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# PETITIONING FOR REDRESS OVER THE ANTI-RIGHTIST CAMPAIGN

In the run-up to the fiftieth anniversary of the Anti-Rightist Campaign, an increasing number of public petitions have been circulated, gathering public support for official accountability on the issue. Following are two such petitions. The first, initiated in Shandong in 2005, has attracted thousands of signatures worldwide.

## Petition for redress to those wrongfully labeled rightists

**Addressed to the CCP Central Committee, the NPC and the State Council**  
**Organizer: Surviving victims of the Anti-Rightist Campaign and their families**

**Initiation Date: 11/13/2005**

**Cut-off date: open**

Forty-eight years ago, in 1957, Mao Zedong spear-headed the rectification and anti-rightist campaign. Twenty-six years ago, in 1979, the rightist label was “corrected,” and the officially acknowledged number of rightists was adjusted to around 550,000, an obvious reduction. Not included in that number were those labeled during the same period as counterrevolutionaries, traitors and anti-Party elements, and moderate rightists.<sup>1</sup> Also not included were many who, on returning from Reeducation-Through-Labor (RTL) to have their cases reexamined and amended, were found never to have actually been labeled as rightists, although they had been persecuted as such for 22 years.

During the reexamination of rightist cases in 1979, reassessment was still based on the “six criteria” used during the Anti-Rightist Movement,<sup>2</sup> but it was ultimately determined that over 99 percent of “rightists” had been wrongly labeled, and only a few “classic examples” were not rehabilitated in order to maintain the conclusion that “the Anti-Rightist Campaign was a necessary step that got out of hand.” Even so, the figure of more than 550,000 rightists amounted to over 10 percent of the total number of intellectuals at the



**Anti-Rightist campaign victim Yan Dunfu (L) displays a copy of the protest poster that led to her purging. Photo: Reuters.**

time. When these rightist cases were corrected, not one cent of their 22 years of lost wages was compensated, and in general, wages were simply restored to their original level. Upon correction of their cases, most of the mislabeled rightists returned to their original work units, where many were given new jobs. There were others who returned to their places of origin to find employment on their own or to become farmers. Between the Anti-Rightist Campaign and the Ten-Year Calamity,<sup>3</sup> thousands of those labeled right-wing died in labor camps or from torture or starvation, and their families were also implicated. No compensation was made for the resulting mental anguish.

The Anti-Rightist Movement rocked China and shocked the world. Until the correction of rightist cases in 1979, the central government took a low-key approach. There was a written “notice of correction,” but no significant meeting, no summing up of the historical lessons of the Anti-Rightist Campaign and certainly no expression of apology to

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the masses of the people. The brutality of the campaign and the softly, softly approach of the correction reflected the mentality of those in power.

One cannot help but note that those labeled “capitalist roaders” in the Cultural Revolution were not only completely exonerated, but their wages were compensated, many were reinstated to their former positions and some enjoyed a significant rise in status. Furthermore, a meeting was held to evaluate and criticize the “two whatevers.”<sup>4</sup> Yet, those persecuted as rightists by Mao Zedong were not exonerated, but only given a “correction.” This suggests that the Anti-Rightist Campaign was simply a mistake, and not a grave injustice, and that there is no need to hold it up to the mirror of history.

How many of those victimized in the Anti-Rightist Campaign, and who experienced labor camps, famine and the Cultural Revolution, were already dead by the time of the “correction”? No official figure has been released. Twenty years later, the number of those still alive, the youngest of whom are over 70, is less than half what it was in 1979. Time is short and these elderly victims who have experienced serious physical and psychological trauma, and their families who were implicated along with them, now raise these old issues with the central government in hopes of establishing whether today’s central government governs on behalf of the people, whether it is accountable to history and the people, and whether it will take concrete action to thoroughly exonerate those labeled as rightists and provide material and psychological compensation to victims and their survivors.

**How many of those victimized in the Anti-Rightist Campaign were already dead by the time of the “correction”?**

## **WAS THE ANTI-RIGHTIST CAMPAIGN NECESSARY OR ILLEGAL?**

In 1978, the central government organized a large-scale discussion on “Practice is the Sole Criterion of Truth,”<sup>5</sup> which was primarily aimed at the “two whatevers” of the Cultural Revolution. In that same year, the central government issued Document 55 regarding the rightist corrections; but rather than embodying the spirit of “practice as the criterion of truth,” this document only established whether the rightist label might be “corrected” upon reexamination. To this day there has been no change to the position that “the Anti-Rightist Campaign was necessary.” This shows that the “two whatevers” are still with us.

The Rectification Campaign of 1957 opposed subjectivism, sectarianism and bureaucracy. Mao Zedong called on the democratic parties and intellectuals to speak their minds to aid the Party in the task of rectification, guaranteeing that “critics would not be blamed” and that the policy of the “three nos” would be implemented: no seizing on shortcomings; no unsparing criticism; no labeling of others. The deployment and undertakings of the time indicate that this was a top-down campaign; it was not spontaneous, much less was there any so-called “attack on the Party.”

The Central government’s decision on rectification had been in force just over half a month when Mao Zedong wrote his internal Party directive, “Things Are Changing,”<sup>6</sup> under which secret plots became blatant schemes, and it was determined that intellectuals were enemies that must be “lured in, rounded up and annihilated.” Even before he

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had the rightists in his grasp, Mao Zedong had already defined them as enemies, after landlords, rich peasants, reactionaries and bad elements. From the latter half of 1957 and for the next two years, the rectification campaign gave him the opportunity to pounce on more than 550,000 rightists inside and outside the Party. These people were all made to wear the rightist hat, and had their ranks and salaries downgraded and portions of their wages withheld. Most were dispersed throughout the country and to the borderlands for reform and reeducation through labor.

The history of the last 50 years shows that it is just as absurd to ask whether the Anti-Rightist Campaign was necessary as it is to raise the question of whether the Cultural Revolution was necessary. During the rightist corrections, the criteria for reexamination were still, incredibly, Mao Zedong's "six criteria," which had already been determined to be full of loopholes following the Cultural Revolution.

The reexamination and correction of the Anti-Rightist Campaign proved that 99.9 percent of those termed rightist had been wrongly labeled. The claim that "the Anti-Rightist Campaign was necessary" is pure deception that defies logic, quite apart from the fact that history has shown that much of what was labeled "right-wing expression" was accurate and far-sighted—not weeds, but fragrant flowers.

There is no need to be reticent about the fact that Comrade Deng Xiaoping was involved in planning the Anti-Rightist Movement and that he was one of those who later said, "The Anti-Rightist Campaign was necessary, but it got out of hand." That this conclusion is being maintained even today shows how deep the poison of the "two whatevers" runs. But there are some who have a one-sided view of this or who turn a deaf ear. Deng also said, "China suffered during the Ten-Year Calamity. And not just during those 10 years—our leftist errors began in the latter half of 1957." In this statement, Deng Xiaoping magnanimously faced up to history. What reason do we have to ignore his final words on the subject?

In 1954, Mao Zedong presided over the National People's Congress as it passed China's first Constitution. **Article 2** of this Constitution reads: "All power in the People's Republic of China belongs to the people."

In the Anti-Rightist Campaign of 1957, Mao held sole power in his own hands. Forgoing any discussion or authorization from the NPC, he mobilized everyone to "let a hundred thoughts contend." Then he broke faith with them, using tactics of large-scale attack and retribution toward the democratic parties and intellectuals who raised any dissenting views, and consigning 550,000 of the cream of Chinese intellectuals to the 18th level of hell.

**Article 27** of the Constitution states, "All state organs and functionaries must rely on the support of the people, keep in close touch with them, heed their opinions and suggestions, accept their supervision and do their best to serve them." But Mao only liked to hear shouts of "Long Live!" and was antagonistic toward dissenting views. Dissenters could expect to have calamity pour down on their heads, along with cruel struggle and merciless attacks.

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- **Article 35** of the Constitution: “Citizens of the People’s Republic of China enjoy freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly, of association, of procession and of demonstration.”
  - “The state will provide necessary material assistance.”<sup>7</sup>
  - **Article 40:** “The freedom and privacy of correspondence of citizens of the People’s Republic of China are protected by law.”
  - **Article 47:** “Citizens of the People’s Republic of China have the freedom to engage in scientific research, literary and artistic creation and other cultural pursuits.”

But Mao Zedong failed to keep faith; he was inconsistent and contradictory, stripping citizens of the rights and freedoms they should enjoy. His series of campaigns against individuals and cliques and large-scale suppression of intellectuals facilitated his launch of the Great Leap Forward. Mao’s promotion of anti-scientific arguments such as “the bolder the people are, the more the land can produce” led to a manmade famine in which millions died of starvation.

During the Cultural Revolution, Mao pushed the claim that “more knowledge makes one more reactionary.” Universities were shut down for extended periods, and intellectuals were the first to suffer. Mao used Red Guards to struggle against “capitalist roaders,” bringing about an unprecedented national disaster that lasted a decade.

History has shown that the Anti-Rightist Campaign was the greatest injustice of the PRC’s early years. Some 550,000 intellectuals were labeled as rightists and the core strength of the democratic parties was broken. The political persecution continued for 22 years. The casual addition of the phrase, “got out of hand,” cannot wipe away the blood and tears that stain this history. That is why the anti-right campaign was not “necessary,” but in fact was illegal. It is not only in its violation of the Constitution that the anti-right campaign was illegal; no basis for it can be found in either the civil or criminal codes of Chinese law. The Legal Code of the early PRC lists no crime of “anti-Party/anti-socialism” activity. Mao himself fabricated the crime of being a “rightist” to persecute intellectuals and put himself above Party and State, which is even more illegal.

The serious consequences of the Anti-Rightist Campaign and its adverse impact in the international arena are incalculable. The fear with which the people of Taiwan regard the mainland’s repeated political campaigns is an important factor affecting reunification. That is why complete vindication of the great injustice of the Anti-Rightist Campaign and learning the lessons of history would have a far-reaching impact.

## **COMPENSATION FOR MATERIAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL DAMAGES**

Article 41 of the Constitution states, “Citizens who have suffered losses as a result of infringement of their civic rights by any state organ or functionary have the right to compensation in accordance with the law.”

**Mao’s series of campaigns and large-scale suppression of intellectuals facilitated his launch of the Great Leap Forward.**

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Those who were labeled rightists suffered 22 years of political persecution and torment that can hardly be put into words. Their families, relatives and friends were implicated, and many families were scattered. Their homes were broken up and their children suffered discrimination, affecting their schooling and employment. Their lives were difficult and only got worse during the Cultural Revolution, during which there was widespread harassment and damage to family property, beatings and persecution to the point of death. At one labor camp during the 1960s, 80 of 120 rightists serving reform through labor died of starvation during a single winter.

Today, these elderly victims urge the central government to 1) face up to these 22 years of history of political persecution, 2) use history as a mirror and draw lessons from it, 3) make a fair assessment and a complete exoneration of the unjust cases of rightists, and 4) provide compensation for material and psychological damages in order to uphold the legitimate rights of citizens enshrined in the Constitution. This is commensurate with today's spirit of "rule of law."

We demand compensation, not simply for financial reasons, but primarily as a political issue. Withholding wages is a political punishment following from a presumption of guilt. This in turn results in both physical and mental torture for victims. We demand compensation because those who suffered as rightists are innocent, and also in order to safeguard the human dignity of citizens and the legitimate rights and interests of citizens enshrined in the Constitution. We call on the central government to respect human rights and resolve problems left over from history through democracy and rule of law. Only by conscientiously summing up the lessons of history and by overturning injustice is it possible to gradually achieve social harmony.

**What the KMT can do, we believe our central government should also be able to do.**

Taiwan's 2–28 patriotic pro-democracy movement in 1947 was an instance of armed insurrection suppressed by the Kuomintang (KMT) authorities. In 1995, 48 years later, the KMT authorities, who were then still in power, engaged non-governmental organizations to conduct a detailed investigation of the incident, followed by a registration and complete vindication of more than 800 victims and their families, who received on average several million NT dollars in compensation. A monument and memorial hall were also erected. What the KMT can do, we believe our central government should also be able to do today.<sup>8</sup>

Now 48 years have passed; the handling of rightists at the time was complicated, and changes in original work units have caused some files to be lost. But this can be addressed through the files from the correction of right-wing labels from 1979, as well as through additional investigation and verification, with individuals providing witnesses and material evidence. The difficulty lies in the large number of victims who have died. These cases must rely on information provided by family members, former colleagues, friends and relatives. Over these 22 years, staff salaries rose two levels, while the salaries of those labeled rightists fell. The issue of compensation of wages for the victims of the anti-rightist campaign also involves the price index over 48 years, which has increased about 20 fold. Recently the central government raised the starting threshold for personal income tax from 800 to 1,600 *yuan*, which reflects a more than 20-fold increase in wage levels over those of the 1950s, when wages were 60 or 70 *yuan*. On this

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basis, it is appropriate to compensate the withheld wages of anti-rightist victims based on a multiple of 20 times original pay levels, with a time limit of 22 years.

With regard to compensation for mental suffering over those 22 years, both victims and the descendants of those who have died should be included. Elderly victims from Hunan have made a rather reasonable demand to the central government: 10,000 *yuan* per year, with a limit of 22 years.

Now that 48 years have passed since the Anti-Rightist Campaign, we suggest that the central government truly take history as its mirror. Govern for the people and undertake a complete vindication of the injustices of the Anti-Rightist Campaign, conscientiously handling the problems left from history as the first steps in reform of China's current political system. This is without question a matter of great significance for the building of China's spiritual and material civilization in the 21st century, for the achievement of a thriving and harmonious society, for China's international image and for the promotion of continued improvement in cross-straits relations. If the central government can achieve all this, it will be good for the nation and good for the people!

Respectfully submitted by victims and family members of victims of the anti-rightist campaign

Translated by a friend of HRIC

This is an edited version of the original Chinese petition posted on Petition Net, <http://www.qian-ming.net/gb/default.aspx?dir=scp&cid=53>. Petition Net is hosted by the U.S.-based Foundation for China in the 21st Century.

## Open Letter to the National People's Congress

### **From Zhejiang Residents Wrongly Labeled Rightists**

The Anti-Rightist Campaign of 1957 was the worst injustice in Chinese history. In terms of the number of people wrongly accused, the broadness of its implications, its length and the poisonous nature of the tactics employed, it was thousands of times worse even than Qin Shihuang's burning of books and burying alive of Confucian scholars. This year marks the 50th anniversary of the Anti-Rightist Campaign. As those who suffered directly in this campaign, we present a solemn demand to the highest authority of the state—the National People's Congress—for a thorough and complete repudiation of the Anti-Rightist Campaign, and compensation to victims of that campaign according to the law.

The campaign was a deliberate act of the Communist Party, and the wronged were suppressed by the government's actions. Up to the present, the Communist Party and the government have not admitted their wrongdoing, have not apologized, have not

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compensated victims, and have dragged out the repression for 50 years. Today only the highest organ of power in the nation has the authority to demand that the Communist Party and the government correct their wrongdoing, apologize and make compensation.

At the same time, it must be pointed out that the Kuomintang (KMT), which in 1947 carried out armed suppression against the 2-28 democracy movement<sup>1</sup> by the people of Taiwan, has after 48 years publicly admitted its wrongdoing, apologized and paid compensation according to the law. It has further constructed memorials and a 2-28 Park. On February 28 this year, Kuomintang chairman Ma Ying-jeou personally hosted a reception in memory of 2-28, in order to demonstrate the Party's sincere desire to admit its error, apologize and make compensation. We recommend that the NPC demand that the Communist Party learn from the KMT's accountability to the people and its self-reproach before the spirit of the law. The reasons for our demands and proposal are as follows:

- Neither the Party's own constitution, nor the NPC, nor any law authorizes the Communist Party to investigate and punish non-Party citizens, nor to do its Party committees at any level have a legal right to label non-Party citizens rightists; rather, this was a violation of law. The Communist Party and all democratic parties should relate to each other as political equals, as organizationally independent political parties: brother parties, not as father and son. It is against the organizing principles of the Communist Party for Party committees at any level to impose the label of rightist on members of democratic parties. From ancient to modern times the world over, a political party that ignores the laws of the state and carries out investigation and punishment of non-Party citizens is an illegal party. On this basis, we can assert categorically: the Anti-Rightist Campaign was completely wrong and illegal.
- The Communist Party has publicly admitted that the rate of error during the Anti-Rightist Campaign was over 99 percent. But the Party has determined that the campaign itself was not wrong, but only got out of hand. This is an open betrayal of the principle of seeking truth from facts: there are absolutely no legal grounds on which to establish this claim.
- Article 41 of the Constitution of the PRC clearly states, "Citizens who have suffered losses as a result of infringement of their civic rights by any state organ or functionary have the right to compensation in accordance with the law." Cases of both capitalist roaders (the majority of whom were Communist Party members) and rightists (the majority of whom were non-Communists) were mishandled. However, when the cases of capitalist roaders were corrected and they were rehabilitated, their entire salaries were compensated according to the Constitution, while when rightists' cases were corrected, Communist Party policy stipulated that there would not be even a cent of compensation paid. This is unjust and amounts to "founding a party to work *against* the interests of the people." It is a crime against the Constitution for the Communist Party to negate the provisions of the Constitution, an enormous illegality.



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In March 2006, Professor Shi Ruoping of Shandong University, along with more than 100 victims of the Anti-Rightist Campaign nationwide (this number later grew to more than 1,400 individuals) made a public appeal to the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the NPC and the State Council to rehabilitate those wrongfully accused, and to compensate the resulting material and psychological damages.<sup>2</sup> This provoked deep sympathy and strong support from the masses in China and abroad. Recently in Beijing, Shanghai and across the nation, victims of the Anti-Rightist Campaign are all defending their rights in accordance with law. Our Zhejiang contingent sincerely sends this open letter to the NPC, respectfully requesting that the Party, according to its stipulation that letters and visits from the people must be accorded a reply, respond publicly to our letter. With deep gratitude, we are the Zhejiang contingent of victims of the Anti-Rightist Campaign and their families, as listed below:

He Yi'ou, 83, labeled a rightist at Zhejiang Teachers University, retired from Zhejiang University  
Han Changxian, 81, labeled a rightist at Zhejiang Teachers University, retired from Zhejiang University  
Ye Guangting, 85, labeled a rightist at Zhejiang Teachers University, retired from Zhejiang University  
Hu Xueyan, 82, labeled a rightist at Zhejiang People's Publishing House, retired from same  
Shi Yuying, 85, labeled a rightist at Zhejiang Institute/ School of Education, retired from Hangzhou Teachers College  
Ye Xiaogang, 79, labeled a rightist at Zhejiang Sino-Soviet Friendship Association, retired from Hangzhou Teachers College (transcriber)  
Shen Minghua, 75, labeled a rightist at Dongyang Library, retired from the Kaihua Library  
Yang Shiyuan, 72, labeled a rightist at Yunhe Bureau of Education, retired from same  
Wu Minghai, 69, labeled a rightist at Jiashan Middle School, retired from Jiashan Hongxi Middle School  
Ye Tianhe, 70, labeled a rightist at Hangzhou Zhaokou Power Plant, retired from same  
Qin Tan, 80, labeled a rightist at Hangzhou Foreign Languages Bookstore, retired from Hangzhou Xinhua Bookstore (family member)  
Lu Pingzhi, 74, labeled a rightist at Beijing Railway Institute, retired from Linhai Technical (Labor) Services Administration [Management Bureau]  
Hua Jinhua, 75, labeled a rightist at Yuhang Agriculture Bureau, retired from same  
Qian Yurong, 72, labeled a rightist at Shanghai University of Sport, retired from Shaoxing University of Arts and Sciences  
Jiang Yanming, 74, labeled a rightist at Shanxi University of Agriculture, retired from Hangzhou Jianggan District Bureau of Agriculture  
Wang Pinjiang, 73, labeled a rightist at Ningbo Industrial [Development] Bureau, retired from Cixi Chemical Fertilizer Plant  
Chen Xiaoxian, 74, labeled a rightist at Shanghai Railway Bureau, retired from Xiaoning Railway Company  
Zhu Luting, 86, labeled a rightist at Xinchang Bureau of Education, retired from same  
Wan Guojie, 72, labeled a rightist at Zhejiang Provincial Affairs Administration, retired from same

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Gong Fangjun, 78, labeled a rightist at Zhejiang Provincial Affairs Administration, retired from same

Zhou Jinchang, 73, labeled a rightist at Zhejiang Provincial Affairs Administration, retired from same

Shen Dewen, 76, labeled a rightist at Hangzhou Printing and Dyeing Mill, retired from same

Liu Zhiwen, 72, labeled a rightist at Zhejiang Medical University, retired from same

Lin Jiaxiong, 77, labeled a rightist at Cixi Longshan Middle School, retired from Pingyang Aojiang Middle School

Zhang Jinfa, 75, labeled a rightist at Pingyang PSB, retired from same

Zhao Dehuang, 80, labeled a rightist at Hangzhou Kindergarten Teachers Institute, retired from Hangzhou Normal Institute

Lou Xueli, 86, labeled a rightist at Hangzhou Normal Institute, retired from Zhejiang University

Sang Yazhong, 83, labeled a rightist at Hangzhou Municipal Bureau of Education, retired from Hangzhou Municipal Normal Institute

Wu Pengfei, 77, labeled a rightist while a reporter at *Zhejiang Labor Reform News*, retired from Yongkang Health Bureau

Li Yigang, 81, labeled a rightist at the Haiyan County PSB, retired from Yongkang Health Bureau

Xu Wangnan, 73, Yongkang Machinery Factory

Wang Xikang, 77, Yiwu County Forest and Water Authority, retired from Yongkang Water Authority

Lü Pengnian, 77, Principal, Yongkang Nizhai District School Yongkang Civil Affairs Bureau

Chen Kenhua, 80, Editor at *Ningbo Masses News*, retired from Yongkang Health Bureau

Xu Yunsong, 75, Yongkang County Public Security Bureau, Yongkang People's Court

Wang Ruiqi, 81, People's Liberation Army, Yongkang Pottery Factory

Ying Yongquan, 78, Yongkang County Primary Education Counsellor, Yongkang Middle School

Fang Zhulan, 81, Yongkang County, Nizhai District Central School, Teacher at Yongkang Nizhai District Central School

Hu Rongkang, 75, Yongkang County Limadong Primary School, Yongkang Health Bureau

Li Zhongrong, 73, Yongkang County People's Government Cultural Education Section, Yongkang Middle School

Cheng Lizhong, 76, People's Liberation Army Second Field Army, Yongkang Education Unit

March 8, 2007

Submitted by Ye Xiaogang (Hangzhou)

Translated by a friend of HRIC

This is a slightly edited version of the original Chinese petition posted on a number of overseas Chinese Web sites, among them China Information Center, <http://www.observechina.net/info/artshow.asp?ID=42824>.

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## Editor's notes for "Petition for redress to those wrongfully labeled rightists"

1. Apart from those labeled "rightists" (*youpai fenzi*) and "extreme rightists" (*jiyou fenzi*), other individuals were labeled "moderate rightists" (*zhongyou fenzi*) or accused of "right-wing expression" (*youpai yinlun*). Although these latter two categories were not considered to "wear the rightist hat," they were exposed to the same suppression and punishment as those in the first two categories of "rightists."
2. In his 1957 article, "The Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," Mao Zedong wrote, "In the political life of our people, how should right be distinguished from wrong in one's words and actions? . . . We consider that, broadly speaking, the criteria should be as follows: 1) Words and actions should help to unite, and not divide, the people of our various nationalities. 2) They should be beneficial, and not harmful, to socialist transformation and socialist construction. 3) They should help to consolidate, and not undermine or weaken, the people's democratic dictatorship. 4) They should help to consolidate, and not undermine or weaken, democratic centralism. 5) They should help to strengthen, and not discard or weaken, the leadership of the Communist Party. 6) They should be beneficial, and not harmful, to international socialist unity and the unity of the peace-loving people of the world. Of these six criteria, the most important are the socialist path and the leadership of the Party." For the full article, see <http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/works/red-book/ch04.htm>.
3. An alternative term for the Cultural Revolution.
4. The "two whatevers" refers to the statement published in a joint editorial in *People's Daily* and *Red Flag* on February 7, 1977, to the effect that "we will resolutely uphold whatever policy decisions Chairman Mao made, and unswervingly follow whatever instructions Chairman Mao gave." One of the most prominent of the "capitalist roaders," Deng Xiaoping, subsequently stated that the "two whatevers" were "unacceptable." See <http://english.people.com.cn/dengxp/vol2/text/b1100.html> and <http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/dengxp/vol2/note/B0180.html>.
5. The discussion was launched through an editorial of that same name published in the May 11, 1985, edition of *Guangming Daily*, and subsequently disseminated by the Xinhua News Agency. See Lowell Dittmer, "The Routinization of Charisma," *China's Continuous Revolution*, 1989, University of California Press, <http://content.cdlib.org/xtf/view?docId=ft3q2nb24q&chunk.id=d0e8634&toc.id=d0e8634&brand=eschol>. For the full Chinese text of the *Guangming Daily* editorial, see <http://www.people.com.cn/item/20years/newfiles/b1020.html>.
6. The full Chinese text, "Shiqing zhengzai qi bianhua," published on May 15, 1957, can be accessed at [http://news.xinhuanet.com/ziliao/2004-12/31/content\\_2401244.htm](http://news.xinhuanet.com/ziliao/2004-12/31/content_2401244.htm).
7. The original petition draws its quotations from the 1954 version of the Constitution, which the editor was unable to access. The provision quoted here does not exist in the current Constitution. However, Article 45 states that citizens "have the right to material assistance from the state and society when they are old, ill or disabled," and Article 122 guarantees the supply of financial, material and technical assistance to the minority nationalities.
8. It should be noted that the KMT did not begin to redress wrongs until Taiwan embarked on its political transition to democratization in the 1990s. A summary of this process is included in "Comparative International and Domestic Approaches," *China Rights Forum*, No. 4, 2005. For articles and information about the KMT crackdown on demonstrators on February 28, 1947, and subsequent reparations, see <http://www.taiwandc.org/228-intr.htm>.

## Editor's notes for "Open Letter to the National People's Congress"

1. For articles and information about the KMT crackdown on demonstrators on February 28, 1947, and subsequent reparations, see <http://www.taiwandc.org/228-intr.htm>.
2. Shi Ruoping's petition is posted on Petition Net, <http://www.qian-ming.net/gb/default.aspx?dir=scp&cid=109>. Petition Net is hosted by the U.S.-based Foundation for China in the 21st Century.