

# Hold High the Revolutionary Banner Of Criticism and Bring About a Revolutionary Great Alliance

ON April 13 this paper [*Renmin Ribao*] carried a report on how the young revolutionary fighters of the Shanghai No. 6 Girls' Secondary School brought about a revolutionary great alliance in that school in the course of the mass criticism and repudiation of and struggle against the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and the bourgeois reactionary line represented by him. At the same time, we reprinted the editorial of the Shanghai paper, the *Wenhui Bao*, entitled "More on the Promotion of a Great Alliance Through Mass Criticism and Repudiation." This news dispatch and editorial brought up an extremely important question in the present stage of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

The experience of the Shanghai No. 6 Girls' Secondary School and the *Wenhui Bao* editorial show that to bring about a revolutionary great alliance through revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation and to seize power from a handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road represent the general orientation of the revolutionary struggle at the present time. The bourgeois reactionary line is today's main obstacle to the formation of an alliance of proletarian revolutionaries. In order to criticize and repudiate this line, the spearhead must be directed at the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, and at the same time we must closely link this struggle with the tasks of struggle, criticism, repudiation and transformation\* in the localities, departments and units, and bring about a revolutionary great alliance through joint struggle. We hold that these principles are correct and universally applicable.

To unite the great majority of the masses and cadres and to concentrate efforts to attack a handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road are important guiding ideas of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao. However, the bourgeois reactionary line represented by the No. 1

\* The tasks of struggle, criticism, repudiation and transformation refer to the struggle against and the overthrow of those persons in authority taking the capitalist road; criticism and repudiation of the reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities" and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and of all other exploiting classes; and transformation of education, art and literature and all other parts of the superstructure not in correspondence with the socialist economic base.

Party person in authority taking the capitalist road is diametrically opposed to this. Its advocates direct the struggle at the masses and create serious antagonisms among them. On the question of cadres, they carry out the reactionary policy of "hitting hard at many in order to protect a handful." Their aim is to shield a handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists, maintain their reactionary rule and conspire to bring about a capitalist restoration.

Therefore, we must firmly adhere to the general orientation of the struggle, and expose, criticize, repudiate and struggle energetically against the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, against a handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road in our localities, departments and units, and against the bourgeois reactionary line which they persist in carrying out. If we take as the main target of our struggle the masses who have been hoodwinked by the bourgeois reactionary line, then we will let the real enemy slip away. This will hinder the forging of the revolutionary great alliance, divert and weaken our criticism of the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and of a handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists. We should never do this.

It must be pointed out that the great alliance we talk about is a revolutionary great alliance, one which adheres to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, and engages in the common struggle to criticize and repudiate a handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. It is not a hotch-potch of proletarian revolutionary organizations on the one hand and conservative organizations which persist in the bourgeois reactionary line on the other. However, in dealing with the masses who joined conservative organizations, proletarian revolutionaries should act according to Chairman Mao's instructions concerning the correct handling of contradictions among the people, use the formula of **unity — criticism — unity** and patiently help them. We should win them over and educate them in the course of the struggle to accuse, criticize and repudiate the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists, so that they will realize that they themselves are victims of the bourgeois reactionary line and so that they will rise to rebel against their conservative organizations, completely break with the bourgeois

reactionary line and return to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. With regard to the very few leaders of the conservative organizations who stubbornly persist in their erroneous views, we should expose, criticize and repudiate them and isolate them from the masses. Reactionary organizations such as the "United Action Committee" should be resolutely attacked and thoroughly disintegrated, and their chief culprits must be punished according to law. Only in this way can we consolidate and expand the great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries.

Chairman Mao teaches us again and again: **We must work conscientiously to unite with all those who can be united. The proletariat must emancipate not only itself but also mankind as a whole. Without emancipating the whole of mankind the proletariat cannot finally emancipate itself.** At the moment we particularly must bear this great teaching of Chairman Mao's in mind.

It is necessary for the revolutionary great alliance to have a clear-cut stand, persist in struggle, acquire the prerequisites for success and pay attention to methods of work.

A clear-cut stand means that we must bring about the revolutionary great alliance on the principled basis of Mao Tse-tung's thought, use this invincible weapon to carry out the mass criticism and repudiation of the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and the bourgeois reactionary line represented by him, and establish the firm revolutionary Left as the core of leadership of the great alliance.

To persist in struggle means that we must bring about and promote the revolutionary great alliance in the course of the struggle against the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and a handful of

counter-revolutionary revisionists, and in the struggle to criticize and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line.

To acquire the prerequisites for success means that the proletarian revolutionaries who uphold Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line must have the upper hand, and also the support and trust of the broad revolutionary masses.

To pay attention to methods of work means that we must make strenuous efforts to encourage, advise and give proper guidance to the masses to bring about a great alliance consciously and voluntarily. We cannot dissolve revolutionary mass organizations simply by means of administrative orders or amalgamate them by "combining two into one."

In the present mass criticism and repudiation, all those who were deceived and the cadres who have made mistakes must completely remove the poisonous effects on themselves of the bourgeois reactionary line. They must resolutely support the revolutionaries, learn from them and get close to them. If they have feelings of resentment and dissatisfaction towards the revolutionaries, they will be unable to correct their mistakes and, moreover, they could possibly be used as instruments for a capitalist come-back by a handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road.

Proletarian revolutionary fighters and revolutionary comrades, let us closely unite and advance along the victorious road of the proletarian cultural revolution under the great banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and in the common struggle to carry out mass criticism and repudiation of the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and the bourgeois reactionary line represented by him!

*("Renmin Ribao" editorial, April 15.)*