

Follow Chairman Mao, Carry the Revolution Through to the End

by PAN FU-SHENG*

I HAVE received a most profound education through participation in this great proletarian cultural revolution.

Before the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Party's Eighth Central Committee [convened in August, 1966] I had a very poor understanding of the great proletarian cultural revolution personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao, I failed to follow Chairman Mao's thought closely and said and did some wrong things. I got

*The author was the First Secretary of the former Heilungkiang Provincial Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. During the great proletarian cultural revolution, he has resolutely supported the revolutionary Left, struggled against the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road and, together with leaders of the Heilungkiang Provincial Military Area and the broad masses of proletarian revolutionaries, seized all power in the province. (See *Peking Review*, Nos. 7 and 8, 1967, for detailed accounts.) He is now head of the Heilungkiang Provincial Revolutionary Committee, the province's newly established "three-in-one" provisional organ of power.—Ed.

myself into the position of leading others in the revolution or making revolution against others. While I regarded myself as an integral part of the revolutionary force, I failed to make myself a target of the revolution.

In the past, the fight against Japanese imperialism and Chiang Kai-shek, the land reform, the agricultural co-operativization, the transformation of capitalist industry and commerce, and so on, were all struggles to make revolution against others. But the current great proletarian cultural revolution is a revolution in which I myself should be a target. Since my world outlook had not been thoroughly remoulded, this weakness of mine came into the open at the key moment of this class struggle.

At the Eleventh Plenary Session, the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao won a great victory and the bourgeois reactionary line was declared bankrupt. The teachings of Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Comrade Lin Piao

enabled me to realize my mistakes. I made up my mind that from then on I would stand on the side of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, thoroughly criticize and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line, implement the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

After the Eleventh Plenary Session, I returned from Peking to Harbin. Here I saw the revolutionary Regiment of Red Rebels act in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions and take the study, dissemination, implementation and defence of Mao Tse-tung's thought as their supreme duty. In a fine display of the spirit of daring to think, speak, act, make revolution and rebel, the regiment resolutely launched fierce attacks on the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road and against all monsters and demons, daring to declare war on all of the old world. It made a splendid contribution to the great proletarian cultural revolutionary movement.

All these striking facts were a profound lesson for me. I made up my mind then to stand by the revolutionary Regiment of Red Rebels, fight shoulder to shoulder with them, and follow Chairman Mao unswervingly in carrying the revolution through to the end.

Recalling the path I have travelled, I find that I have had to struggle at every step. These struggles, against my own mistaken ideas, against the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, against the conservatives and against the counter-revolutionary organizations, have all been extremely sharp and complicated.

Boldly Arouse the Masses

This great cultural revolution is a revolution made under the condition of the proletarian dictatorship, one to let the masses educate and liberate themselves by the extensive use of free airing of views, big-character posters, great debates and extensive exchange of revolutionary experience. Such extensive democracy is used to overthrow and discredit completely the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road so as to guarantee that our country will never change political colour. This is a great creation of Chairman Mao and an important development of Mao Tse-tung's thought under new historical conditions.

Chairman Mao long ago pointed out: "We have always maintained that the revolution must rely on the masses of the people, on everybody's taking a hand, and have opposed relying merely on a few persons issuing orders." However, prior to the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee, I had not followed this advice of Chairman Mao and failed to arouse the masses boldly. This was because over a long period of time I had developed the habits of behaving like a big bureaucrat. Stripped of my so-called dignity and prestige, I felt unhappy. I was also unwilling to break with the old conventions, rules and regulations, all being shaped over a long period of time, and was inclined to maintain the existing state of affairs. At

the same time, I was mentally unprepared for exercising extensive democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat and was caught unawares.

As to the handful of people in authority taking the capitalist road within the former Provincial Party Committee, they kept to the reactionary stand of the bourgeoisie, and were consistently opposed to the Party, socialism and Mao Tse-tung's thought. During the great cultural revolution, they would inevitably suppress the revolutionary mass movement and resolutely oppose extensive democracy, because if the masses were boldly aroused and extensive democracy was practised they would collapse.

After the Eleventh Plenary Session, acting in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings, I resolutely stood on the side of the masses, firmly supported the revolutionary Regiment of Red Rebels, boldly aroused the masses, practised extensive democracy, thoroughly criticized and repudiated the bourgeois reactionary line and launched a sharp attack against the handful of people in authority taking the capitalist road within the former Provincial Party Committee.

In the course of the struggle, the conservative forces inside and outside the Party attacked me by various means. They even put up posters calling for a rally to struggle against me. As I was by then fully prepared mentally, although I was encircled and attacked on many occasions, I still persisted in my fight.

I was quite sure that so long as I followed Chairman Mao closely and stood on the side of the true revolutionary Left and the broad revolutionary masses who were armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, I could not be isolated.

In the course of the struggle, Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee gave me boundless courage and strength and the revolutionary Left also gave me extremely solid support and assistance. No matter what they deal with, the revolutionary Left have a clear-cut class viewpoint and draw a distinct line between right and wrong. They are reasonable in handling problems. They truly support whatever conforms to the thought of Mao Tse-tung and oppose whatever is antagonistic to it. Therefore, there is absolutely no rhyme or reason for a revolutionary leading cadre to be afraid of extensive democracy or of the masses.

Take a Firm Grip on the General Orientation Of Struggle

"Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of the first importance for the revolution." It is also a question of the first importance for the great cultural revolution. The decision concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution adopted at the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party clearly pointed out: "The main target of the present movement is those within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road."

Before this Plenary Session I failed to single out the main target of the movement, thus directing the movement on to the wrong road for a while. This error

was mainly due to my incorrect attitude of approaching the problems of the great cultural revolution on the basis of my own past experience, which was one of repudiating others but not myself, of repudiating the rank and file but not the leadership, and of making revolution against others but not against myself. Comrade Lin Piao has said: **"We must regard ourselves as an integral part of the revolutionary force and at the same time, constantly regard ourselves as a target of the revolution."** At that time I did not fully understand the meaning of making revolution against myself and failed to do it properly.

As for the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, they had been diverting the general orientation of the movement by resorting desperately to all sorts of tricks. For instance they stirred up the masses to struggle against the masses, they tried to erode the revolutionary will of the masses by using the sugar-coated bullets of economism, they strove to deceive the masses with a fake seizure of power, and so on.

Educated by Mao Tse-tung's thought and through a host of facts that emerged in the course of the struggle between the two lines, I came to realize my own mistakes and at the same time I was able to see clearly the reactionary nature of the class enemy. I took a determined stand on the side of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, and together with those of the Left, called upon the broad revolutionary masses to "bombard" the handful of persons in the Provincial Party Committee who were in authority and taking the capitalist road. As far as my own mistakes were concerned, I welcomed the revolutionary masses to expose and criticize them. How could it possibly be wrong for a revolutionary leading cadre to have his own shortcomings and mistakes "bombarded" and wiped out in the great mass movement?

Discover and Rely on the True Left

In any stage of a revolution it is always necessary to distinguish between the motive forces and the targets, that is, to clarify the fundamental question of whom to rely on, whom to unite with and whom to attack. Just as Chairman Mao has taught us, this is **"the key to a clear understanding of all the problems of the revolution."** In Harbin, the Regiment of Red Rebels has proved itself to be a true revolutionary Left group through the test of a relatively long period of time. Their general orientation since the beginning of the great proletarian cultural revolution has always been correct. They have resolutely acted in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions and have always marched in the front rank. And finally, they rooted out a handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road in Heilungkiang Province. The great alliance of the proletarian revolutionaries in the province was realized, and the power in the Party and government and in financial and cultural affairs, which had been usurped by a handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, was seized back. These victories should be attributed to

Mao Tse-tung's thought and to the vast number of red rebels.

In the course of the long struggle I have forged a militant friendship with the red rebels and have gradually grown to share their stand and their feelings. I have encouraged and supported what is correct on their side, criticized their shortcomings and mistakes, and made suggestions to them in good time. The great mass of red rebels have given very great support to each of my revolutionary actions and criticize or help me when I speak or act in any way which is not in keeping with Mao Tse-tung's thought.

It is precisely because of this that a handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road has made desperate efforts to oppose me and to attack me, and has even fabricated rumours to undermine my relations with the Left. They have repeatedly seized on some shortcomings of the red rebels, attacking them for a single fault without considering their actions as a whole. In this way they have tried to make me come out and speak against the red rebels, and vainly attempted to use me as a tool to suppress the student movement. I have been able to spot their intrigues and counter-attacked them resolutely by means of Mao Tse-tung's thought. As a result, the several incidents in Harbin, when the revolutionary students were encircled and attacked, were promptly dealt with.

In the struggle I have realized that to discover and to rely on the Left is a question of stand, a question of trusting the masses and a major question of carrying out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

Distinguish Between the Main Current and The Side Issues

Chairman Mao pointed out forty years ago in the *Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan* that there were three different kinds of attitude towards the revolutionary mass movement: **"To march at their head and lead them? To trail behind them, gesticulating and criticizing? Or to stand in their way and oppose them?"** In the great cultural revolution movement, these attitudes also exist here among us. Since taking the lid off the class struggle inside the former Provincial Party Committee, the movement has moved forward very, very rapidly and irrepressibly and the situation has been excellent. The main current of the movement has been healthy and the general orientation has always been correct. But conservative forces on every side attacked and blamed me, clamouring and claiming without reason that the general orientation of the movement was wrong.

At each of these crucial moments, Chairman Mao promptly pointed out the correct direction, enabling us to spot and smash the enemy's plots and schemes of all kinds and to constantly push the movement forward. For instance, last September, in order to undermine the great cultural revolution, a handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road and the conservative forces incited some workers who did not understand the actual situation to oppose the student

movement. Last December, they again vainly attempted to switch the general orientation of the movement by means of economism. We rely on Mao Tse-tung's thought and have won victory after victory.

Overthrow Self-Interest, Foster Devotion To Public Interest

From my personal experience, I have realized that if you want to put daring above everything else and boldly arouse the masses, you must first discard all selfish ideas and not be afraid of giving up your personal interests. Otherwise, you cannot adhere to principle and cannot therefore win the confidence of the masses.

To be afraid of the masses and the revolution is an expression of political wavering. We revolutionary cadres, every one of us, must thoroughly rebel against self-interest and make revolution to the core of our being; we must eliminate bourgeois ideas and foster proletarian ones, take the stand of the proletarian revolutionaries and actively participate in the mass movement.

For a veteran cadre to survive the test of the great cultural revolution, the key lies in discarding self-interest and **"looking upon the interests of the revolution as his very life."** From the very day I spoke up openly in support of the Regiment of Red Rebels after the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Party's Eighth Cen-

tral Committee, I knew that the conservatives would be out to make endless trouble for me. And things turned out just as I expected. They spread rumours and slanders, made provocations and resorted to abusive remarks in an attempt to overthrow me. In such sharp and complicated class struggle, I did not consider personal gain or loss, and support the Left and rely on them. I think that it would be completely wrong to harbour the illusion that you can stand aloof, without leaning towards either side, without offending either side, in an attempt to evade the struggle and avoid being attacked. This is simply not possible. To think that it is and to act on that assumption, is in effect, to side with the conservatives and the Right.

At present, the proletarian revolutionaries in Heilungkiang Province, guided by the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, have won a major victory in seizing power from a handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. However, this is only the first step in a long march; greater and more formidable tasks still lie ahead. From now on, I will stand more firmly on the side of the red rebels, will strive to be a pupil of the masses and will follow our great leader Chairman Mao for ever in carrying the revolution through to the end.

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