



**HOLD ALOFT  
THE BANNER OF UNITY  
OF THE PARTY'S  
NINTH CONGRESS  
AND WIN STILL  
GREATER VICTORIES**

**FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS  
PEKING**

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Editorial of  
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### *PUBLISHER'S NOTE*

From the opening of the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China to the First Plenary Session of its Ninth Central Committee, Chairman Mao repeatedly issued the great historic call: **Unite to win still greater victories.** It epitomizes the basic spirit of the congress and embodies Chairman Mao's great strategic plan. This editorial makes known Chairman Mao's latest instructions and specifies the fighting tasks to carry them out.

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## **Chairman Mao Tsetung's Latest Instructions**

**Unite to win still greater victories.**

**Speaking of victory, we must ensure that the people throughout the country are united to win victory under the leadership of the proletariat.**

**Unite for one purpose, that is, the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This must be fully achieved in every factory, village, office and school.**

**T**HE strong east wind of the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China has swept the vast expanse of our motherland. People throughout the country are enthusiastically studying the documents of the congress, acting in accordance with its spirit and carrying out the policies it laid down and the fighting tasks it set forth. All this is giving an impetus to our country's great cause of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and making it advance with still greater vigour.

From the opening of the Ninth Congress to the First Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee, Chairman Mao repeatedly issued the great historic call: **Unite to win still greater victories.** This epitomizes the basic spirit of the Ninth Congress and embodies Chairman Mao's great stra-

tegic plan. Chairman Mao said: **“Speaking of victory, we must ensure that the people throughout the country are united to win victory under the leadership of the proletariat.”** **“Unite for one purpose, that is, the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This must be fully achieved in every factory, village, office and school.”** These latest instructions of Chairman Mao’s point out the direction of advance for the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country in consolidating victory and carrying it forward. All regions and units in the country must resolutely carry out these instructions.

After three years of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, our great socialist motherland is unprecedentedly united and the great revolutionary unity of the Chinese people is stronger and broader than ever. This extensive unity is based on great Mao Tsetung Thought which has been spread among the 700

million people to an unprecedented extent. In the struggle to destroy the bourgeois headquarters headed by the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi, the revolutionary masses have tremendously raised their level of consciousness of class struggle and of the struggle between the two lines and have formed a mighty revolutionary contingent. The People’s Liberation Army’s participation in the work of “three supports and two militaries” (i.e., support industry, support agriculture, support the broad masses of the Left; military control, political and military training) has further strengthened the unity between the army and the people. The revolutionary cadres have tempered themselves and forged closer links with the masses. The establishment throughout the country of revolutionary committees, which combine the representatives of the revolutionary cadres, the revolutionary masses and the Liberation Army and unite the forces of all quarters, has strengthened

the centralized leadership of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It was in this revolutionary situation, characterized by unity and vigour, that the Party's Ninth National Congress was convened.

The congress was convened after thorough preparations had been made for it politically, ideologically and organizationally. It has successfully carried out Chairman Mao's call to make it "**a congress of unity and a congress of victory**". It elected the Party's new Central Committee with Chairman Mao as its leader and Vice-Chairman Lin as its deputy leader. And the new Constitution of the Party clearly reaffirms that Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is the theoretical basis guiding the Party's thinking and clearly stipulates that Comrade Lin Piao is the successor to Chairman Mao. This is a new victory brought about by the unity of the Party's Ninth Congress and of the whole Party.

The excellent situation in the revolution has become still better as people throughout the country have been encouraged and stimulated by the spirit of unity for victory of the Party's Ninth Congress. With Chairman Mao's call "**Unite to win still greater victories**" as the focus, the revolutionary committees at all levels and Mao Tsetung Thought study classes of all types are summing up experience, finding out shortcomings and taking further measures to carry out Chairman Mao's various proletarian policies. All positive factors are being brought into play, the struggle-criticism-transformation movement is developing in depth, the revolutionary great alliance and revolutionary three-in-one combination are being further consolidated and developed, and changes are taking place in some units with "long-standing, big and difficult" problems. The far-reaching influence of the Ninth Congress in the history of our Party has already

begun to manifest itself and will be felt increasingly.

Although we have won great victories and successes, the enemies at home and abroad are not reconciled to their failure and doom. The class struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines is by no means over. We must at all times maintain the highest degree of vigilance.

The fighting tasks set before us by the Party's Ninth National Congress are glorious but arduous. The socialist revolution will continue to advance. We still have a great deal of work to do in consolidating and developing the newborn revolutionary committees, strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat and carrying the revolution in all spheres of the superstructure through to the end. And great efforts still have to be made to fulfil conscientiously and meticulously the tasks for each stage of struggle-criticism-transformation in every single factory, every

single school, every single commune and every single unit.

Moreover, we should abide by Chairman Mao's teaching "**We will not attack unless we are attacked; if we are attacked, we will certainly counter-attack**", and seriously deal with the plots of aggression of U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism and all reaction, and make preparations not only against their launching a big war but against their launching it at an early date, preparations against their launching a conventional war and against their launching a large-scale nuclear war. The great unity of the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country on the basis of Mao Tsetung Thought is a sure guarantee that we will fulfil our fighting tasks and defeat our common enemies.

Our unity is a great, broad revolutionary unity under the leadership of the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance. It is an extensive revolu-

tionary unity under the guidance of the principles of Mao Tsetung Thought. Chairman Mao teaches us:

**The proletariat is the greatest class in the history of mankind. It is the most powerful revolutionary class ideologically, politically and in strength. It can and must unite the overwhelming majority of people around itself so as to isolate the handful of enemies to the maximum and attack them.**

The working class must act according to Chairman Mao's teachings and strengthen unity in its own ranks, firmly unite with its allies, unite, educate and remould the intellectuals and unite all forces which can be united with. It should, in accordance with the Party's policies, unite with all those who support socialism and love our socialist motherland, with those who committed serious mistakes but are not incorrigible, and with those who committed the errors characteristic of the capitalist road-

ers in power but are not absolutely unrepentant.

All comrades on the road of revolution should unite. It is fine for one to have been among the earliest rebels against the capitalist roaders in power and have played a vanguard role in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. However, we must understand that the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a broad mass movement, in which some people may have recognized the significance of the revolution and taken part in it earlier than others, and we should warmly welcome those comrades who did not catch up till later. Some comrades who stood on the wrong side in the early stage of the movement should be encouraged once they have rectified their mistakes. It is entirely wrong to refuse to recognize others' progress and keep calling those who committed mistakes but have rectified them "conservatives".



Some of the earliest rebels against the capitalist roaders in power may also commit mistakes of one kind or another in the tortuous course of the revolutionary movement and they, too, should conscientiously correct them. It is wrong to think of oneself as "the only revolutionary" and "the only Left". This does not conform to reality and is harmful to unity and the revolution. In making revolution, is it better to unite with more people or fewer people? Of course it is better to unite with more people.

On the question of unity, the leading comrades in the revolutionary committees at all levels should resolutely implement the Ninth Party Congress' principle of unity and do their work well. It is first of all necessary to strengthen the unity of the core of leadership, conscientiously carry out democratic centralism and strengthen collective leadership. The revolutionary three-in-one combination should be consolidated. The representatives of the

cadres of the armed forces, the local cadres and the revolutionary mass organizations, who form the three-in-one combination, should trust, help, learn from and support each other. We should boldly assign work to those cadres who have been "liberated", and should not rake up all their old mistakes and again call for their overthrow if they should commit a new mistake. It is imperative to treat the revolutionary mass organizations equally instead of being warm to one grouping and cold to the other, and to prevent the situation in which some support one grouping while others support the other. It is essential to do painstaking political-ideological work and help the revolutionary mass organizations overcome bourgeois factionalism and strengthen their revolutionary great alliance on the basis of the particular fields of work, trades or school classes. They should be persuaded not to draw together a group of people and set up a new faction. The revolutionary mass-

es should cherish and support the revolutionary committees, promote and help strengthen the unity between the veteran and new cadres on the revolutionary committees. They should adopt a correct attitude towards the shortcomings and mistakes on the part of the revolutionary committees, which may occur in the course of their advance. They should allow the veteran and new cadres on the revolutionary committees to rectify their shortcomings and mistakes and should not keep nagging at them when they make mistakes.

Chairman Mao teaches us:

**We have come together from every corner of the country and should be good at uniting in our work not only with comrades who hold the same views as we but also with those who hold different views. There are some among us who have made very serious mistakes; we should not be prejudiced**

**against them but should be ready to work with them.**

In this very respect, the great leader Chairman Mao is our brilliant example. He has included in the requirements for worthy successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat the ability to unite with the overwhelming majority, including those who wrongly opposed them but are sincerely correcting their mistakes. The Constitution of the Communist Party of China adopted by the Ninth National Congress of the Party also stipulates that members of the Party must meet this requirement. All Party members and other proletarian revolutionaries must see to it that they act accordingly.

Our revolutionary cause advances in a continuous process of resolving contradictions. We should apply Chairman Mao's materialist-dialectics of **one dividing into two** in analysing and resolving contradictions. We should be good at distinguishing

between the two different types of contradictions, those between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people. In the case of contradictions among the people, we should handle them according to the only correct formula of **unity — criticism and self-criticism — unity** which Chairman Mao initiated; we should proceed from the desire for unity and, through criticism and self-criticism, through heart-to-heart talks and particularly through doing more self-criticism, resolve the contradictions involved and thereby achieve new unity on the basis of Mao Tsetung Thought.

In accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings, the kind of criticism and self-criticism we advocate should conform to materialism and dialectics. What we mean by conforming to materialism is to seek truth from facts and reflect things as they are. What we mean by conforming to dialectics is: one dividing into two, adopting an analytical attitude towards

things, towards people and towards oneself, looking at a problem from all sides and avoiding regarding everything either as all positive or all negative. As Chairman Mao has pointed out: **"In the appraisal of our work, it is one-sided to regard everything either as all positive or as all negative."** It is impossible to consolidate unity if one-sidedness in thinking is not overcome.

Chairman Mao told us long ago and has repeatedly reminded us recently that there is one main tendency in a given period and it covers up another tendency. While opposing the Right erroneous tendency, the "Left" erroneous tendency may appear; while opposing the "Left" erroneous tendency, the Right erroneous tendency may appear. Therefore, our attitude towards work should not be careless. One should not forget oneself in a moment of excitement. It is essential that we must at all times follow Chairman Mao's teaching to

**be modest and prudent, guard against arrogance and rashness.**

In short, we must closely follow Chairman Mao's great strategic plan and resolutely carry out his latest series of instructions. We must always make a concrete analysis of concrete conditions in all places and units. We should always be prudent and careful and pay attention to overcoming one-sidedness.

Upholding unity and adherence to principle are not contradictory. The unity we speak of is revolutionary unity based on Mao Tsetung Thought and not unprincipled unity. The principles we speak of are the principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought which include unity in the struggle against our common enemies.

Chairman Mao teaches us: Our Party is the political party of the proletariat, the vanguard organization of the proletariat and the militant organization armed with Marxism-Leninism. We stand on the side

of the masses of the people who make up more than 95 per cent of the total population. We will on no account stand on the side of the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and rightists who constitute 4 to 5 per cent of the total population. Internationally, we likewise want to unite with all genuine Marxist-Leninists and all revolutionary people, but will never unite with the imperialists, the revisionists and the reactionaries of various countries, all of whom oppose communism and the people.

In his report to the Party's Ninth National Congress, Vice-Chairman Lin issued the call:

Let the whole Party unite, let the people of the whole country unite, hold high the great red banner of Mao Tsetung Thought, **be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory!**

Let us hold aloft the banner of unity of the Party's Ninth Congress and, under the leadership of the great leader Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee with Chairman Mao as its leader and Vice-Chairman Lin as its deputy leader, unite with the revolutionary people of the whole country to do a good job in struggle-criticism-transformation, to **grasp revolution and promote production and other work and preparedness against war**, and to strive for still greater victories!

高举“九大”的团结旗帜，  
争取更大的胜利

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