THE BOURGEOIS FALLACY OF "CONSTRUCTION FIRST AND DESTRUCTION LATER" REFUTED Peiping, Kuang-ming Jih-pao, 29 July 1966

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Under the direct leadership of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, an upsurge of the great proletarian cultural revolution is, with the force of a landslide, violently pounding all remnant decadent bourgeois and feudal ideas, sweeping away all monsters and demons entrenched on the political, ideological and cultural fronts. At precisely a time when the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers have risen in full force to repel the attack of the bourgeoisie, a handful of anti-party, anti-socialist black gangsters are shouting the fallacy of "construction first and destruction later." Under the pretext of "construction first and destruction later," they allow us neither to get rid of the bourgeois ideology nor to attack the bourgeois reactionary political fortress. The fallacy of "construction first and destruction later" set forth by the bourgeois lords must be sternly criticized and thoroughly smashed.

The question of relationship between "construction and destruction" was scientifically expounded by Chairman Mao a long time ago in his article "On New Democracy." He pointed out: "Such reactionary culture serves imperialism and the feudal class and should be struck down. If such a thing is not struck down, it will be impossible to build a new culture. Without destruction, there is no construction; without damming, there is no flowing; without rest there is no motion. The two opposites are locked in a lifeand-death struggle."

Destruction as we have defined it means revolution and criticism. In destruction it is necessary to talk reason, and talking reason means construction. Priority should be given to destruction and it is in the midst of destruction that construction proceeds. The practice of social development proves that Marxism-Leninism and the thought of Mao Tse-tung were founded and developed in the course of struggle against all shades of bourgeois ideology, Right opportunism, "Left" opportunism, revisionism and all kinds of demons and monsters....

In the current great proletarian cultural revolution, the bourgeois lords have created the "construction first and destruction later" myth with an ulterior motive: to confuse public opinions, and black with white. Their sinister purpose is to support the bourgeois Right and attack the proletarian Left; and to allow us neither to get rid of the bourgeois ideology nor to establish the proletarian ideology....

However, they can never succeed. We the laboring people are the real creators of culture. Not only politically but culturally and academically as well, the proletariat has long surpassed and overwhelmed the bourgeoisie. We must in the course of this great proletarian cultural revolution destroy the bourgeois ideology and establish the proletarian ideology on a large scale, thoroughly smash the frantic attack of the bourgeois black gangs and sweep away all demons and monsters. We must hold the great red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung even higher and let it flutter on the ideological and cultural positions....

The history of the building of our army and of revolutionary wars over the past decades is a history of Chairman Mao's leading the whole party and the whole army to destroy in a big way all kinds of bourgeois military thinking and establish proletarian military thinking. This was destruction first and construction later and not the other way round....

As the history of the building and development of our army indicates, without completely destroying the bourgeois military lines, it would be impossible to build the proletarian military lines; that without thoroughly demolishing the dogmatic and purely military lines, it would be impossible to truly place politics and the thought of Mao Tse-tung first; and that without thoroughly criticizing the fallacy of "military affairs and politics are equally important, being six of one and half a dozen of the other," it would also be impossible to make politics command the military and everything else. All this proves an incontestable truth: Without destruction there would be no construction, destruction must come first and construction later, construction goes on in the midst of destruction, priority must be given to destruction, in the midst of which construction may be undertaken.

This holds true for the development and expansion of the PLA, for the great victories achieved in the Chinese revolutionary wars, and for the development of all things. The reason why bourgeois representatives have shouted to their own exhaustion the "construction first and destruction later" theory is that they want a cover for their group of demons and monsters so as to preserve the strength and wait for an opportunity to realize their beautiful dream of restoring capitalism.

The PLA is a people's army personally created by Chairman Mao. It is the main prop of the proletarian dictatorship. And every comrade of ours has grown, nurtured in the thought of Mao Tse-tung. We are able not only to destroy the enemies with guns, but we are also able to see through and destroy the enemies without guns....