



ON THE REVOLUTIONARY “THREE-IN-ONE” COMBINATION

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS
PEKING

ON THE REVOLUTIONARY “THREE-IN-ONE” COMBINATION

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS

PEKING 1968

Printed in the People's Republic of China

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.

C O N T E N T S

ON THE REVOLUTIONARY "THREE-IN-ONE" COMBINATION — Editorial of <i>Hongqi (Red Flag)</i> , No. 5, 1967 —	1
CADRES MUST BE TREATED CORRECTLY — Editorial of <i>Hongqi</i> , No. 4, 1967 —	9
FIRMLY CARRY OUT AND DEFEND THE POLICY OF REVOLUTIONARY "THREE-IN-ONE" COMBINATION — Editorial of <i>Jiefangjun Bao (Liberation Army Daily)</i> , March 23, 1967 —	25
THERE IS NO DIFFERENCE BETWEEN EARLY AND LATE-COMERS IN MAKING REVOLUTION — Editorial of <i>Wenhui Bao</i> , February 18, 1967 —	32

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.

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 strug-

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 over-estimate 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