

IT IS NECESSARY TO TOPPLE SELF-INTEREST
IN ORDER TO REALIZE THE GREAT ALLIANCE OF REVOLUTIONARIES

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Hung-ch'i Editor's Note:

The great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries is a most important condition for carrying the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end. In the process of realizing the great alliance of revolutionaries, the inside of the proletarian revolutionary organization is penetrated with the struggle between the proletarian world outlook and the bourgeois world outlook, that is, the struggle between public interest and self-interest. The article "It is Necessary to Topple Self-interest in Order to Realize the Great Alliance of Revolutionaries" reproduced by this magazine has vividly demonstrated this.

The experience of the proletarian revolutionaries of the 6th loading and unloading district of the Shanghai Port Bureau tells us that self-interest is the great ideological enemy to the great alliance of revolutionaries. Only by eradicating and toppling self-interest to make room for public interest can we put the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung in command and realize and consolidate the great alliance of revolutionaries.

We recommend this article in the hope that all revolutionary organizations will sum up their own experiences in a good way and drive forward the great alliance of revolutionaries.

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In November last year, the proletarian revolutionaries of the 6th loading and unloading district of the Shanghai Port Bureau broke through numerous barriers of resistance and "fought" their way out. Following this, eight revolutionary mass organizations, including the Rebel Battalion of the 6th District of the Port, the "East Is Red" Rebel Detachment, the Rebel Corps, the Red Flag Corps, and the Column of the 6th District of the Port of the Red Riot Corps, were set up one after another.

These revolutionary mass organizations, in their fight to smash the new counter-attack of the bourgeois reactionary line, in their launching a counterattack against the converging attack of the conservative organizations manipulated by a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the former Municipal Committee, and in their struggle to curb the evil wind of counterrevolutionary economism, lived or died together, shared adversities, and united and fought together, thus forming a revolutionary on-flow.

The alliance of these revolutionary mass organizations began in January this year. Up to the formation of the united revolutionary organization -- the Revolutionary Rebel Committee of the 6th District of the Port of Shanghai -- this time, they had gained and learned profound experiences and lessons from the great alliance which they had formed on three different occasions.

The First Great Alliance

When the great storm of the "January Revolution" swept through the whole seaport, the proletarian revolutionaries of the 6th district also seized over Party, political, financial and cultural powers in the whole district and courageously shouldered the two heavy loads of revolution and production. Eight revolutionary mass organizations formed the first alliance and set up the revolutionary production group.

With power seized, the standing of the proletarian revolutionaries also changed. Under the new situation, some persons relaxed their self-reforming and did not act according to Comrade Lin Piao's instructions.

Comrade Lin Piao pointed out: "We must regard ourselves as part and parcel of the revolutionary force and must at the same time continuously regard ourselves as the target of revolution. Revolution also calls for the revolutionization of self. Without the revolutionization of self, a success cannot be made of such revolution."

But some comrades among the revolutionaries put self-interest above everything else. Proceeding from the interests of the small group, they laid hold of some side issues of each other, got entangled in them, and conducted endless debates. Seeing that this was an opportunity they could take advantage of, some persons with an ulterior object in view fanned the evil wind

for the revolutionary committee of the 6th district. Later, this was expanded to become the preparatory committee for the revolutionary committee, and in this way there was for the first time a command post for grasping revolution and stimulating production.

Following the formation of the preparatory committee, the various revolutionary mass organizations of the 6th district were organizationally united. However, because they had not satisfactorily carried out the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's writings, delved deep into the soul and eradicated self-interest to make way for public interest, but had placed fear above everything else -- they feared that the conservative force might avail of the opportunity to launch a counter-attack, that other people might lay hold of their shortcomings and make endless use of same to topple them, that there might be an internal split and that "civil war" might break out once again -- instead of carrying out open-door rectification, the campaign was carried out behind a closed door or with the door ajar. In the course of rectification, they directed more criticisms against other people and sometimes what they said stung, but they set no strict demands for themselves. As a result, only the relationships between the various organizations were straightened and problems were laid on the table. The "civil war" was waged not with wall posters but across the table. The contradictions and differences between and within organizations had not been solved ideologically in the real sense.

At that time, some conservative organizations spread rumors and slanders saying that "the general orientation of the rebels of the 6th district in their seizure of power is wrong." They even openly clamored in front of the door of the Rebel Battalion that "only the Left is permitted to rebel, but the Right is not allowed to upset the world," thus directing the spearhead at the proletarian revolutionaries. Following this, the "provisional Party committee" singlehandedly concocted by the work group carrying out the bourgeois reactionary line restored activities along the old lines and openly sang a tune that ran counter to the preparatory committee, thus bringing another setback to the great proletarian cultural revolution of the 6th district. After the responsible comrades of the Municipal Revolutionary Committee came to the district to participate in labor and carry out investigation and study, the "provisional Party committee" was ordered to suspend all activities.

This setback has taught us a profound lesson: Self-interest in the minds of the proletarian revolutionaries is the obstacle to the realization of the great alliance. In order to realize and consolidate the great alliance of revolutionaries and the "threeway alliance," to seize and exercise power well and to make good use of power, the proletarian revolutionaries must hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, delve deep into their own souls, and eradicate self-interest in order to establish public interest in a big way. Otherwise, setbacks will appear in the movement.

and kindled the ghostly fire. They enlarged the contradiction in order to create a split.

The unprincipled "civil war" among the various revolutionary mass organizations started in this way. Especially prominent were two organizations which had "fought" their way out at an earlier date -- the Rebel Battalion of the "Worker's General Headquarters" and the "East Is Red" Rebel Detachment of the "Workers General Headquarters." They were unable to see eye to eye with each other, and each claimed that the general orientation of the other side was wrong. Wall posters were pasted all over the district to carry out the "civil war."

In this way, with self-interest playing havoc in the minds of the proletarian revolutionaries who had just come into power, coupled with the sabotage of some persons with an ulterior object in view, there started a "civil war" which upset the class front and shifted the general orientation of the struggle. The alliance lasted about one month and the revolutionary production group died a premature death.

The Second Great Alliance

The "civil war" which lasted several weeks brought unworthy losses to the revolution, and everybody was exhausted. They felt that if the "civil war" were not called off, they would disappoint Chairman Mao, the Party Central Committee and the revolutionary masses.

At that crucial juncture, the "CCP Central Committee's letter to revolutionary workers and cadres of industrial and mining enterprises all over the country" was published. The Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee made decisions in regard to the current situation and task of the great cultural revolution in Shanghai and opportunely sent them Chairman Mao's latest directive. They further studied Chairman Mao's "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," "Rectify the Party's Style of Work," "On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party" and other illustrious works in the light of their way of thinking. As a result, both sides saw light and were able to sit down and calmly think over problems.

The eight mass organizations of the 6th district are all revolutionary organizations and class brothers. In the past the general orientation of the struggle was at all times consistent, and they united, fought and won together. Why was it that after seizing power each of them would sit on top of its own mound and could not form an alliance? After study, they preliminarily understood that self-interest was the mischief-maker in their minds, and unless self-interest was overthrown and a great alliance was formed by the proletarian revolutionaries, they would make big mistakes.

Consequently, an agreement was reached on 21 March, and the representatives of the proletarian revolutionaries, the revolutionary leading cadres and the armed force and public security personnel formed a preparatory group

The Third Great Alliance

They have learned many lessons and gained much experience from the failure of their alliance on two occasions. They have come to understand that it is necessary to topple self-interest and build the great alliance on the foundation of Mao Tse-tung's thought in order to consolidate the great alliance of the revolutionaries. An alliance in form but not in thought is most undependable and has no foundation. Because of this, the masses are of the opinion that such alliance is "parliamentary alliance" and that the preparatory committee is a "quarrelsome club." Now profound and pungent their criticism is:

When the movement ground to a halt at the 6th district, our most respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao sent out the Chinese People's Liberation Army. The PLA followed Chairman Mao's teaching that "all conclusions come after and not before an investigation of the situation," and it conducted penetrating and painstaking investigation and study. Its men moved in and out of production sites all day long, and where there were difficulties, there were PLA men. Late at night they chatted with workers on the night shifts, and under the burning sun, they went aboard ships to load and unload cargoes and were as lively as dragons and tigers. Whenever the masses talked about the PLA, everyone raised his thumb and said: "It really has set a good example for us!"

What was more important was that the PLA brought with it the thought of Mao Tse-tung. Helped by the PLA comrades, the workers of the whole district used the "five big ways" to launch the movement for the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's writings. The "five big ways" are to study Chairman Mao's writings in a big way, to explain Chairman Mao's writings in a big way, to recite Chairman Mao's writings in a big way, to sing songs based on quotations from Chairman Mao in a big way, and to apply the thought of Mao Tse-tung in a big way. Many comrades "recited the three old articles," read quotations while they worked, and checked their work against such quotations after work.

On the basis of studying Chairman Mao's writings in a big way, the 6th district whipped up a surging tide of criticism and repudiation, and all revolutionary workers vehemently criticized the top person in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party and his "Self-Cultivation."

Simultaneously with making criticism and repudiation in a big way, they also organized cadres at the intermediate level to carry out study. Because the large-scale criticism and repudiation had uncovered the class struggle, many cadres who had been deceived woke up and examined their own mistakes. They disclosed their minds saying: "Prior to this, our attitude had been unsatisfactory principally because we feared that we would be purged, toppled and relieved of our office." The majority of the cadres sensed their own mistakes and they returned to the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

After one month of study, the issue returned to the question of great alliance. How should the great alliance be formed? The masses had this to say to those responsible for the revolutionary organizations: "We must form a great alliance, and the sooner the alliance is formed the better it will be. The key is now in the hands of you leaders." Some comrades said: "Regardless of whether or not you want to form an alliance at the higher level, we of various departments must form an alliance at the lower level." An old worker said meaningfully: "I am a communist and I had suffered enough in the old society. Now a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party want us to retrace our steps. We firmly reject this idea, and we must form an alliance in struggle against them. Why don't we unite? What are the things which we cannot discard?" This old worker has said the right thing. In order to insure that our country will not change political color and for the sake of the world revolution, have we anything which we cannot discard? What reason have we in not forming a great alliance?

Chairman Mao taught us: "Numerous revolutionary martyrs have sacrificed their lives for the interests of the people, and all of us who are still living feel very sad whenever we think of them. Can it be said that there are still personal interests which we cannot sacrifice and mistakes which we cannot forsake?" Since the situation of the revolution and the revolutionary cause of the proletariat needed us to form a great alliance, the masses held great expectations for the great alliance and the PLA comrades had made every effort to help us form the great alliance, the situation for the great alliance of the revolutionaries in the 6th district of the Shanghai Port Bureau was very good indeed!

On 2 June the Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee adopted the resolution, "Fight for strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat." The proletarian revolutionaries of the 6th district organized the study of this resolution. On 14 June, a PLA comrade delivered three guiding reports on studying the "three old articles" to those responsible for the various revolutionary mass organizations. He thoroughly explained the great significance of the study of the "three old articles," and the things he covered ranged from "entirely," "thoroughly" serving the people to the correct attitude adopted toward making criticism and self-criticism and accepting criticism, from why it was necessary to eradicate self-interest and establish public interest to how to eradicate self-interest and establish public interest. The audience was greatly moved by his reports and their way of thinking quickly changed. Some comrades said: "Why is it that while we were not afraid even of death when we 'fought' our way out from White Terror, we cannot now free ourselves from the entanglement of self-interest?"

The study of the "three old articles" opened the door to the great alliance and touched everybody to the soul. Everybody said that no matter how great the contradiction of the mass organizations was, it was no greater than the contradiction with a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party. They unanimously were of the opinion that the great alliance brooked no further delay and that a united revolutionary organization should be set up at once.

After the meeting, the various organizations all held meetings. Those of the Rebel Battalion discussed the matter all night. They made self-criticism with reference to Chairman Mao's writings and examined their own shortcomings and mistakes. They resolutely guaranteed that they truly wanted to realize the great alliance of revolutionaries.

Following this, the various revolutionary mass organizations also carried out a rectification campaign. They also had launched rectification campaigns in the past, but such campaigns were directed against other people. This time, the campaign was directed, not against other people, but at self-interest in their own minds, and they were required to make vehement self-criticism. In the past, they shook their heads whenever they heard other people state their views, but now they were afraid that other people would not state their views. In the past, they would argue heatedly whenever pungent views were advanced, but now they only feared that the views advanced by other people would scratch the surface and fail to touch them to the soul. In the past they felt tense whenever self-criticism was mentioned, but now they felt relaxed because they had brought their minds to light. At meetings people bared their minds without any sense of shame and cut off their appendixes without complaining of pain.

Those of the "East Is Red" Detachment bared their minds and said: "We were unable to see eye to eye with the Rebel Battalion and always thought that our level was higher. We held fast to their mistakes and put them on the agenda again and again. Although it was clear to us that they were wrong in some questions, we did not tell them but went the other way to bombard them. We thought that it was their business to make mistakes, and so long as we did the right thing, we would be better known. As we made our self-examination now, we know this is wrong."

The comrades of the Rebel Battalion said: "We were not humble enough, and because of our 'mountaintopism' we looked down upon our fraternal organizations. After crushing the 6th Corps, although we also made a self-examination, yet that self-examination was a superficial one. In our letter of apology we only said that theirs was a mass organization but refused to describe it as revolutionary so that we might crush it again in the future. Now as we think of this we really feel ashamed."

They all said: We are all victims of the bourgeois reactionary line. Under the reign of White Terror, we lived and died together, shared adversities, and "fought" our way out together. We clung close to each other when we fought against the conservative organization. Why can't we form an alliance now?

They were unanimously of the opinion that when dealing with fraternal organizations, they must proceed from the revolutionary interests of the proletariat, but should never take the interests of a small group as the point of departure. The differences between the various revolutionary organizations were contradictions among the people which must be settled with the method

of unity -- criticism -- unity as taught by Chairman Mao, and no antagonistic attitude should be adopted. They discussed their experiences, disclosed their minds and felt that there were no contradictions which could not be settled.

Apart from holding meetings to carry out the rectification campaign, they also adopted the method of carrying the rectification campaign to the door. They felt that because of the "civil war" which had been going on for a period of time, many estrangements had developed among them; and that in order to make a success of the great alliance, such estrangements must be thoroughly eliminated and all organizations and individuals must bare their minds to each other and sincerely carried out self-examination. Therefore, the Rebel Battalion went to the "East Is Red" Detachment to deliver its self-examination to the door. The "East Is Red" Rebel Detachment wrote on a big blackboard: "We welcome the criticism of veteran comrades-in-arms." One went to the other to make self-criticism, while the other called for the criticism of other people. They rushed forward to tell their own shortcomings, and the more they discussed things, the more harmonious things became.

Through creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's writings and carrying out the open-door rectification campaign, the consciousness of the proletarian revolutionaries was greatly raised. As a result, the workers' revolutionary rebel committee of the 6th district of the Shanghai Port Bureau was born.

The birth of this united organization is a victory for the overthrow of self-interest, and is in the final analysis a great victory for the thought of Mao Tse-tung. We owe all this to the great leader Chairman Mao and the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung.

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