

Basic Experience of Heilungkiang Red Rebels In the Struggle to Seize Power

Following is the full text of an article written collectively by leading comrades of the red rebels in Heilungkiang Province who had participated in the struggle to seize power. — Ed.

THE struggle to seize power under the dictatorship of the proletariat is an entirely new topic. The revolutionary rebels in Heilungkiang Province have gained some very valuable experience in this struggle.

(1) The revolutionary rebels, acting in accordance with concrete conditions in the struggle here and carrying out the Party's policy in a clear-cut manner, have united with the principal leading members in the Provincial Party Committee who have carried out Chairman Mao's correct line and with the principal leading members of the People's Liberation Army unit in the area to weld all three into one in the seizure of power.

Chairman Mao says: "Policy is the starting-point of all the practical actions of a revolutionary party and manifests itself in the process and the end-result of that party's actions." The Heilungkiang red rebels acted in complete accordance with Mao Tse-tung's thought and the Party's policy in the struggle to seize power. They did not metaphysically and mechanically copy the experience of other places, but started from the concrete conditions of their own area to solve the extremely important problem of how to treat the cadres in a well-thought-out way. The Heilungkiang red rebels made a strict distinction between the enemy, the friend and themselves. They adopted the method of resolute attack and thoroughgoing seizure of power in dealing with the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road and the very few diehards who cling to the bourgeois reactionary line. They followed the principle of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones, and curing the sickness to save the patient" and the policy of unity-criticism-unity, which Chairman Mao has consistently advocated, in dealing with cadres who had made ordinary mistakes. As for revolutionary cadres standing on the side of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, they firmly relied on them and fought shoulder to shoulder with them.

Their relations of fighting together with Comrade Pan Fu-sheng, First Secretary of the Heilungkiang Provincial Party Committee, and leading members of the Military Area were established and tested in long periods of struggle. Comrade Pan Fu-sheng criticized his own errors after the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Party's Central Committee and resolutely supported the revolutionary Left. The revolutionary Left, on

their part, consistently supported Comrade Pan Fu-sheng's revolutionary action. Together, both carried out resolute struggle against the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road and the "August 8" Regiment and the Red Militia Detachment who were deceived and controlled by those people. In this struggle, the principal leading members of the Provincial Military Area resolutely sided with Comrade Pan Fu-sheng who carried out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and resolutely suppressed the counter-revolutionary organizations which launched a counter-attack on the revolutionary line. It was natural that the revolutionary friendship between Comrade Pan Fu-sheng, leading members of the Provincial Military Area and the revolutionary rebel comrades, formed through this common life-and-death struggle, should find expression in united action when the new situation of the seizure of power arose. Comrade Pan Fu-sheng and leading members of the Provincial Military Area took the initiative and went to the Harbin Red Rebels United Headquarters to discuss how to seize power, and the latter took the initiative to propose that Comrade Pan Fu-sheng and Comrade Wang Chia-tao, the Provincial Military Area Commander, join the Heilungkiang Red Rebel Revolutionary Committee, when the founding of this committee was being considered. On the afternoon of January 30, when the three sides met and completed the draft of the first public notice, the editorial in the third issue of the journal *Hongqi* (See *Peking Review*, No. 6, 1967.) was broadcast over the Central People's Broadcasting Station. The editorial emphasized: "When the revolutionary leading cadres rise up to join the masses in seizing power from the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road, the revolutionary mass organizations should support them," and "to oppose, exclude and overthrow all indiscriminately runs counter to the class viewpoint of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought." This shows that the genuine revolutionary Left can best understand the essence of Mao Tse-tung's thought at the important moment of making revolutionary policy decisions, and that our hearts and the heart of Chairman Mao are united as one.

(2) Before seizing the power of the leadership of a Provincial Party Committee, the newspapers and radio, as the voice of the proletarian revolution, and the Public Security Bureau, as an organ of dictatorship, should first be seized by the Left so as to prepare public opinion for the final seizure of the core of the reactionary stronghold (the Provincial Party Committee held by a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road), resolutely suppress coun-

ter-revolutionaries and ensure a successful struggle to seize power.

Chairman Mao says: "In studying any complex process in which there are two or more contradictions, we must devote every effort to finding its principal contradiction. Once this principal contradiction is grasped, all problems can be readily solved."

To seize power from the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists is an extremely sharp and complicated class struggle. In the complicated struggle to seize power and in the counter-seizure of power, the Heilungkiang red rebels grasped the principal contradiction. First, on January 12, we took over the *Heilungkiang Ribao* (Heilungkiang Daily), the *Harbin Wanbao* (Harbin Evening News) and the provincial and municipal radio stations and public security departments, all on the same day. From that time, the newspapers and the radio carried the voice of the red rebels. Next, the ringleaders of several counter-revolutionary organizations in Harbin such as the "Red Flag Army," the "Combat Preparedness Army" and the so-called "Rong Fu Jun" were imprisoned, and this caused these counter-revolutionary organizations to collapse soon afterward. At the same time, a widely publicized mass rally was held to expose and condemn the ringleaders of the "Red Militia Detachment" who engineered the December 5 incident and they were arrested and dealt with according to law. Under the pressure of this revolutionary situation, the "August 8 Regiment," the most stubborn royalist force, announced its disbanding. Hence, there was a basic change in the situation. The proletarian revolutionaries were in high spirits, the bourgeois reactionaries were afraid to show their faces, the people who had been hoodwinked soon came to their senses and the middle-of-the-roaders inclined to the Left, thus laying the foundation for the struggle to seize power in an all-round way.

(3) Firmly rely on the Left forces within the units where power is to be seized, unite with the middle forces and resolutely strike at the most stubborn reactionary forces so as to seize power and consolidate it.

Chairman Mao says: "The fundamental cause of the development of a thing is not external but internal; it lies in the contradictoriness within the thing." The red rebels in Heilungkiang Province hold that an important factor behind the victorious seizure of power is the reliance on the genuine revolutionary rebels in every unit and department and the concerted efforts of the internal and external forces. This has been proved by the experience in the seizure of power in the Provincial Party Committee as well as by the experience



Proletarian Revolutionary Rebels! Get a Firm Grip on Power!
A poster of today showing a revolutionary rebel holding fast a copy of Mao Tse-tung's works in one hand. With the other, he is wielding political, economic and cultural power to stamp out the class enemy.

in many departments at lower levels where the seizure of power has been successful.

The power of the Harbin City Public Security Bureau was relatively thoroughly seized; the actual power was taken over from above and on down. Its basic experience is to rely on the Left forces both within and outside the Public Security Bureau forming a powerful united front and sweeping aside every obstacle set up by the enemy. At first, persons in the Public Security Bureau who were in authority and taking the capitalist road tried to resist the take-over of power, but their attempt was thwarted by the revolutionary rebels. Then, they colluded with outside forces such as the "Red Flag Army," the "Combat Preparedness Army" and the "Red Militia Detachment" to stage a counter-seizure of power, and this was also thoroughly smashed. At last, they attempted to exploit the complexity of public security work to force the young revolutionaries to retreat. This also was overcome by relying on the Left forces within the Public Security Bureau. Similarly, those people in the bureau who were misled for a time were helped to see the truth thanks to the efforts made by the revolutionary Left forces in the bureau to arouse the masses, energetically expose the sinister headquarters that had attempted a counter-seizure of power, and bring to light one by one all the chief and minor ringleaders who had committed various kinds of crimes. In this way, those among the masses who wanted to make revolution and the revolutionary cadres rallied around the revolutionary take-over committee. Thus, the revolutionary take-over committee stood on solid ground, consolidated its positions, and laid a firm foundation among the masses for the institution of an entirely new order in public se-

curity work. The take-over work in the commercial departments was carried out fairly well and the experience was similar.

(4) The fundamental experience in the struggle to seize power boils down to the fact that Mao Tse-tung's thought arms the ranks of the Left which use Mao Tse-tung's thought to guide their struggle to seize power.

Chairman Mao has said: "All revolutionary struggles in the world are aimed at seizing political power and consolidating it." At the outset of the struggle to seize power, we held thoroughgoing discussions on the necessity and importance of this struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat. All sorts of non-proletarian ideas and muddled views on the question of seizing power were straightened out and united views were reached.

We maintain that one cannot be regarded as a Red Guard of Mao Tse-tung's thought or Chairman Mao's good fighter if he merely recognizes class struggle during the period of socialism but fails to recognize the sharp and complicated struggle for the seizure of power during that period. Proletarian revolutionaries must promptly recapture political power from the grip of the bourgeois elements and those persons who have degenerated into revisionists. Otherwise, a socialist state may undergo peaceful evolution and the overall restoration of capitalism will take place.

Proceeding from this view, the Heilungkiang red rebels conducted their struggle to seize power most

courageously, firmly, relentlessly and unceremoniously; they were wise, resolute and bold in action. In the course of the struggle to seize power, red rebels sometimes did not eat or sleep for twenty-four hours. All this fully displayed their determination to defy death to defend the dictatorship of the proletariat, and demonstrated their total allegiance to Chairman Mao and the Party and their boundless faith in them. The red rebels took such highly conscious revolutionary action precisely because they hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

At the inaugural meeting at the Red Rebel Revolutionary Committee in Heilungkiang Province, more than 100,000 red rebels expressed their determination to make great efforts in studying the "three constantly read articles" and other writings, including *On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party*, *Combat Liberalism* and *On the Reissue of the Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention—Instruction of the General Headquarters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army*, raise their ideological consciousness, improve their skill in struggle, and build up a highly proletarian and highly militant, mighty force of red rebels. The red rebels voiced their earth-shaking determination: "It is we red rebels who will rewrite a thousand chapters in history! It is we red rebels who will map out plans for ten thousand years!"

"We are not only good at destroying the old world, we are also good at building the new."