

INCIDENT OF 23 APRIL

Peking, Tsao-fan Yu-li, 25 May 1967

[Full text of an article entitled "A Good Example of Persevering  
in Struggle by Reasoning."]

23 April was an unforgettable day for the 16 September revolutionary  
fighters of our First Ministry.

That day, the September 16 revolutionary fighters of the First Ministry who had fought for five days and five nights for the defense of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and his policy on cadres were savagely assaulted. Once again their blood soaked the combat banner of the 7th Ministry of Machine-Building for the great proletarian cultural revolution.

That day, we strictly adhered to the policy of struggle by reasoning and not struggle by force. We met a severe test of violent storms of the class struggle. We victoriously broke through! Victory was obtained at the cost of blood. 230 comrade-in-arms were brutally beaten up; eleven of them had to be retained in hospital.

The "23 April" tragedy was conceived, organized, and planned by the handful of Party power-holders taking the capitalist road to persecute revolutionary cadres, to beat up the revolutionary masses, and to carry out class reprisals. It was a bloody incident where the "16 points" were heavily trampled underfoot. We are the victims and the witnesses. We want to complain.

#### A Dog in Danger Jumps over the Wall and Struggles Desperately

A tree has its roots and a river has its source. The "23 April" tragedy represents a desperate struggle of a handful of Party power-holders taking the capitalist road. It was a whirlpool of the counter-revolutionary adverse current for capitalist restoration in the First Institute.

At a time when the people of the whole country were mounting a general attack against the Liu-Teng black headquarters and when the 16 September revolutionaries rose to chop off the black hands of Liu-Teng extended to the 7th Ministry, overthrow Wang Ping-chang and liberate the 7th Ministry, the handful of Party power-holders taking the capitalist road, scared out of their wits and to save themselves from extinction, tried all possible means to destroy the revolutionary triple combination. On the one hand, they went all out to woo a number of cadres, formed a new royalist organization "4812" of the cadres, tied them to the broken chariot of the bourgeois reactionary line, and carried out a counter-offensive in revenge. On the other hand, they directed the conservative organizations to attack those revolutionary cadres who returned to Chairman Mao's line and supported the revolutionary rebels, and even practice fanatical political persecution against them. By doing so they wanted to attack the broad revolutionary masses and revolutionary cadres in order to "protect a few" and bring about capitalist restoration.

Under such circumstances, whether we revolutionary rebels can be the strong shield for the revolutionary cadres will have a bearing on whether or not we can really "liberate the many and isolate the minority," and on whether we can really help the broad masses of cadres to return to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. The persecution of the Institute's President, Comrade Liu Hsuan by this handful of Party power-holders taking the capitalist road is intended by them to be a warning to the broad masses of revolutionary cadres.

In the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution, Comrade Liu Hsuan had once faithfully executed the bourgeois reactionary line and was guilty of serious errors. For several months the revolutionary masses waged a resolute struggle against him. With the help of the revolutionary masses and through a violent ideological struggle, he gradually realized his mistakes and began to return to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. He got closer to and supported the 16 September revolutionary rebels, carried out ideological work among the masses who were hoodwinked by the bourgeois reactionary line, and exposed Chang Chun, secretary of the Institute's Party Committee and a Party power-holder taking the capitalist road.

These revolutionary actions of Comrade Liu Hsuan incurred the wrath of the handful of Party people in authority who take the capitalist road. In January and February this year, they had already incited the conservative masses to beat up Comrade Liu Hsuan four times and to harass him at his home many times. On 20 March, they changed the public security files and branded Liu Hsuan as a "spy of the Central Investigation and Statistical Bureau [of the Kuomintang] and persecuted him with an ulterior motive. On 15 April, on the excuse of wages, they incited part of the masses who did not know the truth to struggle against Comrade Liu Hsuan day and night, with the result that his physical health was gravely affected.

Under these circumstances, the provisional revolutionary committee of the First Institute and the 16 September Revolutionary Rebel Combat Regiment, following investigations and studies, successively published a number of statements and notices, explaining our just stand: Comrade Liu Hsuan is guilty of mistakes and should be criticized; but he is not a "spy of the Central Investigation and Statistical Bureau and our contradiction with him is a contradiction among the people. The criticism and struggle against him must be based on the "16 points" and the eight-point order of the Military Affairs Committee; he must not be dragged out and struggled against by turns and physically tortured. In view of the fact that from the 15th to the 18th Comrade Liu Hsuan was encircled and attacked both day and night, his health has been undermined. We hereby declare that no struggle should be waged against him for a week. Comrade Liu Hsuan is to be segregated for the time being.

This action was a heavy blow at the handful of Party power-holders taking the capitalist road and the handful of the "4812." Infuriated, they insisted on waging a struggle against Liu Hsuan on the evening of the 18th. That evening, they incited the masses of conservative groups to surround heavily the building of the First Ministry and created a grave incident harmful to the policy of grasping revolution and promoting production. After they surrounded the building, we again and again expressed our stand: "On the question of Liu Hsuan there should be a public debate," "the siege should end and everybody should go to work."

However, the handful of people of the "4812" refused to take part in the debate, shouting, "you are not qualified to debate with us." In the

meantime, they gathered together the men of the conservative groups of the entire Institute and the factories to besiege the building of the First Ministry every day before 9 a.m. and "hold demonstrations." They sent more than 200 persons in the daytime and more than 1,000 persons in the evening to the entrance of the building and set up sentry posts around the building. Thus for five days and nights they laid siege to the "16 September" of the First Ministry.

However, our "16 September" revolutionary fighters, though they did not eat and sleep well, defended the building and insured the smooth operation of the priority scientific research projects. They endured vicious attacks and curses. Bravely they held to their last for the defense of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and with the support from the close comrades-in-arms of the "16 September" and "18 August" of the Seventh Ministry. They laid siege to the buildings for five days and nights and we endured for five days and nights. Red banners fluttered over the building of the First Ministry from beginning to end!

In the period of the siege, we unfolded powerful political propaganda offensive both inside and outside the building. At the same time, we have several times published data of investigations which thoroughly disclosed their dirty trick of persecuting the revolutionary cadres. Their conspiracy was exposed! They were in the wrong and speechless; their morale was sagging! They became angry! They were dogs in danger jumping over the wall! They were going to persecute the revolutionary masses!

#### Persist in Struggle by Reasoning, Repulse the Adverse Current

A premeditated, organized and planned bloody incident involving the revolutionary masses began!

On the evening of the 22nd, Chang Chun, a turncoat and secretary of the Institute's Party Committee taking the capitalist road, sneaked into the "4812" liaison station where he secretly planned the attack. Liu X X of the "4812" admitted afterward: "The seige of the building of the First Ministry had been discussed by us beforehand..."

On the 21st and 22nd, Liu X X, director of the political department of X Factory who managed the 23 April incident on the spot, twice entered the building of the First Ministry to make observations.

On the evening of the 22nd, the conservative organizations published a statement: "We will take action unless Liu Hsuan is handed over to us before 9 a.m. tomorrow." On the morning of the 23rd, they again published a similar statement.

On the 23rd, taking advantage of the fact that our "16 September" Corps was attending a mass meeting at the 2nd Institute, the men of the conservative organizations of the 7th Ministry were almost all gathered at the 1st Institute. The famous Hsun Pao-hsin personally led them.

Giving on-the-spot directions were Wang Wen-hsuan, deputy head of the former Liu Yu-kuang Work Regiment, a diehard taking the bourgeois reactionary line and a member of the Standing Committee of the Institute's Party Committee; Hua Hsiang, leader of the work team, and others.

Early in the morning, gangsters of the conservative organizations began to close the entrance of the building of the 1st Ministry, forbidding the delivery of food and water into the building and forbidding the "16 September" fighters from entering the building.

At about 8 a.m. Yu X X, a surgeon of the conservative organization of the 711 Hospital, set up a first-aid station in front of the building. The conservative organization of the 3rd Institute brought an ambulance...

All preparations were completed. At about half past nine, the gangsters began the attack. They forcibly tore off the placards separating the two sides, threatening to enter the building to catch the "spies." We solemnly told them: "Produce the evidence. If Liu Hsuan is really a spy, we'll help you get him." "Struggle by reasoning and not by force." Their answer was: "You clowns of the royalists should be condemned to death."

Instigated by the handful of Party power-holders taking the capitalist road and other people with ulterior motive, the gangsters took off their coats and, at the blowing of a whistle, charged toward us. We, hands chained together, sat in rows on the staircase. They wanted to jump over our heads, but we immediately stood up. They then tried another means. They dragged us away one by one and pushed us outside the door. Several of them dealt with one of us. Some caught us by the neck. Some beat our stomachs and legs. Some pulled us by the hair. Some dragged us by the arms.... One by one we were dragged down the staircase. We stuck together and none of us hit back. We shouted continuously: "Struggle by reasoning and not by force!" Having dragged us down the stairs, they trampled us underfoot. Some of us lost consciousness. The gangsters in the street then came forward to drag us out to the street.

The gangsters were commanded by whistles. After fighting for a while, they would take a rest after hearing the whistle. Some women gangsters downstairs delivered water and towels up to the building. The fighting lasted three hours!

Our comrades set a good example! Their unity and friendship made them stand firm and unyielding. When they were attacked, they did not hit back; when they were cursed, they did not curse back. When they were confronted face to face with the gangsters, they told them the truth and the policies, shouting loudly: "Struggle by reasoning and not by force!"

Comrade Chu Hsin-ch'iu hugged Comrade Li Ling-ming by the waist. Several gangsters dragged Li Ling-ming by the neck and struck at his chest and shoulders. Yet Chu Hsin-ch'in still hugged him by his waist. The

gangsters started kicking them and threatened to take them to the street. Chu Hsin-ch'iu still hugged Li Ling-ming! They were thus pushed outside the door and trampled underfoot. The two still hugged each other! Such was the expression of our comradeship! They were passive and on the defensive!

Comrade Huang Tsu-hui was very weak physically. His hands tied to his back, he was dragged downstairs by two strong men. Suffering a blow on his back, he turned pale and his hands dropped to his sides. A comrade wanted to enter the building to carry him out. The gangsters said he feigned death and blocked them. Comrade Chu Fa-k'un himself was pushed downstairs and was blocked when he wanted to carry Comrade Huang out. Not until Comrade Huang Tsu-hui fell was he given a chair.

T'ang K'uei-lin, who had been pushed outside the circle of the siege, argued heatedly with the gangsters and dashed inside to carry Huang Tsu-hui out!

Comrade Liu Yen-sheng was pushed out but he went back to rescue his comrades-in-arms. He was knocked down and lost consciousness. However, he kept shouting: "Don't fight! Struggle by reasoning! You have been deceived!"

Comrade Liu Hang was knocked down to the ground yet he did not fight back. Instead, a copy of Quotations from Chairman Mao held tightly in his hand, he shouted: Long live Chairman Mao! However, the gangsters told him: "You are not qualified to shout this slogan!" They then gave him three blows and pushed him outside the door. Why were we not qualified to shout: Long live Chairman Mao! No, we revolutionary rebels are most qualified to shout: Long live Chairman Mao! More, we will shout loudly a thousand and ten thousand times: Long live Chairman Mao, a long, long life to him!!

Women comrades were manhandled no less savagely. Comrade Peng Yin-ku was pushed down the stairs head-on. When she fell to the ground, the gangsters standing on the sidewalk went forward and kicked her to the side of the door! When she got up from the ground and could barely stand, four women gangsters dragged her outside!

Comrade Ts'ui Ho-lien and Comrade Sung Shu-hui held close to each other; they were pushed down the stairs by four gangsters. When they were so seriously injured that they could not stand, someone charged that they "pretend to be dead." They were dragged outside by their pigtails!

Were we unable to defend ourselves? No. We were high up in the building. We of course could defend ourselves if we struck back. But what would be the consequences? Although these gangsters had struck at us, the great majority of them are still our class brothers. They have merely been hoodwinked. Had we struck back, this would only have pleased the handful of power-holders taking the capitalist road! It could only pain those who were dear to us and please those who were our enemies! Even when our comrades were in the most critical danger as the gangsters were coming up to them

and the comrades on the first floor were blocking the staircase with desks, they were still shouting: "Don't pile up the desks. They may slip down and hurt the comrades of the other side!" When the gangsters got to the balcony, they stood on the brink, and if we had only come forward and squeeze them, they would have fallen down from the building. Instead of fighting back, our comrades retreated and left room for them to stand. Yet many comrades of ours were pushed down the staircase.

A comrade was grabbed by a gangster by the neck and was being suffocated. A comrade beside them used fists to hit at the gangster to make him let go of his hands. Another comrade told him: "Don't hit too hard!" Such was the class sentiment of our comrades!

But how did those fellows treat us? Our comrades were injured and lost consciousness, yet they were accused of feigning death. Before the tragedy was over, they confused the right with the wrong and falsely charged: "The 16 September stirred up the fight!" "The 16 September men fight one another!" At 12:30 p.m. a military representative came and stopped the outrages against our "16 September" fighters and forced the gangsters to leave the building. Our comrades were so moved by the sight of their own men that they burst into tears! The siege, the scolding and the beating had not made us shed one drop of tear. However, how could we not feel indignant, seeing that one comrade-in-arms after another was sent to hospital seriously injured! How could we not feel excited at seeing men sent by Chairman Mao! However, a handful of shameless people said that our tears were just water which had not been wiped off from our eyes when we washed our faces in the toilets of the building and that our tears were just spittle. Pooh! You do not have a little bit of human nature left!

A murderer went so far as to say: "Hi! Bravo! The "16 September" people have been beaten like dead dogs!" Comrades, what kind of voice is this? This is the voice for capitalist, counter-revolutionary restoration! If we do not carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end and do not win a victory for Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, countless class brothers will be bitterly assaulted once more, numerous other "23 April" tragedies will occur, and numerous people will lose their lives!

We "16 September" revolutionary fighters are not afraid of violence or of sacrifices. Fighting bravely for five days and nights, we met the test of the "23 April" bloody struggle. A handful of the Party people in power taking the capitalist road have not won the slightest advantage from us, and instead their plot has gone totally bankrupt! We have defended with our blood and lives Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, his policy on cadres, and the Party Central Committee's "16 Points."

However, a handful of people like Wang Ping-chang, Wang Wen-hsuan, and Chang Chun will have to pay the blood debts they incurred in the "23 April" tragedy! Since the "16 September" revolutionary rebels have the courage to break through the encirclement of the white terror and hold high the big

banner of the criticism of the bourgeois reactionary line, they also have the determination to crush the adverse current of capitalist, counter-revolutionary restoration, chop off the black hands of the Liu-Teng black headquarters extended to the 7th Ministry, and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end! (A correspondent of this paper)