

[Full text of an article by P'an Fu-sheng (3382 1788 3932)]

In the great proletarian cultural revolution, the proletarian revolutionaries of Heilungkiang province have formed -- through fighting fierce and sharp battles and on the basis of great alliance -- a vast, powerful fighting battalion which carries all before it. They have seized power from a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the former Provincial Committee and Provincial People's Council, formed a provisional organ of power based upon the revolutionary "three-way alliance" -- the Revolutionary Committee -- and grasped the destiny of proletarian dictatorship in Heilungkiang province. At present, the proletarian revolutionaries of the whole province -- in conjunction with making criticism and repudiation of and waging struggle against the handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the former Provincial Committee -- are launching a violent attack against the top person in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party with the momentum of an avalanche. The great proletarian cultural revolution and socialist construction in Heilungkiang province are in a most favorable situation.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is a great socialist revolution that knows no precedent in history. In this great revolution, the political forces of various factions are regrouping. How to distinguish the proletarian revolutionaries and stand firmly with them is a question of first-rate importance confronting the revolutionary leading cadres.

The Party Central Committee has pointed out in its decision concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution:

"Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of the first importance for the revolution, and is also a question of the first importance for the great cultural revolution.

"The Party leaders must be good at finding out the Left, at expanding and strengthening the battalions of the Left, and at firmly relying upon the revolutionary Left. In this way they can thoroughly isolate the most reactionary Right, win over the middle-of-the-roaders, and unite the great majority in the movement, and finally unite more than 95 percent of the cadres and the masses by means of the movement."

In the current great proletarian cultural movement, thanks to the warm teachings of Chairman Mao and guided by his proletarian revolutionary line, I am capable of -- through continuously raising my knowledge in the practice of struggle -- steadfastly standing and breathing together with the proletarian revolutionaries, sharing their destinies, and fighting and winning together with them.

In this life-or-death class struggle that bears on the destiny of our State, the political forces of various factions necessarily must refractorily express themselves with various means, and it is not possible for us to tell them not to express themselves. In order to know who are proletarian revolutionaries and who are conservatives, we must take part in actual struggle, guide ourselves with the thought of Mao Tse-tung, and distinguish them from one another with the class analysis method.

In Harbin, the political center of Heilungkiang province, the antagonism of the political forces of various factions is first expressed in the attitude toward a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the former Provincial Committee.

When the revolutionary masses began to unveil the class struggle against the former Provincial Committee, the latter issued on 16 August 1966, a "notice" calling on the masses to discuss whether or not the Provincial Committee was revolutionary. That was a big conspiracy carefully hatched by a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the former Provincial Committee in an attempt to repress the revolutionary masses, incite the masses against the masses, and defend themselves.

One side, the Red Rebel Regiment, saw through this conspiracy and firmly opposed this "notice"; but another side, the "8 August" Regiment, endorsed that "notice" and put forward the slogan, "Firmly defend the Provincial Committee" (actually defending a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Provincial Committee). One side wanted to oppose it but another side wanted to defend it. The line was clearly drawn between the two opposing camps. From then on, the political forces of these two factions were pointedly locked in violent struggle on a series of important issues.

I stood on the side of the Red Rebel Regiment and resolutely supported its revolutionary actions. The faction headed by the "8 August" Regiment directed the spearhead at me on the one hand and encircled and attacked the Red Rebel Regiment on the other.

Under such a circumstance, some persons who seemed to be "impartial" "unbiased" also stood forward to express themselves and formed their own organization. Superficially, they endorsed neither the Red Rebel Regiment nor the "8 August" Regiment. They said: "The Rebel Regiment's spirit of daring to rebel is good and its general orientation is correct, but it attacks and charges violently and lacks policy or tactics. The '8 August' Regiment is

more steady and tactful but is too conservative." In the struggle, they wavered left and right. When the Red Rebel Regiment was making smooth headway, they drew close to it; and when it encountered difficulties they drew close to the "8 August" Regiment.

Simultaneously with this, the monsters and demons in society thought that the opportunity had come, and they came out of their cages one after another. They hoodwinked the masses, enlisted men and bought horses, and set up such reactionary organizations as "the Red Banner Army", "the Veteran Army" and "the War Preparation Army". They drew the conservatives to their side, struck blows at the proletarian revolutionaries, squandered state funds, undermined production, practiced vandalism, and implemented White Terror on a large scale.

When the struggle was most violent and tense, the voice of the great leader Chairman Mao was heard: Thoroughly criticize and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line. This gave the proletarian revolutionaries enormous support and encouragement. The proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao penetrated deeper and deeper into the hearts of people. More and more of the masses deceived were awakened and they closed ranks with the proletarian revolutionaries.

Sensing that their doomsday was near, the handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party fought their last-ditch struggle. The conservative organizations also carried out on a large scale struggles which were "left" in appearance but Right in fact. When they found that they had lost the support of the masses and were isolated, a very small number of people of the "8 August" Regiment even worked in collusion with the "Red Banner Army" and other reactionary organizations to carry out subversive activities in a vain attempt to seize political power. But they failed in the end.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "All revolutionary political parties or forces are in the minority at the beginning, but they have the greatest future." In the process of an entire struggle, the conservative organizations shrink in size, the middle-of-the-road organizations divide and are drawn to the two polarities and finally disintegrate. But the revolutionary mass organizations of the proletariat grow in size and strength.

It can be seen from the struggle that the proletarian revolutionaries possess the following common characteristics.

They hold high the great red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, closely follow Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee headed by him, and resolutely carry out the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao. In the struggle to criticize and repudiate a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party, in the struggle to criticize and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line, in the struggle to "grasp revolution, stimulate production and oppose economism, in the

struggle to form alliance and seize power, the Red Rebel Regiment has at all times regarded the 16-Point Decision as the program, and unreservedly carried out work according to Chairman Mao's teachings and the instructions of the Party Central Committee.

The spearhead of their struggle is at all times directed at a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party. They persist in criticizing and repudiating the bourgeois reactionary line, and even when they are encircled, attacked and oppressed, they still stand firm and do not waver in the least.

They blaze trails in the revolution and really dare to make revolution and rebel. Guided by the thought of Mao Tse-tung, they educate and liberate themselves. They ignite the fire and exchange revolutionary experience in the violent class struggle, and develop and grow from the minority to become the majority.

They persist in truth, rectify their mistakes and pay attention to policy and strategy. Every time after a big battle, they throw open the door and carry out a rectification campaign. They have now carried out three such campaigns. They say that revolutionaries cannot be toppled by rectification, and as to those who are nonrevolutionary and do not closely follow Chairman Mao, they deserve to be toppled by rectification. Rectification campaigns have stimulated the ideological revolutionization and further strengthened the fighting power of the proletarian revolutionaries.

Chairman Mao teaches us that we must see "the aspects of the essence or mainstream of problems" and must not "emphasize those things which are not the aspects of the essence or mainstream". In order to tell the proletarian revolutionaries from the conservatives, it is of primary importance to see their general orientation, their mainstream, and whether they stand on the side of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao or on the side of the bourgeois reactionary line.

In regard to the organizations of proletarian revolutionaries, we cannot just see what they do at a given time, but must make an all-round observation and concrete analysis. When they also make mistakes, we cannot attack them at one point and ignore the rest, but must see their general orientation, and distinguish the mainstream from the side issue, and the individual from the whole organization.

With the class struggle developing to a greater depth, each mass organization will undergo changes. Some revolutionary mass organization firmly adhere to the general orientation of the struggle at all times, but a few wavering persons and opportunists among them will quit at the crucial moment of the struggle. The general orientation of the struggle of some mass organizations is correct at a given period of time, but once their leadership is usurped by some persons with an ulterior object in view and the general orientation of the struggle is shifted, they will head for the opposite

direction. Once some conservative organizations are divided, many among the deceived masses will move over to the side of the proletarian revolutionaries.

In the democratic revolution or the socialist revolution on the economic front, class relationship is more prominent, and we can tell the landlords from the peasants, the capitalists from the workers at one glance. But in the socialist revolution on the politico-ideological front, the political forces of various factions continuously register sharp changes, and the state of affairs is most complicated. As revolutionary leading cadres, they should keep their minds in a sober state, and continuously analyze such changes with "the basic viewpoint of Marxism, that is, the class analysis method."

The proletarian revolutionaries are trail blazers emerging in the great cultural revolution. They are energetic and wise and have performed great deeds of merit for the great proletarian cultural revolution. Nursed with the thought of Mao Tse-tung, they grow ceaselessly and are continuously being tempered. Millions of successors to the revolutionary cause can be cultivated and fostered from among them. We older generation of revolutionary cadres should feel joyous and encouraged because of this. We should humbly learn from them, show warm concern for them, help them, and firmly rely on them. We should defend the thought of Mao Tse-tung and Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line together with them and push ahead in the stormy struggle.

In order to discover, support and rely upon the proletarian revolutionaries, we must first be steadfast proletarian revolutionaries ourselves. If we were afraid of the masses or the revolution, we would make every effort to cover up our own mistakes, stand on the side of the bourgeois reactionary line and protect a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party. In this way we can only be on intimate terms with the conservative organizations but shall be at odds with the proletarian revolutionaries. Only those who dare to make revolution, have nothing to fear and steadfastly stand on the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line can build a militant and profound friendship with the proletarian revolutionaries, be one with them in standpoint and affection, and warmly support their every revolutionary action.

In order to support the proletarian revolutionaries, what is most fundamental is to support them with the thought of Mao Tse-tung politically and ideologically, and help them analyze the situation and master the general orientation of the struggle, the policy and the strategy. Once they have changed their direction, they should be switched back with our help.

When I returned to Harbin from Peking in October last year, I discovered that in the course of criticizing and repudiating the bourgeois reactionary line, some persons of the Red Rebel Regiment directed the spearhead at the "8 August" Regiment and put forward the slogan, "Drag out those

at the higher level and sweep away those at the lower level." I broadcast a speech advocating that the brunt of the struggle should be directed toward a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the former Provincial Committee and Municipal Committee. At that time, some persons in the Red Rebel Regiment said that my speech was a big poisonous weed and they took a brigade to the streets. After painstaking explanation and persuasion, they accepted my view and were correctly oriented.

When differences occurred among the proletarian revolutionaries, I used the thought of Mao Tse-tung to help them and urged them to form a great alliance with a unified target for their struggle. In short, I used the thought of Mao Tse-tung to help the young revolutionary fighters grow and become stronger so that they might become loyal defenders and staunch ex-ecutors of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

I fought resolutely together with the proletarian revolutionaries. When they were hit by a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the former Provincial Committee and the reactionary and con-servative organizations, we stood with the proletarian revolutionaries, sup-ported and defended them, and fought together with them.

When I returned to Harbin on 16 August, a handful of those in author-ity taking the capitalist road within the former Provincial Committee in-cited the workers who did not know the actual situation to encircle and at-tack the Red Rebel Regiment. I went to work at once to stop the workers and to protect the Red Rebel Regiment.

On 7 September, instigated by a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party, some workers who had been deceived again encircled and attacked the Red Rebel Regiment. I invited these work-ers to a forum and reasoned them into compliance.

On 5 December, the reactionary organizations kidnapped more than 100 motor vehicles, attacked and arrested people, and enforced White Terror. Together with the proletarian revolutionaries, we launched a political of-fensive to win over the masses who had been deceived, and arrested the ring-leaders. The Garrison Headquarters made armed patrol day and night in sup-port of the proletarian revolutionaries. The revolutionary masses shouted with great excitement: "Long live Chairman Mao!" "Salute the People's Liberation Army."

To support the proletarian revolutionaries, one must put the word "date", and not the word "feat", above everything else. The handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party, and the re-actionary and conservative organizations will necessarily oppose those who support the proletarian revolutionaries. Under such a situation, one must be resolute, surmount every difficulty and have no fear for encirclement and attack.

Some people within the former Provincial Committee supported not the revolutionaries but the conservatives. Because I supported the revolutionaries, the struggle within the Provincial Committee was rather violent. In the name of making an on-the-spot check of the population, someone came to my home and took down the names of students who belonged to the Red Rebel Regiment in my place. They spied on my place to find out those of the Red Rebel Regiment who came to my home. The "8 August" Regiment took turns to encircle, attack and wage struggle against me. On one occasion, I was not allowed to eat or rest for four days and nights in succession. My eyesight was damaged and I collapsed physically. I went to stay in the Military Hospital. The "8 August" Regiment first confiscated my personal property, and after that came to the hospital to arrest me. All this failed to brow-beat me into submission.

One must not be afraid of struggle before one can resolutely support the proletarian revolutionaries. Some persons want to stand above several factions and play with reconciliation and compromise. In substance they are afraid of struggle. Fear of struggle actually leads one to the side of the conservative. This question is one of class stand and of world outlook. If one wavers a little on this question, one will inevitably make major mistakes.

Simultaneously with supporting and relying on the proletarian revolutionaries, it is necessary to work on the conservative organizations, strive to educate the masses who have been deceived, unite the great majority, and strengthen the battalions of the proletarian revolutionaries. Chairman Mao teaches us that we must strive to unite all people who can be united. "The proletariat must liberate not only itself but also mankind as a whole. If the proletariat cannot liberate mankind as a whole, it cannot liberate itself in the end."

I made use of every opportunity to perform painstaking politico-ideological work among the masses of the "8 August" Regiment. I invited them to attend forums and chatted with them individually. I propagated Chairman Mao's proletarian revolution line to them and sincerely criticized their mistakes and shortcomings. I wanted them to treat correctly the revolutionary actions of the Red Rebel Regiment and encouraged them bravely to rectify their own mistakes, get rid of the poison spread by the bourgeois reactionary line, quickly return to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolution line, unite against the enemy, and direct the spearhead at a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party.

Meanwhile I also convened forums among the fighters of the Red Rebel Regiment and helped them strictly distinguish the two different kinds of contradictions from each other and recognize that the contradiction between them and the masses of the conservative organizations were contradictions among the people. I told them that on the basis of Chairman Mao's teaching that "it is necessary to clarify thought and to unite comrades", they must correctly deal with the comrades of the "8 August" Regiment who had been deceived because these people were also the victims of the bourgeois reactionary line. To deal with the ideological problems among these people, we could

resort only to persuasion but not repression. Quite a number of fighters of the Red Rebel Regiment maintained extensive contact with the masses of the "8 August" Regiment, chatted with them, and conducted painstaking and delicate politico-ideological work in light of their living ideas.

Facts prove that the use of the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung certainly can win them over through education. Once this method is used, the overwhelming majority of the deceived masses will be aroused. They will pull out from the conservative organizations and stand on the side of the proletarian revolutionaries.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "Without a people's army the people have nothing. The People's Liberation Army is a most reliable force personally built by Chairman Mao and personally led by his close comrade-in-arms -- Comrade Lin Piao. In the current great proletarian cultural revolution, the Military Region of Heilungkiang province, holding high the great red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, has at all times steadfastly stood on the side of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao giving tremendous support to the proletarian revolutionaries. They stood forth at the crucial moment of the struggle. Their stand is steadfast and unambiguous, and they have done a lot of work and made outstanding contributions in support of the struggle of the proletarian revolutionaries against a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party. When I experienced difficulty in the struggle Comrade Wang Chia-tao, Commander of the Military Region, gave me tremendous support and assistance.

The revolutionary masses have profound class feelings for and boundless faith in the People's Liberation Army, and they regard it as their staunch backer, the solitary rock in a turbulent stream defending the great proletarian cultural revolution. We revolutionary leading cadres and the revolutionary mass organizations must work in close coordination with the armed forces, cherish them, and learn well from the People's Liberation Army.

Following the victory of the struggle to seize power, struggles between the two classes and the two roads will continue to exist and will sometimes be very sharp and complicated. These struggles will continuously be mirrored inside the Revolutionary Committee and among the proletarian revolutionaries.

In the struggle, the established line is "steadfastly to rely upon the revolutionary Left, win over the middle-of-the-roaders, unite the great majority, and concentrate strength to hit a handful of the most reactionary Right." This line must be implemented both before and after the seizure of power.

In order to set up an extraordinarily proletarianized and militant political organization which is rich in revolutionary spirit, is highly competent and can best serve the people, it is necessary to enforce the revolutionary guideline of "three-way alliance" and establish the revolutionary committee in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings. In this



revolutionary committee, there must be representatives of revolutionary mass organizations, representatives of the People's Liberation Army, and revolutionary leading cadres. PLA cadres' participation in the revolutionary committee can bring the PLA's experience in the flexible study and application of Chairman Mao's writings, "four firsts," and "three-eight style of work" to the revolutionary committee. The representatives of revolutionary mass organizations participating in the revolutionary committee can represent and get in touch with the masses, thus giving the revolutionary committee a broad mass foundation. We must guard against the reduction and even the ousting of representatives of revolutionary mass organizations. Only in this way can the fruit of the seizure of power be consolidated and the great proletarian cultural revolution be carried through to the end.

In the great proletarian cultural revolution, the question of revolutionary leading cadres knowing, supporting and relying upon the proletarian revolutionaries is in the final analysis a question of standpoint, a question of world outlook. We must creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's writings, get rid of bureaucratic ways, be willing to be pupils, put the word "dare" above everything else, have no fear of encirclement and attack, thoroughly criticize and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line and eradicate the poison spread by it, and shift our standpoint entirely onto the side of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao before we can steadfastly support and rely upon the proletarian revolutionaries, fight and win together with them, make contributions to the great proletarian cultural revolution as we should, and survive the stern test of this great proletarian cultural revolution.