

PLA AND CULTURAL REVOLUTION  
Peiping, NCNA, 14 January 1967

Full text of an editorial entitled: "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in Our Army Must be Thoroughly Carried Out" that originally appeared in Chieh-fang-chun Pao.

Our great leader Chairman Mao himself decided on the broadcasting of the "message to all Shanghai people" and the "urgent notice" issued jointly by the Shanghai revolutionary rebel organizations. He has called on the party, the government, the army and the people throughout the country to learn from the experience of the Shanghai revolutionary rebel groups, to join together in action and defeat the new counter-attacks of the bourgeois reactionary line so that the great proletarian cultural revolution will advance along the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao. Chairman Mao's great call has pushed the great proletarian cultural revolution into a new stage.

Under the guidance of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and the correct leadership of Comrade Lin Piao and the military commission of the Party Central Committee, the great proletarian cultural revolution in the army has also won great victories.

With the approval of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, the Military Commission has reorganized the all-army cultural revolution group and a new one has come into being. This is a result of the struggle

in our army between the two lines in the great proletarian cultural revolution, and is a tremendous victory for the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao. The present situation is excellent.

But, to carry out thoroughly the great proletarian cultural revolution in our army, it is necessary to continue to boldly arouse the masses, undergo fierce struggles and break through much resistance.

Such resistance comes primarily from the handful of people who have wormed their way into the Army, who are in authority and who are taking the capitalist road; from the extremely few diehards who cling to the bourgeois reactionary line. They have resorted to every imaginable kind of trick to stir up trouble. And they are still cooking up new plots and staging new counter-attacks.

Such resistance also comes from cadres within our party whose world outlook has not been really remolded. Even now, persons in charge of some units have a very poor understanding of the task of leadership in this great struggle. Their leadership is far from conscientious and effective, and they find themselves in weak positions, incapable of handling problems. Their heads are full of muddled ideas of one sort or another. They are still receptive to the bourgeois reactionary line.

The question is this: Is the great proletarian cultural revolution in the Army important or not?

Our army is the pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat, an important guarantee for the carrying out of extensive democracy and a weapon for defending our socialist motherland and the great proletarian cultural revolution. The guns of the people must be in the hands of those loyal to Chairman Mao, loyal to Mao Tse-tung's thought and loyal to the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao. The presence of revisionists in the Army would be especially dangerous. For precisely this reason, the great proletarian cultural revolution is exceedingly important to our army.

This People's Army of ours was founded by Chairman Mao and led personally by him. It has stood the test of protracted revolutionary struggles. Since Comrade Lin Biao took charge of the work of the Military Commission, the revolutionization of our Army has been extremely successful. But the army does not live in a vacuum. It is inevitable that class struggle in the society will reflect itself in the Army in various ways. In a thousand and one ways the bourgeoisie attempt to find agents in the Army.

The influence of bourgeois ideology is all-pervasive. Some people are of the opinion that there is no great problem with the Army and it does not matter whether or not the great cultural revolution is conducted there. This attitude goes completely against Chairman Mao's instructions and overlooks class struggle. It is very, very dangerous.

Our army has the important responsibility of defending the motherland. It must be ready at any time to smash the possible invasion of U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. Therefore, the arrangements for conducting the great proletarian cultural revolution in the army should be different from those of other units. Within the army itself, the arrangement in the vast number of army units should also be different from that of higher-level leading organs, military academies and schools and cultural and art organizations. But in common with all other organizations, the great cultural revolution in the army must be conducted well and thoroughly. Not a trace of vacillation can be permitted under the pretext of the special conditions of the army. Moreover, owing to the army's important responsibility, the great cultural revolution there should be conducted with particular firmness. It must be conducted especially well and thoroughly.

Is there, after all, a struggle in the army between the two lines in the great cultural revolution?

Facts have proved that the struggle between the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and the bourgeois reactionary line not only exists within the army but is sharp and complicated.

It is a fact that in our army there are a handful of persons in authority taking the capitalist road and an extremely few diehards clinging to the bourgeois reactionary line. They resist the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, by acting one way to people's faces and another behind their backs; they deceive both the leadership and those they lead, using the despicable methods of bourgeois politicians. They attempt to strangle the great proletarian cultural revolution in the army by attacking the revolutionary left, suppressing the mass movement, and shifting the targets for attack in order to protect themselves. But their ugly features are being exposed. The victory achieved in the great cultural revolution in the earlier stage is precisely the result of fierce struggles against the bourgeois reactionary line. We have more struggles to go through and a great deal of intensive and careful work to do in order to thoroughly strike back at the bourgeois reactionary line and get rid of its bad influence.

The struggle between the two lines in the great proletarian cultural revolution will decide the fate of the revolution. The great proletarian cultural revolution in our army cannot proceed victoriously, and may even be in danger of collapsing halfway if we do not firmly and conscientiously stand on the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and are uncompromising in carrying through the struggle against the bourgeois reactionary line.

What is our attitude in this great proletarian cultural revolution toward the proletarian revolutionary left?

For each comrade, this is an important question of principle.

There are people who support the revolutionary left in words but not in actions. They show no enthusiasm for their rebel spirit, but instead exaggerate and emphasize certain defects of the revolutionary left. They even turn things upside down and talk of revolutionary actions as "emotional," "excessive," "straying from principles," etc. They are not really on the side of the revolutionary left, but balancing between two completely different principles, two completely different stands. They are trying to find a middle way, a compromise, an eclectic position. In reality, they are taking the stand of the bourgeoisie to suppress and attack the revolutionary left, dampening the proletariat's will to fight and heightening the arrogance of the bourgeoisie.

The proletarian revolutionary left are the backbone and the vanguard of the great cultural revolution. If they are not relied upon there will be no revolution. To oppose the left is to oppose the great proletarian cultural revolution. The revolutionary left dare to think, to speak, to act, to rebel and to make revolution. Their general orientation has been correct from the beginning. There is nothing strange about the fact that certain defects and errors appear in the struggles. In these struggles the revolutionary left can educate themselves. We should stand by them unswervingly, support them wholeheartedly, learn from them modestly, help them sincerely, fight alongside them and develop together. If one sees a few defects, makes a fuss over them, scolds and criticizes them arbitrarily, takes the side issues as the main trend and places oneself on the opposite side from the revolutionary masses, then one is bound to commit the greatest errors.

Chairman Mao said: "We must have faith in the masses and we must have faith in the party. These are two cardinal principles."

Our leading comrades must place firm trust in Chairman Mao, closely follow Chairman Mao's thought, and his line. They must have faith in the masses, catch up with the advancing masses and follow the development of the revolutionary situation. We should abide by Chairman Mao's teaching: "Put politics in command, go to the masses and be one with them and carry on the great proletarian cultural revolution even better."

The higher-level leading organs, military academies and schools, and cultural and art organizations of our army, where the great proletarian cultural revolution is now unfolding, must respond to the great call of Chairman Mao and learn from the experience of the revolutionary rebel groups in Shanghai. In the course of the struggle, they must further arm their thinking with Mao Tse-tung's thought, keep a firm hold on the general orientation of the struggle, choose well the targets of struggle, and improve the art of struggle. They must enlarge and strengthen the forces of the proletarian revolutionary left, unite with the revolutionary masses, and make sure that the destiny of the great proletarian cultural revolution remains in the hands of the revolutionary masses. They must move with the

rapidly changing developments to pick out, one by one, those within the party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road and the die-hards who cling to the bourgeois reactionary line, and hit them hard, pull them down and discredit them completely.

The various units of our army must follow the policy of positive education, and with the struggle between the two lines as the key link, seriously and successfully conduct education on the great proletarian cultural revolution. In the course of this great movement and in the struggle between the two lines, the cadres and fighters must redouble their study and application of Chairman Mao's works, and effectively grasp the essence of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and the party's policies. They must understand fully the extremely good situation of the great proletarian cultural revolution in the whole country and the whole army, and enthusiastically support the rebel spirit of the revolutionary masses. They must increase their revolutionary vigilance, stick to their combat posts, defend the security of the country, defend the dictatorship of the proletariat, defend the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, and defend the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Under the leadership of the great leader Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Comrade Lin Biao, our People's Liberation Army enjoys high prestige. The great proletarian cultural revolution in our Army must be carried through to victory. Let us raise still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, raise still higher the great red banner of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, and bravely march forward!