



The arch unrepentant party capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-ping basically distorted Chairman Mao's instructions on army building. In his speech at an army meeting, proceeding from his need to push his revisionist political program of "taking the three directives as the key link," he dished up his revisionist military program with "rectification" as the key link and negated class struggle as the key link in army building in an attempt to use "rectification" as a big club to knock down Chairman Mao's Marxist-Leninist political and military line, to cancel out our army's tasks of opposing capitalist restoration at home and opposing aggression from abroad and to negate the achievements of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the principle of "grasping revolution, promoting production and other work and preparedness against war." In so doing, he vainly attempted to "rectify" our army, the pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat, in the image of the capitalist roaders into a tool for capitalist restoration. "Taking rectification as the key link" clearly embodies the whole essence and tendency of that speech of Teng Hsiao-ping, which was an important measure in his plan of action in "carrying out all-round rectification" and attempting to reverse verdicts and restore capitalism.

What should we take as the key link in doing military work? This question directly involves the nature of our army and the orientation in army building. This is the fundamental issue in the struggle between the two military lines. In the early stage of army building, Chairman Mao had criticized, in his article "On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party", the erroneous concept that "they think that the task of the Red Army, like that of the white army, is merely to fight. They do not understand that the Chinese Red Army is an armed body for carrying out the political tasks of the revolution." Chairman Mao also points out that one of the purely military viewpoints is the absence of confidence in the strength of the masses of the people.

It was exactly on this basic issue that Teng Hsiao-ping tampered with Chairman Mao's proletarian military line at random. Great leader Chairman Mao has observed the socialist society with the law of the unity of opposites, and laid down the party's basic line. He has exhorted the whole party more than once to "never forget classes and class struggle." The class struggle is the key link of all the work in the party. Naturally, it is also the key link in doing military work. As a tool for carrying out class struggle, the army always belongs to a certain class and a certain party, and serves the interests of a certain class and political line. The Chinese PLA is a new-type people's army under the absolute leadership of the CCP and an armed body that implements the party's program and line. Military work is part of the work of the party. The specific line and policies in doing military work are included in the general line and policies of the party. In order to implement the party's basic program and accomplish the party's ultimate goal during the period of socialism, our army must regard the party's basic line as the lifeline in doing all the work in the army; exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie; and build the army in the image of proletarian vanguards. Only by doing so will it be possible for the army to adhere to the correct political orientation, obey the command of Chairman Mao and the party Central Committee, and march forward in unison to win victories. If military work is carried out in isolation from the work of the whole party and from the party's basic line, it is possible that the principle of the party commanding the gun will be changed and that the army will no longer be under the leadership of the proletariat.

The contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is the main contradiction in socialist society. Separated from society, the army will never exist. The class struggle in society will inevitably be reflected in the army in various ways. Even now, China practices an eight-grade wage system, distribution to each according to his work and exchange by means of money, which are scarcely different from those in the old society. As a chief component of state power, the army is like other spheres of the superstructure in reflecting the economic base. In the army, there also exist conditions that are scarcely different from those in the old society; there exist bourgeois rights, and there exist the soil and conditions which breed capitalism and the bourgeoisie.

Chairman Mao's line in army building plays a guiding role in our army. It is from this line that the essential differences between our army and the old-type armies are determined. However, we still cannot say our army is entirely free from the influence of the old-type armies, as pointed out by the Kutien meeting. It should be particularly noted that in the period of socialism, the bourgeoisie is right in the Communist Party. To struggle against the capitalist roaders and make revolution against the bourgeoisie inside the party is the joint militant task of the whole party, the entire army and all the people in the nation.

Teng Hsiao-ping tried to "take rectification as the key link" to get rid of class struggle in an effort to prevent us from making revolution against the bourgeoisie inside the party. As a teacher by negative example, he has made us realize that we must firmly grasp the principal contradiction in army building--the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie; take class struggle as the key link; and persistently carry out the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, that of Marxism against revisionism and that of correct ideas against erroneous ones. Only by so doing will it be possible for us to make sure that the army of the proletariat will never change its nature and that the guns will forever be in the hands of the party and the people.

How do we assess the situation in our army since the Great Cultural Revolution? This not only involves the question of how to give appraisal to the people's army, but also involves the question of how to assess the Great Cultural Revolution.

While promoting on all fronts the fallacy that "the present is not as good as the past," Teng Hsiao-ping also described our army as "a mess." He negated the achievements of the army in carrying out the task of "three supports and the two militaries," and the progress in army building. He smeared our army as "one with many problems," and said that "all these problems are created by the work of 'supporting the left' during the Great Cultural Revolution." Apparently, in negating the excellent situation in our army, Teng Hsiao-ping tried to negate the Great Cultural Revolution. He wanted to carry out "rectification" in the army, as he intended to reverse verdicts passed during the Great Cultural Revolution and settle accounts with the Great Cultural Revolution. To put it bluntly, "taking rectification as the key link" means taking capitalist restoration as the key link.

Chairman Mao points out: "What is the Great Cultural Revolution for? To wage class struggle." In this life-and-death struggle, our army has conscientiously carried out the tasks of "three supports and two militaries" in warm response to Chairman Mao's great call to support the broad masses of the left and on the basis of Chairman Mao's line, principle and policies. It has closely united with the people throughout the nation in destroying the two bourgeois headquarters headed by Liu Shao-chi and Lin Biao respectively, smashed and smothered the schemes of the bourgeoisie inside the party to restore capitalism, and has made new contributions to the people.

The party Central Committee has more than once affirmed and the broad masses have repeatedly lauded such achievements of our army. However, Teng Hsiao-ping denounced them, and totally denied such achievements. This is nothing strange, because he was originally the No 2 chieftain of Liu Shao-chi's bourgeois headquarters. During the Great Cultural Revolution, he was duly exposed and criticized by the whole party, the entire army and all the people in the country. How he could not hate the work in "three supports and two militaries" and the Great Cultural Revolution in the marrow of his bones?

In his glorious 7 May directive, Chairman Mao had clearly laid down the tasks of our army in the socialist period and the guideline for army building, and emphatically pointed out that in addition to fighting, our army must also carry out other tasks, particularly participation in the socialist education movement aimed at criticizing and repudiating the bourgeoisie inside the party and in the struggles to criticize the bourgeoisie in the Cultural Revolution. Our army was founded to carry out the political tasks of the party. To criticize the bourgeoisie, particularly the bourgeoisie within the party, is a bounded duty of our army. To carry out the tasks of "three supports and two militaries" is an important practice of our army to combat and prevent revisionism together with the broad masses. If the army does not participate in the class struggle against the restoration of capitalism, it cannot be regarded as the pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat and as a people's army with the sole purpose of serving the people wholeheartedly.

The Great Cultural Revolution is a gigantic motive force to the development of society in China and to the building of our army. The decade in which the Great Cultural Revolution was triumphantly developed was one in which our army victoriously forged ahead. During this great revolution, our army with its close ties with the society, faced the world and braved the storm. It received tempering that it would never have received in time of peace, and it learned something that it would never have learned in the barracks. It deepened its understanding of the law and characteristics of class struggles in the period of socialism, and improved its skills in the struggle against the capitalist roaders. Reading and studying became habits, and large numbers of new socialist things emerged. The new-born forces grew sturdily, and fresh experiences were accumulated in army building.

The victories in the battles of self-defense on Chenpao Island and the Hsisha Islands indicate that our army, tempered by the Great Cultural Revolution, has become stronger than ever before.

What inspires us even more is the fact that when Teng Hsiao-ping's revisionist political and military programs were popularized in the army, many cadres and fighters sensed the evil nature of these programs, and boldly resisted and criticized them. A large number of small potatoes dared to look down upon the bigwigs who peddled revisionism. They dared to go against the tide, brave the storms and wage a tit-for-tat struggle against revisionism. All such advanced deeds have clearly manifested the profound meaning of the Great Cultural Revolution and the doomed fate of revisionism: All these rewarding results are important signs reflecting the excellent situation in our army. Viewing the situation from different class stands inevitably will lead to different conclusions. On the question of good or bad, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie certainly do not use the same standards. To the proletariat and the masses of working people, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the excellent situation it has brought to all fronts are great, good things. But to Teng Hsiao-ping, the representative of the bourgeoisie inside and outside the party, they are not just bad, but a disaster.

The line determines the situation, and the situation reflects the line. The excellent situation indicates the correctness of the line. The reason Teng Hsiao-ping denied the excellent situation existing in our army was that he wanted to negate the correct leadership of Chairman Mao and the party Central Committee, negate the party's correct political and military lines, and create public opinion for continuing the pursuit of the revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao and transforming our army in the image of the bourgeoisie.

Chairman Mao has taught us: "The People's Liberation Army is always a fighting force... on this point there should be no misunderstanding or wavering."

At present, all the basic contradictions in the world are daily sharpening. The factors for both revolution and war are visibly increasing. The contention between the two hegemonic powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, is intensifying. Soviet social-imperialism is the most dangerous source of war today. And, domestic class struggle is always linked with international class struggle. The restorationist activities of the bourgeoisie at home always have an international background. Therefore, we must firmly grasp the key link of class struggle and, while taking an active part in the struggle against restoration, be prepared against war. We must make conscientious efforts to be fully prepared against any war of aggression and be prepared at all times to wipe out an enemy that dares to invade us and to liberate Taiwan, our sacred territory.

On the question of being prepared against war, Teng Hsiao-ping also spread many revisionist fallacies. Evil intentions were hidden behind his so-called concern over preparedness against war. He used "taking rectification as the key link" to peddle the theory that weapons decide everything and the theory of productive forces. He tried his utmost to preach that to fight a battle means to fight a battle with steel, and that to prepare against war means to get prepared in terms of iron and steel, arbitrarily reversing the relationship between people and things and between politics and military affairs. In so doing he tried to bring the work of preparedness against war within the orbit of his revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link" to undermine both the revolution and preparedness against war.

On what should we mainly depend to fight a war? On what should we place the main emphasis in preparing against war? What line should be used to guide preparedness against war? These are questions that demand clear answers. Marxism has always held that the decisive factor in war is people, not things. Chairman Mao said: "Weapons are an important factor in war, but not the decisive factor; it is people, not things, that are decisive." Relative strength is determined not only by relative military and economic power, but also by manpower and morale. Military and economic power has to be controlled by people. Under present conditions, even though great developments have been made in weapons and equipment and there have been new changes in the character of war, with specific influences on military operations, that great truth, pointed out by Chairman Mao and repeatedly proved by revolutionary wars in China and other countries, remains unchanged. To win victory in future wars against aggression, we must not rely mainly on the most advanced weapons, but on the masses of people armed with Mao Tsetung Thought, on Chairman Mao's idea of people's war and on the correct political and military lines formulated by Chairman Mao for our party and our army.

We have never denied that to fight wars we need iron and steel and that it is necessary to improve weapons and equipment, strengthen military training and raise the level of military techniques. The essential thing is to put these things in their proper places. The principle of "grasp revolution, promote production and other work and preparedness against war" put forward by Chairman Mao is the only correct principle for us in handling the relations between the various aspects of preparedness against war. There are many aspects in preparedness against wars of aggression, and we must make conscientious efforts to do all of them well. But, it is most important to be mentally prepared, that is, to have the revolutionary spirit of getting ready for war and the courage to fight and be confident of victory. By getting mentally prepared and bringing into full play the subjective initiative of people, we will be able to constantly create the material conditions necessary for winning victories in war and bringing into full play the usefulness of all techniques and tactics.

"The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." If we prepare against war in accordance with Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, we will be well prepared, and we will win victory in war. However, Teng Hsiao-ping talked only about the role of weapons, and failed to mention that "the army and the people are the foundation of victory"; he talked only about the role of iron and steel, and failed to mention that the masses are "the real iron bastion"; and he talked only about material preparations, and failed to mention mental preparation. He tried his utmost to preach that future wars will be wars fought with steel. He even went so far as to try to abolish all worker militia in all enterprises.

According to Teng Hsiao-ping's reactionary logic, it seems that victory or defeat in war, success or failure of revolution and the destiny of mankind are all determined by iron and steel, weapons and technique. That is to say that, in the world today, the two hegemonic powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, who have the largest quantities of iron and steel and the best weapons, can always do as they please and dictate the destiny of the world; that the proletariat, the oppressed nations and the oppressed people in the world have no other choice but to submit themselves to enslavement and control by the nuclear overlords and become beasts of burden forever; and that "countries want independence, nations want liberation, and the people want revolution" is all but impossible.

History has proved that the advocacy of the theory that weapons decides everything by all opportunists inevitably leads to capitulationism, abandoning the revolution and forfeiting the fruits of victory of the revolution. The theory that weapons decide everything preached by Teng Hsiao-ping too was a thoroughly defeatist theory, national betrayal and capitulationism, and directly served the war blackmail and power politics of the two hegemonic powers, the Soviet Union and the United States. The theory that weapons decide everything peddled by him was a variation in military affairs of the theory of productive forces which he stubbornly clung to. To prepare against war according to Teng Hsiao-ping's revisionist line can only be preparing for him to restore capitalism.

Our army has a glorious revolutionary tradition of loyalty to the party and the people. Chairman Mao's revolutionary line has taken deep root in people's hearts in our army. In the face of the powerful Chinese People's Liberation Army, the schemes and intrigues of all chieftains of the revisionist line can only end up in ignominious defeat. Lin Biao attempted to carry out a coup d'etat and overthrow the proletariat, but was in the end overthrown himself. Today Teng Hsiao-ping, the restorationist maniac, vainly attempted to use "rectification" to harm the proletariat. He too was just dreaming.

We have already won great victories, but the struggle is far from being over. In accordance with the great strategic plan of Chairman Mao and the party Central Committee, under the unified leadership of party committees at various levels, we must carry forward the thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit of "with power to spare we must pursue the tottering foe," strengthen our study and criticize Teng Hsiao-ping in depth in the light of actual conditions, win still greater victories in beating back the right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, and always advance in triumph along Chairman Mao's army-building line.

## CRITICISM OF TENG'S NEGATIVE EXAMPLE STRESSED

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[Text of 23 August PEOPLE'S DAILY editorial: "Grasp the Crux, Deepen the Criticism of Teng Hsiao-ping"]

[Text] Peking, 22 August 1976--Under the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-ping and beat back the right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts is deepening step by step. The cadres and masses have conscientiously studied Chairman Mao's series of important instructions and have penetratingly criticized Teng Hsiao-ping's counterrevolutionary revisionist line. As a result, they have greatly raised their consciousness of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines and of the need to continue the revolution; have consolidated and developed the achievements of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution; have promoted the development of all socialist undertakings; and have promoted the antiquake and relief work. The situation in both revolution and production is excellent throughout the country.

We should advance in the wake of victory. We should further criticize Teng Hsiao-ping's counterrevolutionary revisionist line ideologically and politically and whip up a new upsurge in the criticism of Teng Hsiao-ping. We should note that although Teng Hsiao-ping has fallen, the struggle has not yet come to an end. Criticizing Teng Hsiao-ping's revisionist line to eliminate its pernicious influence is a major matter concerning the fate and future of our party and state as well as a great fighting task in combating and preventing revisionism and in consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. There is still a great deal of work to be done in this regard, and we must never weaken our fighting will.

"On the General Program for the Work of the Whole Party and the Whole Country," "Several Questions on Scientific and Technological Work" (namely "Report Outline") and "Some Questions on Speeding Up Industrial Development" (namely "regulations"), which were dished up on instructions from the arch unrepentant party capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-ping, reflect in a concentrated way the ultrarightist essence of his counterrevolutionary revisionist line and systematically express his revisionist views. The three antiparty and anti-Marxist big poisonous weeds are rare teaching material by negative example and are an ironclad proof that "THE CAPITALIST ROADERS ARE STILL ON THE CAPITALIST ROAD." Chairman Mao has taught us: "IT IS ONLY THROUGH REPEATED EDUCATION BY POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE EXAMPLES AND THROUGH COMPARISONS AND CONTRASTS THAT REVOLUTIONARY PARTIES AND THE REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE CAN TEMPER THEMSELVES, BECOME MATURE AND MAKE SURE OF VICTORY. WHOEVER UNDERESTIMATES THE ROLE OF TEACHERS BY NEGATIVE EXAMPLE IS NOT A THOROUGHGOING DIALECTICAL MATERIALIST."