

## FIRMLY CARRY OUT AND DEFEND THE POLICY OF REVOLUTIONARY “THREE-IN-ONE” COMBINATION

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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."**<sup>1</sup> 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**,<sup>2</sup> 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

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

<sup>2</sup> 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."**<sup>1</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> 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!