

## RELY ON THE MASSES AND REALIZE A GREAT REVOLUTIONARY ALLIANCE

[Following is a translation of an article by Mao Tse-tung's Thought Propaganda Team of a certain air force unit of Peking armed forces, PLA, in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peking, No 11, 9 July 1967, pp 40-42.]

The Dyeing and Weaving Mill No. 3 of Tientsin city, controlled by a handful of power holders taking the capitalist road within the Hopei Provincial Party Committee and Tientsin Municipal Party Committee, had long followed a counter-revolutionary revisionist line. In the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution, those leaders following the bourgeois reactionary line in the mill, in order to shift the target and protect themselves, branded the revolutionary masses as "counter-revolutionary," inciting the masses to struggle against each other and thus causing grave antagonisms between the mass organizations.

Inspired by the "January revolution" storm in Shanghai, the rebel brigade, a revolutionary organization in the mill, seized power on 29 January. However, as the bourgeois reactionary line had not been completely criticized and liquidated, the Rebel Brigade, following its seizure of power, was supported by only one out of the other eight mass organizations. Other mass organizations were keen on fighting a "civil war." This had impeded the grasping of revolution, promotion of production, and the realization of the revolutionary great alliance.

A broad revolutionary great alliance with the Left as the core must be realized. But who are the Leftists? After our Mao Tse-tung's Thought Propaganda Team had entered the mill on 12 March, the leading members of various mass organizations and the broad masses of workers one after another reported the condition to us and urgently asked us to express our attitude. They also pointed out which organization was a Leftist and which was a conservative organization.

To judge who are the revolutionary Leftists is a problem that must be first solved in the work of supporting the Left. Some think that since

Chairman Mao has dispatched the Liberation Army to support the broad masses of the Leftists the Liberation Army is "of course the judge." Such an understanding on the part of the masses stems from their genuine trust of the Liberation Army. We are the servants of the people, their pupils. If we regard ourselves as the "superior of the masses" and the "judges," that would be a grave mistake.

The question of how to correctly handle the masses is one of stand and of world outlook. Chairman Mao teaches us: "The masses are the true heroes, while we ourselves are often childish and ridiculous." Only by firmly trusting the masses and relying on them can we correctly execute Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. The worker masses are the main force of the great proletarian cultural revolution. They are all clear about what the various mass organizations have done. Having mastered the thought of Mao Tse-tung, they are able to define various organizations. That is why, when we entered the mill, we did not feel anxious to express our attitudes. Instead, through various ways we studied Chairman Mao's works with the broad masses and the Party's principles and policies for the great proletarian cultural revolution. We mobilized the masses freely and launched discussions on the general orientation of the movement and the two lines.

The process of study and discussion is also a process of investigation and study. In the course of investigation, we did not confine ourselves to some isolated facts and superficial phenomena. Instead, starting with political thinking, we investigated and studied the organizational state of various organizations, their histories of struggle, and their attitudes in major events. To grasp political thinking, it is essential to grasp tightly the class struggle and the struggle between two lines as the key and define clearly who really stand on the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. It is necessary to directly grasp the essence of the problem, avoid being entangled by side issues, and see clearly who grasps the general orientation of struggle. Above all, it is necessary to establish ideological ties with the masses, to carry out political and ideological education in an appropriate manner, listen to all kinds of opinions, and conduct investigations, discussions, and studies and improve ourselves simultaneously.

The process of study is also a process of mobilizing the mass organizations and cadres to carry out rectification campaigns. In the course of discussions, some organizations think that since their general orientation is correct, it does not matter much to have some shortcomings. Some organizations think that since they themselves have behaved properly, the question of whether their general orientation is correct or not does not arise. Some cadres do not understand, and complain against, the mass movement. With deep class sentiments and in view of these living ideas, we help them study and apply Chairman Mao's works creatively, while guiding them to conduct open-door rectification campaigns so as to correctly recognize themselves as well as others.

Through study, discussions and open-door rectification campaigns, the broad masses of workers have elevated their understanding. The revolutionary organizations have not only affirmed their own general orientation, but they have criticized their own shortcomings and mistakes. People with conservative thinking felt the more the wrongness of their general orientation the more they studied. Some cadres also came to understand the wrongness of passive conservatism and that they should come forward to join the masses in making revolution. More and more people have understood gradually that the Rebel Brigade is a revolutionary Leftist organization.

On 17 April, the mill convened a mass meeting to indict the bourgeois reactionary line. At it, the Rebel Brigade criticized the bourgeois reactionary line and at the same time made a summary report on the conditions of its rectification campaign and the shortcomings and mistakes which it found in work. Responsible members of organizations with conservative tendencies also indicted the poisons of the bourgeois reactionary line and recognized that they had joined the wrong side in the great cultural revolution. They expressed their determination to return to the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and resolutely supported all revolutionary actions of the Rebel Brigade. Some cadres also denounced "On Self-Cultivation" for poisoning their minds, indicating that they would, along with the revolutionary masses, follow Chairman Mao in making revolution. At this mass meeting we publicly indicated to the revolutionary workers of the whole mill that we were firmly behind the Rebel Brigade.

Chairman Mao has exhorted in these words: The proletariat must not only liberate itself, but it must also liberate the whole mankind. Without liberating the whole mankind, the proletariat cannot ultimately liberate itself. As dictated by Chairman Mao's teachings, we helped the Rebel Brigade to further readjust its views on the mass organizations which had made conservative mistakes and the hoodwinked masses, take the initiative to carry out political and ideological work, and realize a revolutionary great alliance.

Some members of the Rebel Brigade, as a result of their persecution by the bourgeois reactionary line and as a result of the fact that the change in their position has caused pride and complacency in them, entertained some incorrect notions about the revolutionary great alliance. They believed that those people with the conservative thinking "cannot be changed," that they lied when they admitted their mistakes and that they must not "sit with them on the same bench." In view of these living ideas, we asked the comrades of the Rebel Brigade to join us in studying seriously Chairman Mao's "On the Correctly Handling of Contradictions," "three constantly read articles," "On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party," and other splendid works. We thus helped them to take Chairman Mao's works as a weapon to eliminate self-interest and foster devotion to public interest and overcome the selfish and impure ideas in their minds. They examined such mistaken ideas as the "seeking the limelight" mentality, the "small group" mentality, individualism, and conceit and complacency. They realized that the contradiction between the

broad masses and the handful of the Party power holders taking the capitalist road is the principal contradiction and that the masses who joined conservative organizations were likewise the victims of the bourgeois reactionary line. The contradiction between the revolutionaries and the hoodwinked masses is a contradiction among the people. We should therefore warmly help them, unite with them, and should not discriminate against and exclude them. Every small bit of progress which the hoodwinked masses make must be welcomed with enthusiasm. As regards a small number of people who are temporarily unable to return from the evil road, we should also patiently wait for them and help them change.

So, many members of the Rebel Brigade took the initiative to call on their fraternal brothers for heart-to-heart talks, examine their own shortcomings and mistakes, humbly solicit the opinions of the other side, and welcome the other side in making revolution. These actions have moved a large section of the cheated masses. They poured out their hearts, saying: "We originally thought that the Liberation Army, after expressing its attitude, would wag its tail and look down upon us. We did not expect that you became even more modest than before."

At the same time, together with the broad masses of workers, the Rebel Brigade launched a big campaign to criticize and condemn the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, refuting the "exploitation is a merit" theory and crushing the spiritual shackles of the "docile tool." On the basis of joint struggle against the enemy, they further eliminated the ideological antagonisms and barriers and enhanced their mutual class friendship.

"Policy and tactics are the lifeline of the Party." In order to strive in a better way to unite with the majority of the masses and cadres, in line with Chairman Mao's teachings we along with the Rebel Brigade conducted concrete analyses of the mass organizations with conservative propensities. We held that conservative organizations must be concretely analysed and dealt with discriminately. Without discrimination there would be no policy. It is wrong to deal with all on the same basis. Here, we must not only separate the masses of the conservative organizations from those who direct these organizations behind the scenes, but must also deal with different mass organizations with conservative tendencies discriminately. After study, the Rebel Brigade divided the seven mass organizations with conservative tendencies into three categories and adopted different methods to deal with them. In two of these organizations, after positive education, their responsible members and the masses both recognized that their organizations had made the mistake of orientation and one after another announced their withdrawal from them. The result was the dissolution of these organizations by themselves. In another two of the organizations, the intermediary level cadres as the mainstay, who were taken as the mainstay, after knowing their mistakes, felt that they should go into the midst of the masses to eliminate the antagonisms between the cadres and the masses. They too automatically dissolved their organizations. As for yet another three organizations, they were detached from the original conservative organizations; they neither were satisfied with the

original conservative organizations nor agreed with certain views of the Rebel Brigade. Together with these organizations the Rebel Brigade undertook a creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works, helped readjust their orientation and correct their mistakes. They then united together on the basis of uniformity of orientation.

As we and the Rebel Brigade pursue a policy of dealing discriminately with the organizations with conservative tendencies, the mill has set up a united revolutionary command headquarters with the Rebel Brigade as the nucleus and five revolutionary mass organizations participating. Thus, a great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries was brought about in the whole mill.

Now, the Dyeing and Weaving Mill No. 3 is confronted with a favorable situation. The movement is presently developing in breadth and depth. The broad revolutionary masses, with concerted efforts, combine the large-scale criticism against the handful of the top Party people in authority taking the capitalist road with the struggle, criticism and reform in their own units. The poisons of the bourgeois reactionary line is being eliminated, and a revolutionary, representative "three-way combination" organ of power vested with proletarian authority is about to be established. The broad masses of workers are actively responding to Chairman Mao's great call for "grasping revolution and promoting production." The workers' production enthusiasm has soared as never before. The labor discipline has been further strengthened. The organizational structure has been readjusted and the proletarian authority of the new production leadership group has been further consolidated. Taking part in labor, the cadres have demonstrated a higher enthusiasm for work. The production efficiency has been markedly improved as compared with the preceding period and production is steadily increasing.

Through this period of work, we have profoundly realized that to make a success of the work of supporting the Left, we must give prominence to the thought of Mao Tse-tung, arm our minds with the thought of Mao Tse-tung, mobilize the broad masses to join us in identifying the supporting the Leftists before we shall be able to correctly recognize and resolutely implement Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. On the surface, doing this may prolong the process of identifying the Leftists, but actually, it speeds up the work of supporting the Leftists and make it more realistic. This will also be favorable to winning over and uniting with the majority of the masses and cadres, to a more rapid realization of the revolutionary great alliance, and to the promotion of the revolutionary "three-way combination."

Definite achievements have been made in our work of supporting the Left. But our understanding in this regard is still crude, and our experience is still far from profound. In the future, we must make a more creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works, take the class struggle as the classroom, and the worker masses as the teachers, transform the subjective world while transforming the objective world and do a better job of the task of supporting the Leftists.