

PEKING SECOND MACHINE-TOOL PLANT REALIZES THE "THREE-WAY COMBINATION"
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[From an article entitled "Grasp the General Orientation of Struggle, Realize the Revolutionary "Three-way Combination."]

(Hung-ch'i editor's note: A very important question facing the current struggle is how proletarian revolutionaries should deal correctly with the masses of conservative groups and cadres who have erred.

Proletarian revolutionaries of Peking Second Machine-Tool Plant have in the struggle creatively studied and applied Chairman Mao's works determinedly criticized the bourgeois reactionary line, waged an uncompromising struggle against a small handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, and tightly grasped the general orientation of struggle. They have strictly distinguished between and correctly handled contradictions

of two different types. By way of criticism and meticulous work in the ideological sphere, they unite with those masses of the conservative groups who once opposed them but have been proved to be wrong by practice, and help those cadres who, carrying out the bourgeois reactionary line, once attacked them but who have determined to correct their errors. This enables these masses and cadres to return to the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

Their experience deserves to be studied by proletarian revolutionaries of all areas.)

In the violent storm of the great proletarian cultural revolution, proletarian revolutionaries of Peking Second Machine-Tool Plant have with resolve implemented the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, thoroughly refuted the bourgeois reactionary line represented by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, and tightly grasped the general orientation of struggle. Successfully realizing a revolutionary "three-way combination," they have set up a revolutionary committee composed of representatives of workers, representatives of militiamen, and revolutionary leading cadres.

Thought of Mao Tse-tung is Used to Arm the Masses

In early June last year, revolutionary workers of the whole plant, in response to the great leader Chairman Mao's call, plunged into the torrent of the great proletarian cultural revolution and launched a fierce attack against a small band of Party power holders taking the capitalist road. One after another they expelled two work teams which were carrying out the bourgeois reactionary line. On June 23, with the support of some revolutionary leading cadres we seized the power of leadership of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

It was at this time that a third work team arrived. They smeared the power-seizure struggle of June 23 as a "counter-revolutionary incident," accusing more than 140 revolutionary masses and revolutionary cadres of being "counter-revolutionary vanguards," "counter-revolutionary lackeys," etc. These revolutionary masses and cadres were brutally struggled against and mercilessly attacked. A white terror was created. A part of the masses were instigated to wage an armed struggle against the proletarian revolutionaries. Moreover, the broad masses of revolutionary workers were forced to examine themselves and pass a test at group meetings.

The boundlessly illuminating thought of Mao Tse-tung dispelled the evil fog. After the publication of the 16-point decision drafted under the personal direction of Chairman Mao, a "revolutionary rebel young fighting group" composed of five persons appeared in our Plant. This fighting group, holding high the big banner of revolution, called for arming itself and the masses with the thought of Mao Tse-tung and explicitly announced its decision to reverse the verdicts on the "June 23" incident.

At this time, numerous revolutionary masses and revolutionary cadres were still under the heavy pressure of the bourgeois reactionary line. We simply had to arm the masses with the thought of Mao Tse-tung and expose the crimes of the bourgeois reactionary line. Chairman Mao's works are a mighty ideological weapon for criticizing and repudiating the bourgeois reactionary line. The work team which followed the bourgeois reactionary line was most frightened by the sight of the revolutionary masses branded as "counter-revolutionaries" reading Chairman Mao's works. Nevertheless, the proletarian revolutionaries liked nothing better than Chairman Mao's works. In the difficult days of reversing the verdicts on the "June 23" incident, the revolutionary fighting group often met under the Monument of People's Heroes in the Tien An Men Square to study Chairman Mao's works and the 16-point decision, thus drawing inexhaustible strength from the splendid works of Chairman Mao.

At that time, proletarian revolutionaries were still a minority. Yet we were firmly convinced that the broad masses were for Chairman Mao and his proletarian revolutionary line, and that as long as we creatively studied and applied Chairman Mao's works, held high the banner of revolutionary criticism, and fully expose the reactionary nature of the bourgeois reactionary line, we would definitely be able to unite with the majority and utterly isolate the small handful of Party power holders taking the capitalist road.

Chairman Mao says: "To organize the millions upon millions of the masses and move a mighty revolutionary army into action is a need for an attack by revolution against counter-revolution today." In order to mobilize the masses and win over the masses during struggle, we proposed a large-debate with the former provisional Party committee and the former cultural revolution committee which were following the bourgeois reactionary line. Directed by the leader of the branch work group and encouraged by temporary superiority, they agreed to a debate. However, they agreed only to the discussion of what category the two cadres who had been branded "counter-revolutionaries" should be put into. They attempted to take advantage of some shortcomings and mistakes of these two cadres in past work to create confusion over side issues so as to shift the general orientation of the struggle. Seeing this intrigue, we insisted on debating the nature of the "June 23" incident. Thus we forced them to answer our questions hastily.

Using the thought of Mao Tse-tung as our weapon, we refuted them roundly, won over the broad masses, and scored a resounding victory. The head of the former cultural revolution committee reported the result to the leader of the branch work group, and the latter wailed bitterly about "oversight" and "failure." When we challenged them for a second time to a debate, they dared not come out to face us.

Speaking on the occasion of National Day last year, Comrade Lin Piao raised the militant call of criticizing the bourgeois reactionary line. To

this call we immediately responded, and concentrated firepower for a fierce attack against the bourgeois reactionary line. Using big-character posters, and large-scale debates, we gave all-out publicity to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and to "revolution is no crime and rebellion is justified." Besides, we called a series of criticism and accusation meetings. The proletarian revolutionaries, using stern and just language, putting facts on the table and reasoning things out, mercilessly exposed the crimes of the bourgeois reactionary line in persecuting the proletarian revolutionaries. The voice of truth is irresistible. The broad masses have sharpened their eyes and distinguished the right from the wrong. The bourgeois reactionary line has become a rat running across the street where our Plant is concerned. The boisterous reactionary adverse current finally was repulsed under the strong impact of the thought of Mao Tse-tung...

Full Implementation of Chairman Mao's Policy on Cadres

Besides suppressing the revolutionary masses, the bourgeois reactionary line has at the same time struck at the revolutionary cadres. On the question of cadres, "to strike at the many in order to protect the few," a component part of the bourgeois reactionary line, finds typical expression in our Plant.

In the "June 23" revolutionary struggle for seizure of power in our Plant, the work team branded the Plant's Party committee a "black Party committee" just because some members of it supported the revolutionary actions of the masses. Of the 17 members of the Party committee, two were branded "counter-revolutionaries" and eight were branded as "surrendering power and rebelling against the Party." Many middle-level cadres were falsely accused of "supporting counter-revolution" and suspended from duty. The work team seized the power of the Party committee and that of many Party branches, and even changed the basic-level cadres of the Party and League. However, it gave full protection to the Party power holders taking the capitalist road.

The overwhelming majority of our cadres are good or comparatively good. To overthrow the small band of Party power holders taking the capitalist road, we must unite with the broad sections of cadres, thoroughly defeat the reactionary policy of "striking at the many in order to protect the few," and unswervingly implement the revolutionary policy of "uniting with the majority in order to strike at a few."

Arousing the revolutionary leading cadres to rise in revolution and helping the erring cadres to correct their mistakes -- this is an inescapable duty of proletarian revolutionaries; it is a task that must be done well if revolutionary "three-way combination" is to materialize.

Comrade Hsing Cha'o, deputy secretary of the former Party committee and concurrently political department director in our Plant supported the proletarian revolutionaries in the "June 23" revolutionary struggle for

seizure of power. For this, he was branded by the work team as "surrendering power and rebelling against the Party." He was relieved of all his duties and was repeatedly criticized within the Party.

The work team forced Comrade Hsing Ch'ao to publicly "examine his attitude" and to acknowledge that the "June 23" incident was a counter-revolutionary incident. At the same time, the work team incited the masses by saying, "But for Hsing Ch'ao, they would have not been counter-revolutionaries." This was a vain attempt to incite the masses to struggle against the revolutionary leading cadres. We exposed this scheme in time. On the one hand, we firmly supported Comrade Hsing Ch'ao in resisting the pressure; on the other, we made it plain among the revolutionary ranks that the spearhead of struggle must not be directed at the revolutionary leading cadres. In this way, we unified our thinking and concentrated firepower on the criticism of the bourgeois reactionary line.

In March this year, Comrade Hsing Ch'ao exposed to the revolutionary workers of the Plant the persecution practiced by the bourgeois reactionary line against him and the broad section of revolutionary cadres also examined his mistakes. As a result, he secured the confidence of the broad masses of revolutionary workers. When it was about to be decided to allow him to participate in the revolutionary "three-way combination," some one pasted a big-character wall paper, making false charges against him and publicly sowing dissention between him and the responsible members of the revolutionary mass organization in our Plant.

Facts prove that the small band of Party power holders taking the capitalist road are most afraid of the revolutionary cadres rising in revolution. They are most frightened by the revolutionary "three-way combination." If only proletarian revolutionaries can set great store by the long-range goal of the proletariat, discard their self-interests, and apply the method of class analysis, they will surely be able to expose the conspiracy of the power holders to blur the class lines and create antagonism between cadres and the masses.

As regards those cadres who have made mistakes or serious mistakes, we follow Chairman Mao's teaching of "learning from past mistakes in order to avoid future ones and curing the sickness in order to save the patient" and formula of "unity — criticism — unity." While concentrating strength on criticizing the bourgeois reactionary line, we educate and unite with them and welcome them to return to the side of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

On the question of dealing with cadres who have erred, we have taken a detour. Proletarian revolutionaries who have been directly attacked by these cadres following the bourgeois reactionary line can easily be tempted to strike back at these cadres. They may not think it right and proper to invite these cadres to come to make revolution. And at a certain period we failed to pay attention to working on these cadres. Consequently, few

cadres who made mistakes rose in revolution. Occasionally, when one or two cadres expressed their attitude in big-character posters, the conservatives would attack them as "traitors," and some proletarian revolutionaries too would accuse them of being "opportunists." In this way, it was even more difficult for the cadres who made mistakes to rise up, and they thought it to be the best policy to wait instead of examining themselves and being derided by others.

After the seizure of power in January, some responsible members of our proletarian revolutionary organization began to give serious attention to this problem. We realized that Chairman Mao's works never said that one who had made mistakes should never be permitted to make revolution. As for the cadres who committed errors, we should win over them over to the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. We gave publicity to Chairman Mao's cadre policy among the revolutionary masses.

Chairman Mao has taught us: "We must be good at judging a cadre. We must not look at only the things he has done at a time but at his whole history and work. This is the principal method of judging a cadre."

We just do not feel it right that a cadre who made mistakes should never be trusted again. We must look at his entire history and his attitude toward mistakes and their correction; at the same time, we must help him eliminate the poison of the bourgeois reactionary line in his mind.

Much has been achieved in our work. Especially after the publication of the editorial of Hung-ch'i magazine No. 4, many cadres have come forward to show their color and examine their mistakes, and they have been given enthusiastic support. On their own initiative, some revolutionary people who were once attacked call on the cadres who have made mistakes for open-heart talks, explaining to them the truth that "it doesn't make any difference whether one makes revolution sooner or later," and giving them enthusiastic assistance. Some cadres said: In the past we always thought that your aim was to strike at us. Now we know that the revolutionary masses want us on the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. The fact that many cadres who made mistakes have returned to the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line has added to the strength of the revolutionary masses.

Recently, we concentrated firepower on the head of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. All workshops and sections called meetings to criticize "On Self-Cultivation." At these meetings, both the revolutionary masses and cadres who made mistakes spoke. Some revolutionary masses who had come under attack denounced the fallacy of "suffering wrong in the general interest" preached in "On Self-Cultivation" and which suppressed their revolutionary rebel spirit. Cadres who made mistakes denounced the fallacy of "docile tools" propounded in "On Self-Cultivation" which caused them to make the mistake of striking at the revolutionary

masses. They were especially indignant at the bourgeois reactionary line thrown out by the Khrushchev of China in the great proletarian cultural revolution. They shared the same hatred, and the antagonism created between cadres and the masses by the bourgeois reactionary line was immediately eliminated while their unity was strengthened. . . .