

WHITHER, THE GENERAL FACTION?

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Now, under the illumination of Mao Tse-tung's thinking, the proletarian revolutionaries are becoming ever stronger in their struggle against the great storms. The proletarian revolutionary line has penetrated man's heart and gained a total and decisive victory. Meanwhile, the bourgeois reactionary line has encountered a total defeat; the conservative organizations, serving as its social foundation and its tool, are falling apart one after another. The vast misled masses, through factual education, have distinguished the right and wrong, clarified the situation, and returned to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. The small handful of stubborn evil headmen and their backstage support are completely isolated. They are deserted and despised by all. Truly, a thousand sails glide by the sunken ship; all plants sprout before the diseased tree.

The arrogant "Industrial Bandits" ("Ch'an-fei") and "Hundred-Bandit" ("Pai-fei") of Wuhan, considering themselves great and pure, were finished. They were the ship sunk by the powerful revolutionary torrent and the rotten tree. Whither, the General Faction (Tsung-p'ai), including those like the Local General (Ti-tsung), the Red General (Hung-tsung), and the Theory Soldiers (Chu-i Ping) of Canton?

The General Faction always bragged about its size and purity. It was considered a treasure and honored as "spring thunder" by the handful of capitalist factions in the party and the army, imposed on the temporary production directing department, and promoted to the throne of the puppet Industrial and Red Guard Congresses. Thereaf-

ter, under the scheming of the handful of capitalist factions in the party and the army, it organized a directing department to struggle against T'ao for the purpose competing against the revolutionaries and shifting the latter's aim against Kuang T'an (1684 6223) [T'an of Kwangtung?]. It widely advocated the "general direction," and was arrogant to the extreme. Nevertheless, the tragedies of 21 and 23 July wiped all these out, and the cat was out of the bag. The downfall of the "Hundred-Bandit" and the bloody incidents before their very eyes waked up the misled people, who withdrew one after another from the General Faction. The General Faction was thrown into a great confusion and confronted with an unprecedented political crisis. It was like a sinking wooden boat in the storm, dragged by Kuang T'an step by step toward its grave.

As early as April this year, when asserting the Industrial Association (Kung-lien), the Red Flag Workers, and the Three Red Banners as revolutionary, Premier Chou declared it as leaning toward the conservative in the past and sounded a warning. Yet, it ignored such warning. Instead of mending its ways, it became worse than ever, and listened to Commander Huang's words that it was "merely slightly deficient in its revolutionary quality." It prided itself on its "leaning" and considered it its political capital to compete against the rebels. Following Kuang T'an's desire, it displayed an arrogance, misrepresented itself as revolutionary leftwing, resisted the revolutionary actions of the true rebels, confused the line between the "revolutionary" and the "conservative," tried its best to drag the movement to Kuang T'an's "correct path," and promoted and cheered Kuang T'an's "peaceful evolution" capitalist restoration. On the series of fundamental issues such as the "3 May" fast, reversing the case for the 8-1 Combat Corps, and "hauling out Kuang T'an," it followed the bourgeois reactionary line and resisted and sabotaged. While defending and extolling Kuang T'an, it vigorously got after "the handful" among the rebels, wishing to destroy the rebels and serving as the claws of Kuang T'an. Nevertheless, it failed in all its attempts and slipped further and further toward the direction pointed out by Kuang T'an.

In fact, it should have learned its lessons from the "Industrial Bandits" and the "Hundred-Bandit." Yet, its handful of evil headmen shed no tear before the coffin. Under Kuang T'an's instigation and following its old ways, it created rumors, manufactured illusions, and resorted to slanders in order to pacify its own ranks and resist the outside and safeguard its dilapidated trash pile.

After the Wuhan incident and 21 and 23 July incidents of Canton, it assumed an extreme "leftwing" appearance, and, following Kuang T'an, vigorously advocated support for the Wuhan rebels, wanting to knock down Ch'en Tsai-tao (7115 0375 6670) and grasp Kuang T'an [sic], and making a 180-degree about-face. Yet, it refused to admit that

March constituted a black wind. It vehemently declared that no reversal could be effected for the 8-1 Combat Corps because it was a counter-revolutionary organization, openly turned the spearhead against Premier Chou, reviled the Industrial Association, the Red Flag Workers, and the Three Red Banners as "industrial thieves" and "tattered flags," and stubbornly adhered to the bourgeois reactionary line of attacking the majority and defending the handful. Reviewing the history of the "Hundred-Bandit," we can clearly see that the so-called "support" and "knocking down" advocated by the General Faction were merely the chewed over bones of the "Hundred-Bandit," political speculation, and spurious rebellion and true conservatism. Now that the case of the 8-1 Combat Corps has been reversed and Premier Chou has again affirmed the Industrial Association, the Red Flag Workers, and the Three Red Banners and dealt another blow to the General Faction, what else does it have to say?

It shamelessly praised itself by saying that the Local General (Ti-tsung) had joined the small special group to criticize Liu. It actually tried to raise itself to heaven by its own shoe-string! In May, it bragged that "the Local General and the Red General (Hung-tsung) are the two red banners in the national worker movement." We can remember clearly the rumor of the support rendered by Peking's Red Guard and Industrial Congresses to it, though such rumor has evaporated like bubbles. There are those in Canton who dare to speak up, and Peking can do nothing!

In addition to handbills, large-letter posters, and shameless slander, it also engaged in unarmed demonstration marches, trying to convince the people that it adhered to struggle by reason and resisted struggle by force, while the "industrial bandits" and "tattered flags" were the ringleaders of struggle by force. What a model of struggle by reason! The blood on its hands was not even dry! It was under heavy military protection when marching. It set up base points in the villages, created rumors in the villages against the "industrial bandits" and college students, and claimed that preparations for "the rural village to surround the city" were intensifying. Holding the banner of struggle by reason in its left hand, it stretched its right hand into Kuang T'an's ammunition warehouse. Armed to the teeth, it gave no attention to the wooden sticks and iron rods. It had long trained its struggle and assassination teams. The only thing was that it did not want to be frank. Instead, it tendered an olive branch as a gesture.

After laughing at such tricks, the rebels will remember Lu Hsun's words: "But I can definitely say that the persecution of the reformers by those against reform has never relaxed, and the means have become more ruthless than ever before."

Isn't it so? When the smoke at the Sun Yat-sen Memorial Auditorium had barely cleared, the "Spring Thunder," under Kuang T'an's

instigation, ganged up the Local General, the Theory Soldiers, and the Suburban Poor Peasants League, totalling several thousand people, to attack the Central South Forestry Institute, using even artillery and creating the 9 August bloody incident... The handful of evil elements relied on Kuang T'an, and surrounded and attacked the rebels, without sparing the residents and the children. Bloody incidents, such as the 11 August provincial people's council incident and the 13 August Central University (Chung Ta) incident, occurred one after another. It set up nets to arrest and assassinate and operated private courts and jails. How many rebel warriors were tortured or murdered! White terror engulfed the whole place. It wanted to swallow the rebels all at once. It served as the executioner of Kuang T'an in the bloody suppression of the rebels and as the cannon fodder of military coups. It followed the counter-current of the reckless counter-offensive of China's Khrushchev, and slipped to the verge of the "Hundred-Bandit."

Failing in suppressing, it resorted to rumors; failing in rumors, it returned to suppression...

Suppression! Rumors! These are the rice bowl of the handful following Kuang T'an and the General Faction and its death struggle!

When the misled masses in the General Faction raise Kuang T'an's butcher knife against the rebels, we must loudly shout: You have been deceived! We know that you raise Kuang T'an's butcher knife against us because you believe the rumors of Kuang T'an and his handful of headmen. You think that you are attacking the "counter-revolutionaries" and the "monsters and evil spirits," but actually you have been tricked. You are utilized to sabotage the proletarian dictatorship, murder the rebels, extinguish the great cultural revolution, and defend its shaky control. You are the sacrificial sheep of Kuang T'an. Once his plot succeeds, he will not spare the workers, poor and low-middle peasants, and their children among you. After utilizing the people's strength to seize political power, all reactionary rulers in history turned around and ruthlessly persecuted and exploited the people. Can the handful of capitalist factions in Canton's party be an exception? We believe that, once you realize that you have been misled, you will smash the spiritual shackles and resolutely strike Kuang T'an with his own butcher knife.

Some comrades may say: Being misled is no crime. The errors of direction and line are merely the internal contradictions in the people. Anyway, there are many others, and I am not the only one. Might as well drift along the way it is. We say: Such views are extremely wrong. It is true that being misled is no crime. But when you desert Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, follow the bourgeois reactionary line, defend the bourgeois interest, devote your effort for the class enemies, dip your hands in the blood of your class brothers, indulge in deeds unworthy of the proletariat, and cause se-

rious damages to the great cultural revolution and the party cause, can you set your mind at ease because you are "not guilty?" If you adhere firmly to your errors, the nature of the contradictions may change. Isn't the history of the "Hundred-Bandit" clear? Do you mean to disregard the Party Central, Chairman Mao, the Central Cultural Revolution, and the revolutionary line at the critical moment of the battle and belittle the lives of the rebels and the destiny of the nation, while willingly serving the bourgeois reactionary line? What will be the meaning of living in this world? Chairman Mao exhorts: "We are responsible to the people. Every word, every act, and every policy must be adjusted to their interest, and all errors must be corrected. This is being responsible to the people." He also says: "There are many urgencies, and time is short. We cannot wait ten thousand years, but must strive morning and evening." As long as the misled people, even the evil headmen, realize their errors, correct them by practical action, and return to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, we will welcome you without preference or distinction.

The General Faction is a government sponsored organization formed with Kuang T'an's support, on the momentum of the black March wind, by the conservative and rightwing forces which collapsed in the January storm. It is the social foundation of the handful of capitalist factions in the party and the army. This is its organizational line. Defending the interest of the handful of capitalist factions in the party and the army and the bourgeois reactionary line is its political line. It serves as the able henchman of the handful of capitalist factions in the party and the army against the revolutionaries and the great cultural revolution and as the cannon fodder of Kuang T'an's military coups. It is the stumbling block of the great cultural revolution in the Canton area. In organization and politics, it is controlled by the handful of capitalist factions in the party and the army and their bad headmen. It submits to pressure and dances to the baton. Therefore, it does not have its own political standpoint or take any independent action. Nor does it possess any political foresight or true revolutionary spirit. It is passive in politics. Similar to all reactionary forces, it has lost its principle. It is corrupt and inept. It is only a paper tiger which cannot withstand one blow. Therefore, the political crisis faced by it cannot be averted by "suppression" and "rumors." It will be impossible to prevent it from following the same fate as the "Industrial Bandits" and "Hundred-Bandit" by "peaceful transition" to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line through reformism or "parliamentary" method or by the support of Commander Huang. The revolutionary comrades in the General Faction must not be hesitant. They must take the opportunity and make their decision, turn their spearhead around, and rebel against the capitalist factions and their evil

headmen in the party and the army, wiping them out in the political, ideological, and organizational aspects. This is the only way. The "New Local General" (Hsin Ti-tsung) is an example. We welcome the "New Local General," and we hope for more organizations like it.

Being misled is no crime; turning the spearhead around is a merit. Whither, the General Faction? It is responsible for its own fate.

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