

Preface by Professor Du Guang

A historical monument to the democratic movement, preface to the 1957
Dictionary
of Victims' Names

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In China's modern and contemporary history, 1957 is a year worthy of a big book. In this year, the pro-democracy movements that were wrongly provoked and the anti-rightist movements that were mixed with conspiracies and conspiracies appeared in the land of China one after another, portraying a glorious and tragic mark on history and also bringing great trauma to the Chinese nation. The history of this year is a painful history that cannot be looked back. The logic of history tells us that any disaster and trauma can provide us with valuable lessons and become the spiritual wealth of the whole nation. The problem is how to reflect on the summary and learn lessons. If we refuse to reflect and sum up and learn the lessons we deserve, then not only will these rare spiritual wealth be wiped out, but the factors that lead to disasters may also make a comeback and cause new trauma to society. The 1957 democratic movement and the anti-rightist movement have very rich lessons to be learned and worth summarizing. Regrettably, it is still tied to a fixed pattern and the anti-rightist movement is necessary, correct, and only expanded. For decades, the anti-rightist movement has become a sensitive topic that is not allowed to be discussed, and the official media has been silent, and folk works, memoirs, and collections of essays on this period of history are not allowed to be published, and those that are lucky to be published are not allowed to be published. As for the early democratic movements, fewer people know about them, let alone learn the lessons learned from them. Nevertheless, memoirs, monographs, and collections of essays that were printed at their own expense and revealed the truth of this period of history have continuously broken through the ban and emerged one after another, providing rich case information and macroscopic perspectives for restoring the true face of the democratic

movement and the anti-rightist movement, drawing lessons from them. The most rare thing is that there is a "May Seventh Society" in Hong Kong that focuses on the study of the history of 1957. Since their establishment, they have extensively collected relevant materials, compiled and printed them into books, and published more than 100 works that cannot be published in the mainland. In recent years, on the basis of long-term data collection, they have compiled a "1957 Dictionary of Victim Names" of tens of millions of words. This monumental work contains the names and profiles of more than 30,000 victims classified as rightists, and on top of them are participants in the democracy movement and victims of the anti-rightist movement. It is not only a credit book for recording the historical waves of the democratic movement, but also a record of the crimes of exposing the heinous crimes of the anti-rightist movement. It not only provides rich and solid basic information for the history of the May Seventh Pain, but also becomes a vivid teaching material for future generations to recognize and remember the historical events that occurred in that year.

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The history of 1957, with the June 8 editorial of the People's Daily, "Why is this?" " as the boundary, can be clearly divided. The "June 8 Editorial" was preceded by a surging democratic movement that spread throughout the country, a democratic revolution in which the broad masses of the people challenged and crusaded against feudal absolutism; the official version was the rampant attack of rightists and the counter-revolutionary act of anti-party and anti-socialism. The anti-Rightist movement that quickly unfolded throughout the country after the June 8 Editorial was a frenzied counterattack and brutal suppression of the democratic movement by feudal authoritarian rulers; the official version was to counter the rampant attacks of the Rightists, a socialist revolution in the political field.

The democratic movement that preceded the June 8 Editorial was a revolutionary movement that was far from mature and therefore aborted, and there were many factors that tempted it to appear untimely, the main ones being:

1. Many of the overly brutal and even brutal practices in the land reform, anti-rebellion, and purge campaigns have expanded the scope of the crackdown and hurt many innocent people; the ideological reform movement carried out in the cultural and educational circles is a serious spiritual harm to intellectuals. These measures have

caused some social groups to be centrifugal towards the new regime.

(2) The "socialist transformation" of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce deprives the peasants, craftsmen and capitalists of ownership of the means of production. In the joy of beating gongs and drums, there is hidden helplessness and dissatisfaction with the loss of private property. The unified purchasing and marketing that came with the "three major transformations" have even deprived the people of the right to freedom of food and clothing on which they depend for their survival, causing widespread disappointment and anger.

3. Mao Zedong's speech on correctly handling contradictions among the people has created the illusion that political control has been relaxed and the degree of social freedom has been expanded. Fei Xiaotong's article "The Early Spring Weather of Intellectuals" typically reflects the misjudgment of intellectuals who are not without concern but are too optimistic about the situation.

4. International developments, such as the revolutionary upheavals in Poland and Hungary in 1956, and Khrushchev's secret report at the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, also had an impact on the domestic intellectual circles that could not be ignored.

5. In addition to the above factors, the most direct inducement for the pro-democracy movement to start it before it is far from mature is the directive issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on the rectification movement. In order to carry out this instruction, party organizations at all levels and in all units have mobilized one after another to call on, mobilize, and even force people to expose and criticize the subjectivism, bureaucracy, and sectarianism that exist in party and government organs and enterprises and institutions, and to "help the party rectify the work style." Many people either actively responded to the party's call and mobilization, put forward some criticisms and suggestions, or were forced to attend the meeting reluctantly, and made a few perfunctory remarks on the spot, and as a result, they all fell into the trap of conspiracy and conspiracy, and unfortunately died. The theme of this mass movement, promoted by the Communist Party under the call of

"helping the party to rectify the work style", was to expose and criticize bureaucracy, subjectivism and sectarianism. But this "three harms" were originally a special product of the authoritarian bureaucracy, and people exposed and criticized the "three evils" and put

forward various suggestions; although subjectively there was no will to overthrow the rule of the Communist Party, and there was no organizational connection between them, in terms of their essence, All of them oppose dictatorship and dictatorship to varying degrees, and call for the freedom of the people, with different shades of democracy. It can be said that this is a passive, unconscious democratic movement with a great reformist component.

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The participants in this democracy movement are very diverse. It should be admitted that most of the victims who were later classified as rightists did not have the democratic demands of rational self-consciousness. At the forefront of the movement, sufficient to represent the democratic character of this mass movement, are the three categories of intellectuals in the minority.

The first category is young students in institutions of higher learning. They are in the

ocean of knowledge, absorbing the modern concept of freedom and democracy, most

sensitive to the practical problems of society, with a real sense of mission and

responsibility for the future of the country and the destiny of the nation, and deserve to

become the vanguard of that democratic movement. This vanguard group can be

represented by the "May 19 Movement" of Peking University.

The call of peking university students' democratic movement in that year as the "May 19

movement" stems from the fact that some peking university students posted several large-

character newspapers and small-character posters on May 19, and some demanded that "a

democratic forum be opened to ensure speech, publication, assembly, association,

Democratic Rights to Demonstrate"; some protest against the unelected deputies to the

National League Congress against the deprivation of the democratic rights of the vast

number of League members; the most exciting is Shen Zeyi and Zhang Yuanxun's long

poem "It's Time.". It declares that "my poem/ is a torch" and "its fire comes from Ñ May

Fourth." Brothers who sing the truth / Hold up the torch", "Cremate all darkness under

the sun"!

These big-character newspapers and small-character newspapers provoked the

enthusiasm of young students for democracy and freedom. That night, the dormitories

were brightly lit, and many students stayed up all night, discussing, arguing, and

discussing the contents of the big-character posters. By five o'clock in the afternoon of

the next day, there were already 162 large posters on campus, and for

several days,
thousands of large posters were posted throughout the school. These big-character posters
are full of emotional and enthusiastic appeals, but also full of rational and calm analysis,
and their main theme is democracy and freedom. For example, Tan Tianrong shouted in
"A Few Words of Human Kindness": "Long live freedom, democracy and reason!" The
big-character poster declared: "We have once again raised the banner of democracy,
freedom and truth to fight!" Wang Guoxiang said: "Strive for real people's freedom and
democracy." Yan Zhongqiang proposed: "For the sake of truth, humanity, democracy,
and freedom, I can sacrifice everything." Qian Ruping vowed: "The head can be broken,
the blood can be shed, and the truth must not be lost." Some big-character newspapers
analyzed the root causes of bureaucracy, subjectivism, and sectarianism, and pointed out
that the "three evils," like the mistakes of the Soviet Union and the Polish-Hungarian
incident, "are all one root cause: undemocratic." "The dictatorship of the proletariat is
embodied in the system, that is, the undemocratic method of rule. "A high degree of
centralization is dangerous. (Wang Shuyao) "No one can and is not worthy of the gift of
democracy to the people, and democracy is the people themselves." Some even pointed
out that the Communist Party is "the originator of sectarianism and the foundation of
bureaucracy." (Jiang Xingren).
At the same time as the big character newspaper, there are also some debate meetings and
accusation meetings. Lin Xiling, a student at Chinese Min University, was invited to
Peking University on 23 and 27 July to give speeches and made profound comments and
sharp criticisms on such issues as the dictatorship of the proletariat, the cult of
personality, the hu feng issue, the purge and expansion, contradictions among the people,
the limitations of the ruling class, the dark side of socialism, and whether the power is
great or the law. At these meetings, some students accused the public security department
of indiscriminate torture and torture to extract confessions; some exposed that Peking
University criticized more than 200 students during the 1955 purge, set up private public
courts, and illegally interrogated them, arousing the public anger of students.
In addition, the students also established organizations (such as the "Hundred Flowers
Society"), published publications (such as "Square", "Freedom Forum"), sent people to
other schools to publicize and launch, petitioned the Beijing Municipal Party Committee,

and protested at the People's Daily, and soon set off a climax of the democracy movement in colleges and universities in Beijing and even throughout the country. From May 19 to June 8, in just 20 days, the "May 19 Movement" swept through the whole university of Peking University. The breadth of content, the richness of the forms, and the profoundness of the criticism all embody the democratic characteristics of anti-feudalism, anti-autocracy, and struggle for democracy and freedom, and have become the model of the national democratic movement in 1957. Mr. Qian Liqun pointed out in an article: "The May 19 Democracy Movement at Peking University is the inheritance and development of the May Fourth spirit, which is of great significance in the history of China's modern democracy movement. Ó

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The second category is members of democratic parties and university professors, experts, and scholars. These high-ranking intellectuals, who had received higher education at home or abroad, had a relatively profound quality of democracy. Most of them had opposed the dictatorship of Chiang Kai-shek of the Kuomintang and were attracted by the Communist Party's call to "build an independent, free, democratic, unified, prosperous and strong New China." Therefore, there is some dissatisfaction and criticism of some of the new regime's practices that violate the original promises and violate the principles of freedom and democracy. The call to "help the party rectify the situation" provided them with an opportunity to express their dissatisfaction. The criticisms and suggestions put forward by this group at that time were generally quite moderate and generally more subtle, but the democratic will to oppose authoritarianism was still very obvious. For example, Zhang Bojun's "Political Design Institute" reflects the willingness of the democratic parties to participate more in the decision-making of major state policies. Chu Anping's "party world" is a criticism of the one-party dictatorship. Luo Longji's "Rehabilitation Committee" advocates the redress of all unjust, false and wrongly decided cases, which is tantamount to exposing the evils of authoritarian rule; he also pointed out that "small intellectuals lead big intellectuals." He also showed dissatisfaction with the leadership of Mao Zedong of the Communist Party. The democratic demands of university professors are mainly focused on issues related to higher education. Since the ideological reform movement and the readjustment of faculties and departments, professors in various universities have become

like "birds of
fright", and although they are dissatisfied, they can only bow their
heads and do it
reluctantly. The conspiracy to "help the party rectify the work style"
has provoked a
grudge in their hearts. As a result, some of the more daring professors
stood out, and at
some symposiums, some of them were generous and vivid, and some of them
were
implicit and implicit, and the point was reached. The topics focused on
issues such as the
relationship between the party and the masses, the policy of
intellectuals, democratic
school management, and whether non-party cadres have the power to hold
offices. For
example, Huang Yaomian of Beijing Normal University accused the school's
party
committee of "using the party as a substitute for the government, and the
party and the
government do not distinguish between the party and the government," and
communist
party members for "overbearing the party spirit," and regarded
intellectuals as "a dark
mess." ", is a "dissident". Zhu Zhixian criticized the Party Committee of
the Normal
University as "ignorant" and "layman", "but with absolute decision-making
power" ?
Tao Dayong, Zhong Jingwen, Dong Weichuan, and others all pointed out that
the role of
democratic parties has not been brought into play enough. Although these
opinions are
aimed at the Party Committee of Beijing Normal University, they are of
universal
significance. The "Some Opinions on China's Scientific System" drafted by
Zeng
Zhaozhuo and others, and the "Our Proposal on the Leadership System of
Colleges and
Universities" put forward by Huang Yaomian and others are even more
tactfully
expressing their willingness to oppose authoritarian rule and call for
democratic politics
from the perspective of education and science.
Among the high-level intellectuals of the May Seventh Democracy Movement,
there is
another group that has unfortunately died because of adhering to the
concept of
democracy, that is, experts and scholars in the legal profession. Because
of the
professional characteristics of their work, many experts in the legal
profession and even
officials advocate modern legal theories such as judicial independence
and presumption
of innocence. These ideas and viewpoints, which are opposed to
authoritarian rule,
constitute an important part of the democratic movement, and it is
precisely because of
this that the legal profession has become the hardest hit area of the
overall brutal
suppression of the anti-rightist movement.

The third category is the cadres of intellectuals in the Communist Party, especially some intellectuals who hold certain leadership positions. Most of these party members have gone through the Yan'an rectification movement, have many years of work experience, and have a deep understanding of the operation mode of the Communist Party, so they are more able to hit the nail on the head than people outside the party. Taking some cadres at the department, bureau, and departmental levels who studied at the Central High Party School as an example, a large number of criticisms and suggestions put forward by them in the course of rectification have spread throughout many fields since the founding of the Republic, from land reform, town reform, purge, three antis and five reactions, ideological transformation, and the leadership system of colleges and universities, to co-operation, the three major reforms, unified purchasing and marketing, anti-Hu style, intellectual policies, industrialization and adventurism, and even the life within the party, work style, specialization of leading cadres, and so on. Many people also agree with the growing call for democracy in society. Some people think that "the opinions in Peking University and Tsinghua Big Character Newspaper can be considered." "(Xiao Lu)" Lin Xiling and Tan Tianrong's opinion is good, maybe after ten thousand years, it will become a fragrant flower. (Wang Tan) "In the past, we hit people ten times, and now people beat us, what's the fuss about?" "(Zhang Shengqiang) The most valuable thing is their exposure and criticism of party life, which is beyond the reach of other groups. If there is criticism, "the party is not democratic, and the whole thing is not in order." (Wang Wenliang) "In the party, you engage me, I engage you." (Liu Hanren) "The Party Central Committee lacks self-criticism. (Liu Dekun, Shi Tianxing) "The central policy swings left and right, and the work is left or right. "The instructions of the Central Committee and the party newspaper editorials are all old-fashioned. (Sheng Jianfu) "As long as they can understand the intention of the leadership and can pat themselves on the back, they can be promoted; cadres who dare to think independently, work seriously, and are active and responsible are often hit." "(Gao Lang)" The relationship between some leading cadres in the party and their subordinates is a master-slave relationship. When [Fang De] talked idly at the group meeting on weekdays, there was no shortage of criticism of Mao Zedong, believing that he was subjective and one-sided, arbitrary, and

full of merit, and lacked the spirit of self-criticism. The criticisms and proposals made by this group of intellectuals within the Communist Party touch on all aspects of the political system. The mistakes and shortcomings in these work, and the exploration of the general root causes, are all related to the autocratic system of the dictatorship of the party, reflecting their dissatisfaction with the dictatorship and their desire to achieve democratic politics. This healthy force within the Communist Party was the precursor to the later inner-party democrats.

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This premature democracy movement of 1957 has left us with many valuable spiritual legacies. It is valuable not only because it contains an incomparably rich collection of lessons for future generations to learn, but also because the authoritarian rule exposed and criticized by the pioneers of these democratic movements is still pervasive throughout society today, and the nets of authoritarianism are becoming more and more dense, the regulation of society is more severe, and the call for democratic freedom is gradually declining. That is to say, the society in which we live is essentially no different from the 1957 year faced by the democratic forefathers, and even more serious and authoritarian than that era. The moral decay and integrity brought about by the suppression of the democratic movement in those years have not been eliminated to this day. The voices and pursuits of the democratic ancestors are of practical and even more practical significance at present. In the form of including tens of thousands of May Seventh Democracy fighters, the "Directory of Rightists" silently declares to society: Do not forget May seventh, do not forget the grand goals of anti-dictatorship, anti-authoritarianism, and struggle for democracy and freedom that have not yet been achieved by the democratic ancestors. Their democratic ideas need to be inherited and carried forward by future generations; their unfinished business needs to be continued and completed by future generations. Therefore, the historical significance and social value of the Directory of Rightists far exceed that of an informative work. It is a historical monument of the democracy movement, recording the anti-authoritarian achievements of the democratic ancestors and exposing the crimes of the authoritarian rulers in suppressing the democratic movement. It is a long alarm bell, warning us all the time: "The revolution has not yet succeeded, comrades still have to work hard!" Ó Hats off to all the democracy fighters and martyrs of 1957!

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[Du Guang was born in 1928, was branded a rightist in the office of the Party School of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, was reformed by labor for twenty years, and returned to the Central Party School in 1979, successively serving as deputy director of the Theoretical Research Office, director of the Scientific Research Office, and director of the library.] In 1989, he was removed from all positions inside and outside the CCP for supporting the student movement. His publications include "Adhering to the Socialist Direction of Reform", "Justifying the Name of "Liberalization"", "The Revolution and Counter-Revolution of 1957", and "Du GuangWencun".]