: "To pick up a rock and use it to hit one's own feet." This is an old Chinese saying, describing the behavior of a foolish person. The handful of persons from the Tung-fang-hung of the Institute of Geology are indeed this kind of foolish persons.

They did not aim the point of their spear toward the No. 1 person in the Party who is in power and taking the capitalist road. Instead, they aimed the point of their spear toward the resolutely revolutionary leftists and the proletarian command headquarters that executes Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. They did promote the great unity between revolutionary rebelling groups; instead, they split and disorganized the revolutionary forces. They did not regard the interest of revolution as the highest principle; instead, they started out from the private interests of individuals and small groups. They were extremely interested in politicking, flattering, and splitting. Practice has shown: The handful of damn guys from the Tung-fang-hung of the Institute of Geology have moved into the opposite direction. They have assumed the role of being opportunists' fighters!

In light of the vicious attack imposed on us by a handful of mobsters from the Tung-fang-hung of the Institute of Geology, we begin to remember the leaders of our university's "Ching-kang-shan" and "Hung-lien-chun." We begin to remember Kung Fan (1313/4907), Yang K'o-ming (2799/0344/2494) and the alike. We also begin to remember the attack against the Hsin-pei-ta by Liu Shao-ch'i, the No. I Party person who is in power and taking the capitalist road, by Teng Hsiao-p'ing, T'ao Chu, and Wang Jen-chung (3769/0117/6850). All their words and deeds are strikingly similar! All class enemies are hostile to the political regime of the Hsin-pei-ta. They attempt to subvert it and kill it before its birth and growth. However, this is a day dream.

With the personal concern of Chairman Mao and the intimate guidance of the Central Cultural Revolutionary Committee, under the beacon light of Mao Tse-tung's thought, and under the correct leadership of the university's cultural revolutionary committee headed by Comrade Nieh Yuan-tzu, we are growing up. Regardless of the fact that there is a group of persons who tried hard to undermine the Hsin-pei-ta revolutionaries, they cannot do any harm to us. On the contrary, they have only exposed their own ugly face.

The "11 April " incident, which was created by a handful of persons from the Tung-fang-hung of the Institute of Geology who had other ambitions, is by no means an isolated incident. Let us listen to their slogans: "Strike down Nieh Yuan-tzu." "Nieh Yuan-tzu must get out of the Red Guards Representative Council." "Nieh Yuan-tzu has no right to join the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee." All this is not a problem concerning Nieh Yuan-tzu alone. It is a struggle between two classes. It is a decisive battle between two command headquarters! We should never take it for granted.

We want to serve a serious warning to a handful of persons who have other ambitions: You should no longer play the double-face role. Do you want to steal the fruits of the great cultural revolution? No, you cannot!

We want to arouse those fools: You should never forget the class struggle, should never forget the proletarian regime. We must place the political power in the hands of the real revolutionary leftists.

News of victory of the great unity among the revolutionary groups in Peking city have spread all over. The bright day--the birthday of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee is already in sight! All genuine revolutionary comrades should feel happy about it.

Let us repeat: The " 11 April " incident is an extremely

grave counterrevolutionary incident! A handful of persons who had other political ambitions blindly attempted to destroy the Hsin-pei-ta, to strike down this red flag erected by Chairman Mao, and to make a contribution to the No. 1 person in the Party who is in power and taking the capitalist road. We must drag out the person who had manipulated the incident from behind the scene.

The handful of persons from the Tung-fang-hung of the Institute of Geology and the person who planned the whole incident behind the scene cannot get away from their criminal responsibility for their attack against the Hsin-pei-ta Commune.

They stepped on the Sixteen Articles and destroyed the great democracy of the proletariat. They cannot get away from this criminal responsibility.

They resisted the directive of the Central Cultural Revolutionary Committee and agitated the masses to engage in struggles. They cannot get away from this criminal responsibility.

They created split and destroyed unity. They cannot get away from this criminal responsibility.

Long live the great unity of the proletarian revolutionaries!

Long live the victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution!

Long live Chairman Mao! Long, long live Chairman Mao!