

## HOW WE SUPPORTED PROLETARIAN REVOLUTIONARIES

[Following is a translation of an article by Nanking PLA members Liang Chi-ch'ing (2733/6549/0615), Tu Fang-p'ing (2629/2455/1627), and Wu Ta-sheng (0702/1129/0524) in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 5, 30 March 1967, pp 39-43.]

Our great leader, Chairman Mao, made a decision on the broadcasting of China's first big-character poster of Marxism-Leninism and personally ignited the raging flames of the great proletarian cultural revolution. Under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought, the revolutionary teachers and students of Nanking University ferreted out counterrevolutionary revisionist element Kuang Ya-ming. A favorable revolutionary situation prevailed in the whole university.

Under these conditions, we, as members of the PLA and members of a workteam led by a responsible comrade of the provincial CCP committee and organized by the provincial CCP committee, participated in the great proletarian cultural revolution at Nanking University.

The second day after we entered the university, differences in principle existed within the workteam. The differences became greater and greater, and the struggle became sharper and sharper, following the development of the movement. When we realized that this was a struggle between the two lines, we consciously and firmly sided with the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, openly and resolutely supported the proletarian revolutionaries, fought with them shoulder to shoulder, and won victories in the struggle.

1--In late June last year the revolutionary teachers and students of Nanking University had broken away from the

restriction established by the provincial CCP committee to bind the mass movement, put up a number of revolutionary big-character posters, and exposed the crimes of a number of counterrevolutionary revisionists in the university's party committee. The handful of party people in authority taking the capitalist road in the university's party committee and in the provincial CCP committee who incited a number of duped students to encircle and attack the revolutionary big-character posters and made use of the instruments of dictatorship to try to frame these revolutionary comrades, brand them as "counterrevolutionaries" and "evil elements," and so on.

Chairman Mao said: "Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of the first importance for the revolution. To insure that we will definitely achieve success in our revolution and will not lead the masses astray, we must pay attention to uniting with our real friends in order to attack the real enemies." Many of the revolutionary students of Nanking University come from families of workers and poor and lower middle peasants. They dare to think, to speak, to break through, and to make revolution. The big-character posters they put up were presenting facts and reasoning things out. They were compatible with Mao Tse-tung's thought. These people were innocent. How could we treat them as our enemies? Due to our strong proletarian feelings, we liked them from the bottom of our hearts, sympathized with them, and supported their revolutionary movement. We resisted and opposed the schemes of the handful of party people in authority taking the capitalist road in framing the revolutionary comrades.

Under the threat of the white terror of the bourgeois reactionary line, these young revolutionary fighters thought of Chairman Mao day and night. They had boundless faith in the Chinese PLA personally created by Chairman Mao and directly led by Comrade Lin Biao.

They found us and we supported them and encouraged their revolutionary spirit. We said to them: "You have the courage and write your big-character posters well. You must persistently carry on in writing posters which are of a high standard."

While the broad masses of revolutionary teachers and students were rising to expose the questions within the university's party committee, the provincial CCP committee put forward the policy of "starting the operation from the lower and middle levels" in a vain attempt to divert the main orientation of the struggle and direct the spearhead at the broad masses of cadres and people. We disagreed on such action and waged a struggle in various forms.

When the chief responsible comrade of the workteam announced that "the university's party committee is correct," many students came to ask us: "Can we criticize the university's party committee?" We firmly answered: "It must be criticized. Those incompatible with Mao Tse-tung's thought must be exposed and criticized."

Our revolutionary action had evoked animosity from the handful of party people in authority taking the capitalist road. They time and again exerted pressure on us, clamoring: "Some people are waving the PLA banner to oppose the provincial CCP committee," "opposing the provincial CCP committee means opposing the party," "heads will fall if a wrong step is taken," and so on.

We are revolutionary soldiers. Acting upon Chairman Mao's instructions is our bounden duty. We shall firmly carry out those instructions compatible with Mao Tse-tung's thought and firmly oppose those incompatible with Mao Tse-tung's thought. Under great pressure from the handful of party people in authority taking the capitalist road, our faith in support of proletarian revolutionaries never wavered.

2--The publication of the decision made by the CCP Central Committee on the great proletarian cultural revolution sounded the death knell of the bourgeois reactionary line. The proletarian revolutionaries of Nanking University were filled with joy. They fiercely attacked the erroneous line carried out by the workteam and began by criticizing the bourgeois reactionary line in Nanking.

The proletarian revolutionaries are very sharp in analyzing problems. While criticizing the errors of the workteam, they discovered that the real root was in the provincial CCP committee. They fiercely launched an attack and were determined to take off the lid of the class struggle in the provincial CCP committee.

The proletarian revolutionaries had full confidence in us, hoping that we would rise to rebel against the bourgeois reactionary line. At that time our position was difficult and our feelings were mixed. On the one hand, all the words of the revolutionary students and teachers sounded reasonable. The workteam did commit mistakes of orientation and line. We must give full support to the revolutionary students and teachers.

On the other hand, the handful of party people in authority taking the capitalist road stubbornly held fast to the bourgeois reactionary line, used the cudgel of so-called "discipline" to exert pressure on us, and formulated the policy of

"keeping the different inside, uniting with each other when dealing with outsiders, reporting to the higher level while keeping mum at the lower level, subordinating oneself to the organization, and reserving opinions." They had also asked us many times to "unify calibers" with them. Under such conditions, what should we do?

Chairman Mao taught us: "A communist should have largeness of mind and he should be staunch and active, looking upon the interests of the revolution as his very life." He also said: The people's army "has come together and they fight not for the private interests of a few individuals or a narrow clique, but for the interests of the broad masses and of the whole nation. The sole purpose of this army is to stand firmly with the Chinese people and to serve them wholeheartedly."

We are communists and members of the glorious Chinese PLA. We must never place fear above all and forget to pay attention to state affairs. We must never observe "discipline" of revisionism, and maintain an erroneous leadership. We have spent half of our lives in following Chairman Mao to make revolution. We must maintain proletarian integrity as long as we live. We must firmly wage irreconcilable struggle against anything incompatible with Mao Tse-tung's thought. Heads may fall and blood may flow, but we must never give up Mao Tse-tung's thought.

We were determined to take the side of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and to thoroughly rebel against the handful of party people in authority taking the capitalist road and against the bourgeois reactionary line. Thus we stepped forth and supported the proletarian revolutionaries with a clearcut stand.

In line with Chairman Mao's teaching that "you must place politics in the fore, identify yourselves with the masses, and join the masses to carry out the great proletarian cultural revolution still better," we shared the same breath and destiny with the revolutionary masses, and fought and won victories together.

We exposed the crimes committed during the great proletarian cultural revolution by the handful of persons in authority within the provincial CCP committee taking the capitalist road. Our exposure of their crimes further strengthened the confidence of proletarian revolutionaries in waging struggle. Henceforth the proletarian revolutionaries had profound faith in us, and we had established deep, militant friendship with them.

The young revolutionary fighters educated and helped us. The young revolutionary fighters are newborn forces, nurtured by the thought of Mao Tse-tung. They put into practice the main orientation of the revolution. We fully realized that to carry out the great proletarian cultural revolution well, it is necessary to follow Mao Tse-tung's thought and the young revolutionary fighters.

Chairman Mao said: Those who represent the exploiting classes usually, when in a predicament, resort to the tactics of attack as a means of defense, so that they can stay alive today and even flourish tomorrow. They throw rumors in your face which they have conjured up out of thin air, or they pick on a few superficialities as a means of countering the essence of a matter, or they sing the praises of one group of people to attack another, or they seize on an incident as an opportunity for "making a breakthrough at some point" and putting us in a difficult position. In short, they are always considering what tactics to use against us and "spying out the land" in order to employ their tactics successfully.

Things were just like that. Due to our open support to the proletarian revolutionaries, the handful of party people in authority taking the capitalist road regarded as a thorn in the thigh, they would never be happy until they removed it.

They tried every possible way to fabricate lies, and to slander and attack us in order to shape up counterrevolutionary public opinion, shift the main orientation of the struggle, and direct the spearhead at the revolutionaries persisting in the proletarian revolutionary line of Chairman Mao and at the great PLA of China.

They incited these royalist organizations to encircle and attack us and conduct struggles against us. Not even the comrades in charge of surgical operations in the hospitals were spared. They viciously slandered us as "the scum of the PLA" and "the renegades of the Communist Party," and even went about collecting materials on us in preparation for holding a 100,000-strong rally to label us as "antiparty elements."

At that time, the situation could be described as "the dark clouds gathered over the city heralding its destruction." Though beset by their brutal encirclements and attacks, we were determined to defend the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao at all costs and to resolutely follow Chairman Mao in carrying out the revolution. It is our belief that there is only one existing truth, and that truth is none other than Mao Tse-tung's thought. We believe that no matter

how strong the resistance or how fierce the attack, they are only temporary, and victory surely will belong to Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Then many revolutionaries visited the hospital to comfort us and encourage us to fight resolutely. We told the revolutionary fighters that that was the nature of class struggle, and that class struggle necessarily entails sacrifices. We were -- and are -- prepared to make sacrifices, and even if sacrifices are made they are worth it.

It was sheer nonsense for some of those persons with ulterior motives to have told us threateningly: "You people instigated one section of the masses to struggle against another section of the masses." It is clear that our action was right because we openly sided with the proletarian revolutionaries while hoping that the hoodwinked people would return to side of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao to take up concerted action to defend this line. Those people who really instigated struggle among the masses are those people who stubbornly persist in the bourgeois reactionary line, who support the conservatives, and who persecute the revolutionaries.

Some of those people with good will advised us not to support only one side and exclude the other, but to unite the forces of the two sides together. Will this do? No. All things must be viewed according to the principle of one dividing into two. In the acute struggle between the two classes -- the proletariat and the bourgeoisie -- and between the two lines, you either lean to the side of the revolutionaries or the conservatives, either lean to the side of the proletariat or the bourgeoisie. It is impossible not to lean to either side and remain neutral. Neutrality is false and hypocritical.

Disregarding the threats of those people with ulterior motives and the advice of those with good intentions, we will resolutely hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and unswervingly support the proletarian revolutionaries. The more thoroughly we expose the enemy and the more resolutely we struggle against the enemy, the stronger is our support to the proletarian revolutionaries.

3--In the proletarian cultural revolution, the proletarian revolutionaries are brave and resolute in their struggle and are highly enthusiastic about being in the forefront. Invariably, their general orientation is correct. In the revolutionary movement of such a big scale, our shortcomings and mistakes are hardly avoidable.

Some people with ulterior motives, without recognizing the essence and the mainstream of the struggle -- as the proletarian revolutionaries do -- seizing on their shortcomings and mistakes which cropped up in the course of their progress, freely inflated and exaggerated these shortcomings and mistakes, and struck at the proletarian revolutionaries by creating public opinion, against them in a vain attempt to achieve their criminal aim of sabotaging the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Under such circumstances, we bravely stepped forward and firmly refuted and repudiated their slanders and attacks.

At the same time, we have given support and assistance to the proletarian revolutionaries by various means such as putting forward a suggestion or a way of solving problems.

Of all the support to be given to the proletarian revolutionaries, the most important is to support them with Mao Tse-tung's thought. While engaged in the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works ourselves, we also rendered help to the proletarian revolutionaries in the application of Chairman Mao's works in order to make them mature politically more quickly.

We laid stress in helping the proletarian revolutionaries to resolve the following questions:

A -- We helped them find out the main contradiction, grasp the general orientation of the struggle, and direct the spearhead at the handful of party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. We made a proposal to the proletarian revolutionaries to make Nanking University the target for "breaking through," since the university was the stubborn stronghold of some people in the Kiangsu Provincial CCP Committee for pushing their bourgeois reactionary line and was the "experimental field" of the handful of persons in the provincial CCP committee in authority taking the capitalist road, for the raging flames of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

By taking firm hold of this target for "breaking through," the handful of party persons in the provincial CCP committee in authority taking the capitalist road were severely hit.

B -- We helped the proletarian revolutionaries grasp the tactics employed in the struggle by laying stress on uniting the great majority. Chairman Mao said: "In carrying out a revolution, it is necessary to adopt the tactics of expanding the progressive forces, winning over the intermediate forces,

and opposing the forces of the diehards -- these are three links that cannot be separated."

In the light of Chairman Mao's teachings, we repeatedly reminded the proletarian revolutionaries that they should go to the forefront of the struggle but must not alienate themselves from the masses, that they should correctly treat those hoodwinked people among the conservative organizations, regard them as their class brothers, should not treat them discriminately or exclude them, should warmheartedly help them, patiently educate them, and assist them to make a clean break with the bourgeois reactionary line and return to the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao.

In dealing with the ringleaders who had close connections with the handful of persons in the provincial CCP committee in authority taking the capitalist road, and with the ringleaders of the conservative organizations persisting in the bourgeois reactionary line, the proletarian revolutionaries should arouse the masses to fully expose, criticize, and repudiate them. Only thus can the morale of the proletariat be boosted, the arrogance of the bourgeoisie be deflated, and the ranks of the left be incessantly expanded and strengthened.

C -- We helped them strengthen propaganda work, widely propagate Mao Tse-tung's thought and the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, and fully expose crimes of the bourgeois reactionary line. Every time a revolutionary action was taken, prime importance was given to propaganda work in order to help the broad masses of people see the truth and strive to get more people to take part in exposing, criticizing, and repudiating the bourgeois reactionary line.

D -- Correct handling of contradictions among the proletarian revolutionaries. Through a rectification campaign and on the basis of Mao Tse-tung's thought, the proletarian revolutionaries were able to overcome their differences, strengthen their unity, and coordinate their actions in a common struggle against the enemy.

In the vigorous great proletarian cultural revolution, we have forged a militant friendship of sharing weal and woe with proletarian revolutionaries. We are determined to fight together with them forever, learn from one another, hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, and fight for the complete victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

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