

BE FOREVER LOYAL TO CHAIRMAN MAO'S PROLETARIAN REVOLUTIONARY LINE

Following is a translation of an article by Li Shui-ch'ing (2621 3055 3237) and Ch'en Chi-te (7115 4949 1795), Responsible Persons of a Certain PLA Unit, published in the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No. 10, 21 June 1967, pages 53-59.

The unprecedented great proletarian cultural revolution, initiated and led by our great leader Chairman Mao himself, has for the past year won world-shaking, splendid victories, with the result that a momentous change has taken place in the political life and social aspect of our country. In this great struggle, inspired by Chairman Mao's great call and under the direct leadership of Vice Chairman Lin, the Chinese People's Liberation Army has unwaveringly taken the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, actively supporting the broad revolutionary masses, striving to fulfill such tasks as supporting the Left, aiding industry and agriculture, exercising military control and carrying out military training. At the same time, the vast masses of cadres and fighters have also been tempered and tested.

Sharing the Revolutionaries' Urgent Desire and Helping to Meet Their Needs

At a crucial moment when the great proletarian cultural revolution entered into the stage of struggle of proletarian revolutionaries to seize power, Chairman Mao issued to the People's Liberation Army a great call to support the Leftists. By doing so he has shown the greatest trust in our army, the greatest concern for it, and given it the greatest encouragement. This is also the greatest test to our army. Before taking on the task of supporting the Left and particularly in the early period of the great cultural revolution, we had no understanding of this unprecedented great revolutionary movement or of a series of theories, lines and principles and policies Chairman Mao propounded for the great proletarian cultural revolution. As a result, we failed to keep abreast of the situation. However, we cherished a firm faith -- the firm faith in the wisdom and greatness of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, in the incomparable correctness of Chairman Mao's

proletarian revolutionary line, and in the inevitability of victory if we advanced along the direction charted by Chairman Mao. On some questions, due to our low level, we were unable to catch up with Chairman Mao's thought and more often than not we were unable to comprehend at once the spirit of his directives. But then our attitude was this: The thought of Mao Tse-tung is the soul commanding the whole party, the whole army and the whole country, and it is important that we seriously study and deeply understand it, and closely follow Chairman Mao. Whether we understand them or not, we must resolutely support and carry out his directives and further appreciate them in the course of practice. Only thus can we remain clear-headed and keep firmly to the proletarian stand in the course of the complicated class struggle. Therefore, after the start of the great proletarian cultural revolution, we with the problem in mind, repeatedly and seriously studied Chairman Mao's works and relevant directives, corrected our understanding, raised our thinking, and resolutely took the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

Chairman Mao has taught us: "All revolutionary struggles in the world are aimed at seizing political power and consolidating it. The desperate struggle of the counterrevolutionary forces against the revolutionary forces is likewise aimed at preserving their political power." The great proletarian cultural revolution is a great mass movement of revolution aimed at preventing capitalist restoration carried out under the conditions of proletarian dictatorship. The focus of struggle is still the question of political power. In the midst of the great proletarian cultural revolution, the proletarian revolutionaries have risen to rebel against the handful of party people in authority taking the capitalist road and seize their power. This rebellion is justified and power has been well seized! In our work of supporting the Left, the first thing is to give resolute support to the broad masses of the Leftists in all those units where power has to be seized so that they will unite together to seize power. Where power has been seized, we will firmly support them in exercising power well. The good or bad results of the work of supporting the Left primarily depends on whether we truly support them to seize and exercise power in the proper manner.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is a vigorous revolutionary mass movement. We have profoundly realized that to make a success of the work of supporting the Left we must with resolve implement Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, wholeheartedly and enthusiastically support the revolutionary mass movement, resolutely trust the masses, rely on them, mobilize them freely, and allow them to educate and liberate themselves. No work can be done well if we do the work that should be done by others and if we just arbitrate in disputes arising from among the masses. Therefore, we must constantly guide the revolutionary masses to make a creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works, and encourage them to contribute ideas, devise methods, engage in independent thinking, and run their own houses. Sometimes, this or that shortcoming may appear in the opinions and practices of the masses, yet, barring any mistake of principle, we must support the creative spirit of the masses and allow them to do what they want to do.

With regard to those masses in the conservative organizations who have been hoodwinked, we must likewise believe that once they understand the truth of things, they will awaken and return to the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. Hence, we should regard the calls by members of the conservative organizations as an opportunity to do mass work among them. Whether they come individually or in groups, we should welcome them, sincerely explain the truth to them, educate them in the struggle between two lines, and encourage them to rebel against the handful of party people in authority taking the capitalist road, against the bourgeois reactionary line.

Vice Chairman Lin has pointed out: "We must regard ourselves as part of the revolution. At the same time, we must continue to regard ourselves as the target of the revolution. In carrying out revolution, we must revolutionize ourselves. Without revolutionizing ourselves, we cannot carry out this revolution successfully." To fulfill the task of supporting the Left victoriously, we must continue to carry out a self-revolution, go into the midst of the masses, go into the thick of struggle, and transform our subjective world while transforming the objective world. Before taking part in supporting the Left, some comrades, although they too understood that "revolution is violence, a violent action by which one class overthrows another," were somewhat surprised by the raging revolutionary storm. They were unaccustomed to the revolutionary actions of the young Red Guard fighters. However, when they came into contact with the masses, took part in practical struggle, studied and applied Chairman Mao's works creatively and with the problems encountered in the struggle between the two lines in mind, and clarified their own thinking, a basic change took place in their sentiments toward the revolutionary masses. They were pleased by the revolutionary actions of the revolutionary masses, loved what they loved, hated what they hated, shared their worries, and helped them in meeting their needs. They staunchly fought and won alongside the revolutionary masses. The practice of struggle for the past months has given the best training and the best test to every comrade who supported the Left. We have deeply felt that class struggle is the best classroom and the best teacher of the revolutionary masses. With such a big classroom and such a teacher, we shall make our thoughts even redder and our work even more successful.

To Support the Revolutionary Left, We Must Take a Firm Stand and Hoist a Clear-Cut Banner

Chairman Mao teaches us: "'One must dare to suffer a thousand cuts and dare to unhorse the emperor.' When fighting for socialism and communism, we must possess such fearless spirit." In the course of the struggle between two classes and two lines in the great proletarian cultural revolution, whether one dares to put courage to the core, come forward bravely to take a firm stand and hoist a clear-cut banner, and unwaveringly take the side of the masses of the Left and fully support them, is a question of whether or not we dare to make revolution. The People's Liberation Army is the strong shield for the proletarian revolutionaries. To support the revolutionary Left, we ourselves must be staunch revolutionary Leftists.

Fearlessness derives from selflessness. Only when we are infinitely loyal to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line will we pledge to defend it to the death. For the past several months the thought of Mao Tse-tung has given us courage and strength, enabling us to stand firm and preserve the militant stance of proletarian revolutionaries in the work of supporting the Left as well as in the strikingly violent storm of class struggle.

First, fear no risks and dare to support.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is a struggle between the attempt to restore capitalism and the effort to thwart this attempt, carried out under conditions of proletarian dictatorship. It is a struggle between the attempt of the bourgeoisie to overthrow proletarian dictatorship and the effort of the proletariat to consolidate proletarian dictatorship. In this life-and-death class struggle, there have to be many reverses and twists and turns, and this or that risk will have to be taken.

On 22 January this year, Tsingtao's proletarian revolutionaries closed their ranks and, with the participation of Comrade Wang Hsiao-yu, a revolutionary leading cadre and under his leadership, seized the party, government, financial and cultural powers of Tsingtao city from the hands of the small handful of people in authority taking the capitalist road in the former Municipal Party Committee and Municipal People's Council. This was an encouraging, big and joyful event, a great victory for Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. However, the small handful of party people in authority taking the capitalist road, though overthrown, were not reconciled to their defeat. Immediately after they had calmed down, they colluded with the ghosts and monsters and all reactionary forces in society, cheated and hoodwinked some masses ignorant of the truth, and stirred up an adverse current for counterseizure of power on the city-wide scale. They went to the extreme in creating lies and slanders, directing the spearhead of their attack at the revolutionary leading cadres who took the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. Moreover, they vainly attempted to strangle the tools of public opinion of proletarian dictatorship, time and time again inciting the masses who did not know the truth to besiege and attack the reborn "Tsingtao Jih-pao" which published the pronouncement on the 22 January seizure of power and to obstruct the normal publication of the paper. They also threatened to destroy the newspaper office. In these activities, some mass organizations who at first joined the rebellion participated, and this added to the complexity of the situation. At such a crucial moment of violent struggle, should we adopt a wait-and-see attitude, hesitate, and sit idly watching the proletarian revolutionaries being subject to pressure? Or should we be brave in taking the risks and take the initiative to support the proletarian revolutionaries? Out of a high sense of responsibility toward the proletarian revolutionary cause, we immediately decided to act and explicitly expressed our firm support for the 22 January seizure of power.

That we decidedly sided with the revolutionary Leftists and resolutely supported them greatly stimulated the fighting will of the proletarian revolutionaries, and received their enthusiastic welcome and support. But the class enemy highly resented us. They again instigated some hoodwinked masses to turn the spearhead of attack against the leadership organs of our armed forces in a vain bid to shake our support for the proletarian revolutionaries. However, they did not succeed in their sinister scheme. "To be opposed by the enemy is not a bad but a good thing." This teaching of Chairman Mao we shall never forget.

Supporting the revolutionary Left involves a sharp and complicated class struggle, which will surely meet with the interference, resistance and opposition from the class enemy and conservative forces. No matter where such pressure comes from and what form it assumes, its essence is a reflection of class struggle. For the past months we have not yielded, nor have we been shaken, by such pressure; instead, we have, in a fighting stance, defended Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and unswervingly supported and protected the proletarian revolutionaries in Tsingtao and other areas.

Looking back to the work of supporting the Left over several months, we understand that if we fear to take risks, we cannot make revolution, and that if we are to make revolution we cannot fear to take risks. Proletarian revolutionary fighters who are loyal to the thought of Mao Tse-tung should advance against the wind and waves of the class struggle!

Second, welcome criticism and correct mistakes, if any.

In the work of supporting the Left, whether we will constantly and modestly listen to the opinions and criticism of the masses is a question of mass viewpoint, a question of basic stand and attitude toward the masses. In view of the masses of the people's infinite love for and trust in our army, there is a special need for us to constantly educate the cadres who are carrying out the task of "three branches" and "two armies" to pay close attention to this question. The masses dare to criticize us because they are concerned about us and love us. This is a good thing. In dealing with the criticism originating from the masses, our attitude is this: that "anyone, no matter who, may point out our shortcomings. If he is right, we will correct them." When listening to criticisms and opinions of various kinds, we should observe the following points: (1) On any occasion, regardless of the number of people, whether inside or outside a conference, and whether it is a big or small conference, we should warmly welcome any criticisms and opinions. (2) We should calmly listen to anyone, no matter what his attitude is, whether he speaks politely or rudely, and whether he criticizes us lightly or severely. (3) Regardless of the language used, the nature of the suggestions, and no matter whether the problems involved are many or few, we must see that "those who speak commit no crime, so that those who listen shall take warning." (4) We should seriously listen to anyone, whether he speaks to us face to face or makes a suggestion through someone else, and whether he sends us a letter or a note.

We must modestly accept the opinions and criticisms of the masses. First of all, the leadership must take the lead and set an example. The principal responsible official of our armed forces who serves on the Tsingtao Municipal Revolutionary Committee adheres steadfastly to Chairman Mao's teaching of "from the masses and to the masses" and "summing up the opinions of the masses and sending them back the decisions drawn up on the basis of these opinions for implementation." Humbly learning from the masses, he plays a good exemplary role among the whole body of personnel in supporting the Left.

When the masses call on us and criticize us, we should warmly receive them and humbly listen to them. When the masses do not call on us, we should go out and call on them on our own initiative. A unit of ours stationed in the city's suburbs, in supporting the Left, makes use of such means as holding mass meetings, forums, and heart-to-heart conferences, and has at one time and another heard more than 70 representatives from 15 revolutionary mass organizations. In addition, members of the unit called on the masses individually on more than 140 occasions to get their opinions about the work of supporting the Left.

While modestly listening to the masses' criticisms regularly, we have also continued to carry out rectification and training and develop self-criticism. From April up to now, we have called a rectification and training session every month for those cadres participating in the work of "three branches" and "two armies." We have developed a mass movement of criticism and self-criticism, exposed our ideas, put problems on the table, summed up experience, and learned the lessons. In this way, every time this is done, our consciousness is raised one step higher and our work advances also by one step.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "With this Marxist-Leninist weapon of criticism and self-criticism, we are able to get rid of undesirable styles of work and preserve a fine style of work." The aim of listening to the masses' criticism and developing self-criticism is to discover and correct mistakes in good time. In making revolution, we can hardly avoid making mistakes. In this connection, our attitude is: Admit mistakes and correct them. Some personnel of our units supported the conservatives, but once the masses criticized them and pointed out their mistakes and clarified the truth of the matter, they promptly admitted their mistakes publicly, conducted a thoroughgoing investigation, and worked to mend their ways. In that way, it is not difficult to develop our work, which can be done with still better results. Our prestige will not be lower but higher.

In Supporting the Revolutionary Left, the Most Fundamental Thing Is to Arm the Broad Masses of the Left With the Thought of Mao Tse-tung

Vice Chairman Lin says: "It is necessary that, through creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works, we instil into the minds of the workers and peasants the thought of Chairman Mao. Only by doing so can we change

the spiritual aspect of the laboring people and turn the spiritual force into a huge material force." The work of supporting the Left is rich and varied in content, but the most important and basic thing is to support the Left politically and ideologically, to use the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung to arm the broad revolutionary masses and advance the revolutionization of man's thinking. For this reason, it is necessary that the creative study and application of Chairman Mao must go hand in hand with the work of supporting the Left.

First, we must use Chairman Mao's theory on making revolution under proletarian dictatorship to arm the revolutionary masses, and help them to distinguish between the enemy and ourselves and understand that under conditions of proletarian dictatorship, the principal target of the revolution is the handful of party people in authority taking the capitalist road and we must firmly grasp the general orientation of struggle.

After the proletarian revolutionaries of Tsingtao city had seized power, the handful of party people in authority taking the capitalist road did not reconcile themselves to defeat but resorted to all ways to disrupt our front, undermine the unity of revolutionary masses, and shift the general orientation of struggle. In accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings, we then helped the revolutionary masses to discern the plots of these people in time and to thoroughly expose and struggle against them. At the same time, we enlightened and helped the hoodwinked masses, raised their understanding, and helped them learn the lessons and draw a line of distinction with the handful of party people in authority taking the capitalist road.

From the seizure of power to the application of power, a change has taken place in the status of the proletarian revolutionaries. In the revolutionary organizations, some people entertained under varying degrees various nonproletarian ideas, such as individualism, the "limelight" mentality, the "small group" mentality, the "mountain stronghold" mentality, and anarchism. All of these ideas hindered the formation of the grand revolutionary alliance, hindered the establishment of proletarian dictatorship, hampered the large-scale criticism against the top party person in authority taking the capitalist road, and undermined the struggle, criticism and reform in the local areas and units. In the light of the development of the situation and in view of the living ideas of the broad masses, we organized the masses to make a serious study of Chairman Mao's relevant works and important articles carried in Hung-ch'i and Jen-min Jih-pao, thereby enabling the proletarian revolutionaries to heighten their awareness and grasp tightly the general orientation of the struggle.

In order to direct the spearhead of struggle at the handful of top party power holders taking the capitalist road and make success of struggle, criticism and reform in local areas and units, we have successively convened four city-wide mass meetings in the Tsingtao area, repeatedly publicized and grasped the principal contradiction, and mastered the general orientation of the struggle. In addition, we helped all revolutionary organizations to

develop rectification and studies. Now, the situation of Tsinghao is getting better and better. An upsurge has appeared in the mass large-scale criticism and struggle against the handful of party people in authority taking the capitalist road. Many units, through large-scale criticism and struggle, have realized a grand revolutionary alliance and achieved a double victory in revolution and production.

Second, applying Chairman Mao's "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" as a sharp ideological weapon, we must help the proletarian revolutionaries to deal correctly with the hoodwinked masses and strive to unite with the majority of the masses.

After the proletarian revolutionaries in the areas where we stay had seized power, some comrades adopted a wrong attitude toward the hoodwinked masses, calling them "black veteran royalists" and describing their houses as "dens of old royalists." Some people said: "They have oppressed us for such a long time in the past. We must not treat them lightly today." When some hoodwinked masses surrendered to the proletarian revolutionaries, some people nevertheless were blind to their awakening and change, accusing them of "attempting to sneak in" or "salvaging a straw." In view of these problems, together with the proletarian revolutionaries we studied Chairman Mao's teaching of strictly distinguishing between and correctly dealing with contradictions of two different types of contradictions, so that they realized gradually that those masses who were cheated into joining the royalist organizations desired revolution. They had joined the wrong groups and had been the victims of the handful of the party power holders taking the capitalist road. We must therefore unite with them, help them, and win them over with strong class sentiments.

In order to strive to unite with the majority of the masses, we and the proletarian revolutionaries studied Chairman Mao's works with the hoodwinked masses. We also labored and talked with them intimately. The proletarian revolutionaries told them about their own experience of revolutionary rebellion and helped them summarize lessons. They also affirmed any progress, however insignificant, made by the hoodwinked masses, and welcome them when they too rise in rebellion. In the meantime, we mobilized the broad masses to struggle fiercely against the handful of party people in authority taking the capitalist road, expose and indict their crime of instigating the conservative organizations to incite the masses to struggle against each other, thus speeding up the awakening of the masses of the conservative organizations. Vast numbers of hoodwinked masses withdrew from the conservative organizations and joined the revolutionary organizations. They turned around and rebelled against the handful of party power holders taking the capitalist road and the bourgeois reactionary line.

Third, we also applied Chairman Mao's "three constantly read articles" and such illustrious articles as "On Correcting the Mistaken Ideas in the Party" to help the revolutionary masses to destroy self-interest, foster devotion to public interest, and transform their world outlook.

The great proletarian cultural revolution demands of each and every revolutionary to make revolution on two fronts simultaneously, namely, the revolution on the front of transformation of the objective world and the revolution on the front of transformation of the subjective world. Only by thoroughly revolutionizing self-interest in one's mind can we successfully discharge the historical task of transforming the objective world. We cannot be thoroughgoing proletarian revolutionaries if we have only the courage to rebel against the power holders taking the capitalist but not the determination to seize power from the self-interest in our heads. To rebel against the self-interest in one's head, one must divide oneself into two, that is, one must see oneself not only as the motive power of the revolution but also as the target of the revolution. Should one see oneself only as the motive power of the revolution but not as a target of the revolution and thus relax one's thought remolding, then one not only cannot be the motive power of the revolution, but there is the danger of turning oneself into an obstacle to the revolution. Just as a responsible person of a Leftist organization has said, "in the sharp struggle between the two lines, we must not hide the self-interest in our minds just as Mr. Tung Kuo hides his wolf in a fable". Otherwise, we would surely be destroyed by self-interest and betray Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

To guide the revolutionary Leftists to clarify the following two problems will be of advantage not only to correctly understanding ourselves but also to raising our revolutionary consciousness. One is the problem of what we should do both before and after seizure of power. Before seizure of power, under the persecution by the bourgeois reactionary line, we are fearless fighters; after the seizure of power, since we have assumed power, we would become complacent and conceited if our revolutionary consciousness is low. In that case, we would become "self-important," chase after fame, authority and profits, divorce ourselves from the masses, and cease to seek progress. The other is the problem of the relationship between the point of departure and the point of destination. In the preceding stage of the revolution, we had made a good start by defending Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, and marched ahead valiantly. However, the class struggle is a prolonged one with its twists and turns. The duty is heavy and the journey is long. We cannot finish our task unless we always obey Chairman Mao's orders and serve the people completely and thoroughly.

The "three constantly read articles" and "On Correcting the Mistaken Ideas in the Party" point out that the core of the world outlook is the problem of "for whom." When we solve the problem of why we are living, we shall acquire the sharpest weapon for destroying self-interest and fostering devotion to public interest and transforming the world outlook. The problems solved by these splendid works are not only basic problems of transformation of world outlook but also practical problems which we often encounter. We must study these works every day and wage a "war of liberation" to free ourselves from self-interest. We must act honestly and regard ourselves as targets of the revolution. Starting from the very beginning, we should study these works carefully and examine our thoughts in the context of the teachings

contained in these works. In that way we shall be able to gain fresh knowledge as we go on learning and apply what we have learned with good results. We must not blindly be complacent with the fact that "we are pathbreakers, are revolutionary, and have given expression to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line." Otherwise, we shall not be able to digest what we read, nor shall we be able to appreciate the spirit and substance of what we read.

The "three constantly read articles" and "On Correcting the Mistaken Ideas in the Party" are from beginning to end distinguished by the glorious idea of wholehearted service to the people. It is necessary to stress that we study them with an abundance of class sentiments. Only when we love the people can we comprehend these works, appreciate them deeply, and apply them. Only when we love the people can we feel the weight of every word and sentence. In the over-all process of study, we must constantly "think of the people's interest and of the sufferings of the majority of the people." Having done this, we shall arouse class sentiments in ourselves, deepen our understanding of the thought of Mao Tse-tung and link it to our problems. Secondly, we must nurse a deep class hatred against self-interest, which we cannot destroy until we hate it. Similarly, only when we love public interest can we foster devotion to it. In order to increase hatred against self-interest, in some schools, rural areas, and factories we carried out the activities of "three-recollection" (recollecting the party history, the history of one's family, and the history of the individual). As a result, the masses were enabled to see that our party history is a history of struggle against all kinds of mistaken lines by the proletarian revolutionary line which Chairman Mao represents, that our family histories are histories of blood and tears under the system of private ownership but are histories of happiness under the system of public ownership, and that the history of our personal progress is a history of struggle of public interest against private interest. The party history, the family history, and the history of the individual are full of struggle between the two classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between two roads, the socialist and the capitalist. In the final analysis, they are struggles between the public and private interests. Through "three-recollection," we aroused the class sentiments in the broad masses and hardened our determination to fight self-interest.

For the last few months, thanks to the fact that the broad masses of cadres and fighters participating in the work of supporting the Left cherish unbounded loyalty to Chairman Mao and the thought of Mao Tse-tung and, in the light of the development of the situation of struggle and in the contest of ideological realities of the revolutionary masses, have intensively grasped creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works as the most basic link, the fighting power of the revolutionary mass organizations has been effectively raised and the revolutionary character, scientific approach and sense of organization and discipline on the part of the broad masses have been strengthened. This has promoted the large-scale criticism and struggle against the handful of top party power holders taking the capitalist road and the struggle, criticism and reform in local areas and units. At the same time, in the course of the winds and storms of the class struggle we ourselves have been educated, tempered and improved.

Chairman Mao recently again issued a great call for supporting the army and cherishing the people. Under the new situation of the revolution, this is the latest directive to our army in its work of aiding the Left, and it is the highest demand. We must forever be loyal to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, going all out to raise the work of aiding the Left to a new level. We must resolutely fight by the side of the proletarian revolutionaries, seize new victories in the great proletarian cultural revolution, and consolidate proletarian dictatorship.

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