

# "Three Supports and Two Militaries" Make for the Best Army Building

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**I**N his "Report to the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China," Vice-Chairman Lin Piao pointed out: "In the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, large numbers of commanders and fighters have taken part in the work of 'three supports and two militaries' (i.e., support industry, support agriculture, support the broad masses of the Left, military control, political and military training) and representatives of the army have taken part in the three-in-one combination; they have tempered themselves in the class struggle, strengthened their ties with the masses, promoted the ideological revolutionization of the army, and made new contributions to the people." Through the great revolutionary practice of "three supports and two militaries" in the past three years, we deeply realize that this constitutes an important component part of our great leader Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat; this is the most important mass work in the new situation in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and makes for the best army building.

## **Important Development of Marxist-Leninist Theory of Army Building**

The Chinese People's Liberation Army was founded and has developed in the storm of mass struggle. It is the P.L.A.'s glorious tradition to build up the army in mass struggle. In the initial period of the founding of our army, Chairman Mao wisely pointed out: "The Chinese Red Army is an armed body for carrying out the political tasks of the revolution. Especially at present, the Red Army should certainly not confine itself to fighting; besides fighting to destroy the enemy's military strength, it should shoulder such important tasks as doing propaganda among the masses,

organizing the masses, arming them, helping them to establish revolutionary political power and setting up Party organizations." During the Second and Third Revolutionary Civil Wars, Chairman Mao stipulated that our army should be a fighting force and a working force. In the period of the socialist revolution, Chairman Mao further pointed out: "The People's Liberation Army should be a great school. In this school, our army should study politics and military affairs, raise its educational level, and also engage in agriculture and side-occupations and run small or medium-sized factories to make products for its own needs or for exchange with the state against equal values. Our army should also do mass work and participate in the socialist education movement in the factories and the villages. When the socialist education movement is over, it will always find mass work to do so as to be always at one with the masses. Also our army should always be ready to participate in the struggles to criticize and repudiate the bourgeoisie in the cultural revolution." During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Chairman Mao directed our army to take part in the work of "three supports and two militaries." This is Chairman Mao's fundamental line and great strategic measure in building our army under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat and an important development of the Marxist-Leninist theory on army building. Only by tempering itself and building itself in such a great mass struggle can the people's army better fulfil the era's important tasks entrusted to it by the proletariat.

## **Raising Consciousness of Class Struggle And the Struggle Between the Two Lines**

Participation in the work of "three supports and two militaries" over the past three years has proved that, by sending the army to face the world of surging mass movements and brave the storm of such struggles, the commanders and fighters have greatly heightened their consciousness of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines, and the army's political mettle has been raised enormously. P.L.A. commanders and fighters used to live in barracks; they seldom took part in mass movements and did not have a clear and deep understanding of class struggle under socialism. Now that they have taken part in the work of "three supports and two militaries," they have a better under-

\* Comrade Li Wen-chung was the leader of the 4th Platoon of the 6th Company of the Chinese People's Liberation Army's Unit 6011. Acting according to orders from the great leader Chairman Mao and Vice-Chairman Lin Piao, his platoon performed immortal meritorious deeds in fulfilling the task of supporting the Left in Kiangsi Province. While carrying out the task of supporting the Left on August 19, 1967, he and men in his platoon bravely rescued more than 50 young Red Guards and other revolutionaries who were in danger of drowning after their boat sank in a river. In doing this, Li Wen-chung and two other comrades gave up their lives. Chairman Mao and Vice-Chairman Lin personally approved the conferring of the honoured title "Model Platoon in Supporting the Left and Cherishing the People" on the platoon.

standing of Chairman Mao's teaching: **"Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration."**

After coming to the Changyung Production Brigade in Hsinchien County, Kiangsi Province, to carry out the task of supporting agriculture, the comrades in the Model Platoon in Supporting the Left and Cherishing the People—an honoured title conferred by the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party—found that a section of the peasants in two of the brigade's production teams were at loggerheads over **some problem about water**. Fighters of the platoon first asked them to send representatives to settle the problem through consultation. But antagonism had reached such a point that they could not even sit down at the same table and talk things over. Later, comrades in the platoon studied Chairman Mao's teaching of applying the viewpoint of classes and class struggle and the method of class analysis to observe and analyse every single thing. This enlightened and helped them get to the bottom of the question quickly. Comrade Ma Shou-tseng, the platoon leader, said: "We should deal with this water dispute in the light of Chairman Mao's teaching. We mustn't remain on the 'surface' and tackle it purely as a water problem. We must get to the 'bottom' and catch the 'water devil' who stirred up all this trouble." The fighters and the poor and lower-middle peasants ran a Mao Tsetung Thought study class in which they conscientiously studied Chairman Mao's teaching **"Never forget class struggle"** together and relentlessly criticized the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi's theory of "the dying out of class struggle." After investigation and study and a class analysis, they discovered that the man behind the scenes pouring oil on troubled waters was one who, had it not been for some slip, should have been classified as a landlord. The fighters and the poor and lower-middle peasants exposed this class enemy and denounced his crimes. This greatly raised the masses' consciousness of class struggle. The two production teams involved buried the hatchet and, united as never before, they encouraged each other by launching a socialist revolutionary emulation campaign.

Practice in the "three supports and two militaries" has also enabled the commanders and fighters to see that the nature of class struggle in the ideological sphere is protracted, acute and complicated. They profoundly realize that class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat still centres round the question of political power, and the main target of revolution is the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road.

The 6th Company in which Li Wen-chung served had performed many meritorious deeds for the people during the War of Resistance Against Japan, the War of Liberation and the War to Resist U.S. Aggression and Aid Korea. While supporting the Left in a factory in the city of Nanchang during the Great Cultural Revolution, comrades in **this company** learnt that a handful of bad elements had usurped the leadership there. Using the bourgeois theory of "many centres," these people were exercising bourgeois dictatorship over the revolutionary workers and holding back progress in the factory's struggle-criticism-transformation movement. Under the correct leadership of their higher Party committee, the cadres and fighters of the 6th Company, holding high the great red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought, energetically publicized the spirit of the 12th Plenary Session of the Party's Eighth Central Committee among the workers. Kindling the revolutionary flame of struggle against bad elements, they ferreted out the handful of class enemies who had hidden themselves in the revolutionary ranks and wrested back the power of leadership in the factory.

Through actual struggle, the commanders and fighters have come to the profound understanding that it is difficult to seize back power, that it is dangerous to lose it, and that to keep power firmly in the hands of the proletariat is not easy. They have learnt to correctly distinguish, under socialist conditions, the two different types of contradictions—those between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people. Now the commanders and fighters are not only able to struggle against enemies with guns, but they have also learnt to struggle against enemies without guns; they are not only able to fight enemies on the military front, but have learnt to fight those on the ideological front; they are not only able to fight open enemies, but have learnt to fight hidden ones as well. With a deep understanding gained from personal experience, some cadres and fighters said: "We must never forget class struggle or relax in the struggle between the two lines; we must never let the concept of political power fade away in our minds, and we must always continue the revolution."

### **Training Successors to the Proletarian Revolutionary Cause**

By participating in the work of "three supports and two militaries," we have in the great mass struggle trained a great number of successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat. This is of great significance in building our army. Chairman Mao has taught us: **"Successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat come forward in mass struggles and are tempered in the great storms of revolution."** To carry out the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation well in every unit, the commanders and fighters at the forefront of "three

supports and two militaries" sometimes went to a factory singly; sometimes a squad went to a county and sometimes two comrades from a mess squad went to a rural people's commune. Closely following Chairman Mao's great strategic plan, they conscientiously implemented Chairman Mao's proletarian policies, followed and defended Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and tempered their boundless loyalty to Chairman Mao, to Mao Tsetung Thought and to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

Comrade Ku Nung-sheng, present political instructor of the company acclaimed as the "Chingchow Company" during the War of Resistance Against Japan, is an activist in the study of Mao Tsetung Thought. When he went to the Kiukiang Normal School to carry out political and military training, he went with the fine style of persevering in the living study and application of Mao Tsetung Thought. He used Mao Tsetung Thought to carry out propaganda among the masses and to organize and arm them. He could always be found among the masses, doing meticulous ideological and political work and having heart-to-heart talks with the revolutionary teachers and students or visiting their homes. Finding that the non-proletarian "mountain stronghold" mentality still existed among the teachers and students, he immediately organized all of them in a Mao Tsetung Thought study class to study again and again and grasp the meaning of Chairman Mao's great teaching that "the proletariat must emancipate not only itself but all mankind." This helped the broad masses of revolutionary teachers and students rise above their petty concerns and become far-sighted and open-minded. Rallied closely together under the banner of Mao Tsetung Thought, they quickly set up a revolutionary committee and brought on a high tide in the proletarian educational revolution.

Participation in the work of "three supports and two militaries" has increased the ability of both cadres and fighters to use the right tactics, to seize the initiative and to be flexible in the struggle against the enemy; it has also increased their ability to give leadership when working independently. By promoting such successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause to key posts, we have added new blood to our leading groups at various levels. Since participating in the work of supporting the Left, our unit has promoted several hundred cadres at the forefront of the "three supports and two militaries" to leading posts at various levels in the army. These new cadres have studied Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat in a living way and have applied it well. Their consciousness of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines is high, and they have the ability to independently lead their men to fulfil the tasks entrusted to them. Now that we have

these successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat who have been tempered in the storm of class struggle, our army will dauntlessly forge ahead along Chairman Mao's line on building the army. When we promote new cadres, we see to it that they are selected from among those at the forefront of the "three supports and two militaries," and after promoting them, we send them to the forefront again to be examined and tested and trained into reliable successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat, such as Li Wen-chung, a Model in Supporting the Left and Cherishing the People. The surging revolutionary mass movement is a great school for training successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat and a great crucible in which they are steeled.

### Fostering the Fine Revolutionary Style

By taking part in the work of "three supports and two militaries," our army has fostered in the mighty storm of mass struggle the fine style of closely following the Party's Central Committee with Chairman Mao as its leader and Vice-Chairman Lin as its deputy leader and of strictly adhering to revolutionary discipline. Everyone realizes that only by closely following the Party's Central Committee can we have the correct orientation and strength and always be imbued with the vigour of advancing on the great road of continuing the revolution. During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, whenever they hear an order from the Party's Central Committee with Chairman Mao as its leader and Vice-Chairman Lin as its deputy leader, the cadres and fighters immediately study it, even if it is late at night, and resolutely carry it out. Commanders and fighters of a unit, which was praised by the masses as the Indomitable Heroic 4th Company during the War of Liberation, lived several hundred *li* apart in a remote mountain area when they went to carry out the work of "three supports and two militaries." Day or night, whenever a new directive from Chairman Mao was published, they immediately crossed the mountains to relay it in good time to the poor and lower-middle peasants. "Discipline is the guarantee for the implementation of the line." Though comrades in some companies were scattered over several hundred *li* in the mountain areas, as soon as they got an order, they were able to take concerted action and raise the conscious observance of discipline to a new high. Though far from their leadership while carrying out the work of supporting the Left, several comrades, sometimes even one comrade, were able to overcome all kinds of difficulties in resolutely carrying out an order and consciously implementing and enthusiastically propagating Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. While doing its work in a hilly district in Chingan County, the Mao Tsetung Thought propaganda team of the 3rd Company of one unit carried forward the

glorious revolutionary tradition of the old Red Army. With the treasured red books by Chairman Mao close to their bosoms and their luggage on their backs, they crossed mountains and rivers and braved wind and snow for more than 50 days, covering over 1,000 li on foot to widely spread Mao Tsetung Thought and implement Chairman Mao's latest instructions in out-of-the-way mountain villages. One day in bitter winter, they went to a small mountain village more than 1,000 metres above sea level to carry out propaganda. The snow-covered paths on the mountain were slippery, and it was extremely difficult for them to advance. But the fighters, who were armed with Mao Tsetung Thought and always had Chairman Mao in their hearts, defied the biting cold. Their fighting will became firmer and firmer as they made their way through the snow. On the way, fighter Sun Wei-fu suddenly became sick. But when the comrades asked him to rest, he recited in a loud voice two lines from a poem by Chairman Mao: **"The Red Army fears not the trials of a distant march; To them a thousand mountains, ten thousand rivers are nothing."** With tremendous tenacity, he followed the others in continuing their way across the mountains. Comrades in this team helped the poor and lower-middle peasants run various kinds of Mao Tsetung Thought study classes. With their help, 17 communes and timber-yards set up revolutionary committees, and the leading groups of the production brigades under these communes were strengthened.

Vice-Chairman Lin said: "On its part, the surging mass movement greatly inspires and educates the army, thus becoming the revolutionary crucible for tempering and raising the political consciousness of the army." Experience proves that whether the commanders and fighters temper themselves in the storm of mass struggle or not makes a great difference; there is also a great difference whether they work in a big or small area, whether they brave a big or small storm, and whether they temper themselves in the mass struggle for a long or short period. **The bigger the area they work in, the bigger the storm they brave and the longer the time they temper themselves in mass struggle, the more they benefit from it and the more conspicuous is their success in ideological revolutionization.** From our practice, we have come to a deep understanding that to do a good job in building the army on a political basis under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the fundamental way is to constantly enable the units to temper themselves in the great storm of mass struggle.

### **If the Army and the People Are United as One, Who in the World Can Match Them?**

Chairman Mao has taught us: **"The whole Party must pay great attention to war, study military matters and prepare itself for fighting."** In his political report to the Ninth Party Congress, Vice-Chairman Lin called

on us to make full preparations against U.S. imperialism and social-imperialism launching a war of aggression. To be well prepared against war, we must mobilize the people of the whole country to be well prepared both mentally and materially against a war of aggression. The "three supports and two militaries" are the best preparation against war.

The richest source of power to wage war lies in the masses armed with Mao Tsetung Thought. During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the commanders and fighters, following and developing the glorious tradition of our army as a working force, have joined Mao Tsetung Thought propaganda teams and gone to government offices, schools, factories and villages to propagate Mao Tsetung Thought. Since taking part in the work of supporting the Left, our unit has sent out thousands of Mao Tsetung Thought propaganda groups to remote and distant areas to disseminate Mao Tsetung Thought. The commanders and fighters have helped the masses run tens of thousands of Mao Tsetung Thought study classes where they study Chairman Mao's works, implement Chairman Mao's proletarian policies and carry out a series of Chairman Mao's latest instructions. Mao Tsetung Thought has taken deep root in the hearts of the people, thereby promoting men's ideological revolutionization and spurring the great development of industrial and agricultural production. Vice-Chairman Lin said: "Once Mao Tsetung Thought is grasped by the broad masses, it becomes an inexhaustible source of strength and a spiritual atom bomb of infinite power." With a deep understanding that comes of personal experience, some cadres and fighters say: The revolutionary masses armed with Mao Tsetung Thought are the best preparation against war.

Commanders and fighters and the masses have shared weal and woe and fought shoulder to shoulder in the work of "three supports and two militaries." Together, they have dug out the handful of renegades, enemy agents and absolutely unrepentant capitalist roaders, thereby eliminating the hidden danger of capitalist restoration and enormously strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat. While taking part in the revolutionary committees, representatives of the army have consciously brought into them the experience gained by the P.L.A. in giving prominence to proletarian politics, such as studying and applying Mao Tsetung Thought in a living way, persisting in the "four-firsts" (i.e., giving first place to man in handling the relationship between man and weapons; to political work in handling the relationship between political and other work; to ideological work in relation to routine tasks in political work; and, in ideological work, to the living ideas in a person's mind, as distinguished from

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