

HOLD HIGH THE BANNER OF REVOLUTIONARY GREAT ALLIANCE

[Following is a translation of an article by Hung P'ing in the Chinese-language periodical Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No 11, 9 July 1967, pp 56-57.]

Chairman Mao's brilliant work, "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," forms a theoretical basis for carrying out the revolution under proletarian dictatorship. Following the re-publication of this splendid writing, proletarian revolutionaries and the broad revolutionary masses have given more attention to the application of this sharpest weapon, energetically advancing their revolutionary great alliance and winning new victories in their struggle against the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. The experiences of the three units -- the 6th Zone of the Shanghai Port Bureau, the Dyeing and Weaving Mill No. 3 of Tientsin, and the 89th Middle School of Peking -- in forming revolutionary great alliances with the help of the Liberation Army, which are published in this issue of Hung-ch'i, have all been acquired under the guidance of this brilliant work.

Revolutionary great alliance has all along been a fighting banner of the proletariat. Chairman Mao has time and again taught us: It is imperative to unite with all people who can be united with. The proletariat must liberate not only itself but also the whole mankind. For, without liberating the whole mankind, the proletariat cannot ultimately free itself. The great proletarian cultural revolution is a great revolutionary movement in which hundreds of millions of revolutionary masses educate and liberate themselves. Without broad revolutionary great alliances, the great proletarian cultural revolution cannot be carried through to the end.

To realize revolutionary great alliance, it is necessary to distinguish between the enemy and ourselves in the first place. Chairman Mao has taught us this: Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This question is a primary question of the revolution, a primary question for the great cultural revolution as well. It is only when we distinguish between the enemies and

ourselves and correctly handle two different types of contradictions that we can grasp the general orientation of the struggle, unite with the broad revolutionary masses, form a mighty revolutionary great army, and isolate and strike at our chief enemies.

In the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution, our chief enemies are the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. They are the central representatives of the forces of capitalist restoration, and our contradictions with them are antagonistic contradictions, ones between the enemies and ourselves. At the moment, although they have been exposed, they are like "onions under the roof beams which wither but not perish." We must learn from Lu hsun's thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit of beating the dog who has fallen into the water, pursue the tottering foes, criticize and discredit them totally, and completely eliminate the evil influence they have spread on all fronts. To this end, proletarian revolutionaries and the broad revolutionary masses should better close their ranks on the basis of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

To realize revolutionary great alliance, it is essential that contradictions among the people be correctly handled by adopting the policy of "unity -- criticism -- unity." Here, we must first of all have the desire for unity, for only by proceeding from the desire for unity can we make factual and well-intentioned criticism and solemn and serious self-criticism, can we distinguish between right and wrong, unify our thinking, and achieve new unity on a new basis. Even with the desire for unity, correct methods are essential. These are methods of a democratic nature, methods of reasoning or arguing the matters out, and not methods of compulsion or coercion. It stands to reason that when you use the method of persuasion and reasoning, contradictions can be easily solved, but that if you use the method of attack or of recrimination and overwhelm others with superior force, the result can only be that you will suppress and not convince others, splits are caused, and the revolutionary great alliance is undermined.

Proletarian revolutionaries must constantly bear in mind their struggle against the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road; they must constantly grasp the general orientation of struggle. Only thus will different revolutionary mass organizations have a common orientation and a common goal. Only thus can they, on the basis of a struggle against the enemies, rapidly and correctly solve the differences of opinion within their ranks and rapidly realize a revolutionary great alliance. If we put the enemies to one side and just sit there discussing the great alliance, we would lose the premises and basis of the great revolutionary alliance. In this event, it would be out of the question to realize a revolutionary great alliance and even if it were realized, it would not be able to have any effect. Within the revolutionary camp, however, it is natural and normal that contradictions should appear just as it is impossible to have ten fingers of equal sizes. The question is, we must correctly handle these contradictions and subordinate the contradictions within the ranks of the people to the requirements of the struggle against the enemies, and absolutely must not place the

contradictions among the people above the contradictions between the enemies and ourselves, with the result that what is essential and what is non-essential is transposed and the real enemies are allowed to slip away.

A young revolutionary fighter puts it aptly: "As between revolution mass organizations, we should seek agreement on major issues and preserve the differences on minor issues, and must unite against the enemy. This is no 'loss of principle.' On the contrary, if we argue endlessly on side issues and thereby discard the general orientation of struggle, this would be the real loss of principle."

Chairman Mao says: The class enemies frequently "make use of the contradictions among the people to sow dissension and stir up trouble in an attempt to realize their plot." At present, the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road are trying energetically to blur the boundary line between the enemies and ourselves, using the contradictions within the revolutionary ranks to create evil wind and fire, and spreading rumors to deceive the masses or even inciting armed conflicts in a bid to undermine the revolutionary great alliance by a thousand and one ways. For this reason, in order to grasp the general orientation of struggle and realize a great revolutionary alliance, we must heighten our vigilance and expose their schemes.

Within the revolutionary organizations, "self-interest" poses the greatest hindrance to the materialization of the great revolutionary alliance. When self-interest is placed in the fore, we would squabble with each other, set up our own "mountain strongholds," engage in sectarian disputes, foster "small group" interests, and attack each other. We would even be keen on fighting "civil war" and take our friends as our foes while leaving the real enemies aside. The result would be that tension is created among ourselves while comfort is lent to the enemies. Indeed, when self-interest is placed in the forefront, we would forget our enemies; barely liberated from the oppression of the bourgeois reactionary line, we would think that peace prevails in the world, that we can lie on the bed of victory and fall into sound sleep. And we would fail to see the extreme importance of a united struggle against the enemies. Hence, it is important for proletarian revolutionaries to study and apply Chairman Mao's writings creatively, fight against selfish and impure ideas, use the thought of Mao Tse-tung to remold themselves, eliminate the bourgeois world outlook, and establish the proletarian world outlook.

Today, proletarian revolutionaries and the broad revolutionary masses are further creatively studying and applying the illustrious article, "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," doing so with the problems arising from the revolutionary great alliance in mind. Some mass organizations originally antagonistic to each other are gradually dissolving their differences of opinion and strengthening their unity. Many new flourishing signs have appeared in the proletarian revolutionary alliance. This amply demonstrates the huge power of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

To grasp the general orientation of the struggle and realize a great revolutionary alliance is the key to the victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution. This is the course we must take all the time and must not for a single moment depart from it. Whether one holds high the banner of the great revolutionary alliance in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings is a test to every comrade and every revolutionary mass organization. We must not pay lip service only to the need to realize a revolutionary great alliance; instead, we must with a high sense of political responsibility, deal with this problem solemnly and seriously and show this by earnest actions.

CGO: 3530-D