



**ON THE
REVOLUTIONARY
“THREE-IN-ONE”
COMBINATION**

论革命的“三结合”

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CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG points out that in those places and organizations where power needs to be seized, the policy of the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination must be carried out in establishing a provisional organ of power that is revolutionary and representative and has proletarian authority. This organ of power should preferably be called a revolutionary committee.

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ON THE REVOLUTIONARY "THREE-IN-ONE" COMBINATION

— Editorial of *Hongqi (Red Flag)*, No. 5, 1967 —

Chairman Mao has pointed out that **in those places and organizations where power needs to be seized, the policy of the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination must be carried out in establishing a provisional organ of power that is revolutionary and representative and has proletarian authority. This organ of power should preferably be called a revolutionary committee.**

This policy is the political and organizational guarantee for the victory of the proletarian revolutionaries in their struggle to seize power. The proletarian revolutionaries should understand this policy correctly and implement it correctly.

The revolutionary "three-in-one" provisional organ of power should be formed by leaders of revolutionary mass organizations that truly represent the broad masses, the representatives of the People's Liberation Army units stationed in the area and revolutionary leading cadres. None of these three bodies can be excluded. It is wrong to overlook or underestimate the role of any one of them.

As a result of the vigorous mass movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution during the past half year and more, the masses have been fully mobilized, and large numbers of representatives of the revolutionary masses have emerged as a new force. The broad revolutionary masses serve the proletarian revolutionaries as the base for seizure of power from the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist

road. They are the base of the revolutionary "three-in-one" provisional organ of power.

True proletarian revolutionaries and the new-emerging representatives of the revolutionary masses have performed immortal exploits in the great proletarian cultural revolution. They are the new rising forces nurtured by Mao Tse-tung's thought and they embody the general orientation of the revolution.

The present struggle to seize power from the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road is a mass movement from below under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Chairman Mao. In the revolutionary "three-in-one" provisional organ of power, it is imperative to give full play to the role of leaders of the revolutionary mass organizations and to take full account of their opinions, and never regard them simply as secondary for they represent the broad revolutionary masses. If their role is denied or underrated, the revolutionary masses as well as the great proletarian cultural revolution are in fact negated. If they are excluded or regarded as secondary, it is impossible to establish a provisional organ of power that is revolutionary, representative and has proletarian authority; it is impossible to effect a revolutionary "three-in-one" combination.

In all great revolutionary mass movements, it is difficult to avoid shortcomings and mistakes. It is necessary to see clearly the essence, the mainstream and the general orientation of the revolution. In this great proletarian cultural revolution, the shortcomings and errors of the leaders of revolutionary mass organizations who truly represent the masses are a question of one finger among ten, and the sort of problem that arises in the course of progress. As proletarian revolutionaries, we should recognize that their general orientation is correct, that they have many strong points and that we should learn from them modestly. As for their shortcomings and errors, we should help them warm-heartedly, patiently and by

proper method. It should also be noted that many revolutionary mass organizations have themselves pointed out the wrong tendencies existing in their own organizations and have proposed ways of correcting them as a result of their creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works. This is revolutionary consciousness and initiative, a quality of true worth. It is precisely the revolutionary masses themselves who have proposed eliminating self-interest in their own thinking while seizing power from the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road.

In the final analysis, the question of one's attitude towards leaders of revolutionary mass organizations that truly represent the broad masses taking part in the "three-in-one" provisional organ of power is a question of one's attitude towards the masses, towards the mass movement itself. It is also an important indication of whether or not the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao can be carried out. We must at all times remember Chairman Mao's teachings: "**The masses are the real heroes,**"¹ "**the masses have boundless creative power,**"² "**the people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history.**"³ Any organization or individual, once alienated from the revolutionary masses, will certainly not be able to carry out the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao.

The vigorous mass movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution over the last period of more than six months has been a severe test for the ranks of our cadres. The handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road has been exposed. At the same time, the majority of our cadres have proved to be good or comparatively good. The concept

¹ Mao Tse-tung, "Preface and Postscript to *Rural Surveys*", *Selected Works*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1965, Vol. III, p. 118.

² Introductory note to "Surplus Labour Has Found a Way Out", *The Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside*, Chin. ed., Vol. II.

³ Mao Tse-tung, *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung*, FLP, Peking, 1966, p. 118.

CORRECTION

Page 3, Note 1:
"Vol. III, p. 118" should
read "Vol. III, p. 12".

of excluding and overthrowing all cadres is absolutely wrong. It is necessary to point out that the masses are not to blame for this. To exclude and overthrow all cadres indiscriminately is the view advocated by those several people who put forth the bourgeois reactionary line, and this was precisely what they did. The poisonous influence has not been wiped out of the minds of certain comrades, and therefore they have, to a certain extent, committed similar mistakes without being conscious of them.

In every place, department, enterprise and unit there are great numbers of revolutionary cadres. This is also true even for some places or departments where those in authority taking the capitalist road have been entrenched, but the revolutionary cadres there have long been suppressed. We must be aware of this.

The role of the revolutionary cadres in participating in the "three-in-one" provisional organ of power must be given full consideration. They should and can play the role of nucleus and backbone of the organ. Of course, they can do this only by integrating themselves with the masses and by following the mass line in work.

Provided those cadres who made mistakes criticize their own mistakes and correct them, draw a clear-cut demarcation line between themselves and the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, between themselves and the bourgeois reactionary line, and really uphold the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, there should be unity with them in accordance with the principle of "early or late, all who make revolution merit equal treatment", proper work should be arranged for them and many of them can be allowed to participate in the provisional organ of power.

However, those who persist in their mistakes, and who do not draw a clear-cut demarcation line between themselves and those in authority taking the capitalist road, between themselves and the bourgeois reactionary line must not be

imposed on the masses and squeezed into the "three-in-one" provisional organ of power. Otherwise, this would not be a revolutionary "three-in-one" combination, to say nothing of the seizure of power from the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. Then a new reversal would occur and those in authority taking the capitalist road who had been overthrown might even regain power.

We must be vigilant against those who distort the principle of the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination and, on the pretext of forming a "three-in-one" combination, carry out eclecticism, conciliation and the combining of two into one, and further, in a hundred and one ways, pull in the Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. This is trying to fish in troubled waters, usurp the harvest of the great proletarian cultural revolution and carry out counter-revolutionary restoration. All revolutionary masses and all revolutionary cadres must resolutely resist, oppose and smash the conspiracy of the class enemy.

The great People's Liberation Army is the mainstay of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao's call on the People's Liberation Army to actively support the broad masses of revolutionary Left is a matter of great strategic significance.

Experience proves that participation by representatives of the local units of the People's Liberation Army in the revolutionary "three-in-one" provisional organ of power has played a most important role in successfully accomplishing the task in the struggle to seize power.

With the participation of cadres of the People's Liberation Army in the "three-in-one" provisional organ of power and with the support of the P.L.A., the local proletarian revolutionaries will become still stronger. The class enemy fears the People's Liberation Army the most and fears the most the inclusion of the P.L.A. cadres in the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination. They try by every means to manufacture rumours and fabricate stories in a vain attempt to sow dissension between the revolutionary masses and the People's Libera-

tion Army, and to incite those among the masses who do not know the truth to direct the spearhead of their struggle against the People's Liberation Army. Such class enemy intrigues must be fully exposed and firmly smashed.

The Chinese People's Liberation Army is an extremely revolutionized army of the proletariat, unmatched in the world. Chairman Mao Tse-tung has said: **"The sole purpose of this army is to stand firmly with the Chinese people and to serve them wholeheartedly."**¹ It is precisely because of this that all revolutionary mass organizations and revolutionary masses have faith in the People's Liberation Army and warmly support the participation of representatives of the local army units in the revolutionary "three-in-one" provisional organ of power. At various levels, in those departments where power needs to be seized, representatives of the armed forces or of the militia should take part in forming the "three-in-one" combination. This should be done in factories and rural areas, in financial, trading, cultural and educational departments (universities, middle schools and primary schools), in Party and government organizations and in people's organizations. Representatives of the armed forces should be sent to the county level or higher and representatives of the militia should be sent to the commune level or lower. This is highly desirable. If representatives of the armed forces are not sufficient, their posts can be left vacant for the time being and filled in the future.

The attitude shown towards the People's Liberation Army is in fact an attitude towards the dictatorship of the proletariat and it is an important criterion for distinguishing whether or not one is of the genuine revolutionary Left.

In certain places, some comrades in the local army units may commit temporary mistakes in giving their support because of the intricate and complex conditions of the class struggle.

¹ Mao Tse-tung, "On Coalition Government", *Selected Works*, FLP, Peking, 1965, Vol. III, p. 264.

gle. When such problems occur, the genuine revolutionary Left should explain, with good intentions and in the proper way, the conditions and state their views to the leading members of the army units. They should absolutely not adopt an attitude of opposing them in public and still less should they direct the spearhead of their struggle against the People's Liberation Army. Otherwise, they will commit gross mistakes and do things which sadden our friends and gladden our enemies, things which will be used by the class enemy.

The People's Liberation Army has made important contributions in supporting the proletarian revolutionaries in their struggle to seize power. All commanders and fighters must follow Chairman Mao's teachings, closely rely on the broad revolutionary masses, learn from them modestly, be their students before acting as their teachers, be good at discussing matters with them, and make deep-going and careful investigations. In doing so, they will be able to give the proletarian revolutionaries very powerful support in their struggle to seize power and bring still closer ties between the army and the people and, on their part, the army units will further temper and improve themselves in the course of the struggle.

The "three-in-one" provisional organ of power must be revolutionary, representative and have proletarian authority. This organ of power must resolutely carry out the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and firmly oppose the bourgeois reactionary line. It must not be "combining two into one" or eclectic. Only thus, can this organ be representative and speak on behalf of the broad revolutionary masses and revolutionary cadres. Only thus can it have proletarian authority, exercise powerful centralized leadership on the basis of the most extensive democracy, impose effective dictatorship on the class enemy, and smash every kind of scheme for counter-revolutionary restoration on the part of the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and the ghosts and monsters in society.

A big question now confronting the people of the whole country is whether to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end, or to abandon it half-way. All revolutionary comrades must keep their heads and must not get confused. **“With power and to spare we must pursue the tottering foe and not ape Hsiang Yu the conqueror seeking idle fame.”**¹ At this time, we should especially keep this teaching of Chairman Mao’s in mind.

¹From Mao Tse-tung’s poem *The Capture of Nanking by the People’s Liberation Army*.

CADRES MUST BE TREATED CORRECTLY

— Editorial of *Hongqi*, No. 4, 1967 —

Under conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, how cadres should be treated is an important and key question in the struggle by the great alliance of the proletarian revolutionaries to seize power from a handful of persons in the Party in authority taking the capitalist road.

We must treat the cadres correctly according to Mao Tse-tung’s thought and the Party’s cadres policy that Chairman Mao has consistently advocated. Only in this way will we be able to establish the core leading the struggle to seize power, bring into being the great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries, form “three-in-one” provisional organs of power truly capable of exercising leadership, and establish or improve the particular bodies to lead the cultural revolution and to lead production and work, so as to grasp all kinds of work and truly take power into our hands.

BASIC ASSESSMENT OF OUR CADRE FORCE

The test of the vigorous mass movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution during the past six months and more has proved that most of our cadres are good. In accordance with Chairman Mao’s teachings, the editorial of *Hongqi*, No. 12, 1966, entitled “Hold Fast to the Main Orientation in the Struggle” pointed out: “Our country is a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Fundamentally, those in power are the proletariat. Most of the cadres who are responsible for

leadership at various levels in the various departments of the Party, government and armed forces and in industrial, agricultural, trade, educational and military circles, in general, support the Party and Chairman Mao and resolutely take the socialist road." "A handful only of counter-revolutionary revisionists who are against the Party, against socialism and against Mao Tse-tung's thought have wormed their way into leading posts in the Party and the state." "These are the basic, objective facts of China's political life. Precisely because of this, our state power of the dictatorship of the proletariat is consolidated. Precisely because of this, it is possible in our country to hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and score the most brilliant successes on various fronts in the socialist revolution and socialist construction."

Facts have shown this basic assessment to be correct. The question of how cadres should be treated in the struggle for the seizure of power by the proletarian revolutionaries must be viewed from this basic assessment.

It must be recognized with open eyes that a handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists have indeed usurped Party and political power in some places or some departments and have exercised the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. There is a social basis for this handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. They are persons of the Khrushchov type and are at present our main enemy, the enemy of the proletariat. Unless they are overthrown, our country will change colour and return to colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal status. The seizure of power from them is the decisive battle waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. Whoever denies this makes no distinction between ourselves and the enemy and negates the great proletarian cultural revolution.

At the same time, it must also be recognized with open eyes that most of the cadres are good, and that the alien class elements are very few who have wormed their way into the ranks of the cadres. Most of the cadres who have made

mistakes, even serious mistakes, can make amends under the education of the Party and the masses. We must never overestimate the number of persons in authority taking the capitalist road and the alien class elements who have wormed their way into the ranks of the cadres. It would also be making no distinction between ourselves and the enemy and so it would be very dangerous if the scope of attack were erroneously expanded and the spearhead of struggle were directed against the broad mass of cadres.

In the course of the strong counter-offensive launched against the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road during the past half year and more, some people have fostered a misconception that all those in authority are no good and untrustworthy and should therefore, without exception, all be overthrown. This viewpoint is completely wrong. It is contrary to Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, and is not justified by facts.

Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, teaches us that we must make a class analysis of everything in society. As a matter of course, we must make a class analysis of the people in authority. A clear distinction must be drawn between persons in authority belonging to the proletariat and persons in authority taking the capitalist road. All revolutionary people must resolutely overthrow the handful of persons in authority taking the capitalist road, but firmly support the persons in authority who belong to the proletariat. To refuse to make a class analysis of the persons in authority, and instead to suspect, negate, exclude and overthrow them all indiscriminately is an anarchist trend of thought.

In the 17 years since the founding of the People's Republic of China, the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao has been dominant and the majority of the cadres and members of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Communist Youth League have been carrying out this line. Iron-clad proof of this is provided by the great achievements made on various fronts in the past 17 years.

The view of indiscriminately overthrowing all cadres negates the basic facts of the past 17 years and denies the great achievements made in those years.

The handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists clinging to their reactionary stand deliberately confuse the line of demarcation between persons in authority belonging to the proletariat and persons in authority taking the capitalist road, between revolutionaries and counter-revolutionaries. They incite the masses to aim at the wrong target in their struggle, direct the spearhead of the struggle against good or comparatively good cadres, against good or comparatively good Party and Youth League members. In doing so, they vainly attempt to attain their goal of opposing socialism, restoring capitalism, opposing the dictatorship of the proletariat and restoring the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. All revolutionary comrades and all revolutionary mass organizations must maintain high vigilance and never allow themselves to be entrapped.

INTEGRATION OF REVOLUTIONARY CADRES AND REVOLUTIONARY MASSES

Experience proves that a provisional organ of power of "three-in-one" combination must be established in provinces and cities where power needs to be seized. It is formed by leading members of the revolutionary mass organizations that truly represent the broad masses, representatives of the local units of the People's Liberation Army and revolutionary leading cadres. In industrial and mining enterprises where power needs to be seized, such organs must also be established, comprising revolutionary cadres (leading cadres, ordinary cadres and technical personnel), workers' representatives (veteran workers and young workers) and representatives of the militia. In Party and government organs where power

needs to be seized, the principle of a combination of revolutionary leading cadres, revolutionary middle-ranking cadres and revolutionary masses must be carried out. In this way, a representative and authoritative leading body can be formed to lead the vast revolutionary masses in successfully accomplishing the fighting task of seizing power from the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road.

In establishing a provisional organ of power of "three-in-one" combination, it is, at present, imperative to lay stress on solving the problem of the correct treatment of revolutionary cadres.

Those leading cadres who follow the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao are precious assets of the Party and the people. They may and can become the leading force in the struggle to seize power from the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. They should keep in close contact with the masses, draw on the collective wisdom of the broad masses, and stand in the van of the mass movement. The revolutionary masses and the revolutionary mass organizations should support them.

Chairman Mao has said:

The Chinese Communist Party is a Party leading a great revolutionary struggle in a nation several hundred million strong, and it cannot fulfil its historic task without a large number of leading cadres who combine ability with political integrity.¹

This is a great truth which has been proved by the historical experience of the Chinese revolution. Today, we must also have a large number of leading cadres who combine ability with political integrity, to be included in the core of the leadership in the great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries so that we can fulfil the new fighting tasks facing us.

The revolutionary leading cadres are more mature political-

¹ Mao Tse-tung, "The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War", *Selected Works*, FLP, Peking, 1965, Vol. II, pp. 201-02.

ly. They have greater organizational skill. They are more experienced in struggle. They have the ability to exercise power and administer work for the state of the proletariat. Experience proves that with these revolutionary leading cadres in the core of leadership and integrated with the broad revolutionary masses, it will be possible to carry out the struggle to seize power more smoothly, put their power into effect more quickly, grasp both revolution and production effectively, and act in accordance with the Party's policy. If, on the contrary, the revolutionary leading cadres are excluded, no powerful core of leadership can be formed, the revolutionary masses and revolutionary mass organizations cannot be joined together into well organized and disciplined revolutionary battalions, with centralized leadership and unified command. Instead, there will be "no leader in a host of dragons" and each and every one of them will go his own way. The handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road will seize the opportunity to make trouble. Under these circumstances, the proletarian revolutionaries will not be able to seize power, nor will they be able to exercise power though they have seized it.

The broad masses of cadres in the Party and government organizations are good and they want to make revolution. The proletarian revolutionaries among them are the main force in the seizure of power in their own departments. They know best whether the power in their own departments should be seized, who the persons in authority taking the capitalist road are and from whom the power should be seized. They are familiar with various kinds of work and the conditions of the great proletarian cultural revolution in their own departments and with the conditions of the cadres and the masses there. Therefore in departments where power needs to be seized, it is essential to rely on them and, at the same time, to unite with and help those cadres whose consciousness is still not high in order to win over the great majority. Only in this way is it possible to really seize power from the handful of

persons in authority taking the capitalist road and to do the work well. The revolutionary masses and revolutionary mass organizations from other departments should trust them, support them and give them the necessary assistance instead of excluding them and doing for them everything which they themselves should do. In the struggle to seize power in the Party and government organizations, it is utterly wrong and impracticable that the revolutionary cadres of those departments are excluded and that mass organizations from other departments should take things over instead. It is also utterly wrong and impracticable for the revolutionary mass organizations in their own departments to exclude all leading cadres indiscriminately.

In some localities, a few persons have proposed that "all persons classified as leading cadres should stand aside". This view is devoid of class analysis. It counterposes the masses to all cadres. It does not direct its spearhead against the handful of persons in authority taking the capitalist road but against the great number of cadres. It therefore runs counter to the basic spirit of the 16-point decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution, to the general orientation of the struggle and to Mao Tse-tung's thought. To act in this way is objectively helping the class enemy. Those comrades who committed such mistakes unconsciously should immediately correct them. It is dangerous for them to persist in their own view. All revolutionary cadres should welcome the comrades guilty of such mistakes, as soon as they correct them, and in no circumstances should retaliate against them.

In his famous essay "Some Questions Concerning Methods of Leadership", Chairman Mao points out:

However active the leading group may be, its activity will amount to fruitless effort by a handful of people unless combined with the activity of the masses. On the other hand, if the masses alone are active without a strong leading

group to organize their activity properly, such activity cannot be sustained for long, or carried forward in the right direction, or raised to a high level.¹

This is a universal truth. This principle of integration of revolutionary cadres and revolutionary masses must also be applied during the current struggle of the proletarian revolutionaries to seize power.

THE POLICY OF "LEARNING FROM PAST MISTAKES TO AVOID FUTURE ONES" AND "CURING THE SICKNESS TO SAVE THE PATIENT" SHOULD BE APPLIED TO CADRES WHO HAVE COMMITTED ERRORS

The policy of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones" and "curing the sickness to save the patient", set forth by Chairman Mao, should be applied to cadres who have committed errors. This is the only correct policy, and it is an important development by Chairman Mao of the Marxist-Leninist theory of Party building. Knocking down in one fell swoop all cadres who have made errors runs counter to Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought.

In 1942, Chairman Mao pointed out in his brilliant work "Rectify the Party's Style of Work":

. . . in opposing subjectivism, sectarianism and stereotyped Party writing we must have in mind two purposes: first, "learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones", and second, "cure the sickness to save the patient". The mistakes of the past must be exposed without sparing anyone's sensibilities; it is necessary to analyse and criticize what was bad in the past with a scientific attitude so that work in the future will be done more carefully and done better. This is what is meant by "learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones".

¹ Mao Tse-tung, "Some Questions Concerning Methods of Leadership", *Selected Works*, FLP, Peking, 1965, Vol. III, p. 118.

But our aim in exposing errors and criticizing shortcomings, like that of a doctor curing a sickness, is solely to save the patient and not to doctor him to death. A person with appendicitis is saved when the surgeon removes his appendix. So long as a person who has made mistakes does not hide his sickness for fear of treatment or persist in his mistakes until he is beyond cure, so long as he honestly and sincerely wishes to be cured and to mend his ways, we should welcome him and cure his sickness so that he can become a good comrade. We can never succeed if we just let ourselves go, and lash out at him. In treating an ideological or a political malady, one must never be rough and rash but must adopt the approach of "curing the sickness to save the patient", which is the only correct and effective method.¹

Precisely because our Party implements the policy of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones" and "curing the sickness to save the patient", it has been able correctly to wage ideological struggles and achieve the twofold objective of clarity in ideology and unity among comrades. Likewise, it has been able to carry out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and lead the entire people to defeat powerful enemies. This constitutes the most valuable historical experience of our Party. We must bear this experience firmly in mind in the decisive battle now being waged between the two classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and in the struggle of the proletarian revolutionaries to seize power from the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. We should unswervingly implement the policy of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones" and "curing the sickness to save the patient" in dealing with cadres who have erred. We should encourage them to "get rid of the baggage", to free their minds of all misgivings, and come forward to rebel against the handful of persons in authority taking the capitalist road.

¹ Mao Tse-tung, "Rectify the Party's Style of Work", *Selected Works*, FLP, Peking, 1965, Vol. III, p. 50.

Only by doing so shall we be able to unite with the majority, isolate the enemy of the proletariat and defeat the bourgeoisie and its agents in the Party. Otherwise, we ourselves shall be isolated and our proletarian revolution will be in danger of failing.

In dealing with cadres who have erred, we should view them in accordance with the principle of "one divides into two", taking into account both their errors and their merits, both their behaviour during the great proletarian cultural revolution and their consistent actions over a long period. We should judge them by the facts. Chairman Mao teaches us:

We must not confine our judgement to a short period or a single incident in a cadre's life, but should consider his life and work as a whole. This is the principal method of judging cadres.¹

It is a metaphysical approach, an approach opposed to dialectics, to attack someone for a single fault without considering his work as a whole, and to seize only on his mistakes, wilfully exaggerate them and recklessly brand him with unwarranted labels. All revolutionary comrades should avoid such errors and correct them when they occur.

The policy of "**learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones**" and "**curing the sickness to save the patient**" must also be applied in dealing with comrades who implemented the bourgeois reactionary line in the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution. In 1944, Chairman Mao pointed out in the article "Our Study and the Current Situation" which is of great historic significance:

In the history of our Party there were great struggles against the erroneous lines of Chen Tu-hsiu and of Li Li-san, and they were absolutely necessary. But there were defects in the methods employed. For one thing, the cadres were

¹Mao Tse-tung, "The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War", *Selected Works*, FLP, Peking, 1965, Vol. II, p. 202.

not brought to a full ideological understanding of the causes of these errors, the circumstances in which they were committed and the detailed ways and means of correcting them, so that errors of a similar nature came to be repeated; and for another, too much stress was placed on the responsibility of individuals, so that we failed to unite as many people as we could have done for our common endeavour. We should take warning from these two defects. This time, in dealing with questions of Party history we should lay the stress not on the responsibility of certain individual comrades but on the analysis of the circumstances in which the errors were committed, on the content of the errors and on their social, historical and ideological roots, and this should be done in the spirit of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones" and "curing the sickness to save the patient", in order to achieve the twofold objective of clarity in ideology and unity among comrades. The adoption of a careful attitude in handling cases of individual comrades, neither glossing things over nor doing harm to comrades, is a sign that our Party is vigorous and flourishing.¹

These teachings of Chairman Mao are still applicable today in our dealing with the question of cadres in the struggle between the two lines.

In general, the contradictions between cadres who have committed mistakes in line on the one hand, and the Party and people on the other are contradictions among the people. This kind of contradiction must be solved in accordance with the formula set forth by Chairman Mao of "**starting from the desire for unity, distinguishing between right and wrong through criticism or struggle and arriving at a new unity on a new basis.**"² These cadres must not be regarded as enemies;

¹Mao Tse-tung, "Our Study and the Current Situation", *Selected Works*, FLP, Peking, 1965, Vol. III, pp. 163-64.

²Mao Tse-tung, *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, Pocket ed., FLP, Peking, 1966, pp. 12-13.

they must not be dealt with in the way contradictions between ourselves and the enemy are handled.

Cadres who have committed mistakes should be given the opportunity to examine, criticize and correct them. So long as they make a self-criticism, correct their mistakes and come over to the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, they can still be given appropriate leading posts. Many of them can even be drawn into the provisional organs of power in the joint seizure of power by the proletarian revolutionaries.

Leniency should be adopted in making decisions about cadres who have committed even very serious mistakes, after they are criticized and struggled against. According to Chairman Mao's instruction, **they should be allowed to correct their errors and be encouraged to make amends for their crimes by good deeds, unless they are anti-Party, anti-socialist elements who persist in their errors and refuse to correct them after repeated education.**

The policy of **"learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones"** and **"curing the sickness to save the patient"** is applicable to cadres at all levels and Communist Party and Communist Youth League members who commit errors. It is also applicable to young fighters. We must note that young revolutionary fighters have made immortal contributions in the great proletarian cultural revolution. To negate this would be to negate the great proletarian cultural revolution. It is not surprising that some young revolutionary fighters have committed certain mistakes and even serious mistakes. Instead of simply blaming them, revolutionary cadres should, warmly and patiently educate and help them, guide them in correcting their mistakes and developing their good points, cherish their enthusiasm, enable them to mature more rapidly and healthily. It is absolutely impermissible for anybody to use our Party's stress on the policy of **"learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones"** and **"curing the sickness to save**

the patient" towards cadres who commit mistakes as a pretext to seize hold of the mistakes and shortcomings of young revolutionary fighters and attack them. Here we must be vigilant against the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road who may avail themselves of this opportunity to attempt counter-attacks and class retaliation. We must protect the young revolutionary fighters, otherwise we will commit monstrous mistakes.

We must persistently follow the Party's long-standing policy of **"learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones"** and **"curing the sickness to save the patient"**, so that by the end of the movement we shall achieve the unity of more than 95 per cent of the cadres and more than 95 per cent of the masses and thus remain invincible.

THOROUGHLY REMOULD ONE'S WORLD OUTLOOK IN THE CRUCIBLE OF THE GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION

The great proletarian cultural revolution is a rigorous test for cadres at all levels. In the current sharp struggle between the two classes and the two lines, they must use Mao Tse-tung's thought as a weapon to remould their world outlook consciously, seriously and constantly. The socialist revolution has now entered a new stage. If they fail to eliminate the bourgeois world outlook in their minds, it will be absolutely impossible for them to stand firmly on the side of socialism and the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, they will lose their bearings and go astray.

At present, the most essential difference between the proletarian world outlook and the bourgeois world outlook finds concentrated expression in the attitude towards the great proletarian cultural revolution and the mass movement in this revolution.

If one observes things from the bourgeois world outlook, one will take a totally negative attitude towards the great proletarian cultural revolution. Some comrades fail to see clearly the need, importance and urgency of carrying out this revolution and its profound and far-reaching significance. They fail to see clearly the essence and main current of the mass movement. They see only certain shortcomings and errors of the new-emerging young revolutionary fighters and the broad revolutionary masses, while failing to see that their general revolutionary orientation is correct. This mistake must be corrected.

In our cadres' ranks there is a group of persons whose world outlook remains basically bourgeois. An inescapable fundamental question confronts these cadres, that is, they have to pass the test of socialism.

Comrades who made contributions to the people must not rest on their past achievements, must not feed on their past glory, but must take a correct attitude, take part in the great proletarian cultural revolution and temper themselves and remould their world outlook in the torrent of the mass movement. Only by doing so can they pass the test of socialism well and make new contributions to the people.

Cadres who have made mistakes must not refuse to remould their world outlook, refuse to accept criticism by the masses or even turn around to attack the revolutionary masses just because the Party has adopted the policy towards them of **"learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones"** and **"curing the sickness to save the patient"**. If that is done, the nature of their contradiction with the Party and the masses will gradually change. It will develop from a non-antagonistic contradiction to an antagonistic contradiction and the cadres themselves will **"reach the point where they are beyond cure"**.

Cadres who have made mistakes should heighten their vigilance and make a clean break with the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, make a clean

break with the bourgeois reactionary line and stand firmly on the side of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, stand on the side of the revolutionary masses and firmly support the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Veteran cadres should not make light of the young revolutionary fighters and should recognize their strong points. We believe the young generation will grow up nurtured by Mao Tse-tung's thought. It is the great hope of our great socialist motherland. Of course, the young revolutionary fighters have shortcomings and mistakes. They lack experience in struggle, are not yet mature politically and at crucial turning points in the course of the revolution, they frequently cannot see the direction clearly. In the final analysis, the tendencies of departmentalism, "small group" mentality, ultra-democracy, individualism and anarchism, which have appeared among some young people, all stem from a bourgeois world outlook. Young revolutionary fighters, too, must seriously remould their world outlook. This is a painful process of protracted ideological struggle. They must persevere in creatively studying and applying the works of Chairman Mao and remould themselves. Only by doing so will they gradually mature and be able to temper themselves into successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat and not be cast aside by history as it develops.

At the key moment in the decisive battle between the two classes, it is these young people who raise the question of getting rid of "self-interest" and the question of eliminating "self-interest" in their own minds as they seize power from the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. This points out a universal question of primary importance which is applicable to young people as well as to veteran cadres.

All revolutionary cadres, all cadres who have made mistakes and want to correct them and to make revolution, all young revolutionary fighters, all Party and Communist Youth League

members, broad revolutionary masses: let us unite under the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought to form a great alliance of the proletarian revolutionaries and fight for the fulfilment of the great historical task of seizing power from the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road!

FIRMLY CARRY OUT AND DEFEND THE POLICY OF REVOLUTIONARY "THREE-IN-ONE" COMBINATION

— Editorial of *Jiefangjun Bao* (*Liberation Army Daily*),
March 23, 1967 —

The great proletarian cultural revolution, unprecedented in history, has now entered a new stage in which the proletarian revolutionaries are forming a great alliance in order to seize power from a handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. At this decisive moment, Chairman Mao pointed out that **in those places and organizations where power needs to be seized, the policy of the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination must be carried out.** By this is meant the formation of a revolutionary committee — a provisional organ of power that is representative and has proletarian authority. It is composed of leaders of the revolutionary mass organizations truly representing the broad masses, the representatives of the People's Liberation Army units stationed in the area and revolutionary leading cadres. The policy of the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination is a Marxist-Leninist policy and its implementation serves as the political and organizational guarantee for the victory of the proletarian revolutionaries in their struggle to seize power.

Chairman Mao's great call to **the Chinese People's Liberation Army to actively support the broad masses of the Left** and his great instruction concerning **the formation of the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination** manifest his tremendous confidence in our army, a great encouragement to us and stern demands on us.

The Chinese People's Liberation Army, founded and led by our great leader Chairman Mao himself, has a glorious revolutionary tradition and has all along enjoyed high prestige among the masses of the people. Our army is the mainstay of the dictatorship of the proletariat and stands behind the proletarian revolutionaries. In the struggle waged by the proletarian revolutionaries for the seizure of power, we, the People's Liberation Army, must hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, firmly carry out and defend the policy of revolutionary "three-in-one" combination and truly become its strong pillar, in order to render new meritorious service in the great cause of the proletarian revolution.

"Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of the first importance for the revolution."¹ For our army correctly to carry out the policy of the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination, the key lies in solving the problem of on whom to rely, with whom to unite, and whom to attack.

In a situation in which the class struggle is most acute and complex, it is imperative for us to carry on penetrating and careful investigation, find out how things stand and use Mao Tse-tung's thought to make a class analysis and draw a clear line between ourselves and the enemy. The leading cadres of the local army units must follow Chairman Mao's instructions to **put politics in command and go to the masses**,² to make personal contacts with the various groups and carry out thorough investigation and study. Only in this way can we identify correctly who are the revolutionary Left, which are the true revolutionary mass organizations and who the true revolutionary leading cadres, in order to form a revolutionary combination with them in the course of the struggle. And

¹ Mao Tse-tung, "Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society", *Selected Works*, FLP, Peking, 1965, Vol. I, p. 13.

² Chairman Mao Tse-tung Speaking to Some Leading Comrades During the Seventh Review of the Revolutionary Masses in Peking on November 10, 1966.

this too is the only way by which we can have a firm hold of the situation in the struggle and lose no time in working out correct policies and decisions.

Chairman Mao said, **"The masses are the real heroes."**¹ The broad revolutionary masses and revolutionary mass organizations are the foundation of the revolutionary "three-in-one" provisional organ of power. Vast numbers of proletarian revolutionaries and their representatives have performed countless meritorious exploits in the great proletarian cultural revolution and they embody the general orientation of the revolution. We must take a firm stand on their side, unswervingly support them, rely on them and help them. What is most important is to give them our support politically and ideologically. We must help the genuine revolutionary mass organizations develop and expand swiftly, help them with their self-education, step up their revolutionization, destroy the concept of self-interest and foster devotion to the public interest and thus promote the great alliance of various revolutionary organizations on the basis of a common general orientation. We must guide them to a correct understanding and implementation of the cadres policy formulated by Chairman Mao. We must concretely help them to make an all-round analysis of the cadres so as to enable them to have a correct attitude towards them, consciously support the revolutionary leading cadres and welcome those who are willing to correct their mistakes and have actually done so to step forward and fight together with them. We must conduct thorough and careful propaganda of Mao Tse-tung's thought among the broad masses, propaganda for the great alliance of the proletarian revolutionaries and the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination and for the policy of **"taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production"**, so that the Party's policies and line will penetrate ever deeper into the hearts of the people and be grasped by the broad revolutionary masses. In

¹ Mao Tse-tung, "Preface and Postscript to *Rural Surveys*", *Selected Works*, FLP, Peking, 1965, Vol. III, p. 12.

places where conditions are not fully ripe, the army units should take the initiative energetically to help the revolutionary masses to create conditions for bringing about the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination.

Revolutionary leading cadres are the nucleus and backbone of the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination. They play a major role in the seizure and exercise of power. The leading organs and leading comrades of the local army units should, in active co-ordination with the revolutionary masses, take the initiative to clarify the conditions of the cadres and carry on work among them. Those leading cadres who, over a long period of time, have been following the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, are precious assets of the Party and the people; we must firmly support them and do our utmost to help them to carry on their work and assume the heavy responsibility of leadership. As for those cadres who have made mistakes, we should, in all ways and by every means, do political and ideological work well among them; we should help them to recognize the far-reaching significance of the great proletarian cultural revolution, adopt a correct attitude towards the revolutionary mass movement, correct their mistakes, "get rid of the baggage" and make a clean break with the bourgeois reactionary line so that they will become bold enough to stand on the side of the revolutionary masses, on the side of the revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and straighten their backs to make revolution. At the same time, we must keep a keen eye open for those people who in fact cling to their reactionary bourgeois stand while in the guise of "stepping forward", trying to worm their way into our ranks. We must expose in good time and resolutely smash their plots for a counter-revolutionary restoration of capitalism.

The thorough implementation of the policy of the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination marks the collapse of the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. But they will not step down from the stage of history

of their own accord. They will make desperate attempts to fight back in collusion with the ghosts and monsters in society. They entertain intense fear of and deep-seated hatred for the policy of the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination. They will invariably resort to all kinds of schemes and tricks to befuddle and incite those of the masses who are not clear about the truth in an attempt to undermine this combination and save themselves from defeat. We must resolutely smash the plots of this handful of persons and in doing so, we must make a clear distinction between the two different types of contradictions. With regard to those of the masses who have been hoodwinked, we should carry out extensive and profound propaganda and education, do careful and patient ideological work among them, explaining the Party's policy to them so that they can raise their consciousness and return to the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao.

The revolutionary "three-in-one" combination is one which is formed under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought and based on the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao. It is not unprincipled, it has nothing to do with compromise or eclecticism. We must pay full attention to this. It is necessary for us to heighten our vigilance and strictly guard against the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road staging a counter-revolutionary come-back under the flag of the "three-in-one" combination. We, the People's Liberation Army, bear the immense responsibility to smash such schemes of theirs.

It is impossible to realize the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination without using Mao Tse-tung's thought as its unifying ideological basis. In propagating, carrying out and defending the policy of the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination, we must hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and give prominence to proletarian politics. Whether working among the masses or the cadres, the most fundamental thing consists in propagating Mao Tse-tung's

thought and using it to answer and solve all ideological and practical problems. We should study and apply Mao Tse-tung's works in a creative way side by side with the revolutionary masses. To strengthen ideological and organizational revolutionization within the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination, it is necessary constantly to develop the method of criticism and self-criticism in accordance with the principle of **"unity-criticism-unity"**. Only in this way is it possible to carry out successfully the struggle to seize power and ensure that the Party, government, financial and cultural power is held in the hands of the proletarian revolutionaries who hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

The struggle to seize power waged by the proletarian revolutionaries makes ever greater and stricter demands upon our army. We must work to our full capacity and do our duty in the course of this new great struggle. Such being the case, we must hold high the great red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung and conscientiously and diligently study and apply Chairman Mao's works in a creative way. We should take this decisive battle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines as the best course in which we can creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's works. We should study in close relation to the situation and tasks of the struggle and to our living ideas, bearing specific problems in mind and making every effort to "apply" our study to remould our world outlook, improve our level of understanding on policy and strengthen in ourselves the revolutionary spirit, scientific approach, sense of organization and discipline. Only when we are really armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought can we correctly carry out and defend the policy of the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination formulated by Chairman Mao and the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, overcome all difficulties, stem all adverse currents and stand all tests.

We should modestly learn from the working class and from the poor and lower-middle peasants, from the revolutionary

young fighters and revolutionary cadres. The more the Party and the masses trust us, the more modest and prudent we should be, the more we should guard against arrogance and rashness, consult the masses and ask them for guidance in all matters. If shortcomings occur or mistakes are committed, we should have the courage to accept criticism and seriously set about correcting them. It is necessary for us constantly to sum up experiences, to be good at learning to struggle in struggle and to swim by swimming.

Under the great banner of the great, invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, let us unite together solidly and fight together with the broad revolutionary masses and revolutionary cadres, in the struggle to carry out the policy of the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination and win new victories in the great proletarian cultural revolution! Let us fight for the successful fulfilment of the glorious strategic task entrusted to our army by the Party and the people and for the advancement of the army's revolutionization to a still higher level in the course of the struggle!

THERE IS NO DIFFERENCE BETWEEN EARLY AND LATE-COMERS IN MAKING REVOLUTION

— Editorial of *Wenbui Bao*, February 18, 1967 —

Note by the Editor of *Hongqi* (Red Flag):

The editorial "There Is No Difference Between Early and Late-Comers in Making Revolution" is well written and worth careful study.

The question it raises: "there is no difference between early and late-comers in making revolution" is very important. Whether they are early or late, provided the cadres at whatever levels they may be truly rise and make revolution, the proletarian revolutionaries should warmly welcome and enthusiastically support them and must not discriminate against or exclude them.

"There is no difference between early and late-comers in making revolution" is an important revolutionary principle, an embodiment of the thought of Mao Tse-tung. It applies not only to the cadres, but also to the masses and mass organizations.

The application of this principle is of great significance in the implementation of Chairman Mao's policy of the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination, the formation of the great alliance of the proletarian revolutionaries, the uniting of the great majority, and the victorious seizure of power from the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road.

The proletarian revolutionaries forming themselves into a great alliance to seize power from the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road is a revolutionary storm so forceful and irresistible that those who go with it survive

and those who are against it perish. Impelled by this revolutionary gale, a number of cadres working in the Party and government organizations who formerly made mistakes have stepped forward one after another, made a clean break with the bourgeois reactionary line, and resolved to return to the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, rebelling and fighting shoulder to shoulder with the proletarian revolutionaries. This has immensely enhanced the might and influence of the great proletarian revolutionary forces, with the result that the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road have been thrown into complete isolation, finding themselves deserted by their followers and cut off from all possibility of help.

The fact that large numbers of cadres, particularly leading cadres, have stepped forward to make revolution has an extremely important significance. Holding the positions of leadership, they know well what is behind the scenes. For them to come out and make revolution will do much to thoroughly refute and completely overthrow and discredit the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. Lu Hsun put it very well: "Since they are from the old fortress, they have a better knowledge of the situation. When they turn round and strike a blow it is easy to put the strong enemy to death." This is why the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road feel deadly hatred for and mortal fear of the cadres who want to make revolution when the latter step forward to rebel against them.

These many cadres, particularly leading cadres, are more experienced in struggle, politically more mature, and have a greater ability in organization. When they rise to rebel, the proletarian revolutionaries should warmly welcome them and give them enthusiastic support. They should receive into the revolutionary mass organizations concerned those cadres at various levels who have been proved to be genuine revolutionaries through tests over a comparatively long period in

the movement. They should form a "three-in-one" combination with these cadres and, with them, seize power from the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. Some genuinely revolutionary leading cadres among them should be included in the core of leadership.

Some make revolution early, some late; some rebel early, some late. This is in conformity with the objective law of man's knowledge. Correct knowledge is often attained after going through many reverses. It is understandable that for some people the reverses take a longer time and there are more twists and turns in the process of gaining knowledge. Because the tricks played by the handful of persons in the former Shanghai municipal Party committee who were in authority taking the capitalist road were extremely covert and cunning, many cadres in the Shanghai area have been poisoned to a greater extent and have waked up comparatively late. But if they really wake up, admit mistakes, rise to rebel and make amends for their mistakes by good deeds, they can come back to the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao. Our attitude is: Early or late, provided they really make revolution and really rebel, they are always warmly welcome. If they make revolution today, they are welcome today. If they make revolution tomorrow, they will be welcome tomorrow. All the cadres who are willing to make revolution should follow Chairman Mao's instruction to "**Seize the day, seize the hour**"¹ and rise and make revolution at once.

All views that discriminate against cadres and debar them from rising up to make revolution are wrong and must be severely refuted.

"You should stand aside!" thought some comrades when they saw these cadres coming out to make revolution. This

¹From Mao Tse-tung's poem *Reply to Comrade Kuo Mo-jo — to the melody of "Man Chiang Hung"*.

view, which does not distinguish between right and wrong and excludes all the cadres, is extremely harmful. We must see that with the exception of a handful of persons in authority taking the capitalist road, the overwhelming majority of the cadres are good or comparatively good and want to make revolution. It is true that many cadres have carried out the bourgeois reactionary line. Their mistakes must be criticized and repudiated. But we must differentiate between those who followed the bourgeois reactionary line consciously and those unconsciously. Some of them were executors of the bourgeois reactionary line and at the same time victims of that line. We criticize them in order to help them and in the hope that they will stand up and make revolution and come back to the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao. Chairman Mao teaches us:

The attitude of Communists towards any person who has made mistakes in his work should be one of persuasion in order to help him change and start afresh and not one of exclusion, unless he is incorrigible.¹

It is against Chairman Mao's instructions to make all the cadres stand aside and knock them down with one blow. As a matter of fact, through the help of the masses, many of the cadres who had made mistakes have begun to see where they have been wrong and have shown willingness to come back to the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao. We should see the changes in them and warmly welcome the progress they have made.

"They're 'sham rebels'." Some comrades do not believe that cadres can really rise and make revolution. They say that the cadres did not make revolution earlier or later, but now seeing the general course of development they have

¹Mao Tse-tung, "The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War", *Selected Works*, FLP, Peking, 1965, Vol. II, p. 198.

metamorphosed themselves in the twinkling of an eye and come over to the side of the proletarian revolutionaries. Such argument does not conform to Mao Tse-tung's thought. When a cadre who has made mistakes shifts from persisting in the bourgeois reactionary line to standing up and making revolution, turning round and striking a blow at the bourgeois reactionary line, this is a change of stand. This "metamorphosis" is very good. All cadres who want to make revolution should undergo such a great metamorphosis. To come over to the side of the proletarian revolutionaries is to surrender to the truth, an act of great honour. To do so is to make revolution, to make revolution against the noxious influence of the bourgeois reactionary line in one's mind. This has nothing in common with the speculations of a bourgeois politician. Our only duty is to encourage such a revolutionary action and we have no right at all to censure it. While we proletarian revolutionaries ourselves want to make revolution and rebel, we at the same time most welcome others to stand up to make revolution and rebel. In no case should we recklessly label a cadre who has risen to rebel as a "sham rebel" or the like.

"Our ranks have become impure," worry some comrades. This worry is utterly needless. Whether or not a revolutionary contingent is pure depends on what class line it is following. If a contingent follows the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao it is perfectly sound, even though it is composed entirely of cadres. A contingent without a single cadre in it still can be impure or even reactionary if it follows the bourgeois reactionary line. Some cadres who in the past set themselves against the proletarian revolutionaries, have mended their ways and are now of one heart and one mind with the proletarian revolutionaries. What is bad about that? Chairman Mao teaches us that **not only must we unite with those who agree with us, we must also be good at uniting with those who disagree and even with those who formerly opposed us and have since been proved**

wrong in practice.¹ We must, through criticism and struggle, unite with and win over the cadres who have made mistakes and battle together with them while continuing to educate and help them. In helping a number of cadres who have made mistakes but are willing to turn over a new leaf, to rise and make revolution, we proletarian revolutionaries are tempering and putting ourselves to a test. To do so will not defile our ranks, but quite on the contrary, will increase our fighting capacity and make our ranks purer. Not to do so, but to exclude these cadres from the ranks of the proletarian revolutionaries and ignore them will not help their remoulding, nor will it help our uniting with the great majority and the revolutionary cause as a whole.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "**Marxism consists of thousands of truths, but they all boil down to one phrase: 'It's right to rebel.'**"² The revolutionary actions of all cadres who rise to rebel are justified and in conformity with Marxist principles and the thought of Mao Tse-tung. All you cadres who want to make revolution but have not yet risen, it is time now to rise and rebel! Don't miss this opportunity, which comes only once. Step forward quickly and boldly, stand on the side of the proletarian revolutionaries and hit hard the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. The proletarian revolutionaries armed with the thought of Mao Tse-tung are fully able to distinguish between those who are surrendering themselves to the truth and those who are engaged in political speculations, those who are genuine revolutionaries and those who are sham revolutionaries. Provided that you truly and sincerely rise to make revolution and come back to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line in actual deeds, the proletarian revolutionaries will closely unite with you in battle.

¹ See *On Khrushchov's Phoney Communism and Its Historical Lessons for the World*, FLP, Peking, 1964, p. 73.

² Mao Tse-tung, "Speech at a Meeting of All Circles in Yen-an in Celebration of Stalin's Sixtieth Birthday" (December 21, 1939).

In this way, all the revolutionary forces can be united to the largest extent, the handful of die-hard reactionaries will be thoroughly isolated and completely overthrown, and the great proletarian cultural revolution will win an early and complete victory.

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