

中共中央文件彙編

(關於文化大革命) 一九六六—一九六七

CCP Documents of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution 1966-1967

UNION RESEARCH INSTITUTE
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第一 部

中 央 文 件

PART I

DOCUMENTS OF CENTRAL AUTHORITIES

OUTLINE REPORT CONCERNING
THE CURRENT ACADEMIC DISCUSSION
OF THE GROUP OF FIVE IN CHARGE OF
THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION*

(February 7, 1966)

The Group of Five in Charge of the Cultural Revolution convened a meeting on February 3. It was attended by eleven comrades: P'eng Chen, Lu Ting-i, K'ang Sheng, Wu Leng-hsi and Hsu Li-ch'un, Hu Sheng, Yao Chen, Wang Li, Fan Jo-yu, Liu Jen and Cheng T'ien-hsiang.

The problems discussed and the main opinions put forward at the meeting are as follows:

(1) The situation and nature of the current academic criticism:

The criticism of Wu Han's *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office* and the resultant discussions on the inheritance of morality, "incorruptible officials," "the policy of concession," the appraisal of historical figures, and the viewpoint and method of historical research have enlivened thinking and lifted the curtain. The achievements that have been made in this connection are tremendous.

This large-scale debate, by its nature, is a gigantic struggle in the ideological sphere between Marxism-Leninism and the thought of Mao Tse-tung on the one hand, and bourgeois ideas on the other. It is a struggle in the academic realm for eliminating bourgeois reactionary or mistaken ideas following the winning of political power by the proletariat of our country and after the carrying out of the socialist revolution. Above all, it is a struggle for fostering proletarian ideology and eradicating bourgeois ideology; it is a component part of the struggle between two roads,

socialism and capitalism.

This large-scale debate is bound to spread to other academic spheres. Therefore we must carry out this struggle under leadership, seriously, positively and prudently. We must attack bourgeois ideas, and consolidate and expand the positions of proletarian ideology. Moreover, we must do our utmost to encourage our cadres, academic workers and the broad masses of workers and peasants to make a study of Marxism-Leninism, the thought of Mao Tse-tung, so that they may raise further their political and ideological levels.

Total liquidation of bourgeois thought in the academic realm is a problem which has remained unsolved in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Herein exists the question of who leads whom and who defeats whom. Through this struggle and guided by the thought of Mao Tse-tung, we must open up the way for the solution of this problem. While struggling and studying simultaneously, we must train a red and expert academic force and gradually and systematically solve the problems in this respect.

Through this struggle and other kinds of work (for instance, encouraging the workers, peasants and soldiers to study Chairman Mao's works and philosophy), we shall not only further break the monopoly positions of old intellectuals, actually the exploiting classes, in the academic and cultural fields, but also enter a new historical period in which the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers directly master the theoretical weapons of Marxism-Leninism, the thought of Mao Tse-tung, and science and culture. Of course, a start will be made with those among them who have a relatively high level of culture, and things will develop in a forward direction following the popularization and elevation of culture among the masses of workers and peasants.

It is precisely for this reason that we must take adequate account of the protractedness, complexity, and enormity of this struggle. We must despise the enemy strategically but take him seriously tactically. We must see that this struggle will not be over after several months and that we cannot fulfill our task by writing several conclusive articles or by drawing political conclusions for those whom we have criticized. We should seriously

and uninterruptedly persevere in this struggle for a prolonged period of time.

(2) Policies:

The policy of "opening wide" propounded by Comrade Mao Tse-tung at the Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work in March 1957 calls for full expression of all kinds of opinion (including anti-Marxist things), so that in the course of the tit-for-tat struggle between contradictions, and by the method of putting facts on the table and reasoning things out, reactionary or mistaken ideas may be analyzed and criticized, truly refuted and destroyed.

Problems of academic contention are rather complicated, and some matters are not easy to define within a short time. In the course of the discussion, we must grasp the major issues of right and wrong. First of all, we must draw a clear line of distinction between the two classes (the proletariat and the bourgeoisie), between the two roads (the socialist road and the capitalist road), and between the two doctrines (Marxism-Leninism and anti-Marxism-Leninism). In addition, we must make clear the fundamental academic problems. We must insist on seeking truth from facts and uphold the principle of everybody being equal before truth. We must convince people with facts. We must not behave like scholar-tyrants who are always acting arbitrarily and trying to overwhelm people with their power. We must encourage the upholding of truth and be ever ready to correct mistakes.

There must be both destruction and construction (without construction, there can be no real and thorough destruction). In the course of struggle we must seriously and arduously study the thought of Mao Tse-tung in our academic studies, possess a mass of data, carry out scientific analyses, and achieve academic progress. That is to say, it is necessary not only to beat the other side politically, but also, by academic and professional standards, truly surpass and beat it by a wide margin.

Only by doing so can we facilitate the gradual reform of old intellectuals with the use of proletarian ideas, elevate the standard

of revolutionary intellectuals, unite with the majority, oppose the minority, and truly isolate an extremely small number of people who persist in their mistakes or cling to their reactionary viewpoints and so gradually smash the reactionary academic viewpoints.

We must permit and welcome those who have made mistakes and people who cling to reactionary academic viewpoints to correct their mistakes. We must take a solemn attitude of doing good to people, must not gloss over things, and must not say to them, "You are not permitted to make revolution." Whether they reform genuinely or falsely, it will do some good for us to do this.

As regards people like Wu Han who treats history with the bourgeois world outlook and committed political mistakes, the discussion in the press should not be confined to political questions, but should go fully into the various academic and theoretical questions involved. If opinions still differ at the end of the discussion, they should be reserved and discussed in future. This will make it easier to air various opinions and enable our forces to grow and expand in the course of struggling and studying simultaneously.

Public mention in the press of names for major criticism must be made with care, and in the case of some people, the approval of the leading bodies concerned must first be secured. Those actors who in the past participated in the performance of bad plays must not be asked to make public self-criticism in the press in the present controversy. Their mistakes may be solved on other occasions.

Newspapers such as *Worker's Daily*, *China Youth News*, and *Sports News* may in principle publish articles or extracts of them, but they must pay attention to quality, simplicity and consciousness.

(3) Forces:

The Group of Five and the various provincial, municipal, and autonomous regional Party committees must organize forces of revolutionary academic workers. They must rely on the staunch revolutionary Left, unite with all revolutionary intellec-

tuals, and isolate the extremely small number of people who stubbornly persist in their mistakes.

We must engage in struggle and construction at the same time. Turning a small number into a great number, we may gradually form an army of revolutionary, militant, and red-and-expert intellectuals who surpass the bourgeois intellectuals not only politically but academically as well.

(4) Mutual assistance among the Left:

It is necessary to form "mutual aid teams" and "cooperatives" of academic workers of the Left. On the basis of separate research and through collective discussion, we must encourage them to divide their work and write, criticize and help each other in appropriate ways, and oppose taking one's self as the only one who is right. We must be alert against academic workers of the Left taking the road of bourgeois experts and scholar-tyrants. Serious attention must be given to outstanding young writers emerging from the struggle, and they must be trained and helped.

Even some staunch revolutionary Leftists (viewed from long-term behavior) can hardly avoid saying something wrong during a certain time or making some big or small mistakes on some issues on account of the fact that they have not totally eliminated the old ideas or have a vague understanding of the problems. When appropriate opportunities present themselves and by the method of study and rectification among the minority within the ranks, they may be helped to clear up their ideas and distinguish the right from the wrong, and increase their immunity and resistance. It will be all right when they correct the mistakes they have made or have the determination to make amends. They must not take hold of [attack] each other, for this will hamper their academic criticism of the bourgeoisie and their own advance.

(5) With regard to controversial problems, we must now proceed with preparations and, when the time comes, we shall publish in the press some articles of relatively high quality.

(6) The Group of Five sets up an office for academic

criticism, which will be run by Comrades Hsu Li-ch'un, Hu Sheng, Wu Leng-hsi, Yao Chen, Wang Li, and Fan Jo-yu. Comrade Hsu Li-ch'un is director of the office, and Comrade Hu Sheng is in charge of academic work.

* This document is often referred to as the "February Thesis" or "February Outline". It was drawn up on February 7, 1966, and approved by the CCP Central Committee for distribution on February 12, 1966; but was revoked by the Central Committee on May 16, 1966. The last paragraph of the May 16 Circular says: "This circular is to be sent, together with the erroneous document issued by the Central Committee on February 12, 1966, down to the level of county Party committees, Party committees in the cultural organizations and Party committees at regimental level in the army. These committees are asked to discuss which of the two documents is wrong and which is correct." However this "outline" has never been published in official Chinese Communist publications. The "May 16 Circular" was published in *People's Daily* on May 17, 1967, without being accompanied by the "February Outline". There is one issue (date unknown) of *People's University Three Reds* in 1967 which carries this "Outline"; but the name of K'ang Sheng in the first paragraph, and the name of Wang Li in the first and the last paragraphs were replaced by "X X". *New Steel Academy*, No. 18, published on May 20, 1967, by Peking Steel Academy Revolutionary Rebels Commune, carries the same document, but the names of Kang Sheng and Wang Li appear undisguised. The English version is provided by *Survey of China Mainland Press*, No. 3952, June 5, 1967.

CIRCULAR OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY*

(May 16, 1966)

To all regional bureaus of the Central Committee, all provincial, municipal and autonomous region Party committees, all departments and commissions under the Central Committee, all leading Party members' groups and Party committees in government departments and people's organizations, and the General Political Department of the People's Liberation Army:

The Central Committee has decided to revoke the "Outline Report on the Current Academic Discussion Made by the Group of Five in Charge of the Cultural Revolution" which was approved for distribution on February 12, 1966, to dissolve the "Group of Five in Charge of the Cultural Revolution" and its offices, and to set up a new Cultural Revolution Group directly under the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau. The outline report by the so-called "Group of Five" is fundamentally wrong. It runs counter to the line of the socialist cultural revolution set forth by the Central Committee and Comrade Mao Tse-tung and to the guiding principles formulated at the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party in 1962 on the question of classes and class struggle in socialist society. While feigning compliance, the outline actually opposes and stubbornly resists the great cultural revolution initiated and led personally by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, as well as the instructions, regarding the criticism of Wu Han, which he gave at the working conference of the Central Committee held in September and October 1965 (that is, at the session of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee attended also by the leading

comrades of all the regional bureaus of the Central Committee).

The outline report by the so-called "Group of Five" is actually an outline report by P'eng Chen alone. He concocted it according to his own ideas behind the backs of Comrade K'eng Sheng, a member of the "Group of Five," and other comrades. In handling such a document regarding important questions which affect the over-all situation in the socialist revolution, P'eng Chen had no discussions or exchange of views at all within the "Group of Five." He did not ask any local Party committee for its opinion, nor, when submitting the outline report, did he make it clear that it was being sent to the Central Committee for examination as its official document, and still less did he get the approval of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee. Employing the most improper methods, he acted arbitrarily, abused his powers and, usurping the name of the Central Committee, hurriedly issued the outline report to the whole Party.

The main errors of the outline report are as follows:

1) Proceeding from a bourgeois stand and the bourgeois world outlook in its appraisal of the situation in and the nature of the current academic criticism, the outline completely reverses the relation between the enemy and ourselves, putting the one into the position of the other. Our country is now in an upsurge of the great proletarian cultural revolution which is pounding at all the decadent ideological and cultural positions still held by the bourgeoisie and the remnants of feudalism. Instead of encouraging the entire Party boldly to arouse the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and the fighters for proletarian culture so that they can continue to charge ahead, the outline does its best to turn the movement to the Right. Using muddled, self-contradictory and hypocritical language, it obscures the sharp class struggle that is taking place on the cultural and ideological front. In particular, it obscures the aim of this great struggle, which is to criticize and repudiate Wu Han and the considerable number of other anti-Party and anti-socialist representatives of the bourgeoisie (there are a number of these in the Central Committee and in the Party, government and other departments at the central as well as at the provincial, municipal and autonomous

region level. By avoiding any mention of the fact repeatedly pointed out by Chairman Mao, namely, that the key point in Wu Han's drama *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office* is the question of dismissal from office, the outline covers up the serious political nature of the struggle.

2) The outline violates the basic Marxist thesis that all class struggles are political struggles. When the press began to touch on the political issues involved in Wu Han's *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office*, the authors of the outline went so far as to say: "The discussion in the press should not be confined to political questions, but should go fully into the various academic and theoretical questions involved." Regarding the criticism of Wu Han, they declared on various occasions that it was impermissible to deal with the heart of the matter, namely, the dismissal of the Right opportunists at the Lushan Meeting in 1959 and the opposition of Wu Han and others to the Party and socialism. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has often told us that the ideological struggle against the bourgeoisie is a protracted class struggle which cannot be resolved by drawing hasty political conclusions. However, P'eng Chen deliberately spread rumors, telling many people that Chairman Mao believed political conclusions on the criticism of Wu Han could be drawn after two months. P'eng Chen also said that the political issues could be discussed two months later. His purpose was to channel the political struggle in the cultural sphere into the so-called pure academic discussion so frequently advocated by the bourgeoisie. Clearly, this means giving prominence to bourgeois politics and opposing giving prominence to proletarian politics.

3) The outline lays special emphasis on what it calls "opening wide." But, playing a sly trick it grossly distorts the policy of "opening wide" expounded by Comrade Mao Tse-tung at the Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work in March 1957 and negates the class content of "opening wide." It was in dealing with this question that Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out: "We still have to wage a protracted struggle against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology. It is wrong not to understand this and to give up ideological struggle. All erroneous ideas, all poisonous weeds, all ghosts and monsters, must be subjected to

criticism; in no circumstance should they be allowed to spread unchecked." Comrade Mao Tse-tung also said, "To 'open wide' means to let all people express their opinions freely, so that they dare to speak, dare to criticize and dare to debate." This outline, however, poses "opening wide" against exposure by the proletariat of the bourgeoisie's reactionary stand. What it means by "opening wide" is bourgeois liberalization, which would allow only the bourgeoisie to "open wide," but would not allow the proletariat to "open wide" and hit back; in other words, it is a shield for such reactionary bourgeois representatives as Wu Han. The "opening wide" in this outline is against Mao Tse-tung's thought and caters to the needs of the bourgeoisie.

4) Just when we began the counter-offensive against the wild attacks of the bourgeoisie, the authors of the outline raised the slogan: "Everyone is equal before the truth." This is a bourgeois slogan. Completely negating the class nature of truth, they use this slogan to protect the bourgeoisie and oppose the proletariat, oppose Marxism-Leninism and oppose Mao Tse-tung's thought. In the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the truth of Marxism and the fallacies of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, either the East wind prevails over the West wind or the West wind prevails over the East wind, and there is absolutely no such thing as equality. Can any equality be permitted on such basic questions as the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, the dictatorship of the proletariat in the superstructure, including all the various spheres of culture, and the continued efforts of the proletariat to weed out those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Communist Party and who wave "red flags" to oppose the red flag? For decades the old-line Social Democrats, and for over ten years the modern revisionists, have never allowed the proletariat equality with the bourgeoisie. They completely deny that the several thousand years of human history is a history of class struggle. They completely deny the class struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, proletarian revolution against the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie. On the contrary, they are faithful lackeys of the bourgeoisie and imperialism. Together with the bourgeoisie and

imperialism, they cling to the bourgeois ideology of oppression and exploitation of the proletariat and to the capitalist system, and they oppose Marxist-Leninist ideology and the socialist system. They are a bunch of counter-revolutionaries opposing the Communist Party and the people. Their struggle against us is one of life and death, and there is no question of equality. Therefore, our struggle against them, too, can be nothing but a life-and-death struggle, and our relation with them can in no way be one of equality. On the contrary, it is a relation of one class oppressing another, that is, the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie. There can be no other type of relation, such as a so-called relation of equality, or of peaceful coexistence between exploiting and exploited classes, or of kindness or magnanimity.

5) The outline states: "It is necessary not only to beat the other side politically, but also, by academic and professional standards, truly surpass and beat it by a wide margin." This concept which makes no class distinction on academic matters is also very wrong. The truth on academic questions, the truth of Marxism-Leninism, of Mao Tse-tung's thought — which the proletariat has grasped — has already far surpassed and beaten the bourgeoisie. The formulation in the outline shows that its authors laud the so-called academic authorities of the bourgeoisie and try to boost their prestige, and that they hate and repress the militant new-born forces representative of the proletariat in academic circles.

6) Chairman Mao often says that there is no construction without destruction. Destruction means criticism and repudiation; it means revolution. It involves reasoning things out, which is construction. Put destruction first, and in the process you have construction. Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, was founded and has constantly developed in the course of the struggle to destroy bourgeois ideology. This outline, however, emphasizes that "without construction, there can be no real and thorough destruction." This amounts to prohibiting the destruction of bourgeois ideology and prohibiting the construction of proletarian ideology. It is diametrically opposed to Chairman Mao's thought. It runs counter to the revolutionary struggle we have been waging on the cultural front for the vigorous destruction of bourgeois

ideology. And it amounts to prohibiting the proletariat from making any revolution.

7) The outline states that "we must not behave like scholar-tyrants who are always acting arbitrarily and trying to overwhelm people with their power" and that "we should guard against any tendency for academic workers of the Left to take the road of bourgeois experts and scholar-tyrants." What is really meant by "scholar-tyrants"? Who are the "scholar-tyrants"? Should the proletariat not exercise dictatorship and overwhelm the bourgeoisie? Should the academic work of the proletariat not overwhelm and eradicate that of the bourgeoisie? And if proletarian academic work overwhelms and eradicates bourgeois academic work, can this be regarded as an act of "scholar-tyrants"? The outline directs its spearhead against the proletarian Left. Obviously, its aim is to label the Marxist-Leninists "scholar-tyrants" and thus to support the real, bourgeois scholar-tyrants and prop up their tottering monopoly position in academic circles. As a matter of fact, those Party people in authority taking the capitalist road who support the bourgeois scholar-tyrants, and those bourgeois representatives who have sneaked into the Party and protect the bourgeois scholar-tyrants, are indeed big Party tyrants who have usurped the name of the Party, do not read books, do not read the daily press, have no contact with the masses, have no learning at all, and rely solely on "acting arbitrarily and trying to overwhelm people with their power."

8) For their own ulterior purposes, the authors of the outline demand a "rectification campaign" against the staunch Left in a deliberate effort to create confusion, blur class alignments and divert people from the target of struggle. Their main purpose in dishing up the outline in such a hurry was to attack the proletarian Left. They have gone out of their way to build up dossiers about the Left, tried to find all sorts of pretexts for attacking them, and intended to launch further attacks on them by means of a "rectification campaign," in the vain hope of disintegrating their ranks. They openly resist the policy explicitly put forward by Chairman Mao of protecting and supporting the Left and giving serious attention to building up and expanding their ranks. On the other hand, they have conferred on those

bourgeois representatives, revisionists and renegades who have sneaked into the Party the title of "staunch Left," and are shielding them. In these ways, they are trying to inflate the arrogance of the bourgeois Rightists and to dampen the spirits of the proletarian Left. They are filled with hatred for the proletariat and love for the bourgeoisie. Such is the bourgeois concept of brotherhood held by the authors of the outline.

9) At a time when the new and fierce struggle of the proletariat against the representatives of the bourgeoisie on the ideological front has only just begun, and in many spheres and places has not even started — or, if it has started, most Party committees concerned have a very poor understanding of the task of leadership in this great struggle and their leadership is far from conscientious and effective — the outline stresses again and again that the struggle must be conducted "under direction," "with prudence," "with caution," and "with the approval of the leading bodies concerned." All this serves to place restrictions on the proletarian Left, to impose taboos and commandments in order to tie their hands, and to place all sorts of obstacles in the way of the proletarian cultural revolution. In a word, the authors of the outline are rushing to apply the brakes and launch a counter-attack in revenge. As for the articles written by the proletarian Left refuting the reactionary bourgeois "authorities," they nurse bitter hatred against those already published and are suppressing those not yet published. But on the other hand, they give free rein to all the various ghosts and monsters who for many years have abounded in our press, radio, magazines, books, textbooks, platforms, works of literature, cinema, drama, ballads and stories, the fine arts, music, the dance, etc. and in doing so they never advocate proletarian leadership or stress any need for approval. The contrast here shows where the authors of the outline really stand.

10) The present struggle centres around the issue of implementation of or resistance to Comrade Mao Tse-tung's line on the cultural revolution. Yet the outline states: "Through this struggle, and under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought, we shall open up the way for the solution of this problem (that is, 'the thorough liquidation of bourgeois ideas in the realm of

academic work').” Comrade Mao Tse-tung opened up the way for the proletariat on the cultural and ideological front long ago, in his *On New Democracy, Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art, Letter to the Yen-an Peking Opera Theatre After Seeing the Performance of “Driven to Join the Liangshan Rebels,” On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People,* and *Speech at the Chinese Communist Party’s National Conference on Propaganda Work*. Yet the outline maintains that Mao Tse-tung’s thought has not yet opened up the way for us and that the way has to be opened up anew. Using the banner of “under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung’s thought” as cover, the outline actually attempts to open up a way opposed to Mao Tse-tung’s thought, that is the way of modern revisionism, the way for the restoration of capitalism.

In short, the outline opposes carrying the socialist revolution through to the end, opposes the line on the cultural revolution pursued by the Central Committee of the Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, attacks the proletarian Left and shields the bourgeois Right, thereby preparing public opinion for the restoration of capitalism. It is a reflection of bourgeois ideology in the Party; it is out-and-out revisionism. Far from being a minor issue, the struggle against this revisionist line is an issue of prime importance having a vital bearing on the destiny and future of our Party and state, on the future complexion of our Party and state, and on the world revolution.

Party committees at all levels must immediately stop carrying out the “Outline Report on the Current Academic Discussion Made by the Group of Five in Charge of the Cultural Revolution.” The whole Party must follow Comrade Mao Tse-tung’s instructions, hold high the great banner of the proletarian cultural revolution, thoroughly expose the reactionary bourgeois stand of those so-called “academic authorities” who oppose the Party and socialism, thoroughly criticize and repudiate the reactionary bourgeois ideas in the sphere of academic work, education, journalism, literature and art and publishing, and seize the leadership in these cultural spheres. To achieve this, it is necessary at the same time to criticize and repudiate those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, the government, the

army and all spheres of culture, to clear them out or transfer some of them to other positions. Above all, we must not entrust these people with the work of leading the cultural revolution. In fact many of them have done and are still doing such work, and this is extremely dangerous.

Those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, the government, the army and various cultural circles are a bunch of counter-revolutionary revisionists. Once conditions are ripe, they will seize political power and turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Some of them we have already seen through, others we have not. Some are still trusted by us and are being trained as our successors, persons like Khrushchev, for example, who are still nestling beside us. Party committees at all levels must pay full attention to this matter.

This circular is to be sent, together with the erroneous document issued by the Central Committee on February 12, 1966, down to the level of county Party committees, Party committees in the cultural organizations and Party committees at regimental level in the army. These committees are asked to discuss which of the two documents is wrong and which is correct, their understanding of these documents, and their achievements and mistakes.

* This document is often referred to as the "May 16 Circular", the first important document in the development of power struggle in CCP under the name of the great cultural revolution. It was issued on May 16, 1966, but was only published on May 17, 1967 in *People's Daily*. The English version is published in *Peking Review* Vol. 10, No. 21, May 19, 1967. According to "Collection of Documents of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Vol. 1", published by "Peking Chemical Engineering College Mao Tse-tung's Thought Propagandist" in May 1967, the serial number of this circular is "Chung-fa 267 (66)".

COMMENT OF THE CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE
ON THE TRANSMISSION OF
THE REPORT OF THE WORK GROUP
OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
CONCERNING THE PROBLEM OF
LO JUI-CH'ING'S MISTAKES*

To various bureaus of the Central Committee, Party committees of various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, various departmental committees of the Central Committee, Party leading members' groups and Party committees of various departments of state organs and people's organizations, and the General Political Department of the People's Liberation Army:

The April 13 report of the Work Group of the Central Committee concerning Lo Jui-ch'ing's mistakes and problems is now transmitted to you. The Central Committee is in agreement with this report.

The Central Committee holds that Lo Jui-ch'ing's mistake is one of using the bourgeois military line to oppose the proletarian military line, using revisionism to oppose Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought, opposing the Party Central Committee, Chairman Mao and Comrade Lin Piao, and the mistake of a bourgeois individual ambitionist in usurping leadership in the army and opposing the Party.

The Central Committee holds that this group meeting has been quite successful. It has implemented and carried out the policy of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient." The method of presenting facts and reasoning has been adopted to give Lo Jui-ch'ing a painstaking education and stern criticism and repudiation. Instead of making a self-examination of his own mistakes in real

earnest, Lo Jui-ch'ing tried to commit suicide by jumping from an upper floor on March 18 (sustaining injury), thus taking the road of cutting himself off from the Party and the people of his own accord.

In view of the extreme seriousness of Lo Jui-ch'ing's problems, the Central Committee has decided to suspend him as Secretary to the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee and Vice Premier of the State Council and the plenum of the Central Committee will be later asked to adopt a decision in this connection.

In order to educate the cadres, to learn lessons and to eliminate Lo Jui-ch'ing's erroneous influence, the Central Committee has decided to release the report of the Work Group of the Central Committee together with the comment of the Central Committee to the county committees and the Party committees at the regimental level. The four major speeches of Comrades Yeh Chien-ying, Hsieh Fu-chih, Hsiao Hua and Yang Ch'eng-wu appended to this report, the self-examination made by Lo Jui-ch'ing on March 12, and the April 24 report of Yeh Chien-ying, Hsiao Hua, Yang Ch'eng-wu and Liu Chih-chien to the Chairman and the Central Committee are released to the district committees and Party committees at the divisional level for verbal transmission to the Party-member cadres at the county and regimental level.

The Central Committee of the
Chinese Communist Party

May 16, 1966

* This document is included in the Collection of Documents of the Chemical Engineering College. Only the comment of the CCP Central Committee is published; the report of the Work Group and other relevant document were not.

DECISION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY CONCERNING THE GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION

(Adopted on August 8, 1966)

1

A New Stage in the Socialist Revolution

The great proletarian cultural revolution now unfolding is a great revolution that touches people to their very souls and constitutes a new stage in the development of the socialist revolution in our country, a deeper and more extensive stage.

At the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: To overthrow a political power, it is always necessary, first of all, to create public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the revolutionary class as well as for the counter-revolutionary class. This thesis of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's has been proved entirely correct in practice.

Although the bourgeoisie has been overthrown, it is still trying to use the old ideas, culture, customs and habits of the exploiting classes to corrupt the masses, capture their minds and endeavour to stage a come-back. The proletariat must do just the opposite: it must meet head-on every challenge of the bourgeoisie in the ideological field and use the new ideas, culture, customs and habits of the proletariat to change the mental outlook of the whole of society. At present, our objective is to struggle against and crush those persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road, to criticize and repudiate the reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities" and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and to transform

education, literature and art and all other parts of the superstructure that do not correspond to the socialist economic base, so as to facilitate the consolidation and development of the socialist system.

2

The Main Current and the Zigzags

The masses of the workers, peasants, soldiers, revolutionary intellectuals and revolutionary cadres form the main force in this great cultural revolution. Large numbers of revolutionary young people, previously unknown, have become courageous and daring pathbreakers. They are vigorous in action and intelligent. Through the media of big-character posters and great debates, they argue things out, expose and criticize thoroughly, and launch resolute attacks on the open and hidden representatives of the bourgeoisie. In such a great revolutionary movement, it is hardly avoidable that they should show shortcomings of one kind or another, but their main revolutionary orientation has been correct from the beginning. This is the main current in the great proletarian cultural revolution. It is the main direction along which the great proletarian cultural revolution continues to advance.

Since the cultural revolution is a revolution, it inevitably meets with resistance. This resistance comes chiefly from those in authority who have wormed their way into the Party and are taking the capitalist road. It also comes from the old force of habit in society. At present, this resistance is still fairly strong and stubborn. However, the great proletarian cultural revolution is, after all, an irresistible general trend. There is abundant evidence that such resistance will crumble fast once the masses become fully aroused.

Because the resistance is fairly strong, there will be reversals and even repeated reversals in this struggle. There is no harm in this. It tempers the proletariat and other working people, and especially the younger generation, teaches them lessons and gives them experience, and helps them to understand that the revolutionary road is a zigzag one, and not plain sailing.

Put Daring Above Everything Else And Boldly Arouse the Masses

The outcome of this great cultural revolution will be determined by whether the Party leadership does or does not dare boldly to arouse the masses.

Currently, there are four different situations with regard to the leadership being given to the movement of cultural revolution by Party organizations at various levels:

(1) There is the situation in which the persons in charge of Party organizations stand in the van of the movement and dare to arouse the masses boldly. They put daring above everything else, they are dauntless communist fighters and good pupils of Chairman Mao. They advocate the big-character posters and great debates. They encourage the masses to expose every kind of ghost and monster and also to criticize the shortcomings and errors in the work of the persons in charge. This correct kind of leadership is the result of putting proletarian politics in the forefront and Mao Tse-tung's thought in the lead.

(2) In many units, the persons in charge have a very poor understanding of the task of leadership in this great struggle, their leadership is far from being conscientious and effective, and they accordingly find themselves incompetent and in a weak position. They put fear above everything else, stick to out-moded ways and regulations, and are unwilling to break away from conventional practices and move ahead. They have been taken unawares by the new order of things, the revolutionary order of the masses, with the result that their leadership lags behind the situation, lags behind the masses.

(3) In some units, the persons in charge, who made mistakes of one kind or another in the past, are even more prone to put fear above everything else, being afraid that the masses will catch them out. Actually, if they make serious self-criticism and accept the criticism of the masses, the Party and the masses will make allowances for their mistakes. **But** if the persons in charge

don't, they will continue to make mistakes and become obstacles to the mass movement.

(4) Some units are controlled by those who have wormed their way into the Party and are taking the capitalist road. Such persons in authority are extremely afraid of being exposed by the masses and therefore seek every possible pretext to suppress the mass movement. They resort to such tactics as shifting the targets for attack and turning black into white in an attempt to lead the movement astray. When they find themselves very isolated and no longer able to carry on as before, they resort still more to intrigues, stabbing people in the back, spreading rumors, and blurring the distinction between revolution and counter-revolution as much as they can, all for the purpose of attacking the revolutionaries.

What the Central Committee of the Party demands of the Party committees at all levels is that they persevere in giving correct leadership, put daring above everything else, boldly arouse the masses, change the state of weakness and incompetence where it exists, encourage those comrades who have made mistakes but are willing to correct them to cast off their mental burdens and join in the struggle, and dismiss from their leading posts all those in authority who are taking the capitalist road and so make possible the recapture of the leadership for the proletarian revolutionaries.

4

Let the Masses Educate Themselves in the Movement

In the great proletarian cultural revolution, the only method is for the masses to liberate themselves, and any method of doing things on their behalf must not be used.

Trust the masses, rely on them and respect their initiative. Cast out fear. Don't be afraid of disorder. Chairman Mao has often told us that revolution cannot be so very refined, so gentle, so temperate, kind, courteous, restrained and magnanimous. Let the masses educate themselves in this great revolutionary move-

ment and learn to distinguish between right and wrong and between correct and incorrect ways of doing things.

Make the fullest use of big-character posters and great debates to argue matters out, so that the masses can clarify the correct views, criticize the wrong views and expose all the ghosts and monsters. In this way the masses will be able to raise their political consciousness in the course of the struggle, enhance their abilities and talents, distinguish right from wrong and draw a clear line between the enemy and ourselves.

5

Firmly Apply the Class Line Of the Party

Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of the first importance for the revolution and it is likewise a question of the first importance for the great cultural revolution.

Party leadership should be good at discovering the Left and developing and strengthening the ranks of the Left, and should firmly rely on the revolutionary Left. During the movement this is the only way to isolate thoroughly the most reactionary Rightists, win over the middle and unite with the great majority 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.

Concentrate all forces to strike at the handful of ultra-reactionary bourgeois Rightists and counter-revolutionary revisionists, and expose and criticize to the full their crimes against the Party, against socialism and against Mao Tse-tung's thought so as to isolate them to the maximum.

The main target of the present movement is those within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road.

Care should be taken to distinguish strictly between the anti-Party, anti-socialist Rightists and those who support the Party and socialism but have said or done something wrong or have written some bad articles or other works.

Care should be taken to distinguish strictly between the reactionary bourgeois scholar despots and "authorities" on the one hand and people who have the ordinary bourgeois academic ideas on the other.

6

Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People

A strict distinction must be made between the two different types of contradictions: those among the people and those between ourselves and the enemy. Contradictions among the people must not be made into contradictions between ourselves and the enemy; nor must contradictions between ourselves and the enemy be regarded as those among the people.

It is normal for the masses to hold different views. Contention between different views is unavoidable, necessary and beneficial. In the course of normal and full debate, the masses will affirm what is right, correct what is wrong and gradually reach unanimity.

The method to be used in debates is to present the facts, reason things out, and persuade through reasoning. Any method of forcing a minority holding different views to submit is impermissible. The minority should be protected, because sometimes the truth is with the minority. Even if the minority is wrong, they should still be allowed to argue their case and reserve their views.

When there is a debate, it should be conducted by reasoning, not by coercion or force.

In the course of debate, every revolutionary should be good at thinking things out for himself and should develop the communist spirit of daring to think, daring to speak and daring to act. On the premise that they have the same main orientation, revolutionary comrades should, for the sake of strengthening unity, avoid endless debate over side issues.

Be on Guard Against Those Who Brand the Revolutionary Masses As "Counter-Revolutionaries"

In certain schools, units, and work teams of the cultural revolution, some of the persons in charge have organized counter-attacks against the masses who put up big-character posters against them. These people have even advanced such slogans as: opposition to the leaders of a unit or a work team means opposition to the Party's Central Committee, means opposition to the Party and socialism, means counter-revolution. In this way it is inevitable that their blows will fall on some really revolutionary activists. This is an error on matters of orientation, an error of line, and is absolutely impermissible.

A number of persons who suffer from serious ideological errors, and particularly some of the anti-Party and anti-socialist Rightists, are taking advantage of certain shortcomings and mistakes in the mass movement to spread rumors and gossip, and engage in agitation, deliberately branding some of the masses as "counter-revolutionaries." It is necessary to beware of such "pick-pockets" and expose their tricks in good time.

In the course of the movement, with the exception of cases of active counter-revolutionaries where there is clear evidence of crimes such as murder, arson, poisoning, sabotage or theft of state secrets, which should be handled in accordance with the law, no measures should be taken against students at universities, colleges, middle schools and primary schools because of problems that arise in the movement. To prevent the struggle from being diverted from its main objective, it is not allowed, whatever the pretext, to incite the masses to struggle against each other or the students to do likewise. Even proven Rightists should be dealt with on the merits of each case at a later stage of the movement.

The Question of Cadres

The cadres fall roughly into the following four categories:

- (1) good;
- (2) comparatively good;
- (3) those who have made serious mistakes but have not become anti-Party, anti-socialist Rightists;
- (4) the small number of anti-Party, anti-socialist Rightists.

In ordinary situations, the first two categories (good and comparatively good) are the great majority.

The anti-Party, anti-socialist Rightists must be fully exposed, hit hard, pulled down and completely discredited and their influence eliminated. At the same time, they should be given a way out so that they can turn over a new leaf.

9

Cultural Revolutionary Groups, Committees and Congresses

Many new things have begun to emerge in the great proletarian cultural revolution. The cultural revolutionary groups, committees and other organizational forms created by the masses in many schools and units are something new and of great historic importance.

These cultural revolutionary groups, committees and congresses are excellent new forms of organization whereby under the leadership of the Communist Party the masses are educating themselves. They are an excellent bridge to keep our Party in close contact with the masses. They are organs of power of the proletarian cultural revolution.

The struggle of the proletariat against the old ideas, culture, customs and habits left over from all the exploiting classes over thousands of years will necessarily take a very, very long time. Therefore, the cultural revolutionary groups, committees and congresses should not be temporary organizations but permanent, standing mass organizations. They are suitable not only for colleges, schools and government and other organizations, but

generally also for factories, mines, other enterprises, urban districts and villages.

It is necessary to institute a system of general elections, like that of the Paris Commune, for electing members to the cultural revolutionary groups and committees and delegates to the cultural revolutionary congresses. The lists of candidates should be put forward by the revolutionary masses after full discussion, and the elections should be held after the masses have discussed the lists over and over again.

The masses are entitled at any time to criticize members of the cultural revolutionary groups and committees and delegates elected to the cultural revolutionary congresses. If these members or delegates prove incompetent, they can be replaced through election or recalled by the masses after discussion.

The cultural revolutionary groups, committees and congresses in colleges and schools should consist mainly of representatives of the revolutionary students. At the same time, they should have a certain number of representatives of the revolutionary teaching staff and workers.

10

Educational Reform

In the great proletarian cultural revolution a most important task is to transform the old educational system and the old principles and methods of teaching.

In this great cultural revolution, the phenomenon of our schools being dominated by bourgeois intellectuals must be completely changed.

In every kind of school we must apply thoroughly the policy advanced by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, of education serving proletarian politics and education being combined with productive labor, so as to enable those receiving an education to develop morally, intellectually and physically and to become laborers with socialist consciousness and culture.

The period of schooling should be shortened. Courses should be fewer and better. The teaching material should be thoroughly transformed, in some cases beginning with simplifying complicated material. While their main task is to study, students should also learn other things. That is to say, in addition to their studies they should also learn industrial work, farming and military affairs, and take part in the struggles of the cultural revolution as they occur to criticize the bourgeoisie.

11

The Question of Criticizing By Name in the Press

In the course of the mass movement of the cultural revolution, the criticism of bourgeois and feudal ideology should be well combined with the dissemination of the proletarian world outlook and of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Criticism should be organized of typical bourgeois representatives who have wormed their way into the Party and typical reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities," and this should include criticism of various kinds of reactionary views in philosophy, history, political economy and education, in works and theories of literature and art, in theories of natural science, and in other fields.

Criticism of anyone by name in the press should be decided after discussion by the Party committee at the same level, and in some cases submitted to the Party committee at a higher level for approval.

12

Policy Towards Scientists, Technicians and Ordinary Members Of Working Staffs

As regards scientists, technicians and ordinary members of working staffs, as long as they are patriotic, work energetically, are not against the Party and socialism, and maintain no illicit relations with any foreign country, we should in the present movement continue to apply the policy of "unity, criticism, unity."

Special care should be taken of those scientists and scientific and technical personnel who have made contributions. Efforts should be made to help them gradually transform their world outlook and their style of work.

13

The Question of Arrangements For Integration With the Socialist Education Movement in City And Countryside

The cultural and educational units and leading organs of the Party and government in the large and medium cities are the points of concentration of the present proletarian cultural revolution.

The great cultural revolution has enriched the socialist education movement in both city and countryside and raised it to a higher level. Efforts should be made to conduct these two movements in close combination. Arrangements to this effect may be made by various regions and departments in the light of the specific conditions.

The socialist education movement now going on in the countryside and in enterprises in the cities should not be upset where the original arrangements are appropriate and the movement is going well, but should continue in accordance with the original arrangements. However, the questions that are arising in the present great proletarian cultural revolution should be put to the masses for discussion at a proper time, so as to further foster vigorously proletarian ideology and eradicate bourgeois ideology.

In some places, the great proletarian cultural revolution is being used as the focus in order to add momentum to the socialist education movement and clean things up in the fields of politics, ideology, organization and economy. This may be done where the local Party committee thinks it appropriate.

Take Firm Hold of the Revolution And Stimulate Production

The aim of the great proletarian cultural revolution is to revolutionize people's ideology and as a consequence to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in all fields of work. If the masses are fully aroused and proper arrangements are made, it is possible to carry on both the cultural revolution and production without one hampering the other, while guaranteeing high quality in all our work.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is a powerful motive force for the development of the social productive forces in our country. Any idea of counterposing the great cultural revolution against the development of production is incorrect.

15

The Armed Forces

In the armed forces, the cultural revolution and the socialist education movement should be carried out in accordance with the instructions of the Military Commission of the Central Committee and the General Political Department of the People's Liberation Army.

16

Mao Tse-tung's Thought Is the Guide for Action in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

In the great proletarian cultural revolution, it is imperative to hold aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and put proletarian politics in command. The movement for the creative study and application of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's works should be carried forward among the masses of the workers, peasants and soldiers, the cadres and the intellectuals, and Mao Tse-tung's thought should be taken as the guide for action in the cultural revolution.

In this complex great cultural revolution, Party committees

at all levels must study and apply Chairman Mao's works all the more conscientiously and in a creative way. In particular, they must study over and over again Chairman Mao's writings on the cultural revolution and on the Party's methods of leadership, such as *On New Democracy*, *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*, *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, *Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work*, *Some Questions Concerning Methods of Leadership* and *Methods of Work of Party Committees*.

Party committees at all levels must abide by the directions given by Chairman Mao over the years, namely that they should thoroughly apply the mass line of "from the masses and to the masses" and that they should be pupils before they become teachers. They should try to avoid being one-sided or narrow. They should foster materialist dialectics and oppose metaphysics and scholasticism.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is bound to achieve brilliant victory under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

COMMUNIQUE OF THE ELEVENTH PLENARY
SESSION OF THE EIGHTH CENTRAL
COMMITTEE OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA*

(August 12, 1966)

The 11th plenary session of the 8th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China was held in Peking from August 1 to 12, 1966.

The 11th plenary session was presided over by Comrade Mao Tse-tung. Members and alternate members of the Central Committee attended. Also present were comrades from the regional bureaus of the Central Committee and from the provincial, municipal and autonomous region Party committees; members of the cultural revolution group of the Central Committee; comrades from the relevant departments of the Central Committee and the Government; and representatives of revolutionary teachers and students from institutions of higher learning in Peking.

The 11th plenary session after discussion adopts the "Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution."

The plenary session after discussion approves the important policy decisions and measures concerning domestic and international questions adopted by the political bureau of the Central Committee since the 10th plenary session of the 8th Central Committee in September, 1962.

Domestic

At the 10th plenary session of the 8th Central Committee, Comrade Mao Tse-tung made a correct analysis of the situation at that time and once again stressed the theory of contradictions,

classes and class struggle in socialist society. This is the guide for the socialist revolution and socialist construction in our country. Under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung and under the guidance of the Party's general line of going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism, the people of our country have in the past four years unfolded the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experimentation, and have won great victories. The people's communes have been further consolidated and developed. An invigorating revolutionary atmosphere prevails in the whole country and the situation is one of a new all-round leap forward emerging.

The national economy of our country is developing steadily and soundly. The policy of readjustment, consolidation, filling out and raising of standards advanced by the Party's Central Committee has already been successfully carried out. The third Five-Year Plan started this year. On the industrial front, not only have big increases been registered in the output and variety of products, but their quality has also greatly improved. On the agricultural front, there have been good harvests for four successive years. The market is thriving and prices are stable. The success of the three nuclear tests is a concentrated expression of the new level reached in the development of China's science, technology and industry.

During the past few years, an extensive socialist education movement has unfolded in the rural areas, the cities and the army. At present, a great proletarian cultural revolution unprecedented in history is mounting in our country. The mass movement in which workers, peasants, soldiers, revolutionary intellectuals and cadres creatively study and apply Comrade Mao Tse-tung's works has ushered in a new era of direct mastery and application of Marxism-Leninism by the laboring people.

The plenary session fully approves the May 20, 1963 "Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on Some Problems in Current Rural Work (Draft)." It fully approves the January 14, 1965 summary minutes of discussion at

the National Working Conference called by the political bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party: "Some current problems raised in the socialist education movement in the rural areas," that is, the Twenty-three-Article Document. Those two documents were drawn up under the personal leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung and have been the powerful ideological weapon for our people in carrying out the socialist revolution. We should continue to act in accordance with the two above-mentioned documents and, in combination with the great proletarian cultural revolution, carry through to the end in both rural and urban areas the "Four Clean-Ups" Movement, that is, the socialist education movement to clean up politics, ideology, organization and economy.

The plenary session fully approves the series of brilliant policies of decisive and fundamental importance put forward by Comrade Mao Tse-tung over the past four years. These policies consist mainly of the following:

On the question of applying the principle of democratic centralism and carrying forward and developing the revolutionary tradition of the mass line;

On the question of raising and training successors in the proletarian revolutionary cause;

On the call for industrial enterprises to learn from the Taching Oil Field, for agricultural units to learn from the Tachai Production Brigade, for the whole country to learn from the People's Liberation Army, and for strengthening political and ideological work;

On the strategic principle of preparedness against war, preparedness against natural calamities and everything for the people;

On the question of breaking down foreign conventions and following our own road of industrial development;

On the question of system and deployment in economic construction and national defense construction;

On the call for the whole Party to grasp military affairs and

for everybody to be a soldier;

On the question of planning and arrangements for the gradual mechanization of agriculture; and

On the call for the People's Liberation Army and all factories, villages, schools, commercial departments, service trades and Party and Government organizations to become great schools of revolution.

The plenary session stresses that the series of directives by Comrade Mao Tse-tung concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution are the guide for action in the present cultural revolution of our country; they constitute an important development of Marxism-Leninism.

The plenary session holds that the key to the success of this great cultural revolution is to have faith in the masses, rely on them, boldly arouse them and respect their initiative. It is therefore imperative to persevere in the line of "from the masses and to the masses." Be pupils of the masses before becoming their teachers. Dare to make revolution and be good at making revolution. Don't be afraid of disorder. Oppose the taking of the bourgeois stand, the shielding of Rightists, the attacking of the Left and repression of the great proletarian cultural revolution. Oppose the creation of a lot of restrictions to tie the hands of the masses. Don't be overlords or stand above the masses, blindly ordering them about.

Give enthusiastic support to the revolutionary Left, take care to strive to unite with all those who can be united and concentrate our forces to strike at the handful of anti-Party, anti-socialist bourgeois Rightists.

The plenary session holds that the series of questions advanced by Comrade Mao Tse-tung over the past four years concerning socialist revolution and socialist construction have greatly accelerated the development and success of the socialist cause in our country. These questions are of most profound and far-reaching significance for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system in our country, for preventing

revisionist usurpation of the Party and State leadership, for preventing the restoration of capitalism, for insuring that our country adheres to proletarian internationalism and actively supports the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of the world and for insuring our country's gradual transition to communism in the future.

International

The 11th plenary session of the 8th Central Committee holds that the present situation as regards the struggle of Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people throughout the world against imperialism, reaction and modern revisionism is excellent. We are now in a new era of world revolution. All political forces are undergoing a process of great upheaval, great division and great reorganization. The revolutionary movement of the people in all countries, and particularly in Asia, Africa and Latin America, is surging vigorously forward. Despite the inevitable zigzags and reversals in the development of the international situation, the general trend of imperialism heading for total collapse and socialism advancing to world-wide victory is unalterable. US imperialism and its lackeys in various countries cannot avert their doom by brutally suppressing and wildly attacking the masses of the revolutionary people, or by bribing and deceiving them, on the contrary, this only serves to give further impetus to the revolutionary awakening of all peoples. The activities of US imperialism and its stooges in various countries against the people and against revolution are giving impetus to the revolutionary activities of all peoples. US imperialism and its stooges in various countries appear to be powerful but are actually very weak. Taking the long view, they are all paper tigers.

The new leading group of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has inherited Khrushchev's mantle and is practicing Khrushchev revisionism without Khrushchev. Their line is one of safeguarding imperialist and colonialist domination in the capitalist world and restoring capitalism in the socialist world. The leading group of the CPSU has betrayed Marxism-Leninism, betrayed the great Lenin, betrayed the road of the great October Revolution, betrayed proletarian internationalism, betrayed the revolutionary cause of the international proletariat and of the oppressed

peoples and oppressed nations, and betrayed the interests of the great Soviet people and the people of the socialist countries. They revile the Communist Party of China as being "dogmatic," "sectarian" and "Left adventurist." In fact, what they are attacking is Marxism-Leninism itself. They are uniting with US-led imperialism and the reactionaries of various countries and forming a new holy alliance against communism, the people, revolution and China. But this counter-revolutionary holy alliance is doomed to bankruptcy and is already in the process of disintegration.

The plenary session holds that our Party's comprehensive public criticisms of Khrushchev revisionism over the last few years have been entirely correct and necessary. The "proposal concerning the general line of the international communist movement" advanced by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on June 14, 1963 is a programmatic document. This document drawn up under the personal leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung and the nine comments by the editorial departments of the *People's Daily* and the *Red Flag* on the open letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU, the article "A Comment on the March Moscow Meeting," Comrade Lin Piao's "Long Live the Victory of People's War," etc., give scientific Marxist-Leninist analyses of a series of important questions concerning the world revolution of our time and are powerful ideological weapons against imperialism and modern revisionism.

The plenary session maintains that to oppose imperialism, it is imperative to oppose modern revisionism. There is no middle road whatsoever in the struggle between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism. A clear line of demarcation must be drawn in dealing with the modern revisionist groups with the leadership of the CPSU as the center, and it is imperative resolutely to expose their true features as scabs. It is impossible to have "united action" with them.

The plenary session points out that proletarian internationalism is the supreme principle guiding China's foreign policy. The session warmly supports the just struggle of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples against imperialism headed by the United States and its stooges and also supports the revolutionary

struggles of the people of all countries.

The plenary session most strongly condemns US imperialism for its crime of widening its war of aggression against Vietnam. The session most warmly and most resolutely supports the "Appeal to the People of the Whole Country" issued by Comrade Ho Chi Minh, president of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and firmly supports the Vietnamese people in fighting to the end until final victory is achieved in their war against US aggression and for national salvation. The plenary session fully agrees to all the measures already taken and all actions to be taken as decided upon by the Central Committee of the Party and the Government in consultation with the Vietnamese side concerning aid to Vietnam for resisting US aggression.

The plenary session severely denounces the Soviet revisionist leading group for its counter-revolutionary two-faced policy of sham support but real betrayal on the question of Vietnam's resistance to US aggression.

The plenary session holds that US imperialism is the most ferocious common enemy of the peoples of the whole world. In order to isolate US imperialism to the maximum and deal blows to it, the broadest possible international united front must be established against US imperialism and its lackeys. The Soviet revisionist leading group is pursuing a policy of Soviet-US collaboration for world domination and has been conducting splittist, disruptive and subversive activities within the international communist movement and the national liberation movement in the active service of US imperialism. They cannot of course be included in this united front.

We must unite with all the people in the world who are against imperialism and colonialism, and carry the struggle against US imperialism and its lackeys through to the end.

Together with all the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists of the world, we must carry the struggle against modern revisionism through to the end and push forward the revolutionary cause of the international proletariat and the people of the world.

Hold High the Great Red Banner of Mao Tse-tung's Thought

The 11th plenary session of the 8th Central Committee emphasizes that the intensive study of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's works by the whole Party and the whole nation is an important event of historic significance. Comrade Mao Tse-tung is the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism with genius, creatively and in an all-round way, and has raised Marxism-Leninism to a new stage. Mao Tse-tung's thought is Marxism-Leninism of the era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to world-wide victory. It is the guiding principle for all the work of our Party and country. The plenary session holds that Comrade Lin Piao's call on the People's Liberation Army to launch a mass movement in the army to study Comrade Mao Tse-tung's works has set a brilliant example for the whole Party and the whole nation. The most reliable and fundamental guarantee against revisionism and the restoration of capitalism and for victory of our socialist and communist cause is to arm the masses of workers, peasants, soldiers, revolutionary intellectuals and cadres with Mao Tse-tung's thought and to promote the revolutionizing of people's ideology. The method of studying Comrade Mao Tse-tung's works with problems in mind, studying and applying his works in a creative way, combining study with practice, studying first what is urgently needed so as to get quick results, and of making great efforts in applying what one studies has proved effective and universally suitable and should be further popularized throughout the Party and the country.

The Communist Party of China is a great, glorious and correct party. Founded and fostered by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, ours is a party armed with Marxism-Leninism, with Mao Tse-tung's thought. Our Party is a proletarian vanguard that integrates theory with practice, forges close links with the masses of the people and has the spirit of earnest self-criticism. It is a proletarian revolutionary party which has gone through the most fierce, the most arduous, the longest and the most complex struggles in history. Our people is a great people. Our country is a great country. Our army is a great army. We firmly believe

that under the leadership of our great leader, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, and the Communist Party of China, the army-men and civilians of the whole country, relying on their own efforts and working vigorously, will surely be able to surmount all difficulties and obstacles and fulfill the mission given by history, and will surely not disappoint the expectations of the revolutionary people of the world.

The 11th plenary session of the 8th Central Committee calls on all the workers, people's commune members, commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army, revolutionary cadres, revolutionary intellectuals, revolutionary teachers and students and scientific and technical personnel of the country to raise still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, unite with all those who can be united, surmount the resistance coming from various directions, from the counter-revolutionary revisionists and the "Left" and Right opportunists, overcome difficulties, shortcomings and mistakes, cleanse the dark spots in the Party and society, carry the great proletarian cultural revolution to the end, carry the socialist revolution to the end, and strive to fulfill the third Five-Year Plan and build China into a powerful socialist country.

We must be fired with great, lofty proletarian aspirations and dare to break paths unexplored by people before and scale unclimbed heights. We must do a good job of building socialist China, which has a quarter of the world's population, and make it an impregnable state of the proletariat that will never change its color. We must liberate Taiwan. We must heighten our vigilance a hundredfold and guard against surprise attacks from US imperialism and its accomplices. Should they dare to impose war on us, the 700 million Chinese people under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung and the Communist Party of China will certainly break the backs of the aggressors and wipe them out resolutely, thoroughly, totally, and completely.

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REGULATIONS OF THE CCP CENTRAL
COMMITTEE AND THE STATE COUNCIL
CONCERNING THE PROTECTION
OF THE SECURITY OF PARTY
AND STATE SECRETS
DURING THE GREAT CULTURAL
REVOLUTION MOVEMENT

(September 8, 1966)

1. Codes, telegrams, secret documents, files and secret materials are all crucial secrets of the Party and the State; and their protection is the responsibility of all cadres, revolutionary masses and revolutionary teachers and students. The Red Guards, as the reserves of the People's Liberation Army, should cooperate with the Party and government organizations and with the Liberation Army in shouldering the glorious responsibility of protecting the Party and State secrets.

2. No one may demand or touch the codes, files and secret materials of the Party and government organizations without the approval of responsible members of leading organs. No one may stop and search confidential couriers.

3. No one may force his way into offices or storerooms of departments of secrets, files and secret materials. If such conduct should occur with masses, principal responsible comrades should step out and give them resolute remonstrance, calling upon the revolutionary masses to rise up and protect Party and State secrets against the sabotage of bad elements. If individual bad elements are discovered in such sabotage, they should be exposed in the masses and then dealt with according to law.

The CCP Central Committee
The State Council

September 8, 1966

(To be posted in offices, factories and schools.)

FOUR-POINT DECISION TRANSMITTED BY
THE CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE
ON SEPTEMBER 11

The Chairman's directive has pinpointed the key factor in the emergence of tense situations in the current movement in various places of the whole country. It is definitely wrong to be afraid of the students, and to mobilize workers and peasants to fight against students. All central bureaus, all provincial, municipal and autonomous region Party committees, and all central departmental Party committees shall act immediately on the basis of the Chairman's directive, carry on a summary of the previous stage of the great cultural revolution, examine and absorb the lessons, and improve their leadership. Therefore, the central authorities decide:

1. It is not allowed to use any pretext and any means to agitate and organize workers, peasants and city-residents against students.

2. At all places where there have been cases of agitating and organizing workers, peasants and city-residents against students, there must be public admission of the mistakes and acceptance of the responsibility, in order to smooth out the troubles between workers, peasants and city-residents on the one hand and students on the other; it is absolutely not allowed to place the responsibility upon the masses.

3. Workers, peasants and city-residents are to be admonished that they should not interfere with students' movement, that they should trust the great majority of students are revolutionary and capable of educating themselves, that disapproval of students' speeches should be reported to superior organizations, and should

not be argued out directly with students, and that there should not be conflicts with students.

4. Responsible members of Party committees of all levels should not be afraid of students, of workers, of peasants, or of masses, and should stand amidst the students without pretension to hold consultations with them on various problems. With persistence in taking the mass line, persistence in upholding the Party's policies and principles, and persistence in upholding the Sixteen Articles, there is no problem that cannot be solved. In Peking, some comrades have done so, and the effect is very good.

The CCP Central Committee

September 11, 1966

Appendix:

CHAIRMAN MAO'S "SEPTEMBER 7" DIRECTIVE

Comrades Lin Piao, En-lai, Tao Chu, Po-ta, Jen-chung, Chiang Ch'ing:

Please read this document. The situation is similar in Tsingtao, Sian, Changsha, etc., with workers and peasants being organized against students. To go on like this cannot solve problems. It seems the central authorities should issue a directive to forbid such happenings, and then write an editorial to admonish workers and peasants against their interference in students' movement. In Peking there has not been such mobilization of workers and peasants against students — except perhaps the case where the People's University mobilized six hundred peasants to come into the city to protect Kuo Ying-chiu. The experience of Peking should be cited as example for other places.

REGULATIONS OF THE CCP
CENTRAL COMMITTEE CONCERNING
THE GREAT CULTURAL REVOLUTION IN
THE COUNTRYSIDE BELOW
THE COUNTY LEVEL

(September 14, 1966)

1. The great cultural revolution at the levels below county is to be carried on in association with the original "Four Clean-Ups" arrangements; and the revolutionary masses and vast cadres of the units themselves are to be relied upon for making good the revolution. Students and Red Guards from Peking and other places, unless otherwise instructed by provincial and regional Party committees, are not to go for transcommunication in the Party and government organizations, communes and brigades below the county level, and not to participate in debates at the various levels below county. Cadres and commune members below the county level are not to go out for transcommunication either.

2. During the busy season of autumn harvest, concentrated efforts should be made for the success of autumn harvest, autumn planting and autumn purchase; and the "Four Clean-Ups" Movement may be stopped temporarily. The revolutionary teachers and students and Red Guards in the urban schools should also be mobilized and sent to the countryside, for organized labor in assistance to the autumn harvest.

3. The movement of abolishing the "Four Olds" and fostering the "Four News" in the rural country should be carried out in a specially arranged period of time when there is leisure in farming. This should also be carried on with reliance on the strength of the poor, lower-middle peasants and revolutionary masses of each county itself, though the provincial and regional Party committees may, when necessary, organize in a planned

way some school Red Guards and revolutionary teachers and students to go into the countryside to help in propaganda and taking actions.

4. Cadres at all levels below county should expose their mistakes, criticize their mistakes and correct their mistakes, under the assistance of the local revolutionary masses and the cadres of their own units. For those cadres whose problems are particularly serious so that they cannot continue to assume work, reports should be made to the superior Party organization, and the superior Party committee is to decide on their transfer or dismissal. For those who are active counter-revolutionaries, the law should be enforced in their cases. Cadres appointed by superior Party committees or government organizations should in no case be "discharged from office" directly by the masses.

5. Certain leading organs at levels below county that have been paralysed should be restored and strengthened in their leading authority through rapid readjustment of cadres; and the various aspects of the work at the county level should be taken firm hold of as a whole. Education for cadres at all levels must be strengthened; politics must be put in the forefront; Chairman Mao's works must be seriously studied; alertness must be raised; and the leadership must be improved. One should be brave in shouldering responsibility in work and firm in applying on the various policies of the Party in the countryside.

The CCP Central Committee

September 14, 1966

(To be posted in offices, schools and villages.)

CIRCULAR OF THE CCP CENTRAL
COMMITTEE ON THE QUESTION
OF WAGES FOR THE OBJECTS OF
CRITICISM AND STRUGGLE

(September 18, 1966)

To the Kirin Provincial Committee, the Northeast Bureau, and
all bureaus of the Central Committee:

The September 16 telegram of the Kirin Provincial Committee has been noted. Concerning our view to the dealing of wages for objects of criticism and struggle, even in the cases of those whose character has been fixed, there is also to be no change for the time being. A person may claim less wages or donate part of his wages to the Party fund on a voluntary basis. There must be no coercion in this connection. Nor is it permissible to cause illness by reduction of wages. Personal belongings, except those of a political character, are in general not to be confiscated. Where the nature of a case has not yet been determined, a person is still entitled to receiving his old wages.

DIRECTIVE OF THE CCP CENTRAL
COMMITTEE CONCERNING
THE SERIOUS STUDY, DISCUSSION,
COMPREHENSION AND APPLICATION OF
COMRADE LIN PIAO'S SPEECH
BY THE WHOLE PARTY
AND THE WHOLE ARMY

Comrade Lin Piao's speech at the enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee is a most important Marxist-Leninist document. In accordance with Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory concerning class and class struggle in the socialist period, the grave facts of the struggle in line within the Party, and the historical lesson of the international proletarian dictatorship — especially the lesson marked by the usurpation of leadership in the Soviet government and army by the Khrushchev revisionist clique of the Soviet Union, Comrade Lin Piao has made a systematic and incisive elucidation on the question of how to consolidate the proletarian dictatorship and how to guard against counterrevolutionary coup and counterrevolutionary subversion.

Comrade Lin Piao has sharply pointed out that after the seizure of political power by the proletariat, there is still the possibility for it to lose political power. He points out that of all things we must never forget political power. Forgetting political power means forgetting the basic viewpoint of Marxism-Leninism. Anyone so muddle-headed knows not how he has lost his head.

Comrade Lin Piao raises the red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought higher and better. In this speech, he has made an all-round, correct and scientific appraisal of the thought of Mao Tse-tung. He points out that the whole Party and the people of the whole country must unite with Mao Tse-tung and the thought of Mao Tse-tung as the center. He calls for the launching of the mass movement for the living study and application of

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's works among the people of the whole country. He points out that this is the key issue most fundamental to guarding against revisionism, avoiding capitalist restoration, and strengthening and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Comrade Lin Piao says: Chairman Mao is the supreme leader of our Party. The thought of Mao Tse-tung is forever the universal truth. Let the whole Party exterminate those who oppose Chairman Mao and the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

This speech of Comrade Lin Piao's sets the example in the living study and application of Mao Tse-tung's thought and is an important document for guiding the great proletarian cultural revolution. The whole Party and the whole army should seriously study, discuss, comprehend and apply it in the cultural revolution and in every action.

The Central Committee

September 22, 1966

URGENT DIRECTIVE OF THE
MILITARY COMMISSION AND THE
GENERAL POLITICAL DEPARTMENT
CONCERNING THE GREAT PROLETARIAN
CULTURAL REVOLUTION IN THE
MILITARY ACADEMIES AND SCHOOLS

(October 5, 1966)

To the Party committees and political departments of all military regions, all services, all commands of the army, all academies and schools, the General Staff and the General Supply Department:

From the very beginning, the academies and schools have been one of the focal points of the great proletarian cultural revolution in the army; and generally speaking the situation is good. However, certain leading organs and the leaders of certain academies and schools have over-stressed the special character of army academies and schools, so that even now there is still the phenomenon of suppressing democracy, not allowing the trans-communication among classes, departments and schools, causing the listlessness of the movement, or even inciting students to struggle against students, dealing blows on the Left, thus seriously violating the "Decision Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" of the Party's Central Committee, i.e. the Sixteen-Point Decision. Therefore, based on the recommendation of Comrade Lin Biao, the great cultural revolution movement in army academies and schools must do away with all the bonds that have shackled the mass movement, and must be treated entirely according to the regulations of the Sixteen-Point Decision, just like the local colleges and schools; and there must be full development of democracy, with great blooming, great contending, big-character posters, and great debates; and the army academies and schools should make themselves into good examples in this respect. In the movement, it is not allowed to incite students to struggle against each other; attention must be given to the pro-

tection of the minority; those comrades who were branded as "counter-revolutionaries", "anti-Party elements", "Rightists", and "fake-Leftist, real Rightists" by the Party committees and work teams in the academies and schools during the initial stage of the movement must be restored in reputation in public, while the previous verdicts must be declared invalid. The examination-materials which the individuals were forced to put into writing should all be returned to the individuals for their own disposal; materials concerning them prepared by the Party committees, work teams and other persons should be dealt with in consultation with the masses; with the approval of the masses and the rectified persons, these may be destroyed in public. There must be full trust in the masses, not fear of the masses. Daring must be put above everything else, and there must be faith that the great majority of the students and teachers of the academies and schools are revolutionary, good, obedient to the words of Chairman Mao, obedient to the words of the Party, and always correct in their general orientation of revolution. It must also be recognized that among the leading members and teachers of the army academies and schools, there is indeed a small handful of anti-Party, anti-socialist bad elements, who must be dragged out on the force of the east wind of the great cultural revolution, and be thoroughly struggled against and thoroughly repudiated. Meantime, examinations must be made on the basis of firm grasp of the three criteria set by Vice Chairman Lin to leading cadres, i.e. whether one raises aloft the red flag of Mao Tse-tung's thought, whether one supports Chairman Mao, and whether one puts politics in the forefront and has revolutionary fervor. Furthermore, it should be noticed that we need only peaceful struggle, not armed struggle.

Some special provisions concerning the great cultural revolution made by the Military Commission and General Political Department in the past, such as the Regulations Concerning the Transfer of the Leadership of the Great Cultural Revolution in Military Academies and Schools to the Party Committees of the Academies and Schools After the Withdrawal of Work Teams, the Regulations Concerning the Ways of Commanding the Cadet Corps to Develop the Great Cultural Revolution Being the Same as with the Armed Forces, and the Regulations Concerning the Confinement of Transcommunication Within the Scope of the

Academies and Schools of the Various Services and Various Species of the Army and Not with Local Schools Outside the Scope of the Academies and Schools of the Various Services and Various Species of the Army — such individual regulations are no longer suited to the present conditions and should be cancelled. From now on, academies and schools should, in accordance with the provisions of the Sixteen-Point Decision, elect cultural revolution groups, cultural revolution committees and cultural revolution congresses as organs of power. In order to accomplish the glorious task of struggle-criticism-transformation, the establishment of revolutionary ties and the making of investigations should be permitted. However, there must be no interference with, or intervention in, the local cultural revolution.

This directive should be read in full to all students, teachers and staff members at once and resolutely implemented.

The Military Commission,
The General Political Department

October 5, 1966

Appendix:

COMMENT OF THE CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE

To all regional bureaus of the Central Committee, all provincial, municipal and autonomous region Party committees, all Party committees and leading Party members' groups in government departments, all leading Party members' groups of people's organizations, and the General Political Department of Liberation Army:

The Central Committee is in complete agreement with the urgent directive of the Military Commission and the General Political Department on the great proletarian cultural revolution in military academies and schools.

The Central Committee is of the view that this document is very important, and is applicable to all universities and middle schools above the county level throughout the country. It should likewise be read in full at once to all students, teachers and staff members, and be firmly implemented and carried out.

The CCP Central Committee

October 5, 1966

DIRECTIVE OF THE CENTRAL MILITARY COMMISSION

Whenever erroneous words and deeds that run counter to Mao Tse-tung's thought and the general and specific policies of the Military Commission of the Central Committee are encountered — irrespective of who the persons involved are and what posts they are holding, irrespective of at what time and in what place, and irrespective of whether the persons involved are directly led by you or not — all comrades must dare to struggle and consciously defend the thought of Mao Tse-tung and the general and specific policies of the Central Committee and the Military Commission. This is an important criterion for testing the Party spirit and revolutionary style, for gauging the success in studying and the effort expended in “applying” Chairman Mao's works. Consciously, actively and bravely defending the thought of Mao Tse-tung and the general and specific policies of the Party Central Committee and the Military Commission is the highest duty of the Party committees and political organs at all levels, and any failure in this respect is the greatest neglect of duty.

Transmitted on

October 5, 1966

A LETTER (OF THE GENERAL OFFICE
OF THE CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE
AND THE SECRETARIAT OF
THE STATE COUNCIL) CONCERNING
THE GOOD WORK FOR
THE COMING OF RED GUARD FIGHTERS
FROM OTHER PLACES TO PEKING
AND THE DEPARTURE OF
THE REVOLUTIONARY TEACHERS
AND STUDENTS FROM PEKING

Red Guard fighters and revolutionary teachers and students coming to Peking from various places throughout the country!

Red Guard fighters and revolutionary teachers and students of Peking municipality!

Commanders, fighters and political personnel of the PLA!

Comrades of various reception units and railway departments!

Our great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander, great helmsman Chairman Mao, together with his close comrade-in-arms Comrade Lin Piao and other leading comrades of the Central Committee have successively received on November 10 and 11 more than two million Red Guard fighters and revolutionary teachers and students who have come from various places to Peking. This is the greatest solicitude, the greatest support and the greatest encouragement for us, and is also our greatest happiness. Red Guard fighters and revolutionary teachers and students from various places now in Peking, it is hoped that you will return to your own places as soon as possible bringing with you Chairman Mao's solicitude and support and the experience gained in the establishment of revolutionary ties. According to our greatest leader Chairman Mao's instruction, you must pay attention to state affairs and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

Red Guard fighters and revolutionary teachers and students

of Peking, it is hoped that you will do a good job in helping fellow students from other places register for train tickets, help them board the train, and give a warm sendoff to the comrades-in-arms who are going back to their battlefield in the great cultural revolution.

Political personnel and commander and fighters of the PLA, by holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, living together with the Red Guard fighters and revolutionary teachers and students from other places, propagating day and night Mao Tse-tung's thought and energetically carrying out political mobilization and organizational work, you have fulfilled prominently the glorious task of enabling our greatest leader Chairman Mao to receive the Red Guard fighters and revolutionary teachers and students who have come to Peking from various places throughout the country. We now especially extend you the greetings of the great cultural revolution. The commanders and fighters and the majority of the political personnel of the PLA may now return to their respective units according to schedule, and it is hoped that the PLA political personnel left behind will go on to do a good job in making arrangements for the two million revolutionary teachers and students from other places to depart from Peking.

Various reception units, it is hoped that you will make a success of mobilization work, arrange for the smooth departure of revolutionary teachers and students of other places from Peking, and go on to do a good job in the reception of revolutionary teachers and students coming to Peking. Railway departments, it is hoped that you will organize some more wagons, keep good order, and take the revolutionary teachers and students home by turns as soon as possible.

Let us shout at the top of our voice:

Long live the great proletarian cultural revolution!

Long live the great proletarian dictatorship!

Long live the great Chinese Communist Party!

Long live the great invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung!

Long live and a long, long life to our great leader Chairman Mao!

The General Office of the
CCP Central Committee
The Secretariat of the State
Council

November 12, 1966

SUPPLEMENTARY REGULATIONS OF
THE CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE
CONCERNING THE QUESTION OF
HANDLING ARCHIVE MATERIAL
IN THE GREAT
PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION

(November 16, 1966)

The urgent instructions of the Military Commission and the General Political Department, concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution in military colleges and schools as approved for transmission by the Central Committee on October 5, have played an important role in implementing and carrying out Chairman Mao's correct line and impelling the great proletarian cultural revolution.

According to the latest conditions of various places, the Central Committee is of the view that all archive materials compiled by various schools and units for purging the masses in the cultural revolution should be declared null and void, and all of them should be handed out and burned in public. This is done in order to have the struggle between the two lines better and more centrally carried out, lay hold of right and wrong on issues of major importance, thoroughly criticize and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line ideologically and politically, promote the revolutionary unity of the broad masses, and guard against entanglement and mutual antagonism on side issues.

On the question of handling archive material in the great cultural revolution, the Central Committee's supplementary provisions are as follows:

(1) The former work groups, school Party committees or other relevant organizations are enjoined to bring together all kinds of material compiled after May 16 for purging students and the masses, including those which have been put in order

and those which have not been sorted, but not counting those which have really been burned and destroyed prior to the announcement of this document. None of such material may be concealed, transferred, copied or dealt with privately. Otherwise the units concerned will aggravate their mistakes and will be severely punished by the Party.

(2) With the exception of material in the form of self-examination which an individual has been forced to write and should be returned to the individual concerned for disposal, all other kinds of material in the possession of these units, after they have been brought together and checked, should be burned in public under the supervision of leading organs at a higher level and the student representatives of their own schools.

(3) The above provisions are entirely applicable to industrial and mining enterprises, business units, Party and government organs, mass bodies and other organizations, and are also entirely applicable to leading organs, colleges and schools carrying out the great cultural revolution. In the case of those revolutionary masses of these units who have been branded as "counter-revolutionaries", "anti-Party elements", "Rightists", "phoney Leftists but genuine Rightists" because of the views they expressed to the leadership or the work groups, all such brandings should be declared null and void, and those so branded should be rehabilitated in public and the material in question should be dealt with according to the above provisions.

(4) In the process of dealing with the question of material, should disputes arise between various quarters, the spirit of the Sixteen-Point Decision should be strictly adhered to and the method of consultation should be adopted to settle such disputes in accordance with the above provisions. Only struggle through reasoning is permitted, but not struggle by force.

When dealing with the leading comrades who have made mistakes in line in the cultural revolution movement, we should in general take the initiative to follow Chairman Mao's policy concerning the correct handling of contradictions among the people. We must understand clearly their way of thinking as

well as unite these comrades. In order to enable them to rectify their mistakes and carry on work, we must not launch a succession of struggles against them over a long period of time. We must not retrain these comrades with reluctance, nor must we restrict their freedom of action. The leading comrades who have made mistakes should sincerely and humbly make a self-examination of themselves on their own initiative and must not stand opposed to the masses.

This document should be read at once among the masses in all schools and units.

CIRCULAR OF THE CCP CENTRAL
COMMITTEE AND THE STATE COUNCIL
CONCERNING THE QUESTION
OF REVOLUTIONARY TEACHERS
AND STUDENTS EXCHANGING
REVOLUTIONARY EXPERIENCE

All regional bureaus of the Central Committee, all provincial, municipal and autonomous region Party committees and people's councils, central ministries and commissions, Party committees and Party groups for ministries and commissions of state organs, Party groups for people's organizations, and PLA General Political Department:

Since our great leader Chairman Mao received the revolutionary teachers and students and Red Guards in Peking and from other localities at T'ien-an-men on August 18, a high tide in exchanging revolutionary experiences by revolutionary teachers and students has been whipped up throughout the country. Nearly 9 million revolutionary teachers and students and Red Guard fighters are expected to arrive in the Capital from other localities by November 20. In the short span of less than three months our most respected and beloved leader Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arm Comrade Lin Piao as well as other leading comrades of the Center have held seven grand meetings for receiving revolutionary teachers and students and Red Guard fighters.

In order to develop the great proletarian cultural revolution in greater depth in our country, it is necessary to extend to the summer vacation next year the period in which the institutes of higher learning, army academies and schools and intermediate schools take a vacation and make revolution. It has therefore been decided that as from November 21 this year and until the warm days of next spring, all the revolutionary teachers and

students and Red Guard fighters of institutes of higher learning, army academies and schools and intermediate schools shall stop coming to Peking and other localities by train, ship, and bus for exchanging revolutionary experiences. Those revolutionary teachers and students who are waiting for train and ship along the water and land communication lines may be persuaded to go back to their places. Beginning from April next year there will be sufficient time in which those university and middle school students who should come but have not come to Peking for exchanging revolutionary experience will have the opportunity to make a free trip to Peking by train, ship and bus to see our most respected and beloved leader Chairman Mao and to conduct studies and exchange revolutionary experiences.

This year is the first year of our third Five-Year Plan. In order to fulfill and overfulfill this year's national economic plan and realize next year's national economic plan better, it is necessary to concentrate all the transport facilities to speed up transportation of supplies this winter and the next spring. At the same time, in order to provide the revolutionary teachers and students with free transportation in more satisfactory and planned ways during the warm days of next spring when they come to exchange revolutionary experiences, it is also necessary to sum up the transportation work for the previous stage and to carry out the necessary overhaul of the passenger cars and ships that have been over-used at the previous stage. Therefore, it has been decided that as from November 21 the water and land transport services will be responsible only for free transportation to their localities of the revolutionary teachers and students who have come to Peking or other localities for exchanging revolutionary experiences and for free transportation to Peking of the revolutionary teachers and students who have gone to various localities from Peking. They must board trains and ships on the strength of free passes and return direct to their localities without making a stopover.

Comrade Lin Piao told us on November 3 when receiving the revolutionary teachers and students coming to Peking from various parts of the country: "Chairman Mao supports the comrades who go on foot to exchange revolutionary experiences. . . To be sure, going on foot to exchange revolutionary experiences

must be done in a planned and organized manner and with preparation." In order to translate Comrade Lin Piao's call into reality, the provinces concerned may organize revolutionary teachers and students of universities and middle schools in their provinces and administrative districts this winter to experiment in going on foot to exchange revolutionary experiences; the State Council, Central Committee Bureaus and various provinces, municipalities and district will proceed with keypoint experiments in organized ways throughout the country and in various regions in order to acquire experiences and make preparation for going on foot to exchange revolutionary experiences next year. To the small number of revolutionary teachers and students (numbering from several to scores of persons) who are going on foot to exchange revolutionary experiences, the Center and Party and State organs in various localities should on their own initiative give the necessary facilities. A group exceeding one hundred persons who want to go on foot to exchange revolutionary experiences must approach the Party and State organs concerned beforehand and make the trip in planned ways lest they should experience difficulties in obtaining food and accommodation and in other things on their way. Matters to be given attention in connection with the question of going on foot to exchange revolutionary experiences will be separately notified.

This circular may be read out among the revolutionary teachers and students of universities and middle schools and put up in organs and schools, and at railway stations and wharves.

The CCP Central Committee
The State Council

November 16, 1966

TWELVE-POINT DIRECTIVE OF
THE CENTRAL CULTURAL
REVOLUTION GROUP CONCERNING
THE GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL
REVOLUTION IN FACTORIES
AND MINES (DRAFT)*

(November 17, 1966)

1. The great proletarian cultural revolution is to propagate forcefully Mao Tse-tung's thought, to reform the society with the proletarian view of the world, to abolish the ideologies of the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes, to destroy the four olds of the bourgeoisie and to establish the four news of the proletariat, for the sake of consolidating the proletarian dictatorship, uprooting the revisionist roots, preventing the capitalist restoration, guaranteeing the permanence of our socialist regime, and greatly promoting the development of socialist productivity.

The working class is the leading strength and the most active element of the cultural revolution; workers are shouldering a specially great responsibility for this great proletarian cultural revolution; and the rising up of worker masses in factories, mines and enterprises to carry on the great cultural revolution is obliged by the general situation, is just excellent, and is unpreventable.

2. Party committees at all levels and leaders of all factories and mines must seriously carry out the directive of "grasping revolution and promoting production" laid down by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee; they must not be afraid of the rising up of the masses, must not shirk their responsibilities, and must not oppose the masses. They must stand firmly with the masses, against the small handful of degenerate, ungrateful, selfish persons in authority taking the capitalist road who suppress the masses. They must also dare to mobilize the masses to criticize their own mistakes, and must not instigate workers to struggle against workers, or masses to struggle against masses.

3. The current problem is that the leaders of certain units erroneously put the cultural revolution movement in opposition against production. Some use the pretext of grasping the movement to suppress the revolutionaries and protect themselves, neglecting production; others use the pretext of grasping production to boycott the cultural revolution movement. These two mistakes are both a disregard of the whole situation, a violation of the policies of the Party, and a serious violation against the directive of "grasping revolution and promoting production". As one worker comrade pointed out: "They are afraid of the masses, of the revolution, of being dismissed from office, but not afraid of affecting productive tasks." The Center considers this criticism exactly to the point and very correct; it must be brought to the focus of attention of leaders at all levels of the factories, mines and enterprises.

4. The high degree of sense of responsibility of the working masses in the factories and mines who are concerned both with the great cultural revolution and the production tasks must be fully recognized; the high degree of sense of responsibility of the working class towards their own nation must be fully appreciated. As one welder foreman said, with production tasks unfulfilled, he would take his younger brother to assist him in the workshop. Some revolutionary workers work overtime to make up for lost time, for fear of not fulfilling their production tasks. These illustrate a high degree of sense of responsibility.

5. The Party Central Committee calls for the leaders at all levels to go actively to the workers, according to the Decision of the Party Central Committee Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, i.e. the Sixteen Articles, to explain clearly to the masses the great meaning of "grasping revolution and promoting production", to let the masses carry on full discussions, so that they may consciously realize grasping revolution while promoting revolution, and may make proper arrangements according to the conditions in their own units. There must not be mistakes such as doing all things for the masses, suppressing the masses, adhering obstinately to set patterns, and being afraid of the masses. Revolutionary masses who were branded counterrevolutionary workers must be rehabilitated. (There is a particular directive

for the question of rehabilitation.)

6. Many workers in factories, mines and enterprises have suggested that there should be proper regulations for the time spent for cultural revolution and for production. For instance, the eight-hour work system must be maintained; the cultural revolution must be carried on after working hours, ranging from three to four hours without taking up production time; meantime the worker comrades must be allowed to have necessary rest.

7. In order that the revolutionary movement of grasping revolution and promoting production might develop smoothly, there should be organized two mutually cooperating leaderships, which should be laid down solidly at each level. The cultural revolution is to be organized with dual leadership. The leading organs of the cultural revolution are the cultural revolution committees, cultural revolution leading groups, and cultural revolution congresses. These organs must not be manipulated from behind the scenes, but must be elected according to the system of the Paris Commune, after full consultation and repeated discussions of the masses, in the practice of a general election, and with the members capable of being changed and re-elected at any time.

The production command system of the factories must not be interrupted. Where the original administrative organs and Party committees have not been paralysed, the leadership should be reorganized, with experienced and politically reliable old workers as the bulwarks, and with the participation of technicians, in order to command the production. Now the leading organs in many places still exist, but seldom assume leadership, thus exist only in name.

8. According to provisions in the Constitution of the People's Republic of China, worker comrades have the right to establish all kinds of cultural revolution organizations; all revolutionary comrades must do things according to the principles and policies of the Party. Within the various revolutionary mass organizations and among the revolutionary masses, democracy must be fully advocated; differences in opinion and disputes on different

opinions should be settled through democratic means. We must guard against factionalism, refrain from armed struggle, protect production from being affected by troubles, and prevent stoppage in work.

9. Collective organizations of the workers had better adopt the forms of associations, representative conferences, congresses, etc. which are suitable for the worker masses. All good organizations should retain the characteristics of the working class of diligence and plainness, without being detached from the masses, and without a set of organs and material equipments detached from the masses. Personnel in workers' organizations should as a rule not be detached from production.

10. Working masses must stand firmly at their own posts, must be mindful of the general situation, and must not abandon productive labor and go out in groups for exchange of revolutionary experience so as to affect the production of their own units and other units. Those who went out for exchange of revolutionary experience on their own should hurry back to production; this also applies to part-time students with productive tasks.

11. Workers' organizations of factories and mines may go to other factories and mines in their own locality after working hours for visits, and to exchange their experience in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

12. Revolutionary student organizations may send representatives to factories, mines and enterprises for the exchange of revolutionary experience. Before the student representatives go there, they should first make contact with the workers' organizations in those factories and mines.

* This document is published in *Red Guard Journal*, December 23, 1966. It is preceded by these words: "Comrades Chen Po-ta, Wang Li, Kuan Feng, Chi Pen-yu and Tang Ping-chu held a seminar on November 17, 1966, from 3:25 p.m. to 6:17 p.m., with representatives of revolutionary workers of the capital, with the participation of some combatants of Peking Aeronautic College Red Flag. At the meeting Comrade Wang Li read the Twelve-Point Directive of the Central Cultural Revolution Group Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in Factories and Mines (Draft). Following is the full text."

CIRCULAR OF THE CCP
CENTRAL COMMITTEE CONCERNING
THE TRANSMISSION OF
IMPORTANT NOTICE OF
THE CCP PEKING MUNICIPAL COMMITTEE
OF NOVEMBER 18

To all regional bureaus of the Central Committee, all provincial, municipal and autonomous region Party committees:

The Important Notice issued by the Peking Municipal Committee on November 18 is very good. Now it is transmitted for distribution in the whole country. The provincial, municipal and autonomous region authorities are requested to reprint and distribute this document in large quantities in the name of the various provincial, municipal and autonomous region Party committees, to be posted in schools, factories, mines or other units. If there are similar cases in various places, they should be dealt with in accordance with this notice.

The Central Authority

November 20, 1966

Appendix:

IMPORTANT NOTICE

No factory, mine, school, organization or other unit is allowed to set up house of detention without authorization, to set up court of trial without authorization, or to arrest and torture people without authorization.

Such doings are a violation of the laws of the state and the disciplines of the Party.

Any person organizing such activities openly or secretly must

face the severe punishment of the state law and the Party discipline.

Starting from today, if there are more people committing the above-mentioned crimes, they must be dealt with immediately.

The Chinese Communist Party
Peking Municipal Committee

November 18, 1966

SUPPLEMENTARY CIRCULAR OF
THE CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND
THE STATE COUNCIL CONCERNING
THE QUESTION OF EXCHANGE
OF REVOLUTIONARY EXPERIENCE
BY REVOLUTIONARY
TEACHERS AND STUDENTS

All regional bureaus of the Central Committee, all provincial, municipal and autonomous region Party Committees, all Party committees and leading Party members' groups of central ministries and commissions, all leading Party members' groups of people's organizations, and the PLA General Political Department:

On November 25 and 26 Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arm Comrade Lin Piao received 2,500,000 revolutionary teachers and students and Red Guard young fighters at the 8th meeting. It was the last reception prior to the warm days of next spring and was a triumphant summing up of the exchange of revolutionary experiences and the conducting of studies by revolutionary teachers and students over the past three months and more.

The November 16 Notice by the CCP Central Committee and the State Council provides that as from November 21 this year and until the warm days of next spring the revolutionary teachers and students and Red Guard fighters of universities, middle schools, army academies and schools should stop coming to Peking or going to other localities by train, ship and bus for exchanging revolutionary experiences. The following provisions are now made concerning some specific questions:

1. Arrangements must be properly made whereby the revolutionary teachers and students and Red Guard fighters who had come to Peking from other localities before November 26 shall

leave Peking for their localities before December 20 according to the order of free train ride allowed. As from December 21 the revolutionary teachers and students and Red Guards in Peking will no longer be provided with food and train and bus services free of charge.

2. Arrangements must also be properly made whereby all the revolutionary teachers and students and Red Guard fighters exchanging revolutionary experiences in other localities (to those exchanging revolutionary experiences in Peking the preceding provision shall apply) shall return to their localities before December 20. As from December 21, free ride in train, ship and bus will no longer be given.

3. The personnel sent by the PLA should continue to give political and military training to the revolutionary teachers and students and Red Guards who have been received but have not left Peking, and should disseminate the fine traditions and style of the PLA among them, and enthusiastically help them organize visits and studies and draw up plans for leaving Peking and returning to their localities as early as possible. They should be responsible to them to the end and until they put them in the train and bid them farewell.

4. All the revolutionary teachers and students and Red Guards returning to their localities will be issued through tickets and must not make a stopover. To those who will have to change train at the Peking station through tickets must also be issued; they must board the train according to the train number indicated in the ticket and return to their localities without delay.

5. Separate provisions of reception will be made in respect to those revolutionary teachers and students and Red Guards who have come to Peking or gone to other localities on foot in their long march.

This circular may be read out among the revolutionary teachers and students of universities and middle schools and put up in organs and schools and at railway stations and wharves.

The CCP Central Committee
The State Council

December 1, 1966

TEN REGULATIONS OF THE CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE CONCERNING GRASPING REVOLUTION AND PROMOTING PRODUCTION (DRAFT)

(This document is to be distributed to the county and regiment level, and to factories, enterprises, scientific research and designing units, for discussion and experimentation.)

1. Firmly apply the directives of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee concerning grasping revolution and promoting production. To develop the great proletarian cultural revolution is exactly for the sake of stimulating the ideological revolution in people, and causing the development of production.

2. Thoroughly apply the proletarian revolutionary line as represented by Chairman Mao, and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line. Firmly act in accordance with the Sixteen Articles, let the masses elect the cultural revolution groups, cultural revolution committees, or cultural revolution congresses that can represent themselves, let the masses educate themselves and liberate themselves in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

3. The leisure time outside of the eight-hour working hours should be arranged through the consultation of the masses themselves for the carrying on of the great cultural revolution, except for the weekly discussion on problems of production.

4. Firmly stick to the eight-hour working system, observe labor disciplines, and fulfill production quotas.

5. Guarantee the quality of products, and strive to attain superior quality.

6. Through serious discussion of the working masses, strengthen or re-elect the leadership of production. This leadership is to be responsible for the fulfillment and over-fulfillment of State production plans.

7. Solve problems, when they occur, through consultation in the unit itself. When necessary, working masses may send several representatives to appeal to superior organizations (including provincial, municipal and autonomous region Party committees and regional bureaus of the Central Committee); when specially necessary, they may also send several representatives to the capital to make their appeal; there should not be departures of large groups from the factories and mines.

8. In the great cultural revolution, it is not allowed for the leadership of factories and mines to punish or retaliate against the masses because of their voicing criticisms and exposing facts; nor is it allowed to withhold wages or to fire people for these reasons. Those revolutionary workers who were branded as "counter-revolutionary" in the great cultural revolution must be reinstated. It is not allowed to transfer their original positions in production, or to threaten or persecute the dependents of the workers. Those revolutionary workers who have been punished and forced to leave their factories must be allowed to return to the factories to join the production and the great cultural revolution. The wages of revolutionary workers during the period when they were forced to leave their factories should be paid as usual.

9. In accordance with the provisions in the Constitution of the People's Republic of China, the working masses have the rights to establish revolutionary organizations in the cultural revolution.

When there is difference in opinion against each other among working masses of a unit or a locality or among workers' organizations, discussions should be held by presenting facts and persuading through reasoning, without being exploited by bad elements, without creating a situation of confrontation. Firmly stick to peaceful struggle, and refrain from armed struggle. Do not raise hands to beat people.

All workers' organizations should maintain the working class' characteristics of labor and simplicity, and should not set up bureaucratic structures and material equipments which would alienate them from the masses. The personnel in the workers' organizations generally should not be detached from production.

10. Among the working masses of various units, among the workers' mass organizations, there may be held revolutionary transcommunications in the same city, after working hours, to exchange experiences of the cultural revolution.

Students may carry on a planned program of going to the factories and mines for revolutionary transcommunication and exchange of revolutionary experiences with the workers after their working hours, and may carry on a planned program of working, laboring, studying, and discussing problems of the cultural revolution together with the workers. Workers may also send representatives to the local schools to carry on revolutionary transcommunication.

In all revolutionary transcommunication, there should not be any attempt to do things in their stead, or any forceful interference in the cultural revolution in other units.

December 9, 1966

DIRECTIVE OF THE
CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE
CONCERNING THE GREAT PROLETARIAN
CULTURAL REVOLUTION IN
THE COUNTRYSIDE (DRAFT)

(For discussion and experimentation)

1. Firmly apply the directive of "grasping revolution and promoting production" issued by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, and take a grim hold of the great proletarian cultural revolution, thus stimulating the ideological revolution in people and causing the development of agricultural production.

2. The great proletarian cultural revolution in the countryside is to be carried on in accordance with the principles of the Decision of CCP Central Committee Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, i.e. the Sixteen-Point Decision, and the former Ten-Point Decision and the Twenty-three-Point Decision of the Socialist Education Movement. It must be that the masses make decisions as masters, that the masses educate themselves, that the masses liberate themselves, and rise up themselves to make revolution. As a rule no work teams should be despatched. Sending a few selected observers may be considered.

3. The primary aim of the great proletarian cultural revolution in the countryside is to rectify a small handful of persons in authority in the Party taking the capitalist road and those landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists, who have not been successfully reformed.

Incorporate the Four Clean-Ups Movement into the great cultural revolution. Solve the problems of the Four Clean-Ups and the problems of the Four Clean-Ups Double-check in the great cultural revolution.

Forcefully abolish the old ideas, old culture, old customs and old habits of the exploiting class; forcefully foster the new ideas, new culture, new customs and new habits of the proletariat.

The great cultural revolution shall also rectify the work style of bureaucracy and commandism among the cadres, and thoroughly enforce the system of labor-participation by cadres.

4. In the great cultural revolution in the countryside, we must firmly rely upon the poor peasants and the lower-middle peasants, and unite with the middle peasants, and gradually achieve the goal of uniting with over 95% of the masses and uniting with over 95% of the cadres.

5. The organ of power for the leadership of the great cultural revolution in the countryside shall be the cultural revolution committees of poor, lower-middle peasants, which are to be organized through democratic elections of congresses of poor, lower-middle peasants. The committees may be re-elected or dismissed at any time if they are incompetent.

Teams for the leadership of production, after being discussed, reorganized or re-elected by the masses, are to be responsible for the production, distribution, purchase and supply programs.

6. Establish and develop, in the great cultural revolution, Red Guards primarily composed of youths and youngsters of poor, lower-middle peasants families. Red Guards may join the militia.

The sons and daughters of leading cadres at all levels in the countryside should not, generally speaking, assume leading positions in the Red Guards.

Children of landlords and rich peasants working or studying in other places should not go back to their native places for transcommunication. They should adopt, as in the period of the land-reform, a policy of keeping away.

7. The great cultural revolution in the countryside should be carried on with great contending, great blooming, big-character posters, great debates, so as to realize great democracy. Among

brigades and among communes, transcommunication may be carried on in leisure time of production. It is also permissible to organize groups of revolutionary students for transcommunication in the countryside, to eat, live and labor together with the poor, lower-middle peasants, and to join in the great cultural revolution in the countryside, but the students must not do things in their stead.

In the struggle, the method of presenting facts and persuading by reasoning must be used, insisting on peaceful struggle and avoiding armed struggle.

Care must be taken to prevent bad people from inciting factional struggle.

8. It is not allowed to punish or retaliate against revolutionary masses who voiced their opinion or put out big-character posters against the leadership in the great cultural revolution; their work-points must not be deducted. Those revolutionary masses who were branded as "counter-revolutionaries", "saboteurs", etc., must be reinstated.

Landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists are objects of the dictatorship. It is absolutely not allowed for them to make rebellion against the proletariat. It is absolutely not allowed for them to make rebellion against the poor, lower-middle peasants.

9. Secondary schools are to have vacation in order to make revolution, until the summer vacation of next year. The cultural revolution in colleges and schools which are on the basis of part-time agriculture and part-time study should be properly arranged according to the principle of grasping revolution and promoting production, with reference to the concrete situation.

Cultural revolution in rural primary schools is to be carried on together with the communes and brigades to which they belong, and is to be put under the unified leadership of the cultural revolution committees of those communes and brigades.

10. In the great cultural revolution, we must creatively

study and apply the works of Chairman Mao, take class struggle as the guideline, and put hard work into the word "application". We must transform the countryside into a big school of the studies of Mao Tse-tung's thought through the great cultural revolution.

December 15, 1966

CIRCULAR OF THE GENERAL OFFICE OF THE CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE

All regional bureaus of the Central Committee, all provincial, municipal and autonomous region Party committees, all central departments, all Party committees and leading Party members' groups of central ministries and commissions, all leading Party members' groups of people's organizations, and the PLA General Political Department:

According to the Center's directive, the question of the 1965 graduates of universities, colleges and secondary vocational schools returning to their alma mater for cultural revolution and establishment of revolutionary ties is being studied by the Center and an official document will be sent down shortly, in accordance with the provisions of which the question should be settled. Pending receipts of the Center's official document, you should dissuade these 1965 graduates of universities, colleges and secondary vocational schools, who have already taken part in work, from leaving their work posts lest their work should suffer a loss.

The General Office of the
CCP Central Committee

December 25, 1966

CIRCULAR OF THE CCP CENTRAL
COMMITTEE AND THE STATE COUNCIL
CONCERNING THE PROHIBITION OF
THE EXTENSIVE PROMOTION OF
SO-CALLED "RED OCEAN"

To all the bureaus of the Central Committee and the Party committees and people's councils of all provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions:

According to reports from the masses of various places, recently some Party organs and government departments in the cities have, on the pretext of "writing quotations from Chairman Mao" and "beautifying the appearance of the city," extensively advocated what is called the "red ocean." This calls for painting front doors and walls red, and the masses are even coerced into sharing the door-to-door expenses. In some villages, apart from the "red ocean," the erection of monuments has also been advocated. With an ulterior object in view, some power-holders taking the capitalist road and those firmly clinging to the bourgeois reactionary line also want to use this method to deny the masses of space for putting up wall posters, thus covering up their own crimes against the thought of Mao Tse-tung. Their way of doing things is not only in complete contravention of the style of hard work and simplicity which Comrade Mao Tse-tung has always taught, but also a wicked act against the wall posters and the great proletarian cultural revolution. The Central Committee is of the view that leading organs at all levels must firmly prohibit this erroneous method, and notice of this view is hereby given.

The CCP Central Committee
The State Council

December 28, 1966

CIRCULAR OF THE CCP CENTRAL
COMMITTEE AND THE STATE COUNCIL
CONCERNING THE SHORT-TERM
MILITARY AND POLITICAL TRAINING
FOR REVOLUTIONARY
TEACHERS AND STUDENTS OF
UNIVERSITIES AND MIDDLE SCHOOLS

(December 31, 1966)

Recently when receiving revolutionary teachers and students coming to Peking from various parts of the country, Chairman Mao mentioned the following to Comrade Lin Piao on many occasions: The method of sending army cadres to train revolutionary teachers and students is very good. Receiving some training is quite different from receiving no training. In receiving training they may learn politics, military affairs, four-first's, three-eight style, and three major rules of discipline and eight points for attention from the PLA and strengthen organization and discipline. The experience of Peking armed forces in sending cadres to train revolutionary teachers and students is very good and effective and should be popularized throughout the country.

This directive of Chairman Mao's adds new, important content to the great proletarian cultural revolution in all universities and middle schools in the country. It is another great beginning in the great proletarian cultural revolution and is of great strategic significance. The CCP Central Committee and the State Council entrust the PLA with the task of sending capable cadres and fighters between now and the summer vacation next year according to Chairman Mao's directive to give a short-term military and political training to all the revolutionary teachers and students of universities and middle schools at separate stages and in separate groups.

Chairman Mao pointed out as far back as the early stage of revolution that peasant armed forces, Red Guard Detachment and Young Pioneers were ready-made reserve forces of the Red

Army. Later, he pointed out that "militia is the foundation of victory." Chairman Mao said in his letter to Comrade Lin Piao on May 7, 1966: "This is also the case with students who should take study as their main line and learn other things, that is, they should study not only culture but also industry, agriculture, and military affairs and criticize the bourgeoisie." He also said: "Education calls for revolution." Comrade Lin Piao said on August 31 this year when receiving revolutionary teachers and students coming to Peking from various parts of the country: "The Red Guards of various universities and middle schools and other revolutionary youth organizations are active vanguards in the great cultural revolution and are powerful reserve forces of the PLA." To send army cadres and fighters to train revolutionary teachers and students is a good method of realizing Chairman Mao's call for learning from the PLA, is an important feature of "education calls for revolution" as stated by Chairman Mao, and is an important measure for placing "three aspects of the militia work on a firm basis" as proposed by Chairman Mao. This will do much to strengthen war preparedness, safeguard the national defense, intensify steeling of the revolutionary quality, scientific character, organization and discipline of revolutionary teachers and students, train some students who will join the PLA and become PLA fighters in the future, and improve further the relationship between the army and the people. The CCP Central Committee and the State Council earnestly hope that the PLA commanders and fighters and the whole body of revolutionary teachers and students of universities and middle schools will hold aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, enthusiastically respond to Chairman Mao's great call and firmly fulfill the tasks of military and political training.

The main feature of political training is flexible study and application of Chairman Mao's works and quotations. Emphasis of study is laid on the following articles: *Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society*, *On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party*, *Combat Liberalism*, *Three Major Rules of Discipline and Eight Points for Attention*, *Preface and Postscript to Rural Surveys*, *In Memory of Norman Bethune*, *Serve the People*, *The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains*, *Study and the Situation*,

as well as "Decision of the CCP Central Committee on the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution," Comrade Lin Piao and Comrade Ch'en Po-ta's speeches at the central work conferences and other relevant documents. Some students may also study Marx and Engels' *Communist Manifesto*, Engels' *Socialism from Utopia to Scientific Development*, and Lenin's *The Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism*. At the same time they must learn to sing such songs as "Internationale," "The East Is Red," "Sailing the Sea Depends on the Helmsman," "Three Major Rules of Discipline and Eight Points for Attention," and "Three-Eight Style." Raise class consciousness, destroy the bourgeois thought and promote the proletarian thought, destroy the private concept and establish the public concept, know the Party policies and strategy, dare to struggle, know how to struggle, learn to do mass work, achieve solidarity of the army and the people, and unite to oppose the enemy.

Military training: The necessary formation training must be conducted with emphasis on formation movement from the individual to the company.

Method of training: The military regions and provincial military districts are to cover designated areas and to send cadres and fighters, who have studied Chairman Mao's works with good results and are capable of playing an exemplary role, to serve as platoon leaders, company commanders and political officers, battalion commanders and political officers, regiment commanders and political commissars taking charge of military and political training. The people's armed forces and the original militia organizations of universities and colleges should take an active part in this work. The revolutionary teachers and students of various schools should be organized into squads, platoons, companies, battalions and regiments. The training ground is in the school. Each term of training is to last from half a month to 20 days.

The General Staff Headquarters and the General Political Department will set up a leadership group of short-term military and political training for the revolutionary teachers and students of the universities and middle schools throughout the country. In

various provinces and major and medium cities, leadership groups of short-term military and political training for the revolutionary teachers and students of universities and colleges will be set up with the armed forces as the main components and with the participation of persons appointed by the provincial and municipal committees, Party committees of autonomous regions and the cultural revolution groups in the localities concerned. These leadership groups will assume responsibility for directing this work.

This method of short-term military and political training must be kept up over long period of time and turned into a system. From now on, all the universities and middle schools must conduct this training during the summer vacation or winter vacation each year. We expect that the PLA and the whole body of revolutionary teachers and students will act accordingly.

MESSAGE OF GREETINGS TO REVOLUTIONARY REBEL ORGANIZATIONS IN SHANGHAI

From the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the State Council, the Military Commission of the Party's Central Committee and the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Party's Central Committee

To the Shanghai Workers' Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters and 31 other revolutionary mass organizations:

Your "Urgent Notice" issued on January 9, 1967, is indeed excellent. The guiding principles which you have put forward and the actions you have taken are entirely correct.

You have held aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought. You are models in creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's works.

You have taken a firm stand on the side of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao. You have seen through and exposed in time the schemes of the bourgeois reactionary line in starting a new counter-attack and have launched a forceful counter-offensive.

You have upheld the dictatorship of the proletariat, persisted in the general direction of socialism and put forward the fighting task of opposing the economism of counter-revolutionary revisionism.

You have formulated a correct policy in accordance with Chairman Mao's principle of grasping revolution and promoting production."

You have brought about a great alliance of the proletarian revolutionary organizations and become the nucleus uniting all revolutionary forces. You have taken firmly in your hands the

destiny of the proletarian dictatorship, the destiny of the great proletarian cultural revolution and the destiny of the socialist economy.

Your revolutionary actions have set a brilliant example for the working class and all laboring people and the revolutionary masses throughout the country.

We hereby call on Party, Government, Army and civilian circles, on the workers, peasants, revolutionary students, revolutionary intellectuals and revolutionary cadres throughout the country to learn from the experience of the revolutionary rebel groups in Shanghai, to take concerted action and to beat back the new counter-attack of the bourgeois reactionary line, so as to ensure that the great proletarian cultural revolution will forge ahead triumphantly along the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao.

The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party

The State Council

The Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party

The Cultural Revolution Group Under the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party

January 11, 1967

DOCUMENT OF THE CCP CENTRAL
COMMITTEE, THE STATE COUNCIL
AND THE CENTRAL MILITARY COMMISSION

Chung-fa No. 14 (67)

To all bureaus of the Central Committee, all military regions, and the Party committees and people's councils of all provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, and for transmission to Party committees, people's councils, military districts and military sub-districts at various levels:

At present, a handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, for the sake of undermining the great proletarian cultural revolution and shifting the target of struggle, have instigated the workers, peasants and organ cadres, who have been hoodwinked into supporting them for the time being, to leave their production or work posts and come to Peking or make their way into big cities. These capitalist roaders have been even fomented strikes and instigated the masses who do not understand the actual situation to flock to the banks and withdraw their deposits by force. All revolutionary comrades must heighten their vigilance and firmly oppose this way of doing things. In future, if anybody is found to persist in making this kind of agitation, sanctions should be taken against him according to Party discipline or state law. The People's Liberation Army and the public security departments are responsible for the protection of the banks in all places.

The Central Committee of the Chinese
Communist Party
The State Council
The Military Commission of the CCP
Central Committee

January 11, 1967

Issued on January 13, 1967 by the Secretarial Bureau of the
General Office of the CCP Central Committee.

CIRCULAR OF THE CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE CONCERNING THE OPPOSITION TO ECONOMISM

Party committees at all levels:

The great proletarian cultural revolution is at present intensively developing in all industrial and mining enterprises and rural areas. The situation is very good, with the broad worker and peasant masses rising to struggle against a small handful of power-holders in the Party who take the capitalist road, and criticize all capitalist and revisionist things. However, to sabotage the great proletarian cultural revolution and shift the target of the struggle, a small handful of power-holders in the Party who take the capitalist road are inciting a small number of people, who are ignorant of the true facts, to indulge freely in economism and wage struggle against the socialist state of proletarian dictatorship. By various means of economic bribery, they try to lead some of the masses onto the evil road of economism, where they would pursue exclusively personal and temporary interests in disregard of the interests of the State and the collective. They want not only to restore, but also expand, some of the past erroneous measures concerning wages and the welfare system. They incite some of the masses to demand promotion and wage increases and to freely demand the State for money and material supplies. They incite the masses, who went to settle down in rural villages a few years ago and who have been taking part in agricultural production, to return to the cities and put forward unreasonable economic demands. Some public organs, enterprises, and business units draw money from banks arbitrarily in disregard of state regulations. Landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad characters, and Rightists, taking advantage of the opportunity, also try to upset the economic life of the country and sabotage

the great proletarian cultural revolution.

The Central Committee holds that such acts of sabotage against the great proletarian cultural revolution must be stopped immediately and that the tendency to indulge in economism must be checked at once.

First, all revolutionary masses must sharpen their vigilance and, with the thought of Mao Tse-tung as a weapon, convince the minority of the deceived masses [of their mistake], expose the sinister schemes and tricks of the power-holders in the Party who take the capitalist road as well as those of landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad characters, and Rightists, and protect the property of the State and the collective, so as to enable the great proletarian cultural revolution to proceed along the correct line laid down by Chairman Mao.

Second, in the great proletarian cultural revolution, the Central Committee will carry out investigation and study on certain irrational things in the past connected with economic matters. It will take the reasonable views of the masses and put forward solutions. No change is to be made before new measures are formulated by the Central Committee.

Third, those who went to settle down in rural villages a few years ago and who have been taking part in agricultural production, as well as educated youths who have gone to mountain and rural districts, should be contented with agricultural production work and take part in the great proletarian cultural revolution in rural areas. Party committees at all levels should be responsible for the gradual solution of problems that have arisen from their resettlement.

Fourth, the Central Committee instructs all banks to refuse all payments on behalf of state organs, state-owned enterprises, business units, or collective economic units if such payments are not in conformity with state regulations.

Fifth, none of the collectively owned enterprises, handicraft cooperatives, cooperative stores, etc., shall be changed at present to the system of state ownership.

This document should be propagandized generally among workers, peasants, and students, and may also be posted in factories, rural villages, and schools.

The Central Committee of the Chinese
Communist Party

January 11, 1967

CIRCULAR OF THE CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND THE STATE COUNCIL CONCERNING THE PROHIBITION OF THE CORROSION OF THE MASSES

According to the reports of the revolutionary masses in various places, during the great proletarian cultural revolution, a small number of Party and government leaders, for the purposes of boycotting the criticism and repudiation made by the revolutionary masses against them and of corroding the revolutionary masses, have recently deliberately provided the mass organizations with large sums of money and goods. In the name of showing "concern" for the workers and the welfare of young people, they use money to win over the revolutionary masses who are opposed to them. Meanwhile they also grant liberal material benefits to some mass organizations that have been hoodwinked into supporting them. The Central Committee is of the view that this is an extremely erroneous method of work which must be firmly boycotted.

All revolutionary organizations of the masses must bring into play the style of hard work and frugality, and guard strictly against extravagance and waste. They must heighten their vigilance against some leaders who attempt to shift the orientation of the political struggle of the revolutionary people with economic means. They should make the revolutionary masses understand that the thought of Mao Tse-tung is the most important weapon of infinite power for making revolution. If attention is concentrated on the question of material benefit, we are bound to weaken our own revolutionary fighting will, and it is easy for a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road to utilize us.

The CCP Central Committee
The State Council

January 11, 1967

CIRCULAR OF THE CCP
CENTRAL COMMITTEE
CONCERNING BROADCASTING STATIONS

Our broadcasting stations are tools of the proletarian dictatorship, and it is entirely correct and necessary that the revolutionary masses should fight against those in authority taking the capitalist road who are in control of the broadcasting stations during the great proletarian cultural revolution. The Central Committee has decided that the local PLA should exercise military control over all such broadcasting stations. These broadcasting stations should cease to edit and broadcast local programs and should only rebroadcast the programs broadcast by the Central Broadcasting Station. The revolutionary masses who have taken over those broadcasting stations should pull out at once. Those in authority taking the capitalist road in these broadcasting stations should be handed over to the masses, and struggle should be conducted against them away from the broadcasting stations. The leaders who are criticized by the masses should go amidst the masses to hear the views and criticism of the masses.

Broadcasting stations in all places should without exception use the original name of People's Broadcasting Station and must not repeal it.

The CCP Central Committee

January 11, 1967

SOME REGULATIONS OF
THE CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND
THE STATE COUNCIL
CONCERNING THE STRENGTHENING
OF PUBLIC SECURITY WORK IN THE GREAT
PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION

Chung-fa No. 19 (67)

The great proletarian cultural revolution is a movement for promoting extensive democracy under the command of Mao Tse-tung's thought and the conditions of proletarian dictatorship. It has aroused the revolutionary activism of the broad masses. The situation is very favorable. Without the dictatorship of the proletariat, it is not possible to enforce extensive democracy among the masses of the people. The public security organs are one of the important tools for the dictatorship of the proletariat. They must comply with the need in relation to the situation and development of the great proletarian cultural revolution, adopt appropriate measures, strengthen the dictatorship against the enemy, safeguard the democratic rights of the people, and protect the normal progress of full and frank airing of views, large-character posters, debate, and exchange of revolutionary experience. For this purpose, it is specially provided that:

(1) In the case of active counterrevolutionaries for whom there is conclusive evidence to prove that they have committed manslaughter or arson, spread poison, created traffic accidents, carried out persecution, attacked prisons or organs in control of prisoners, communicated with foreign countries, stolen state secrets or carried out subversive activities, they should be punished according to law.

(2) It is an active counterrevolutionary deed to send counterrevolutionary anonymous letters, to post or distribute secretly or openly counterrevolutionary handbills, to write or shout reactionary slogans, or to attack or vilify the great leader Chairman

Mao and his close comrade-in-arms, Comrade Lin Piao. Such deeds should be punished according to law.

(3) The revolutionary masses and their organizations as well as the Left are protected, and armed struggle is strictly banned. It is unlawful to attack the revolutionary mass organizations or to assault or detain the revolutionary masses. In general, the culprits are criticized, repudiated and educated by the leadership of the Party and the government and by the revolutionary mass organizations. As regards those leading offenders, those assailants who have committed serious offenses and those manipulating things from behind the scenes, they must be punished according to law.

(4) As regards the landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad elements, Rightists; persons for reform through labor; persons who have served their sentences but are kept and employed in the farms (factories); reactionary hard-core elements of the Party and the CYL; intermediate and minor leaders of reactionary religious sects and professional religious personnel; members of the enemy and puppet army (above the rank of company commander), government (above the rank of *pao* chief), police (above the rank of sergeant-major), gendarme and secret service; persons sentenced to reform through labor who have served their sentences but are not satisfactorily reformed; profiteers; and family dependents of counterrevolutionaries who have been killed, imprisoned, placed under surveillance or escaped that still cling to their reactionary stand, they are as a rule not allowed to go to other places to exchange revolutionary experience, change their names, or sneak into revolutionary mass organizations with a fabricated history. Nor are they allowed to manipulate or agitate people from behind the scenes, much less to set up their own organizations. Should these elements commit acts of subversion, they must be severely punished according to law.

(5) As regards those who make use of extensive democracy or other means to disseminate reactionary utterances, they are in general subject to struggle by the revolutionary masses. In serious cases, the public security departments must work in concert with the revolutionary masses to conduct timely investigation, and in case of need, take action to deal with them according to conditions.

(6) If the personnel of the Party, government, military and public security organs distort the above provisions and fabricate facts to suppress the revolutionary masses, they must be punished according to law.

The above regulations must be publicized among the broad masses, and the revolutionary masses must be called upon to assist and supervise the public security organs in carrying out their duties so as to uphold revolutionary order and insure that the personnel of public security organs can carry out their duties in the normal way.

These regulations may be extensively posted in the cities and the countryside.

The Central Committee of the Chinese
Communist Party
The State Council

January 13, 1967

CIRCULAR OF THE CCP CENTRAL
COMMITTEE CONCERNING
THE PROHIBITION OF DIRECTING
THE SPEARHEAD OF STRUGGLE
AGAINST THE ARMED FORCES

(January 14, 1967)

The People's Liberation Army is the most important tool of the proletarian dictatorship. It is charged with the great task of making preparations for war and for national defense as well as the great task of defending the great proletarian cultural revolution. Hereafter, no person or organization may attack the organs of the People's Liberation Army.

During the great proletarian cultural revolution, the local Party committees must temporarily transfer their important archives and documents and the confidential personnel and communication personnel of radio stations to the military organs. This is of advantage and is essential to insuring the safety of Party and state secrets and the normal transmission of documents and telegrams within the Party. However, some local Party committees have used this as a pretext to move also documents for the purge of the revolutionary masses in the great cultural revolution into the military organs. What is worst, some local Party committees, after taking this course of action, shift the blame on other people, and they instigate the masses who do not understand the actual situation to direct the spearhead of struggle at the military organs. This is extremely wrong and can never be tolerated by Party discipline or state law.

The Central Committee enjoins you that:

(1) When you have transferred genuine secret documents of the Party and the state and the personnel to insure the normal transmission of documents and telegrams within the Party to the

military organs, you should clearly make a straightforward explanation to the masses. If the revolutionary masses suspect that there are documents for the purge of the revolutionary masses among the secret documents of the Party and the state and demand an investigation, in the event of your inability to convince them, the matter may be dealt with by adopting the method of having the documents sealed by you in the presence of the representatives of the revolutionary masses.

(2) When documents for the purge of the revolutionary masses have been transferred to the military organs, they must be taken back at once and dealt with in public according to the relevant provisions of the Central Committee.

(3) You are never allowed to cover up the true facts and instigate the masses openly or from behind the scenes to direct the brunt of the struggle against the military organs. Otherwise, you are undermining the great proletarian cultural revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, and you must be completely responsible for all consequences arising therefrom.

Apart from this, it is also entirely necessary to hold the army responsible for guarding the local radio stations, prisons, warehouses, roads and bridges. Likewise, it is not allowed to instigate the masses to encircle, attack, occupy and sabotage these places

(Issued down to the county and regimental level)

TELEGRAM OF THE CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE DATED JANUARY 18

To Party committees of various places:

According to a cable from the Mao Tse-tung's Thought Red Rebel Detachment of the Tientsin Building Construction Material Company, in active response to the call of the Central Committee, they have handed over to the bank the sum of more than 3,900 *yuan* which the company had authorized them to use for payment of supplementary wages. This sum will be frozen and dealt with at the latter stage of the movement. The Central Committee holds that the Rebel Detachment of the Tientsin Building Construction Material Company has done the right thing and their good method should be endorsed.

The Central Committee

January 18, 1967

DOCUMENT OF THE CCP CENTRAL
COMMITTEE, THE STATE COUNCIL AND
THE CENTRAL MILITARY COMMISSION

To Party committees and people's councils at various levels and
the various military districts and sub-districts:

It has now been discovered that there are bad people inciting
the pillage of warehouses. The Central Committee hereby decides
that troops must be dispatched at once to exercise military control
over all important granaries and warehouses, prisons, and other
important units which must be protected and watched according
to the provisions of the Central Committee. Without the appro-
priate order of the state, no organ or individual may make
unlawful use of any supplies stored in state warehouses, and
anyone acting in contravention of this shall be severely punished
according to state discipline.

The CCP Central Committee
The State Council
The Military Commission of the Central
Committee

January 19, 1967

TELEGRAM OF THE SECRETARIAT OF THE STATE COUNCIL*

(No. 1 under the character *Ting*)

General office of Yunnan provincial people's committee to be transmitted to the provincial education department and to Comrade Wu Yung-chang**, copies to general offices of all regional bureaus of the central committee, and general offices of all provincial, municipal, autonomous region Party committees and people's committees:

Concerning the question of whether primary school teachers may be issued certificates-for-exchange-of-revolutionary-experience-on-foot and propaganda-fee, the Premier has directed that this should be handled on the basis of the provisions of Article 9 of "Directive of the CCP Central Committee Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in the Countryside (Draft)"***, which says: "Cultural revolution of rural primary schools is to be carried on together with the communes and brigades to which the schools belong," and with the spirit of thoroughly doing well with the great cultural revolution in one's own unit, and that primary school teachers should exchange revolutionary experiences in the cities, towns, communes and brigades where their schools are located, and not to carry on exchange of revolutionary experiences on foot to other places.

The Secretariat of the State Council

January 19, 1967

* This document is marked "Reprinted by municipal organs 'Always Urgent' propaganda group"; original title is "Telegram of the State Council".

** It is not known who Wu Yung-chang is. He is probably a cadre in the Yunnan Provincial Education Department who requested the State Council for a directive on the question of primary school teachers going on exchange of revolutionary experience.

*** See pp. 139-142.

TELEGRAM OF THE SECRETARIAT OF THE STATE COUNCIL*

(No. 2 under the character *Ting*)

General offices of all provincial, municipal and autonomous region people's committees, and copies to general offices of all regional bureaus of the central committee, all provincial, municipal and autonomous region Party committees:

Recently there have been many inquiries from many places, by person, by telegram or by letter: Did Premier Chou and Comrade Liu Ning-i** lay down, on January 7 of this year when they received a group of workers' representatives, eight points of directives on the questions of the provisional workers and contract workers, the apprentice system, the wage system, the reinstatement of personnel laid off for the refinement and simplification of organizations, etc. Premier Chou and Comrade Liu Ning-i have been requested to answer this question; and they did not lay down such directives.

The Secretariat of the State Council

January 19, 1967

* This document is marked "Reprinted by municipal organs 'Always Urgent' propaganda group"; original title is "Telegram of the State Council".

** Liu Ning-i was at that time Chairman of the All China Federation of Trade Unions.

DECISION OF THE CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE,
THE STATE COUNCIL,
THE MILITARY COMMISSION OF
THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND THE
CULTURAL REVOLUTION GROUP
UNDER THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
CONCERNING THE RESOLUTE SUPPORT
OF PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY FOR THE
REVOLUTIONARY MASSES OF THE LEFT

To all regional bureaus of the Central Committee, all military regions, all provincial, municipal, and autonomous regional Party committees, and people's councils, and, through them, to the Party committees, and people's councils at various levels, military districts and military subdistricts:

Under the leadership of Chairman Mao, the great proletarian cultural revolution has entered a new stage. The main characteristic of this stage is that the proletarian revolutionaries have formed a great alliance to seize power from the handful of Party power-holders taking the capitalist road and diehards clinging to the bourgeois reactionary line. This struggle for seizure of power is a general counter-attack of the proletariat against the frantic attacks over the last 17 years by the bourgeoisie and its agents within the Party. This is a general class struggle in the whole country; it is a great revolution in which one class overthrows another.

The People's Liberation Army is a proletarian revolutionary army personally created by Chairman Mao and is the most vital tool of bourgeois dictatorship. In this great struggle of the proletariat to seize power from the bourgeoisie, the PLA must firmly take the side of the proletarian revolutionaries and resolutely support and help the proletarian revolutionary Leftists.

Recently, Chairman Mao directed: The PLA should support the broad masses of the Left. From now on, the demands of all true revolutionaries for support and assistance from the army

should be satisfied. The so-called "non-involvement" is false, for the army was already involved long ago. The question, therefore, is not one of involvement or non-involvement. It is one of whose side we should stand on and whether we should support the revolutionaries or the conservatives or even the Rightists. The PLA should actively support the revolutionary Leftists.

All commanders and fighters of our army must resolutely execute Chairman Mao's directive.

(1) All past directives concerning the army's non-involvement in the great cultural revolution in local areas and other directives which violated the above-mentioned spirit are all null and void.

(2) Active support must be rendered to the broad masses of revolutionary Leftists in their struggle to seize power. When genuine proletarian Leftists ask the army for help, the army should send out troops to support them positively.

(3) Counter-revolutionaries and counter-revolutionary organizations who oppose the proletarian revolutionary Leftists must be resolutely suppressed. Should they resort to force, the army should strike back with force.

(4) The directive reaffirms that the army must not be an air raid shelter for the handful of Party power-holders taking the capitalist road and diehards who persist in the bourgeois reactionary line.

(5) The whole country should be given a penetrating education on the struggle between the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and the bourgeois reactionary line represented by Liu Shao-ch'i and Teng Hsiao-p'ing.

This directive must be transmitted in full to every fighter of the PLA.

The CCP Central Committee
The State Council
The Military Commission of the
Central Committee
The Cultural Revolutionary Group under
the Central Committee

January 23, 1967

SUPPLEMENTARY CIRCULAR OF THE CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE CONCERNING THE QUESTION OF BROADCASTING STATIONS

Chung-fa No. 29 (67)

To all bureaus of the Central Committee, all military regions, and the Party committees and people's councils of various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, and for transmission to Party committees, people's councils, military districts and military sub-districts at various levels:

Under the leadership of Chairman Mao, a new stage has been initiated in the current great proletarian cultural revolution. The proletarian revolutionaries are in the course of forming alliances to launch mass struggles for seizing power from a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party and the diehards firmly clinging to the bourgeois reactionary line. Under such a new situation, the CCP Central Committee's January 11, 1967 Notification concerning the question of broadcasting stations should be reinforced with the following provisions:

1. Firm support should be given to the broadcasting stations of various provinces and municipalities in the hands of the proletarian revolutionaries so that they may become the mouthpiece of the great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries in various provinces and municipalities.
2. When the proletarian revolutionaries are still unable to control the situation and the protection of the People's Liberation Army is called for, the armed forces should at once enforce military control, and during the period of military control, the armed forces should firmly support the proletarian revolutionaries.
3. The enforcement of military control is a provisional and

transitional measure. When the proletarian revolutionaries are able to control the situation, military control should end

4 During the period in which military control is enforced, the local stations, apart from rebroadcasting the programs of the Central People's Broadcasting Station, may compile some programs themselves. These programs must reflect the voice of the proletarian revolutionaries, but may not reflect the voice of those in authority taking the capitalist road, nor reflect the voice of the bourgeois reactionary line.

The CCP Central Committee

January 23, 1967

CIRCULAR OF THE CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE CONCERNING SAFEGUARDING THE RESULTS OF THE FOUR CLEAN-UPS MOVEMENT

Party committees at all levels and Party committees attached to military districts at all levels:

At present, some rural areas and enterprise and business units want to call back members of "Four Clean-Ups" work teams for struggle. The Central Committee is of the opinion that great achievements have been made in the Four Clean-Ups Movement. The "Ten-Articles" and "Twenty-Three Articles" for conducting socialist education in the countryside are great Marxist-Leninist documents formulated under the auspices of Chairman Mao himself. This must be affirmed. According to the provisions of the "Ten Articles" and "Twenty-Three Articles," the dispatch of work teams at that time is correct and cannot be described as wrong. Although some comrades have made some mistakes in work under the influence of the line which is "Left" in form but Right in fact, yet the responsibility should mainly be borne by the person who put forward the erroneous line. Because of this, the Central Committee hereby decides:

- (1) Generally speaking, comrades of Four Clean-Ups work teams should not be called back for struggle.
- (2) Complaints against comrades of Four Clean-Ups work teams may be made in letters, in wall posters or in other places.
- (3) It is necessary to safeguard the results of the Four Clean-Ups Movement. Those Party cadres taking the capitalist roads who have been dismissed from office and the landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists

are not allowed to reverse the judgments passed on them, nor are they allowed to make trouble.

The Central Committee of the Chinese
Communist Party

January 25, 1967

ORDER OF THE STATE COUNCIL AND
THE CENTRAL MILITARY COMMISSION
CONCERNING THE TAKING OVER
OF THE CIVIL AVIATION SYSTEM
BY THE ARMY

(January 26, 1967)

According to the great leader Chairman Mao's guiding principle of "grasping the revolution and promoting production," in order to meet the need of making preparations for war, protect the normal and safe operation of international and domestic air lines, and safeguard the smooth progress of the great proletarian cultural revolution, it is hereby decided that:

(1) The General Bureau of Civil Aviation, the administration bureaus of various regions, the provincial (district) bureaus, the aviation stations, the command, service and protection systems, the airports and the aviation schools should as a rule be taken over by the army. The take-over work should be organized and carried out by the Air Force.

(2) After the take-over by the armed forces, the great proletarian cultural revolution of the civil aviation system should be carried out in accordance with the decisions of the Central Committee concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution and the systems and arrangements made by the armed forces.

(3) After the take-over by the armed forces, the revolutionary organizations of the various units of the civil aviation system should as a rule not exchange revolutionary experience with the revolutionary organizations outside the civil aviation system.

ORDER OF THE CENTRAL MILITARY COMMISSION

THE EIGHT POINTS LAID DOWN ARE VERY GOOD. HAVE THEM ISSUED AS THEY ARE.

MAO TSE-TUNG

January 28

In accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions, as the great proletarian cultural revolution has entered a new stage of all-round class struggle, the past decree that the armed forces should not intervene in the local great cultural revolution must be changed. In order to conform to the new form of development of the struggle between the two classes and two lines, the following provisions are laid down:

(1) It is necessary to give resolute support to the true proletarian revolutionaries, win over and rally the great majority, resolutely oppose the Rightists, and take resolute measures of dictatorship against conclusively proven counter-revolutionary organizations and counter-revolutionary elements.

(2) All commanders and fighters, political workers, orderlies, medical personnel, scientific and confidential and security personnel must resolutely remain at their posts and must not leave their duties without proper authorization. They must grasp revolution, and promote war preparedness, work, and production.

(3) In armed forces units where the great cultural revolution has been launched, there should be big contending, big blooming, big-character posters, big debates. The method of showing facts and reasoning should be fully utilized. The two classes of contradictions must be strictly distinguished. Handling of contradictions among the people in the same way as dealing with the enemy is not permitted. Arresting people at will without orders is not permitted, ransacking of homes and sealing of doors

at will is not permitted. It is not permitted to carry out corporeal punishment or disguised corporeal punishment such as making people wear tall caps and black placards, parading them in streets, forcing them to kneel, etc., etc. Earnestly promote civil struggle, resolutely oppose struggle by brute force.

(4) All college and school teachers and students, literary and art bodies, physical culture work teams, hospital workers, of armaments factories, etc., who have gone to outside areas to exchange revolutionary experience should return as quickly as possible to their home areas or units to engage in struggle, criticism, and reform and take back the power of their own units which has been usurped by a small handful of persons in authority who take the capitalist road. They must not stay in Peking or any other area.

(5) The question of assaults on military leadership organs should be dealt with differently according to different cases. Prosecution should be instituted in the case of assaults made in the past by counter-revolutionaries, but action need not be taken if the assaults were made by Leftists. Henceforth no assault shall be permitted.

(6) It is forbidden to assault, or exchange revolutionary experience with, war preparation systems and security systems in the armed forces. It is forbidden to ask for or take by force any document, file, and technical data which do not concern the cultural revolution. Materials concerning the cultural revolution will be kept under seal for the time being, to be dealt with later.

(7) Organs at the army and higher levels should carry out great cultural revolution by batches at different times in accordance with provisions. Armies, divisions, regiments, battalions, companies and special units designated by the Military Commission must resolutely adopt the policy of positive education, so as to facilitate the strengthening of war preparedness, take care of national defense, and protect the great proletarian cultural revolution.

(8) Cadres of all levels, in particular higher ranking cadres,

must strictly bring up their children with the thought of Mao Tse-tung. They must teach them to study hard Chairman Mao's works, earnestly unite as one with workers and peasants and regard them as their own teachers, take part in labor training, reform their world outlook, and strive to be proletarian revolutionaries. When children of cadres have acted contrary to law and discipline, they should be turned over to the masses for education. In serious cases, they should be handed over to public security or judicial organs for action.

The provisions above shall take effect immediately from the date of their promulgation. They must be strictly observed by all commanders and fighters, teachers and students of colleges and schools, literary and art bodies, physical culture work teams, hospital workers, and workers of armaments factories. Offenders are liable to disciplinary action.

The Military Commission of the CCP
Central Committee

January 28, 1967

DIRECTIVE OF THE CENTRAL MILITARY
COMMISSION REITERATING
THE CARRYING OUT OF
THE GREAT CULTURAL REVOLUTION
STAGE BY STAGE AND GROUP BY GROUP
IN MILITARY REGIONS

(January 28, 1967)

1. The great cultural revolution in military regions should be carried out stage by stage and group by group according to the instructions of Chairman Mao and Vice Chairman Lin Piao.

2. At present, the great proletarian cultural revolution has entered the new stage of all-round class struggle throughout the country. The Chinese People's Liberation Army is charged with the task of energetically supporting the revolutionary Left and defending the great cultural revolution.

3. The imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries are itching for stronger action against China, and the Chiang Kai-shek bandits also want to avail themselves of the opportunity to launch raids. In view of this, the great cultural revolution movement in the military regions of the first line of defense against imperialism and revisionism (Tsinan, Nanking, Foochow, Canton, Kunming and Sinkiang) and the Wuhan Military Region which is charged with the task of aiding the various military regions at any time should be postponed for the time being in accordance with the previous directive. These military regions should stabilize themselves so that they may render aid and support to the great cultural revolution in their places and safeguard national defense. As to when the great cultural revolution movement should be initiated, they should await the order of the Military Commission.

CIRCULAR OF THE STATE COUNCIL
CONCERNING THE CANCELLATION OF
HOLIDAYS FOR THE SPRING FESTIVAL OF 1967

(January 29, 1967)

A new stage of the great proletarian cultural revolution in our country has begun. Right now is the critical moment when the proletarian revolutionaries form a great alliance, and, with an overwhelming force, develop a struggle of overall power-seizure against a small handful of persons in the Party who have been in authority and taking the capitalist road. Based on the requests of the vast revolutionary masses, for the sake of resolutely carrying out the principle of Grasp Revolution and Promote Production as laid down by our great leader Chairman Mao, and obtaining the dual victory in revolution and in production, thus pushing the great proletarian cultural revolution to a new high tide, the State Council hereby decides: There will be no holidays for the Spring Festivals of 1967; home-leaves for workers are to be temporarily cancelled during the great cultural revolution period, to be made up later on.

DECISION OF THE CCP CENTRAL
COMMITTEE, THE STATE COUNCIL AND
THE CENTRAL MILITARY COMMITTEE
CONCERNING THE RECENT
INCIDENT IN CHEKIANG

1. The Chinese People's Liberation Army must act in accordance with Chairman Mao's directives and the January 30 Decision of the CCP Central Committee, the State Council, the Military Commission of the Central Committee and the Cultural Revolution Group under the Central Committee, as well as the January 28 Order of the Military Commission of the Central Committee — "Firmly support the genuine proletarian revolutionaries, win over and unite the great majority, firmly oppose the Right, and firmly adopt dictatorial measures against those confirmed counterrevolutionary organizations and counterrevolutionaries."

2. In connection with its recent investigation into the origin of blacklist information and search for Ch'en Wei-ta for criticism and repudiation, the United General Headquarters of the Revolutionary Rebels of Chekiang province has called on the authorities to carry out the Three-Point Decision of the Military Commission and to hand over the children of high-ranking cadres for trial and punishment. This mass struggle is a revolutionary action backed by the Central Committee.

3. Because the above struggle has not only been suppressed by the Party, government and military authorities of Chekiang but has also set the bad example of the masses fighting against the masses on a number of occasions — especially the outbreak of the January 26 incident after the publication of the above decision of the Military Commission of the Central Committee — this can never be tolerated. The responsibility of inciting the

masses under the United General Headquarters of the Revolutionary Rebels into occupying the main building of the military district at different times should be borne mainly by the Chekiang Provincial Committee and partly by some leaders of the military district. The Central Committee expresses great concern over this.

4. The Central Committee hereby extends its sympathy and consolation to all comrades wounded or insulted in the above struggle, irrespective of where the incident has occurred. The wounded should be given medical treatment, and those receiving damages should be compensated. If the persons who instigated the masses to fight against the masses from behind the scenes are found, they should be sternly dealt with.

5. With the object of quickly pacifying this incident to facilitate the carrying out of the great proletarian cultural revolution, the Central Committee has especially sent Comrade Tu Fang-p'ing, Political Commissar of the Nanking Military District to accompany Comrade Yüan Hsieh-pang, Deputy Commander of the Chekiang Military District, and Comrade Ting Chün of the General Office of the CCP Central Committee to Hangchow. They are responsible for making inquiries into this incident and other problems concerned together with the Chekiang Provincial Committee and the United General Headquarters of the Chekiang Revolutionary Rebels, and will report the results to the Central Committee for approval.

6. Comrades Tu Fang-p'ing and Ting Chün, together with the persons sent by the Provincial Committee, the Military District and the Rebel Headquarters, shall be responsible for investigating and compiling all materials in the great proletarian cultural revolution, including the materials in this struggle. Later they shall deal with these materials in accordance with the November 16, 1966 supplementary provisions and may not cover up anything.

7. Family members of the law-breaking students should be enjoined to advise such students quickly to surrender themselves for trial. This case shall be dealt with by the Ministry of Public Security together with the Public Security Bureau of Hangchow Municipality according to the stipulations and principles of the

Central Committee.

8. The comrades concerned of the Provincial Committee and the Military District should make a penetrating self-examination before the masses in this connection.

9. The Central Committee hopes that the masses under the United General Headquarters of the Chekiang Revolutionary Rebels will leave the main building and hall of the military district of their own accord after they are informed of this decision of the Central Committee. Prior to their departure, both sides may not make any provocative statements and broadcasts, or distribute handbills for propaganda purposes.

10. The Central Committee calls on the masses under the United General Headquarters of the Chekiang Revolutionary Rebels to form a great alliance with all proletarian revolutionaries, hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, carry out struggle to seize power from a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party and the diehards firmly clinging to bourgeois reactionary line, smash reactionary revisionist economism, and firmly implement and carry out the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao.

The Central Committee calls on the whole body of the People's Liberation Army of the Chekiang Military District firmly to stand on the side of the revolutionary Left, firmly support the great alliance of the proletarian revolutionaries, and firmly support the revolutionary rebels' struggle to seize power so as to facilitate penetration into the class struggle and the all-round development of the great proletarian cultural revolution in Chekiang.

January 30, 1967

CIRCULAR OF THE CCP CENTRAL
COMMITTEE AND THE STATE COUNCIL
CONCERNING THE QUESTION OF
EXCHANGE OF REVOLUTIONARY
EXPERIENCE ON FOOT
BY REVOLUTIONARY TEACHERS AND
STUDENTS AND RED GUARDS

To all regional bureaus of the Central Committee and the Party committees and people's councils of all provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions:

Over the past few months, the broad masses of revolutionary teachers and students, through warmly responding to the calls of our great leader Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Comrade Lin Piao and carrying out exchange of revolutionary experience on foot, have steeled themselves in a big way, and have brought about the development of the great proletarian cultural revolution movement on a more penetrating and broader scale. At present, the great proletarian cultural revolution of our country has entered a new stage. The great alliance of the proletarian revolutionaries has launched the struggle to seize power from a handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and a very small number of diehards who obstinately cling to the bourgeois reactionary line. The revolutionary teachers and students and the Red Guards who have gone to other places on foot to carry out exchange of revolutionary experience should return to their own schools to participate in the great battle of decision of historical significance.

At present, because too many revolutionary teachers and students have gone to Peking, Shaoshan, Ching Kang Mountains, Juichin, Tsunyi, Luting Bridge, Yen-an and other revolutionary shrines as well as Tachai, they have caused overcrowding in these places. As it is cold and it is very difficult to arrange board and lodging and means of communication for them, the production

and living conditions of the masses in those places have also been affected. In some places, due to the outbreak of infectious diseases, the health of the revolutionary teachers and students has been affected. These problems must be urgently solved.

Because of this, the CCP Central Committee and the State Council hereby decide:

(1) The making of long journeys on foot to carry out the exchange of revolutionary experience should be suspended throughout the country. In the case of those teams which have arrived at their places of destination on foot to exchange revolutionary experience, when their stay has exceeded three to five days, they are asked quickly to return to their own places. The exchange of revolutionary experience on foot within the confines of a county must also guard against overcrowding. No more trips should be made to Peking, Shaoshan, Chingkang Mountains, Juichin, Tsunyi, Luting Bridge, Yen-an and other revolutionary shrines as well as Tachai for exchange of revolutionary experience or visit.

(2) The teams which have carried out the exchange of revolutionary experience on foot should in principle return to their own places on foot. At present, in order to enable the revolutionary teachers and students and the Red Guards who are more than 500 kilometers away from their own places quickly to return to their own places and schools to make revolution, participate in the struggle-criticism-transformation, realize the great alliance of revolutionary rebels and carry out the struggle to seize power, they are also entitled to travel free by train or boat within the next fifteen days. Those who are in places some distance from a railway line should make their way on foot to the nearest railway station to board a train.

(3) For the sake of responding to the great call of our respected and beloved leader Chairman Mao for making revolution on an economical basis, of bringing into play the excellent style of leading a hard and plain life through hard work and thrift, of opposing economism, and of guarding against extravagance and waste, the revolutionary teachers and students who have gone out to exchange revolutionary experience on foot should as a

rule pay for their own meals as well as their travelling expenses within the confines of a municipality. The ration grain may be increased appropriately. In case of need, some subsidies may be granted to cover propaganda and medical expenses.

(4) The revolutionary teachers and students and the Red Guards who have come to Peking and have not paid for their meals are as a rule required to pay for their meals as from February 8, and no more free meals will be provided from that date.

This circular may be posted in the various units and places concerned in all cities and rural areas throughout the country.

The CCP Central Committee
The State Council

February 3, 1967

CIRCULAR OF THE STATE COUNCIL
AND THE CENTRAL MILITARY COMMISSION
FORBIDDING EXCHANGE OF
REVOLUTIONARY EXPERIENCE IN
INDUSTRIAL AND MINING UNITS,
SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH ORGANS,
DESIGNING UNITS AND
CAPITAL CONSTRUCTION UNITS
UNDER THE INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM FOR
NATIONAL DEFENSE

(February 4, 1967)

To the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th Ministries of Machine Building, the Office in Charge of National Defense Industry, and the people's councils of all provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions:

The industrial and mining enterprises, scientific research organs, designing units and capital construction units of the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th Ministries of Machine Building are important classified units of the state. The Cultural Revolution Group under the Central Committee has agreed that the workers and students of other units, other than those within the system, must as a rule not go there to exchange revolutionary experience. Those who have already gone there should pull out at once.

This circular may be posted in various units concerned.

CIRCULAR OF THE CCP CENTRAL
COMMITTEE CONCERNING
THE GREAT PROLETARIAN
CULTURAL REVOLUTION
IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS (DRAFT)

(For discussion and experimentation)

(1) Primary schools form an important front in the great proletarian cultural revolution. They must firmly carry out the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and thoroughly criticize and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line. They must act according to the "Decision of the CCP Central Committee Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution."

(2) Primary schools in all places shall resume classes after the Spring Festival. Primary school teachers and pupils who have gone to other places to exchange revolutionary experience should return to their own schools to play an active part in the great proletarian cultural revolution, to carry out struggle-criticism-transformation and to organize studies for the pupils.

(3) Primary school pupils may organize Red Little Soldiers. Those in the 5th and 6th year classes and graduates of 1966 should, in conjunction with the great cultural revolution, study quotations from Chairman Mao, the three most widely studied articles, the three main rules of discipline and the eight points for attention, and the sixteen articles of the cultural revolution, and learn to sing revolutionary songs.

Those in the 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th year classes should be organized to study quotations from Chairman Mao and learn to read characters and sing revolutionary songs with the revolutionary teachers and pupils in senior classes acting as their supervising personnel.

During the period of the great cultural revolution, primary school pupils must also be taught some general arithmetic and scientific know'edge.

(4) Cultural revolution committees and cultural revolution groups in primary schools shall be brought into being by teachers and pupils in senior classes through democratic elections. Revolutionary teachers and pupils in senior classes should form the main body in these organizations.

School administration should be strengthened or re-elected through mass discussion to take good care of the life of teachers and pupils.

(5) In the great cultural revolution, no leaders shall be permitted to adopt various means to hit back in revenge on the ground that the masses have criticized them or exposed their problems. Revolutionary teachers and pupils who have been branded as "counterrevolutionaries," "pseudo-leftists but genuine rightists," "little monsters and demons," etc., in the great cultural revolution must be vindicated.

(6) A handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road should mainly be attacked in the great cultural revolution. Meanwhile, those landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists (not referring to their family background) among the teachers and staff members who firmly cling to the reactionary stand should be purged, and the educational organs should arrange for their reform through labor in their own places.

This circular may be posted in urban and rural basic-level units and primary schools throughout the country.

February 4, 1967

PROCLAMATION OF
THE ARMED FORCE UNITS ON
THE FUKIEN FRONT TRANSMITTED BY
THE CENTRAL MILITARY COMMISSION

To all military regions, all arms, all bases and all command posts:

The proclamation of the armed force units on the Fukien front is hereby transmitted to you for reference and execution.

The Military Commission of the
Central Committee

February 6, 1967

Enclosure: A proclamation of the armed force units on the
Fukien front.

Supreme Directive

With the army advancing, production growing, and discipline strengthened, the revolution will be invincible.

PROCLAMATION OF THE ARMED FORCE UNITS
ON THE FUKIEN FRONT

(January 31, 1967)

Recently, at a crucial moment when the class struggle is being launched on all fronts throughout the country, when Chairman Mao has instructed the People's Liberation Army to give firm support to the revolutionary Left of the masses and carry out great alliance and struggle to seize power, and when the

armed force units at the front are making intensified preparations for war, a few persons with an ulterior object in view have spread rumors and slanders in regard to the congress of activists in the study of Chairman Mao's works of the armed force units in Foochow, and instigated a section of the masses who do not understand the actual situation to storm and attack the military organs. Acting in violation of regulations of the CCP Central Committee banning the storming and attacking of military leadership organs, they stormed on two occasions — January 26 and 29 — into the meeting place to seize leadership in the congress and destroy equipment in the meeting place. On January 26, they stormed and attacked the military command organs. In particular, after the promulgation of the Order of the Military Commission of the Central Committee on January 28, some persons still deliberately seized army cadres to carry out struggle against them, inflicted corporeal punishment on them and insulted the dignity of other persons on January 30. Since they have openly violated and resisted the Order of the Military Commission of the Central Committee approved for issue by the supreme commander Chairman Mao, disciplinary action should be taken against their acts involving serious breach of discipline.

Ours is a people's army personally built and led by Chairman Mao. It is the most important tool of the proletarian dictatorship, and the most loyal defender of the interests of the people, of the great proletarian cultural revolution, and of the thought of Mao Tse-tung. Anybody who is opposed to Chairman Mao's order is opposed to Chairman Mao!

In accordance with the order of the supreme commander, we firmly support the genuine proletarian revolutionaries and are firmly opposed to the Right. We are making intensified preparations for war to defend the great proletarian cultural revolution. We resolutely adopt dictatorial measures against those counter-revolutionary organizations and counterrevolutionaries when conclusive evidence is available! We resolutely take disciplinary action against those who do not carry out the orders of the Military Commission of the Central Committee!

For the sake of upholding the dignity of the order of the

supreme commander, we have taken disciplinary action against the few unlawful elements who have violated and resisted the order of the Military Commission of the Central Committee. Should anybody outside the army make use of this to spread rumors and slanders, to instigate the masses who do not understand the actual situation into continuously storming and attacking the military organs, or to vilify the Chinese People's Liberation Army, we will firmly adopt the necessary measures to deal with them in accordance with the order of the supreme commander.

Be resolved to support the genuine revolutionary Left!
Be resolved to smash the bourgeois reactionary line!
Long live Chairman Mao's revolutionary line!
Long live the great proletarian cultural revolution!
Long live the dictatorship of the proletariat!
Long live the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung!
Long live and a long, long life to our most respected
and beloved great teacher, greater leader, great
supreme commander and great helmsman Chair-
man Mao!

CIRCULAR OF THE CENTRAL
MILITARY COMMISSION
SETTING A TIME LIMIT FOR THOSE
WHO HAVE GONE TO OTHER PLACES TO
EXCHANGE REVOLUTIONARY EXPERIENCE
TO RETURN TO THEIR OWN UNITS

(February 8, 1967)

After the promulgation of the January 28 Order of the Military Commission of the Central Committee, the comrades of the army colleges and schools, literary and art troupes, physical cultural work teams, hospital, arsenals and other units who have gone to other places to exchange revolutionary experience have warmly responded to the call of the Military Commission, and the majority of them have returned to their own places and units to carry out struggle-criticism-transformation and struggle to seize power from a handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road.

However, there are at the moment still some comrades who linger in Peking and other places. For the purpose of sensibly implementing and carrying out its January 28 Order, the Military Commission has decided that the comrades of all colleges and schools, organs, literary and art troupes, physical cultural work teams, hospitals, arsenals and other units must without exception return to their own places and units on or before February 20, and may not stay in other places after that date.

The liaison centers of the revolutionary mass organizations set up in various places must also be abolished without exception.

The reception centers of various units shall suspend their reception activities without exception as from February 21.

Those who have not returned after the expiry of the time limit shall not be entitled to make any claim for traveling and

other expenses. Anybody acting in violation of the above provisions shall be given disciplinary punishment according to the January 28 order.

ORDER OF THE CENTRAL MILITARY COMMISSION

To the Navy, the Air Force and various military districts:

According to the spirit of the Eight-Point Order of the Military Commission as approved by Chairman Mao, the Military Commission hereby decides:

1. That the Navy, the aeronautical schools of the Air Force and the units below the army level shall as a rule carry out education by positive example without promoting the "four bigs"*

2. That the leading organs of the Navy Fleet and the leading organs of the Air Force shall not unfold the "four bigs" for the time being, and as to how these things should be initiated, this will be communicated by the Military Commission in another order.

You are expected to adhere strictly to and carry out the above order.

Military Commission of the Central
Committee

February 8, 1967

* A sentence in the second article of the Decision of the CCP Central Committee Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (August 8, 1966) says: "Using big-character posters and debates, they are airing their views and opinions in a big way, exposing and criticizing in a big way, firmly launching an attack against those open and covert bourgeois representatives."

ORDER OF THE CENTRAL MILITARY COMMISSION

Comrades of military schools and literary associations:

Our People's Liberation Army should resolutely defend and carry out supreme directives and resolutely carry out orders of the Military Commission. Last evening some comrades raided leading organs of the Canton Military Region and arrested people wantonly without authorization; this is directly a violation against the Eight-Point Order of the Military Commission approved for distribution by Chairman Mao, and is therefore an erroneous conduct. The Canton Military Region command resolutely maintained the order of the Military Commission; and is therefore completely right. It is hoped that you will distinguish right and wrong, and leave the areas of the organs of the Military Region immediately.

Comrades of local revolutionary organizations and local revolutionary teachers and students: What happened last evening is purely a matter within the armed forces; and you are please not to intervene. You are requested to defend voluntarily the Eight-Point Order of the Military Commission approved for distribution by Chairman Mao, and to leave the barracks immediately.

.. The Central Military Commission

17:30, February 8, 1967

ORDER OF THE CENTRAL MILITARY COMMISSION

1. Comrades of military schools and literary associations: At 17:30 today the Military Commission issued the order that you must resolutely carry out the Eight-Point Order of the Military Commission approved for distribution by Chairman Mao; yet you did not carry out the order. Now you are again ordered to withdraw immediately. Whatever questions you may have, you may make telephone calls to Peking immediately or send representatives to Peking to seek a solution. Otherwise you are to be held responsible for all consequences.

2. Comrades of local revolutionary organizations and local revolutionary teachers and students: Canton faces Hong Kong and Macao, and the situation is unusually complicated. It is hoped that you will keep alert and will not intervene in this raid, and that you will resolutely maintain the Eight-Point Order of the supreme commander.

The Central Military Commission

20:30, February 8, 1967

CIRCULAR OF THE CENTRAL MILITARY COMMISSION*

Recently, three persons from the PLA Art Academy joined the reactionary organization "Storm Over Hsiung River" in Changsha, Hunan Province, and engaged themselves in counter-revolutionary activities; and some students, particularly those belonging to the "Sparks on the Plain" of the Art Academy, have been doing mischief in Hunan, Shenyang, and Fuchow Military Districts, by distributing rumors, confiscating properties, arresting people wantonly, attacking the outstanding military leading organs, and carrying on cruel struggle with physical violence, thus violating the Eight-Point Order approved for distribution by Chairman Mao. In order to carry out the directives of Chairman Mao, to enforce military discipline and to defend the great cultural revolution, the Military Commission has made the following decision. All personnel of the Art Academy are to report to their own academy within five days where they will carry out a rectification campaign. Those who violate this decision will be punished according to military discipline.

The Central Military Commission

February 9, 1967

* We have not seen the Chinese text of this document, which is translated from the Japanese language *World Political Materials* (No. 272, December 1967) published by the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party. It is noted there that the Chinese text was published in the *Anti-Restoration War Journal* of July 7, 1967.

REGULATIONS OF THE CCP
CENTRAL COMMITTEE,
THE STATE COUNCIL AND THE
MILITARY COMMISSION OF THE
CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE

The Production and Construction Corps of the Sinkiang Military Region is not an ordinary force of land reclamation but a production force equipped with arms. Situated in the border area and in the front line of the struggle against revisionism and imperialism, it shoulders the heavy combat task of guarding the frontier of the mother country.

At the moment, the great proletarian cultural revolution has entered a new stage of general class struggle. The Production and Construction Corps of the Sinkiang Military Region must hold high the great red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, persevere in implementing the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, give resolute support to the power-seizure struggle of true proletarian revolutionaries in Sinkiang, and at the same time actively carry out well its own great cultural revolution, so that it will forever be a revolutionary force which is infinitely loyal to Chairman Mao, to the Party and the people and forever upholds the fine traditions of the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

To meet the needs of the new situation created by the development of the struggle between two classes and two lines and the needs of war preparedness, it is decided to exercise military control over the Production and Construction Corps of the Sinkiang Military Region during the period of the cultural revolution. The following provisions are hereby made:

1. The Production and Construction Corps of the Sinkiang

Military Region should carry out the great proletarian cultural revolution under military control. No revolutionary mass organization or individual person in the locality is allowed to intervene in and establish links with the great cultural revolution of the Corps.

2. The Eight-Point Order of the Military Commission of the Central Committee, the distribution of which was approved by Chairman Mao on January 28, is entirely applicable to the Production and Construction Corps and must be firmly enforced.

3. The cultural revolution committee of the Production and Construction Corps, composed of three sides, i.e., revolutionary leading members, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary masses, should take the responsibility for leading the great proletarian cultural revolution in the entire Corps and should be under the direct leadership of the Cultural Revolution Group of the Sinkiang Military Region.

All divisions, regiments (farms), mines, enterprises and business units under the Production and Construction Corps should set up their own cultural revolution committees of three-in-one combinations, i.e., revolutionary leading members, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary masses to lead the great cultural revolution in their own units. These cultural revolution committees should be under the leadership of the cultural revolution committees at the higher level.

4. The revolutionary masses of the Production and Construction Corps may in their own companies (workshops) or offices (departments) of their organs at the regimental and higher levels set up cultural revolution mass organizations which should carry out the great cultural revolution under the leadership of their respective Party committees.

5. Cultural revolution committees and cultural revolution mass organizations at various levels within the Production and Construction Corps shall have the right to criticize and make recommendations to the leadership of their own units but no right to supervise them. They may point out the errors of certain leading cadres for examination, and these errors may be solved

through consultations after they have been investigated and confirmed by the Party committees. Where they cannot be so solved, they may be referred to the higher level for decision.

6. All universities, middle schools, literary and art bodies, scientific research departments and medical units under the Production and Construction Corps should, without exception, make a success of the struggle-criticism-transformation in their own schools, bodies, departments and units according to the original administrative systems. They should not intervene in the great cultural revolution of the leading organs and armed forces.

7. All revolutionary teachers and students, revolutionary workers, revolutionary cadres and youths who have come to the border region to help with construction should, without exception, participate in the great cultural revolution in their own units. They may carry out exchange of experiences in their own units and not outside. The units charged with specific assignments, can only carry out the great cultural revolution within their spare times so as to facilitate grasping revolution, and promoting production, work and war preparations.

8. In those universities, middle schools, medical units, literary and art bodies and scientific research departments where the power of leadership has been usurped by a handful of Party capitalist roaders in authority, such power should be recaptured from them; but before doing so, approval should be sought from the Party committees and cultural revolution committees at the higher levels.

All other units of the Production and Construction Corps should not engage in struggle to seize power. Where the Party organizations or leading cadres of some units have serious problems, they may be reorganized or relieved of their duty by the higher Party committees in the light of the mass opinions. In those units where power has been seized, such seizure of power shall be given validity only after investigation and confirmation by the higher level.

In the case of those whom the masses regard as the "three-

anti" [anti-Party, anti-socialism, and anti-Mao Tse-tung's thought] elements and whose designation [as three-anti elements], expulsion from the Party and punishment are demanded by the masses, with the exception of active counter-revolutionaries, they should be dealt with according to the relevant regulations of the central authorities in the later period of the great cultural revolution.

9. All armed forces of the Production and Construction Corps are allowed only to carry out education by positive example and not to engage in "four big" [big airing, big blossoming, big debate, and big-character poster]. This is in order to facilitate war preparations.

10. Elements which have seized power and stolen arms and ammunition shall be treated as counter-revolutionaries and arrested.

Scattered weapons and weapons in the private possession of individuals must be re-registered and kept in unified and centralized custody. Those who go against this rule are liable to punishment.

11. Armed forces of the Production and Construction Corps are under the unified leadership and command of the Sinkiang Military Region.

12. These regulations shall go into effect on the day of their promulgation. All personnel of the Production and Construction Corps of the Sinkiang Military Region must strictly abide by them or face disciplinary action.

The CCP Central Committee
The State Council
The Military Commission of the CCP
Central Committee

February 11, 1967

SOME REGULATIONS OF THE
MILITARY COMMISSION OF
THE CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE
CONCERNING THE GREAT
CULTURAL REVOLUTION IN LEADING
ORGANS ABOVE THE ARMY LEVEL

The great cultural revolution in leading organs above the army level (not including the army level itself; the same applies hereinafter) has scored great successes. At present, the great proletarian cultural revolution has entered the new stage of all-round class struggle, and the situation is excellent. In order to implement further the January 28 Order of the Military Commission of the Central Committee, give better support to and play a better part in the struggle of local proletarian revolutionaries to seize power, defend successfully the great proletarian cultural revolution, fulfill the glorious task of national defense, and make a greater success of the great cultural revolution in organs above the army level, it is hereby stipulated as follows:

1. The January 28 Order of the Military Commission of the Central Committee was approved for issue in person by our great supreme commander Chairman Mao. This order of the Military Commission is an important document. It must be widely publicized, and the masses must be fully aroused to study and discuss it penetratingly and grasp well the living ideas in the real sense so that everybody may have a profound knowledge of the great significance in the issue of this order, thus heightening his self-consciousness in executing the order. All true revolutionary comrades of our army must firmly defend and unconditionally implement and carry out this order.

2. The great cultural revolution in organs above the army level (the various headquarters, services and arms, the various military regions, the provincial military districts and military (sub)

districts, the Air Force and the fleets of the Navy) must resolutely carry out full and frank airing of views, write wall posters and conduct debates stage by stage and group by group according to Chairman Mao's instructions. With the exception of those that have temporarily suspended activities to cope with the need, units that have carried out full and frank airing of views, written wall posters and conducted debates in accordance with the decision of the Military Commission must go on to arouse the masses to the full extent, firmly rely on the genuine and not false proletarian revolutionaries, strive to unite the great majority, thoroughly criticize and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line, and drag out a handful of persons in authority taking the capitalist road. Units that are not called on to make full and frank airing of views, write wall posters and conduct debates for the time being according to the decision of the Military Commission must conduct education by positive example. As to when this should be initiated, they must await the order of the Military Commission.

3. Units of the Army and the Air Force below the army level, units of the Navy below the base level, flying schools of the Air Force, the Peking Garrison District, the garrison districts of Shanghai, Tientsin and Luta, and the special units designated by the Military Commission shall as a rule not carry out full and frank airing of views, write wall posters and conduct debates, but should persist in conducting education by positive example. No person or organization is allowed to come to these units to carry out exchange of revolutionary experience under whatever pretext.

4. The People's Liberation Army is the most important tool of the proletarian dictatorship, an armed group for executing revolutionary political tasks. At present, the class struggles at home and abroad are extraordinarily acute and complicated, and the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries are stepping up their efforts against China. Our Army must heighten its vigilance, strengthen its war preparedness, and uphold a high degree of concentration, unity and uninterrupted command. Because of this, leading military organs at all levels (including commands, political departments, logistics departments and other leading departments) are as a rule not allowed to carry out seizure of power

from bottom to top. No person or organization is allowed to engineer attack.

5. According to the principle of the absolute leadership of the Party over the armed forces as defined by the resolution of the Kut'ien Conference and the resolution of the enlarged meeting of the Military Commission in 1960, the great cultural revolution in organs above the army level must be led by Party committees. When the problems of individual members of the Party committee are serious, such members may be replaced, and when the Party committee is incapable of exercising leadership, it can be reorganized. But all this must be approved by a higher level. The leading organs of the armed forces must preserve a compact, integrated command system, and it is undesirable to form various kinds of militant organizations for the cultural revolution. When such militant organizations have already been set up, they must be reorganized as administrative units. These militant organizations of the cultural revolution have the right to criticize and make suggestions to the Party committee, but they cannot replace or supervise the Party committee or the administrative leadership in the exercise of duties and powers.

6. The leading cadres who firmly cling to the thought of Mao Tse-tung and the proletarian revolutionary line are the precious assets of the Party and the people. It is imperative to distinguish clearly whether they are proletarian power-holders or bourgeois ones. The idea that all persons in authority must be overthrown is completely wrong.

Leading cadres at all levels must put daring above everything else. They must go amidst the masses, humbly heed what they say, closely unite with them, make revolution together with them, and perform new deeds of merit for the people.

Cadres who have made mistakes should be dealt with separately according to whether their problems and conditions are of a serious or unimportant character, and a strict line of distinction must be drawn between the two kinds of contradiction. So long as they are not anti-Party, anti-socialist elements and are not incorrigible despite repeated education, they must be permitted to rectify their errors and encouraged to redeem their crimes

with meritorious deeds.

The leading cadres who have not been suspended from duties or dismissed from office at the order of a higher level should firmly stick to their posts, grasp the revolution, promote war preparedness, work and production, and strive to fulfill their own work tasks.

7. In the movement, it is necessary to hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's writings, and carry out work according to Chairman Mao's instructions. It is necessary to oppose anarchism, radical democratization, the small group mentality, individualism, subjectivism and other undesirable tendencies. It is even more necessary to publicize energetically and implement in real earnest Vice Chairman Lin Piao's instructions and reinforce the revolutionary, scientific, organized and disciplined character of the movement.

The above provisions should be transmitted at once to Party committees at all levels and all personnel. The Military Commission calls on all comrades to see clearly the new situation of development now reigning in the struggle between the two classes, the two lines, fully understand the standing and glorious task of our army in this struggle, firmly carry out the above provisions, and strive to win new victories for the great proletarian cultural revolution.

The Central Military Commission

February 11, 1967

CIRCULAR OF THE CCP CENTRAL
COMMITTEE CONCERNING
THE QUESTION OF HANDLING
THE PARTY MEMBERSHIP
OF PARTY MEMBERS

Party committees at all levels, Party committees of military districts at all levels:

Recently, Party organizations or mass organizations of some units, in compliance with the request of certain masses, relieved some Party members of their Party membership and, in some cases, even burned on the spot their documents such as their letters of pledges to the Party. With regard to this, the Central Committee takes the following view:

1. With the exception of active counter-revolutionaries who have been arrested to be dealt with according to law and who should be relieved of their Party membership forthwith, in general the Party membership of Party members should be handled in the latter period of the movement.

2. According to the provisions of the Party Constitution, punishment of Party members must be carried out by the Party organization. The masses and their organization shall have no power to take Party disciplinary measures against Party members.

3. Documents of Party members such as their letters of application for Party membership must not be burned.

The CCP Central Committee

February 12, 1967

This circular may be posted in the countryside, cities and various units of the armed forces.

REGULATIONS OF THE STATE COUNCIL
AND THE CENTRAL MILITARY
COMMISSION CONCERNING
THE RETURN OF ARMED FORCE
WORK GROUPS PARTICIPATING IN
THE LOCAL GREAT CULTURAL REVOLUTION
TO SCHOOLS AND ORGANS
TO MAKE SELF-EXAMINATION

The order of the Military Commission of the CCP Central Committee on January 28 points out: "All commanders and fighters, political work personnel, and personnel engaged in general service, medical, scientific research and intelligence work must stick to their posts and must not leave them without permission. They must grasp revolution, intensify war preparations, promote work, and stimulate production." Members of the armed force work groups participating in the great cultural revolution in local schools and organs have left their posts for a long time with the result that the work and the great cultural revolution of certain units have been affected in varying degrees. Their shortcomings or mistakes in the work groups have been for the most part profoundly examined. Therefore, at the new stage of general class struggle in the great proletarian cultural revolution the following provisions are hereby made in order to intensify war preparations, reinforce national defense, safeguard the great proletarian cultural revolution, and make a success of the great cultural revolution in the armed forces:

(1) All members of the armed force work groups who have returned to local schools and organs to make self-examination should be allowed by the various units concerned to return to their original posts within three to five days.

(2) Should members holding the rank of group leader or higher rank commit serious mistakes and whose further self-examination is demanded by the revolutionary masses, contact should be made with the All-Army Cultural Revolution Office,

and upon agreement being reached through consultations, these members may be allowed to return [to schools and organs] to make self-examination. But after the examination they should be permitted to go back to the armed forces at any time. No unit is allowed to go to the armed forces to arrest persons at will.

(3) They should return [to schools and organs] to make self-examination outside the military duty hours. If they have important duties to perform, the time may be put off through consultations.

(4) In respect to members who return to make self-examination, it is not permitted to strip off their collar-badges or cap-insignia or to subject them to corporeal punishment in any disguised form.

(5) Ordinary team members shall, without exception, not return to make self-examination. Leaders of branch groups also shall not return to make self-examination if they have not made serious mistakes.

(These provisions may be printed and posted inside organs, schools, literary and art bodies, enterprises and business units.)

The State Council
The Central Military Commission

February 12, 1967

NOTICE OF THE CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND THE STATE COUNCIL

During the great proletarian cultural revolution, a great number of so-called national organizations have appeared in Peking and other parts of the country. They were not elected democratically from the lower level to the higher level on the basis of genuine revolutionary alliances as were being formed in various parts of the country, but were formed extemporarily by a small number of people together. A very small number of them were set up by landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists.

The CCP Central Committee and the State Council have taken this decision:

1. The central authorities do not recognize any of these so-called national organizations. All these organizations should be disbanded immediately. Their members should immediately return to Peking or other parts of the country to take part in the movement in the units where they have been.

2. The public funds which these organizations have taken under all sorts of pretext should be recalled by those units which approved payment exactly in the same amounts as they were paid out. An account must be made of the money which has been spent before this notice is received, and must be audited by the units approving payment. Articles purchased should also be recalled, except those consumed. Money taken should not be used after this notice is received. Anybody absconding with the money is to be prosecuted and punished according to law.

3. If any of these organizations are discovered to be carrying out counter-revolutionary activities, its members must inform public security agencies which are responsible for investigating and handling this matter.

The CCP Central Committee
The State Council

February 12, 1967

NOTICE OF THE STATE COUNCIL AND THE CENTRAL MILITARY COMMISSION CONCERNING THE CARRYING OUT OF THE GREAT CULTURAL REVOLUTION IN THE CAPITAL CONSTRUCTION ENGINEERING CORPS

1. The reorganization of the work contingents directly under the Ministry of Industry, Ministry of Communications and other ministries of the State Council as the experimental capital construction engineering corps is an important measure of far-reaching strategic significance approved by the Party Central Committee, the Military Commission, Chairman Mao and Vice Chairman Lin Piao. The various experimental units should energetically make a success of the experimental work in reorganization.

2. The great proletarian cultural revolution of the capital construction engineering corps must hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, and be effected in strict accordance with the Decision of the CCP Central Committee Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the Ten Provisions (Draft) Concerning "Grasp the Revolution, Promote Production", the Decision of the CCP Central Committee, the State Council, the Military Commission of the Central Committee and the Cultural Revolution Group under the Central Committee Concerning the Firm Support Accorded by the People's Liberation Army to the Revolutionary Masses of the Left, and the two Orders dated January 28 and February 11 of the Military Commission of the Central Committee. Because the capital construction engineering corps is not a fighting unit apart from conducting education by positive example, full and frank airing of views, wall posters and debates should also be adopted under the leadership of the Party committees of the units concerned.

3. The capital construction engineering corps is charged

with the task of carrying out work in national defense and key engineering projects. This is an important matter bearing on emulation of the time and speed of imperialism and revisionism. All commanders and fighters of, and the workers attached to, these units should firmly hold their posts, strive to win a double victory in revolution and construction, and pay attention to keeping state secrets.

4. The brunt of the great cultural revolution movement of the capital construction engineering corps should be directed against the leading cadres of the former enterprises, and the point of emphasis is to purge a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party. The cadres who have just been transferred from the Liberation Army should work with a composed mind, sensibly comprehend the spirit of the general and specific policies of the Central Committee concerning the great cultural revolution, earnestly make a success of political and ideological work in their units, and play an active part in the great cultural revolution. They must set a good example in taking the initiative to examine their own shortcomings and mistakes and in accepting the criticism of the masses.

5. The capital construction engineering corps has been embodied into the Chinese People's Liberation Army, and the greater part of the principal hard-core elements at the company level and above are drawn from the Liberation Army. Because of this, in the great cultural revolution, the method of replacement or transfer is adopted when dealing with those in authority taking the capitalist road and the cadres with serious mistakes, and mass seizure of power is generally not adopted.

6. Because the arms organs and column leading organs of the capital construction engineering corps have not been set up, the Ministry of Industry, Ministry of Communications and other ministries concerned of the State Council must strengthen their leadership over the various detachments and battalions and earnestly assume responsibility for solving the problems brought up by them.

7. In the great cultural revolution, it is necessary to heighten

revolutionary vigilance, and be on guard against the bad people who may avail themselves of the opportunity to attack and disparage the Liberation Army, damage the relationship between the fighters and the works, and undermine the reorganization of the capital construction engineering corps.

This notice may be read and posted at various departments and places concerned and the various units of the capital construction engineering corps.

The State Council,
The Central Military Commission

February 16, 1967

REGULATIONS OF THE CENTRAL MILITARY COMMISSION CONCERNING THE SPHERE OF SEIZURE OF POWER WITHIN THE ARMED FORCES

(February 16, 1967)

At present, the great proletarian cultural revolution has developed to the new stage based on the great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries and the struggle to seize power from a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party. To cope with this new situation, in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions and the January 28, 1967 Order of the Military Commission of the Central Committee, the question of seizure of power within the armed forces is hereby stipulated as follows:

(1) The sphere in which seizure of power may be carried out within the armed forces is limited to academies and schools (schools for training confidential personnel, schools specialized in pioneering techniques, flying schools and classes and departments charged with the task of training foreign language personnel are excepted), literary and art troupes, physical cultural detachments, hospitals (limited only to the general hospitals of the PLA, the general hospitals of military districts and services, and hospitals for teaching purposes), and military factories (those charged with the task of testing pioneering techniques, factories attached to naval bases, and top secret factories are excepted). In these units, whether or not seizure of power is called for depends on the character of the problems connected with the leadership of the Party committees. If the leadership is really in the hands of a handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, it must be seized back with firmness. After the seizure of power, the former leading cadres who have made mistakes should be dealt with separately according to the seriousness of the character of their problems and their conduct, and a strict line of distinc-

tion must be drawn between the two kinds of contradiction. The style of killing at one stroke can never be encouraged. It is against Marxism-Leninism and the thought of Mao Tse-tung to kick one out as soon as one commits mistakes. So long as they are not anti-Party and anti-socialist elements who hold fast to their mistakes despite repeated education, they must be permitted to amend their ways, and encouraged to redeem their crimes with meritorious deeds. We cannot regard those who have made the mistake of carrying out the bourgeois reactionary line as the targets in our seizure of power.

(2) Seizure of power must be carried out by the genuine proletarian revolutionaries of each unit, and it is not permissible for a unit to form an alliance with revolutionary organizations outside the unit for the purpose of seizing power. When carrying out seizure of power, the genuine proletarian revolutionaries of a unit must realize the broadest and most compact form of great alliance under the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought. Seizure of power must be based upon the three-in-one combination of the revolutionary leading cadres, the revolutionary cadres at the intermediate level and the revolutionary masses. Seizure of power can be carried out only when the matter has been fully prepared and discussed, when the conditions are ripe, and after the action has been approved by a higher level. We cannot advocate anarchism, radical democratization, departmentalism, the small group mentality, dispersionism, the non-organization viewpoint, liberalism, subjectivism, or individualism. When disputes arise between the genuine proletarian revolutionary organizations in the struggle to seize power, it is necessary to solve the difference through democratic discussion, but definitely not through struggle by force. We cannot adopt the method of ousting, attacking, suppressing or discriminating against those mass organizations or individuals holding views different from ours. The power-seizing unit must grasp the revolution, promote war preparedness, work and production according to Chairman Mao's instructions to insure the success of the great cultural revolution and the accomplishment of various work tasks.

(3) The power of the guards, communications, training, general service and transportation detachments of various

academies and schools, military factories and other units cannot be seized, nor are they permitted to take part in seizure of power. The command over these detachments should be transferred to the various military districts or armed force units according to the February 8 Regulations of the Military Commission.

(4) With the exception of the sphere stipulated in Article 1 in which seizure of power may be carried out, all other big and small units are not allowed to adopt the method of seizing power from bottom to top. When the masses have complaints against the Party committees or leading cadres in these units, they may carry out full and frank airing of views. When individual members of the Party committee are incompetent, they can be replaced one by one, and when the majority are incompetent, the Party committee should be reorganized, but the approval of a higher level must be sought in both cases. In units stipulated to be out of bounds for seizure of power, should seizure of power have been carried out prior to the issue of these regulations, the organs at a higher level, the mass organizations, and the leaders of the units concerned should confer with each other to find a solution, and the power seized should be returned.

It is hoped that the commanders and fighters of the whole armed forces, the teachers, students and staff members of army academies and schools, the PLA literary and art troupes, and all comrades of the military hospitals and factories will sensibly carry out these regulations.

CIRCULAR OF THE CCP CENTRAL
COMMITTEE CONCERNING
THE QUESTION OF DEALING WITH
WORK GROUPS IN THE GREAT
PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION

Party committees at all levels:

With regard to the question of dealing with the work groups despatched during the period of the great proletarian cultural revolution (including the Four-Clean-Ups work teams sent out at one stage of the cultural revolution), the Central Committee takes up the position that the main spearhead of the struggle against the bourgeois reactionary line should be directed at the proponents of this erroneous line, and that we should not hold tight the work groups for long without letting them go. To this end, the Central Committee has made the following decision:

(1) Work missions and work groups sent out during the period of the great proletarian cultural revolution, including the mission heads, group leaders and members, should return to their original organs to participate in the revolution and work.

(2) Schools, factories, organs and various units should refrain from dragging out and struggling against the work groups in the future.

(3) Dossiers of bad people and those who have actually committed serious mistakes in the work groups should also be delivered to their original units or leading organs at the higher level; if necessary, a struggle against them may be waged together with the revolutionary rebels of their original units.

The CCP Central Committee

February 17, 1967

REGULATIONS OF THE CCP
CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND
THE STATE COUNCIL CONCERNING
THE GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL
REVOLUTION IN
LITERARY AND ART BODIES

(for discussion and experimentation)

(1) The great proletarian cultural revolution in literary and art bodies must be carried out in accordance with the "Decision of the CCP Central Committee Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution." It is imperative to resolutely implement the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, and to thoroughly criticize the bourgeois reactionary line which is aimed at opposing the proletarian revolutionary line of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao.

(2) The focus of struggle in literary and art circles is the attack on the small handful of Party capitalist roaders in authority, namely, the counter-revolutionary revisionists. It is necessary to thoroughly expose and settle the crimes of the counter-revolutionary clique of P'eng, Lu, Lo, and Yang; eliminate the poison of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line on literature and art led by Chou Yang and Hsia Yen; and criticize the bourgeois reactionary scholar-tyrants and reactionary "authorities."

In the course of struggle, it is necessary to draw a clear distinction between counter-revolutionaries and Rightists who are opposed to the Party, socialism and the thought of Mao Tse-tung on the one side and those who support the Party, socialism and Chairman Mao but who have said, done or written something wrong on the other. A clear distinction should also be made between bourgeois reactionary scholar-tyrants and reactionary "authorities" on the one side and those who have general bourgeois ideas on literature and art on the other.

(3) In light of the new situation of the current struggle, working personnel of literary and art bodies should all cease going out to exchange experience. Those who have gone out to exchange experience should immediately return to their own units and concentrate their forces on making revolution in a thorough-going manner. While carrying out the struggle-criticism-transformation in their units, they should create and rehearse modern, revolutionary literary and art works and operas at the service of the workers, peasants and soldiers.

Literary and art workers should in an organized and planned manner go to rural areas and factories to integrate themselves with the workers and peasants and transform their world outlook.

(4) Forces of literary and art workers should be seriously reorganized in order to rid them of landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad people, and Rightists (not meaning those who came from families of Rightists) who sneaked into the literary and art bodies and still persist in the reactionary stand. Those who practice deception in the name of revolutionary organizations must be resolutely exposed.

(5) It is necessary to practice economy and make revolution and to cherish state property. Those who damage state property shall be punished in accordance with the nature of their offenses.

(6) If those literary and art bodies which are responsible for their own profits and losses find it difficult to stage performances in future and are unable now to obtain basic livelihood funds, they may be assisted by local governments to find a solution to their livelihood. Principally they may settle down in the countryside or be sent to factories or newly-built enterprises to labor.

The first five points of these regulations also apply to literary and art bodies of the armed forces.

The CCP Central Committee
The State Council

February 17, 1967

CIRCULAR OF THE CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE
AND THE STATE COUNCIL CONCERNING
[URBAN] EDUCATED YOUTHS
WORKING IN RURAL AND MOUNTAINOUS
AREAS WHO GO OUT TO
EXCHANGE REVOLUTIONARY EXPERIENCE,
MAKE PETITIONS, OR CALL ON
PEOPLE AT HIGHER LEVELS

The great proletarian cultural revolution, personally started and led by Chairman Mao, has already entered a new stage of great alliances and great seizure of power by proletarian revolutionaries. The vast numbers of educated youths working in rural and mountainous areas who have gone out to exchange experience, make petitions and call on people in high places are actively returning to their own units to participate in the struggle for power seizure and in agricultural production in response to our great leader Chairman Mao's call "to grasp revolution and promote production." However, at the moment, there are still a small number of people who remain indefinitely in the cities under various pretexts. With a view to finding a satisfactory solution to this question, the following regulations are hereby laid down:

1. All those educated youths working in rural and mountainous areas, youths who have gone to the border regions to help with construction, farm workers and all personnel who have gone out to exchange experience, make petitions and visit people in high places should immediately return to their own units to take part in the great cultural revolution and do a good job of production. All liaison stations set up by them should be abolished without exception.

2. Some educated youths working in rural and mountainous areas who have been influenced by the bourgeois reactionary line and counter-revolutionary economism and who have done some things damaging to the interests of the State and the people shall not be prosecuted if they return to their own units to make serious

self-examinations and correct their mistakes.

3. Among educated youths working in rural and mountainous areas, youths who have gone to the border regions to help with construction, and farm workers who have gone out to exchange experience, make petitions and visit people in high places, there are a few wicked elements who act mysteriously, do not give their real names and work units, practice deception everywhere they go, disrupt social peace and order and damage the property of the State. These elements must be thoroughly investigated and punished according to law.

4. The problem of placement should be dealt with in accordance with the third article of the CCP Central Committee's "Notice Concerning Opposition to Economism": "Those people who several years before were sent down to rural areas to participate in agricultural production and educated youths who have gone from urban areas to work in rural and mountainous areas should participate in agricultural production with contentment and participate in the great proletarian cultural revolution in the rural areas. Problems in connection with placement should be solved gradually by Party committees at various levels."

5. The problem of placement for those who several years before were retrenched and were sent down to the countryside and who are now living in cities and towns should also be handled in the spirit of point No. 4 above. They shall not return to their original industrial and communications enterprises or business units and demand reinstatement.

This circular may be posted in rural areas and cities.

The CCP Central Committee
The State Council

February 17, 1967

NOTICE OF THE CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND THE STATE COUNCIL

1. The joint notice issued by the National Rebel General Corps of Red Laborers, the Ministry of Labor and the All-China Federation of Trade Unions on January 2, 1967, is illegal and should be cancelled. All documents of resolution adopted by all provincial and municipal bureaus of labor in line with the joint notice of these "three organizations" are considered null and void.

2. The systems governing the employment of temporary workers, contract workers, rotation workers and piece workers are rational in some cases, but are very irrational and erroneous in some other cases. The Party Central Committee is studying ways to reform these systems according to the actual situation. Before the Party Central Committee arrives at a new decision, the established methods are to be followed as usual.

3. The temporary workers, contract workers, rotation workers and piece workers employed by various enterprises and units should enjoy political rights equal to those enjoyed by permanent workers, staff members and other functionaries, and have the right to participate in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

4. Those temporary workers, contract workers, rotation workers and piece workers who have been branded "counter-revolutionary" because they criticized their leadership in the initial period of the great proletarian cultural revolution should be acquitted of their charge, and those who have been dismissed for the same reason should be allowed to return to their former posts

of production and work according to their former contracts. They should be paid the wages owed to them.

5. Those landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists (not referring to family origin) who cling to their reactionary stand and have wormed their way into the ranks of temporary workers, contract workers, rotation workers and piece workers must be swept away. Those who assume the name of a revolutionary organization to swindle other people must be exposed resolutely.

6. It is not compulsory for temporary workers, contract workers, rotation workers and piece workers to form independent organizations. The National Rebel General Corps of Red Laborers and its branches all over the country should be abolished. Those revolutionary people who have joined this organization may join the local revolutionary mass organizations or those of their enterprises and units.

This notice is issued to the whole country and may be publicly posted.

The CCP Central Committee
The State Council

February 17, 1967

SOME REGULATIONS OF THE CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND THE STATE COUNCIL CONCERNING THE ASSURANCE OF SECURITY OF CONFIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS AND FILES

In the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution, the attempt of some units to occupy private rooms and seize the confidential documents and files has resulted in grave loss of secret documents. In order to prevent continued occurrence of similar incidents and prevent sabotage attempts of bad people, the following regulations are hereby set forth on the question of insuring security of confidential documents and files:

1. Protection of secret documents and files must necessarily be strengthened. No one shall be allowed to raid or occupy secret rooms and file rooms and seize secret documents and files. Upon discovery that the security of secret files is being threatened, the revolutionary masses and revolutionary cadres should come forward to protect them. If they are unable to do this by persuasion, they should immediately report to the local military organs or public security organs with a request for protection. All secret documents and files that have been seized must be recovered and returned.

2. In departments where seizure of power is going on, the confidential rooms, security rooms, and secret file rooms should be taken over by the revolutionary comrades among the original confidential and security personnel without interference from any other unit and personnel. Among the original personnel those who are not suitable for continuing to do confidential work may be transferred in accordance with the central regulations governing the qualifications of confidential personnel. Such transfers should be reported to the higher level for examination and approval be-

fore they are carried out.

3. Top secrets of the Party and State, including secret codes, secret telegrams and absolutely secret documents and all charts, tables, drawings and other technical data of confidential and security units should be closely guarded. Without the approval of a higher level, no unit or personnel shall have the right of access to them.

4. In case confidential documents and files were lent out in the course of the great cultural revolution without the consent of a higher level, the persons responsible should be instructed to recall them with the utmost urgency and return them at a specified date to the departments where these documents and files belong.

5. The above regulations must be complied with by the revolutionary masses. If wicked elements are found to sabotage, steal, or loot the files, they must be punished according to law.

The CCP Central Committee
The State Council

February 17, 1967

URGENT NOTICE OF THE CCP CENTRAL
COMMITTEE AND
THE STATE COUNCIL CONCERNING THE
NEED FOR WORKERS AIDING
CONSTRUCTION IN THE HINTERLAND AND
FRONTIERLAND TO PARTICIPATE IN
THE GREAT CULTURAL REVOLUTION
IN THEIR OWN LOCALITIES

1. To step up construction in the interior and border regions is a call of our great leader Chairman Mao; it is an extremely vital measure for carrying out Chairman Mao's policy regarding preparations for war, guarding against a time of scarcity, and serving the people. Workers who are aiding construction in the interior and border regions are bearing a very glorious and heavy task. They should, with exemplary action and taking the cultural revolution as the motive power, firmly carry out the policy of "grasping revolution and promoting production" as proposed by Chairman Mao.

2. Workers of enterprises and business units which have been moved to the interior, workers who have been transferred or loaned to the interior to help with construction, and workers who have gone to the border regions to aid in construction should resolutely implement the "Ten-Point Regulations (Draft) of the CCP Central Committee Concerning Grasping of Revolution and Promotion of Production." They should stick to their posts, work actively, make revolution where they are, and promote production.

3. At the moment, in some areas and units, a small handful of capitalist roaders in authority are hoodwinking and instigating a part of workers helping with construction in the interior and border regions and their dependents to leave their present work posts by groups and return to the areas where they came from. This has affected construction in the interior and border regions. This is another form of the new counter-offensive by the bourgeois reactionary line. Revolutionary workers and their depen-

dents must never fall into the trap; they must sharpen their eyes and thoroughly expose and firmly oppose such intrigues.

4. If workers helping with construction in the interior and border regions have complaints against the power-holders of the areas and units from where they were sent out, they may expose and criticize the latter through letters and big-character posters which can be sent by mail. If necessary, they may send a few representatives back to the original units to participate in the movement, but under no circumstances must they leave their work posts by groups.

5. Workers who have now returned to their original areas should immediately go back to the interior and border regions. Relevant units and revolutionary masses in areas where the workers were sent from and in areas where they were sent into should actively persuade and help these workers to return to their work posts. When they return to their work posts, they should be welcomed and not discriminated against.

6. Areas and units where workers were sent from should not arrange work for workers who returned of their own will from the interior and border regions. Where work has been arranged for them, they should still be actively persuaded and helped to go back to the interior and border regions. No unit will be allowed to retain and employ them.

7. The small handful of responsible persons and trouble makers who incite the masses of workers to leave their work posts in the interior and border regions should be handed over to the masses for criticism and struggle and should be punished according to law in light of the nature of their offenses.

This notice should be read and posted in various large and medium cities and in various industrial and mining enterprises and business units.

The CCP Central Committee
The State Council

February 17, 1967

CIRCULAR OF THE
FOREIGN AFFAIRS OFFICE OF
THE STATE COUNCIL
CONCERNING THE FREE DISTRIBUTION OF
"QUOTATIONS FROM CHAIRMAN MAO"
TO FOREIGNERS

Foreign Affairs Office (37) of the State Council
No. 11 under the character *Shih*

1. On March 5, April 2 and June 9, 1966, our office had issued at different times three circulars on the question of requests made by foreigners for the Chinese edition of "Quotations from Chairman Mao" compiled and printed by the General Political Department of the Military Commission. It has now been found that the two circulars issued on March 5 and April 2 are wrong, and that the June 9 circular is also not in correspondence with the spirit of taking the initiative to propagate energetically Mao Tse-tung's thought abroad. After the publication of the foreign languages editions of the "Quotations from Chairman Mao" in October last year and after a huge number of them had been made available for circulation and free distribution in foreign countries, the Foreign Affairs Office had also some responsibility in failing to rescind or revise in good time the three circulars it had issued*. We now announce the abrogation of these three circulars.

2. The thought of Mao Tse-tung is the highest and most lively form of Marxism-Leninism in the contemporary era, and is the most powerful ideological weapon for the revolutionary people of the world. Following the rapid development of the situation in the world revolution, the revolutionary people all over the world all yearn to arm their own minds with this precious book — "Quotations from Chairman Mao". To meet the demand of the world people, we have since October last year published the English, French, Russian, Spanish and Japanese editions of the "Quotations from Chairman Mao", and have made

available a huge number of them for free distribution and circulation in foreign countries. The "Quotations from Chairman Mao" will also be published in other foreign languages in due course. The free distribution of "Quotations from Chairman Mao" (including the Chinese edition) is tantamount to propagating the thought of Mao Tse-tung to the world people. All units with foreign connections should regard this as a political task of first-rate importance.

February 18, 1967

* This document seems to be the expression of a self-examination of the Foreign Affairs Office of the State Council.

OPINION OF THE CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE CONCERNING THE GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION IN MIDDLE SCHOOLS

(for discussion and experimentation)

1. While making the great proletarian cultural revolution, middle schools (including intermediate technical schools and schools run on part-work and part-study or part-farming and part-study basis) must resolutely execute the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and thoroughly criticize and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line. They also must carry out struggle, criticism and transformation in line with the "Decision of the CCP Central Committee on the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution."

2. As from March 1, middle school teachers and students (including students who expect to graduate in 1966 but have not yet graduated) must stop going to other places to form ties. They should, as a rule, return to their schools. Those who have gone to the countryside or factories are also required to return to their schools, where they must attend their lessons on the one hand and make revolution on the other. In order to strengthen their revolutionary spirit, scientific approach and concept of organization and discipline, the middle school teachers and students must, by groups and by stages, go through a short-term military and political training.

3. Revolutionary Red Guards are vanguards of the great proletarian cultural revolution in middle schools. Red Guard organizations should be reorganized, consolidated and developed during the movement. Red Guards should be formed mainly of

revolutionary students born of families of laboring people (workers, peasants, soldiers, revolutionary cadres, and laborers engaged in other fields). Students who were not born of families of laboring people may also join the Red Guards providing they cherish deep feelings for Chairman Mao, have the proletarian revolutionary spirit and have consistently behaved themselves comparatively well politically and ideologically.

Establishment of reactionary organizations in schools is forbidden. Reactionary organizations, such as the United Action Committee and the Red Terror Team, must be disbanded as a rule. Students who have been hoodwinked and joined the reactionary organization must go through intensive political and ideological education and be allowed and helped to rectify their mistakes.

4. The situation of domination of our schools by bourgeois intellectuals must not be allowed to go on any further. On the basis of proletarian revolutionary great alliances in middle schools, cultural revolution committees should be democratically elected by the revolutionary students, revolutionary teachers and staff members and revolutionary leading cadres. These committees will be responsible for leading the great cultural revolution in schools, making concrete arrangements for teaching of lessons and properly supervising the life of teachers and students. In those schools where such committees cannot be elected for the time being, a provisional leading group may be set up through consultation among representatives of various groups.

5. In middle schools, teaching of lessons must be closely combined with the great cultural revolution. Effort must be made earnestly to study Chairman Mao's works and the Party Central Committee's documents concerning the great cultural revolution, and criticize and repudiate bourgeois teaching materials and the pedagogical system. It is also necessary to devote some time to reviewing mathematics, physics, chemistry, foreign languages and other essential courses of study. During the busy farming season, the teachers and students may be organized in a planned manner to participate in labor in the countryside and to learn things from the poor and lower-middle peasants. It is not compulsory for

students of part-work part-study schools which are assigned with productive tasks by the State to participate in labor in the countryside.

6. Nobody is allowed to retaliate upon those revolutionary students and revolutionary teachers and staff members who make criticism and disclose problems. Effort must be made earnestly to vindicate those revolutionary students and revolutionary teachers and staff members who were branded "counter-revolutionaries" and "Rightists" during the initial period of the great cultural revolution. The majority of teachers and cadres in middle schools are good or comparatively good. Do not reject and overthrow everyone.

During the great proletarian cultural revolution, struggles between one group of the masses and another must be opposed resolutely. Divergent opinions among the masses must be settled correctly by the method of marshalling facts and reasoning things out.

We must resolutely uphold struggle by reasoning and forbid violent struggle. We must follow Chairman Mao's directive "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient" and actively supervise those who have made mistakes and help them rectify their mistakes, so that they will return to the proletarian revolutionary standpoint represented by Chairman Mao.

7. The ranks of teachers must be reorganized and purified seriously. Those landlord, rich-peasant, counter-revolutionary, and Rightist elements (referring to themselves and not their families) who cling to their reactionary standpoint and refuse to be remolded must be purged from the ranks of teachers and staff members. This is an important requirement for the proper running of a school.

8. Chairman Mao's directive "practice economy while making revolution" must be implemented earnestly and State property protected. Equipment in schools must wholly be maintained by their own effort. Those who have destroyed State property must

be educated or given disciplinary punishment according to the severity of their offense, and must make amends for the damage done.

This document may be posted in urban and rural areas and middle schools all over the country.

February 19, 1967

CIRCULAR OF THE CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE
CONCERNING THE QUESTION OF
PROPAGANDIZING AND REPORTING
ON THE STRUGGLE TO SEIZE POWER*

Party committees at all levels:

Concerning the question of propagandizing and reporting on the struggle to seize power in various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, the Central Committee hereby stipulates as follows:

(1) What are the provisional organs of power for conducting the struggle to seize power in various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions called? Are they really based on three-in-one combination (that is, formed by those responsible for the mass organizations who really represent the broad masses, the representatives of the PLA stationed in the place concerned, and the revolutionary leading cadres really of representative character in the Party and government organs)? From now on, reports must be made to the Central Committee, and such reports must be approved by the Central Committee before they are published in local papers.

In regard to the form of organization of political power in various provinces, municipalities, autonomous regions and cities, with the exception of Shanghai to which the Central Committee has issued separate instructions, the name of people's commune shall as a rule not be adopted.

The CCP Central Committee

February 19, 1967

* The indirect reference to "Shanghai People's Commune" in this document is noteworthy. Moreover, the use of (1) in this document without being followed by a (2) seems to indicate that it was issued in a hurry without polishing.

LETTER FROM THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY
TO POOR AND LOWER-MIDDLE PEASANTS
AND CADRES AT ALL LEVELS
IN RURAL PEOPLE'S COMMUNES
ALL OVER THE COUNTRY

Poor and lower-middle peasant comrades! Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee call on you to take firm hold of the revolution and promote production conscientiously, mobilize all forces and set to immediately to get the spring cultivation done well.

*The Party's Central Committee believes that the overwhelming majority of cadres at all levels in the rural people's communes are good or comparatively good. Those cadres who have made mistakes should also work hard in the spring cultivation so as to make amends by good deeds for their mistakes. As long as they act in this way, the poor and lower-middle peasants should show understanding and support them in their work.**

Poor and Lower-Middle Peasant Comrades!
Comrade Cadres Doing Rural Work:

The poor and lower-middle peasants are the main force taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production in the countryside. At the start of the present spring cultivation, Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee call on you to take firm hold of the revolution and promote production conscientiously, mobilize all forces and set to immediately to get the spring cultivation done well.

Cadres at all levels in the rural people's communes must be good at consulting with the poor and lower-middle peasants and all the laboring masses to get an upsurge going in spring

cultivation.

The Party's Central Committee believes that the overwhelming majority of cadres at all levels in the rural people's communes are good or comparatively good. Those comrades who have made mistakes should also work hard in the spring cultivation so as to make amends by good deeds for their mistakes. As long as cadres who have made mistakes act in this way, the poor and lower-middle peasants should show understanding and support them in their work. The attitude to be taken in criticizing them must be that of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient" which Chairman Mao has always taught.

Landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists are categorically not permitted to be unruly in word or deed, to sabotage production or the unity among the working people and to incite factional disputes. They must diligently continue to reform themselves through labor under the supervision of the poor and lower-middle peasants.

Former cadres removed from office in the "Four Clean-Ups" Movement must take an active part in labor and remould themselves. They are not allowed to counter-attack in revenge.

We recommend that you consider convening immediate conferences of cadres from the three levels of the people's commune, production brigade and production team to arrange the work of spring cultivation. These conferences must be well prepared. The conference period should be short, preferably a day or two.

We also recommend that you convene production team meetings of all commune members to discuss the work of spring cultivation.

At the same time, we also recommend that units of the People's Liberation Army stationed locally and military organizations at all levels should make great efforts to support and help with the work of spring cultivation.

Unite under the guidance of the great thought of Mao Tse-

tung!

Work to seize victory in the spring cultivation!

(This letter should be read and posted up in the villages.)

The Central Committee of the
Chinese Communist Party

February 20, 1967

* These two paragraphs are notes added by the editor of *Peking Review*.

CIRCULAR OF THE CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE

The CCP Central Committee is of the view that the Eight-Point Order of the Military Commission of the Central Committee dated January 28, 1967 is very good. With the exception of Article 7 concerning the arrangement of the great cultural revolution in the armed forces, other articles in this Order are all applicable to all places.

The Central Committee hereby interprets the following points:

(1) Carrying out in real earnest the provisions concerned in the Order of the Military Commission of the Central Committee is an important measure for guaranteeing that the great proletarian cultural revolution will follow the right orbit.

(2) Based on the current demand of proletarian revolutionaries for carrying out the struggle to seize power from a handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, all university and middle school teachers and students, factory workers, peasants, literary and art workers, medical workers, organ personnel and other personnel who have gone to other places and other units to exchange revolutionary experience — excepting those granted special permission by the Central Committee — should return at once to their own places, units and schools to participate in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

(3) From now on, nobody is allowed to storm and attack military leadership organs. The storming and attacking of and the exchange or revolutionary experience in armed force units, local war preparation systems, confidential systems and security

systems (including security industrial and mining enterprises, warehouses, scientific research and designing units) are also forbidden from now on.

(4) Personnel from other units are not allowed to take over the various organs of the Party Central Committee, the various ministries of national defense industry, the Ministry of Public Security, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Planning Commission, the Economic Commission, the National Construction Commission, the Scientific Commission, the Ministry of Finance, banks at all levels, the *People's Daily*, the *Red Flag* magazine, the *Liberation Army Daily*, the New China News Agency, the Broadcasting Administrative Bureau and the broadcasting stations of all places. Personnel from other units who have moved into such organs must pull out at once.

(5) In all Central Committee and local organs, enterprises and units where seizure of power ought to be carried out, the struggle to seize power should mainly be carried out by the proletarian revolutionaries of such organs and units. In case of need, the proletarian revolutionaries from other units may help, but they may not do things on behalf of those of the organs and units concerned.

This circular, together with the Order of the Military Commission of the Central Committee, must be universally posted in all basic-level units.

The CCP Central Committee

February 21, 1967

CIRCULAR OF THE STATE COUNCIL
CONCERNING THE ADOPTION
OF ARM BANDS AND BADGES IN
MAKING NEW INSIGNIA FOR
RED GUARDS IN FUTURE

People's councils and revolutionary rebel organizations of all provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions:

Recently the consumption of cloth, particularly red cloth, by public organizations has increased enormously. Much of this cloth has been wasted. To further implement our great leader Chairman Mao's call "practice economy while making revolution," the State Council has this proposal to make to Red Guard organizations and other revolutionary mass organizations all over the country: Arm bands which are now in use must not be changed if they need not be changed; if new ones are really needed, arm bands and badges of a smaller size should be adopted, as was the practice during the period of revolutionary civil wars. Cloth for making flags and for other uses must be economized as much as possible, and waste must be strictly prohibited.

The State Council

February 23, 1967

(This circular may be posted for the information of the public)

Copies sent to all bureaus of the Central Committee.

REGULATIONS OF THE CCP CENTRAL
COMMITTEE CONCERNING THE
GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL
REVOLUTION CURRENTLY
UNDER WAY IN UNIVERSITIES, COLLEGES
AND SCHOOLS (DRAFT)

Chung-fa No. 81 (67)

(For discussion and experimentation)

1. In the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution, institutes of higher learning must firmly implement the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and thoroughly criticize and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line. They must also carry out "struggle, criticism and transformation" in accordance with the "CCP Central Committee's Decision on the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution."

2. Revolutionary teachers and students who have gone to factories and the countryside or gone to other places to establish ties (including those who participate in the seizure of power in other units or are stationed in liaison posts in other localities) must, as a rule, return to their institutes before March 20 and take part in the great cultural revolution there.

3. Revolutionary teachers and students of all institutes of higher learning must creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's works and rectify their thinking, styles of work, and organization. In accordance with unified arrangements, they must carry out short-term military and political training by stages and by groups.

4. In accordance with their concrete situations, all institutes of higher learning must profoundly criticize, repudiate and struggle against the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and the bourgeois reactionary academic "authorities" politically, ideologically and academically. They must study ways to reform the old educational system, policy of teaching, and

methods of teaching.

5. In all institutes of higher learning, with the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and the reactionary academic "authorities" excepted, leading cadres at all levels, professors, lecturers, assistant lecturers and other members of the teaching staff should be united with and educated, and invited to join in the great cultural revolution, and arrangements made for their work. Those who have made mistakes should be treated in accordance with the principle of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient." They must be allowed to turn over a new leaf and encouraged to make amends, providing they are not anti-Party and anti-socialist elements, do not persist in their mistakes and do not refuse to correct their mistakes after repeated education.

6. In each institute of higher learning, revolutionary students, revolutionary teachers and staff members and revolutionary leading cadres must form a provisional organ of power to lead the great proletarian cultural revolution and exercise the power of the institute. In an institute of higher learning, if the organization of students of the revolutionary left has grasped the leadership, effort should be made to accept revolutionary members of the teaching staff and revolutionary leading cadres into this organization. When the conditions ripen, a general election should be held to formally establish a cultural revolution group, a cultural revolution committee, a cultural revolution congress, or an organization of a similar type, which is to be regarded as the formal organ of power leading the great cultural revolution.

7. The revolutionary Red Guards of institutes of higher learning are vanguards of the great proletarian cultural revolution. Red Guard organizations should be rectified, consolidated and developed in the course of the revolution. They should take revolutionary students born of families of laboring people (including workers, peasants, soldiers, revolutionary cadres, and laborers engaged in other fields) as their mainstay. Students who were not born of families of the laboring people may also join these organizations, providing they have deep affection for Chairman Mao, have the revolutionary spirit of the proletariat and have

consistently behaved themselves comparatively well politically and ideologically.

8. Factories, enterprises and scientific research units under the institutes of higher learning must firmly carry out the directive of grasping revolution and promoting production given by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, and earnestly implement the "CCP Central Committee's Ten Regulations (Draft) Concerning Grasp of Revolution and Promotion of Production."

This document may be posted in all universities colleges and schools throughout the country.

March 7, 1967

CIRCULAR OF THE CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE
CONCERNING THE UNDESIRABILITY
OF SEIZURE OF POWER IN
RURAL PRODUCTION BRIGADES AND
PRODUCTION TEAMS DURING
THE SPRING FARMING PERIOD

Chung-fa No. 82 (67)

Party committees at all levels:

Since the CCP Central Committee promulgated its directive on the great cultural revolution in the countryside, the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants have held high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and vigorously rebelled against the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and against the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists who cling to their reactionary standpoint. The situation of the cultural revolution in the countryside is excellent. The present is the very busy season for spring farming. Under this excellent situation, rural areas all over the country should earnestly implement Chairman Mao's directive, "grasp revolution and promote production," and immediately whip up an earth-shaking upsurge of spring farm work. This is a matter of first importance bearing on "preparedness for war and famine and everything for the people" as well as the annual harvest and the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The CCP Central Committee has therefore made this decision:

1. During the very busy season for spring farm work, struggle for seizing power should not be carried out in production brigades and production teams.

2. The leading groups, which have been approved by the revolutionary masses and the higher authorities, of production brigades and production teams where power has been seized

should concretely shoulder the two heavy loads of revolution and production and apply Mao Tse-tung's thought in directing the battle of spring farming. In production brigades and production teams where leadership is paralyzed, the activists among poor and lower-middle peasants and the revolutionary cadres should organize a provisional leading group to grasp spring farm work.

3. The majority of rural cadres (including chiefs) are good or comparatively good. We should adhere to Chairman Mao's directive of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient," criticize and educate those cadres who have made mistakes, and help them rectify their mistakes. We must allow them to turn over a new leaf and encourage them to make amends, providing they are not anti-Party and anti-socialist elements, do not persist in their mistakes and do not refuse to correct their mistakes after repeated education.

4. In localities where the Four-Clean-Ups Movement has been completed, under no circumstances are those cadres who take the capitalist road and have been dismissed from office and the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists allowed to vindicate themselves. The fruit of the Four-Clean-Ups Movement must be protected without fail.

The CCP Central Committee

March 7, 1967

(This circular may be read in public and posted in rural villages.)

DOCUMENT OF THE CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Chung-fa No. 85 (67)

To the Party committees of all military districts and Party committees at all levels:

You are now issued the report "Understanding of the Tientsin Yen-an Middle School in Realizing the Great Alliance and Reorganizing, Consolidating and Developing the Red Guards in the Whole School with the Teaching Class As the Foundation" — as commented on and transmitted by Chairman Mao — for your reference and execution.

The comment added by Chairman Mao is a very important instruction on the question of military training in school. You are requested to transmit it to and propagate it among all cadres participating in military training work and all teachers and students, organize each and everyone to study it, and firmly implement and carry out this instruction.

The CCP Central Committee

March 8, 1967

Appendix I.

A DIRECTIVE FROM CHAIRMAN MAO CONCERNING THE GREAT STRATEGIC PLAN FOR THE GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION

Comrades Lin Piao, En-lai and the Comrades of the Cultural Revolution Group:

This document could be distributed to the whole country to be acted upon accordingly. The army should give military and political training in the universities, middle schools and the higher classes of primary schools, stage by stage and group by group. It should help in re-opening school classes, strengthening organization, setting up the leading bodies on the principle of the "three-in-one" combination and carrying out the task of "struggle-criticism-transformation." It should first make experiments at selected points and acquire experience and then popularize it step by step. And the students should be persuaded to implement the teaching of Marx that only by emancipating all mankind can the proletariat achieve its own final emancipation, and in military and political training, they should not exclude those teachers and cadres who have made mistakes. Apart from the aged and the sick, these people should be allowed to take part so as to facilitate their remoulding. Provided all this is done conscientiously, it is not difficult to solve the problems.

Mao Tse-tung

March 7

Appendix II.

UNDERSTANDING OF THE TIENTSIN YENAN MIDDLE SCHOOL IN REALIZING THE GREAT ALLIANCE AND REORGANIZING, CONSOLIDATING AND DEVELOPING THE RED GUARDS IN THE WHOLE SCHOOL WITH THE TRAINING CLASS AS THE FOUNDATION

To the deputy commanders and other leaders of military districts and the All-PLA Cultural Revolution Group:

A report on the "understanding of the Tientsin Yen-an Middle School in realizing the great alliance and reorganizing, consolidating and developing the Red Guards in the whole school with the teaching class as the foundation" is now made as follows:

This is a junior middle school with an enrollment of more than 1,300 people. Before the armed force unit came to the school there were only 50 or 60 persons in the school. The numerous organizations were in a chaotic state, and the struggle was ambiguously oriented in quite a number of organizations. There was the phenomenon of armed struggle, and the school was in a dreary situation. After a month of military and political training, the features of the school changed, and more than 1,100 people returned to the school. The broad masses of the revolutionary teachers and students displayed even greater fervent love for Chairman Mao and raised their consciousness in the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's writings. They greatly strengthened their "Party spirit, representative character and authority", and in the struggle to criticize and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line, they realized the great alliance in the whole school with the teaching class as the foundation, established the provisional committee based upon "three-in-one combination," and reorganized, consolidated and developed the Red Guard organizations. Returning public property and making revolution on a frugal base became a new common practice. After resumption of classes on March 1, a new wave of "grasping the revolution and promoting production" was whipped up. Practice showed that Chairman Mao's assertion that, "those with some training are quite different from those without training" was extremely wise and correct.

Our understanding is:

(1) To take the struggle between the two lines as the program, creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's works in light of problems, and stimulate ideological revolutionization. In light of the problems among the teachers and students, we studied *Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society*, penetratingly exposed, criticized and repudiated the crimes of the bourgeois reactionary line, thus enabling the broad masses of teachers and students to

strengthen the class struggle concept and distinguish between the enemy, ourselves and friends. Following this, we employed the method of rectification, studied again and again *On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party*, rectified organizations, overcame the small group mentality, the mountain stronghold mentality, ultra democratization, anarchism and other mistaken ideas, and laid down the ideological foundation for realizing the great alliance and reorganizing, consolidating and developing the Red Guard organizations in the whole school.

(2) To respect the initiative of the masses and energetically foster new things. Under the new conditions of the current great proletarian cultural revolution, what form of organization should the broad masses of revolutionary teachers and students in the middle school adopt to realize the great alliance in the whole school, resume classes and make revolution? At first, it was thought that the militant organizations should form an alliance, but after twenty days of discussion, nothing came of this. On February 16, the students of the 5th Company under group training wrote the first wall posters, "Realize the Great Alliance in the Whole School with the Teaching Class as the Foundation". As soon as this new thing appeared, it at once manifested its great influence, and within two days 15 teaching classes formed an alliance. However, some resistance appeared at this juncture and some students claimed that this was "eclecticism", "reconciliation", "mud mixing", "a hodgepodge" and "aimed at undermining the great cultural revolution". They also professed that they would go to Peking to "make accusations". At that time, the CYL and Party committees of the group training armed force unit opportunity organized the broad masses of teachers and students and the army cadres to study Chairman Mao's argumentation on "subordination of organization task to political task" and the editorial of *Red Flag* No. 3. Everyone thought that the orientation was correct and that this was a good form of great alliance for the proletarian revolutionaries.

(3) To grasp energetically the living idea of great alliance. Since the great cultural revolution, many organizations have made contributions to and developed affection for the movement. Now that they are required to return to classes to make revolution,

quite a number of living ideas have arisen. They have no clear idea of the relationship between the great alliance and the fighting detachments. They fear that they would lose their "sphere of influence" and "office" and that they would be cold-shouldered once they are back in classes. In short, they are troubled by "self-interest". After we repeatedly publicized the significance of the great alliance and the merit of alliance with the teaching class as the foundation, the broad masses of teachers and students unanimously believed that this form was favorable to the great alliance and great unity, to the "three-in-one combination", to the rectification movement and the stimulation of ideological revolutionization, to grasping the revolution and stimulating teaching, to consolidating the system of democratic centralism, to the reorganization consolidation, development and unification of the Red Guard units — in one word, to the penetrating development of the great cultural revolution and to the complete fulfillment of the struggle-criticism-transformation task in the school. At the same time, all cadres and hard-core elements among the teachers and students were mobilized to make a success of ideological work with each person and detachment, so that everybody might happily return to the teaching classes and to their systems to make revolution.

(4) To reorganize, consolidate and develop the Red Guard organizations. After an alliance was formed with the teaching class as the foundation, all people were organized to study the "Views of the CCP Central Committee Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in Middle Schools" (Eight Articles). The various teaching classes elected cultural revolution groups, reorganized and unified the Red Guard organizations from bottom to top according to the spirit of the Eight Articles, and called them the "Red Guards of the Yenan Middle School". In the course of reorganization and development work, the class line of the Party has been implemented, and among the 520 Red Guards fostered (comprising 50 percent of the people under training), 85 percent are children of the working people. After the reorganization of the Red Guards, with their fighting power greatly strengthened, they have become a vanguard detachment in resuming classes to make revolution.

Please tell us if this is proper.

Cheng San-sheng,
Chao Jui-lun and
Yang Chu-t'ing

March 6, 1967

CIRCULAR OF THE CENTRAL CULTURAL
REVOLUTION GROUP
CONCERNING THE QUESTION OF
THE NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY*

(March 14, 1967)

On March 14, Comrade Wang Li, Secretary, telephoned the New China News Agency transmitting the notification of the Cultural Revolution Group under the Central Committee concerning some problems of the New China News Agency. The full text follows:

1. The New China News Agency is a propaganda organ directly under the Party Central Committee, and the revolutionary mass organizations inside or outside the Agency may not engineer seizure of power or taking over control.

The reorganization of leadership structure and personnel must be determined and approved by the Party Central Committee.

2. The New China News Agency has set up a supervisory group which must be sensibly improved. This question should be solved by the revolutionary mass organizations within the Agency through consultation.

3. Comrade Wang Wei-chen, Deputy Director in charge of routine work in the New China News Agency has both functions to perform and powers to exercise.

4. A provisional work group comprising two persons from the Home Department, one person from the International Department, one person from the External Relations Department, one person from the Reference Material Editorial Department, one person from the Photographic Department, and one person from the Administrative Department ought to be set up at once

to assist Comrade Wang Wei-chen in work.

5. All working comrades must keep a close watch over their work posts, observe discipline, grasp the revolution, promote production, and insure the fulfillment of Party and state tasks.

6. Concerning the question of rules and regulations, criticism and repudiation may be made and suggestions for reform may be put forward, but all suggestions must be approved by the leading organ at a higher level before they can be put in force.

The Central Cultural Revolution Group

* There is no date on the document. Since the notification was transmitted by telephone on March 14, this is taken to be the date.

CIRCULAR OF THE CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE.
THE STATE COUNCIL AND
THE CENTRAL MILITARY COMMISSION
CONCERNING THE PROTECTION OF
STATE PROPERTY AND
THE PRACTICE OF ECONOMY
WHILE MAKING REVOLUTION

Recently, in some localities, small handfuls of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road collaborated with the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists in society who had not been successfully remolded. They instigated some people to sabotage State property, privately distributed means of production belonging to the collective economy, and smashed equipment and supplies in factories, mining enterprises, public organs, schools and other units, in a vain attempt to sabotage the State's economic construction and the great proletarian cultural revolution.

The CCP Central Committee holds that these phenomena must be stopped immediately.

1. All proletarian revolutionaries must sharpen their revolutionary vigilance, promptly unmask the conspiracies and plots of the class enemies, and tell the masses not to fall into their trap but to get united and to struggle against all deeds of sabotaging State property. They must take concrete measures to protect State property.

2. Property of the rural collective economy should under no circumstances be encroached upon. In each production team, the accumulated fund, the collective reserve grain and seeds must not be allotted without permission, the funds specially set aside for agricultural production must not be appropriated without permission, and farm tools and agricultural machines must not be destroyed. Draft cattle and other animals must be protected

really well.

3. Chairman Mao's directive, "practice economy while making revolution," must be carried out resolutely. All unnecessary expenses must be curtailed and economical use must be made of all means of transport. Houses and materials belonging to the collective must not be encroached upon without permission. Under no circumstances are vehicles for production and transportation allowed to be equipped with loudspeakers and used as propaganda vans. Under ordinary conditions, all production units should conduct as few big-scale activities, such as demonstrations, as possible. All sorts of means of transport, material equipment and public funds taken indiscriminately during the period when counter-revolutionary economism spread unchecked, must be returned voluntarily.

4. Management and protection of classics and books must be strengthened. Under no circumstances shall these classics and books be allowed to be handled or destroyed without permission.

5. Those who stole or destroyed State property must be educated and punished according to the severity of their offense and must make appropriate amends. Arch criminals and active counter-revolutionaries who have made serious offense must be suppressed without fail.

The CCP Central Committee,
The State Council,
The Central Military Commission

March 16, 1967

This circular may be posted extensively in cities, villages and all armed forces units.

LETTER FROM THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY
TO REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS
AND STAFF AND REVOLUTIONARY CADRES
IN INDUSTRIAL AND MINING
ENTERPRISES THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY

Comrade Workers and Staff!

Comrade Revolutionary Cadres in Factories and Mines!

The working class is the leading force in our country's socialist revolution and socialist construction.

Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee call on you to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the very end; and hope that in this great proletarian cultural revolution and in this new situation, you will exert even greater efforts to go all out, aim high and at the present stage become the most outstanding models for the working masses of the whole country in grasping revolution and promoting production.

We hope that you will become models in firmly carrying out the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and in criticizing and repudiating the bourgeois reactionary line.

We hope that you will become models in firmly carrying out the Decision of the Party's Central Committee Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

We hope that you will become models in the struggle against the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road.

We hope that you will become models in bringing about the

great revolutionary alliance and in opposing the "small group" mentality, anarchism, the tendency to grab the limelight, economism and selfishness.

You should strengthen labor discipline, firmly uphold democratic centralism and establish good order in socialist production and the great cultural revolution.

You should, in accordance with the regulations laid down by the Party's Central Committee, firmly uphold the eight-hour work day and carry on the cultural revolution during the time outside the eight hours of work. During working hours it is impermissible to absent oneself without good cause from one's production or work post. A struggle should be waged against any unhealthy tendency towards absenteeism or a perfunctory attitude to work.

In the cultural revolution, you should, in accordance with the regulations laid down by the Party's Central Committee, promote the revolutionization of your own thinking, carry on production according to the principle of achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results, guarantee the quality of products and strive for high quality. A struggle should be waged against any unhealthy tendency to disregard the quality of output or waste state funds and materials.

All workers and staff in factories and mines must, in the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution, study experience in getting "better troops and simpler administration." It is necessary to greatly reduce the number of personnel detached from production and raise work efficiency. Attention must be paid to practising economy in carrying out revolution. Generally speaking, staff members of workers' organizations should not be detached from production.

All workers and staff in factories and mines must, in the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution, heighten their great sense of responsibility as masters of the country and protect state property effectively. Anyone destroying state property should be severely punished according to the law.

The Party's Central Committee calls on all revolutionary cadres working in factories and mines to take the lead in doing all work well and do their best to fulfil and overfulfil state plans for production and construction.

The Party's Central Committee believes that in all factories and mines the great majority of cadres are good or comparatively good. Comrades who have committed mistakes should make a serious self-criticism; they should, in the course of the great cultural revolution, make a diligent study of Chairman Mao's works, try hard to be good pupils of the masses, remould themselves in the course of their work and make amends by good deeds for their mistakes. As long as cadres who have made mistakes act in this way, the worker masses should show understanding and support them in their work. The attitude to be taken in criticizing them must be that which Chairman Mao has always instructed us to follow — "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient."

Landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists, who have sneaked into factories and mines, should never be allowed to be unruly in word or deed, to sabotage production, undermine unity among workers and staff, or create or incite factional disputes. They should be handled differently according to their political stand, attitude to work and concrete conditions in the factories and mines.

The Party's Central Committee has decided that the People's Liberation Army should make great efforts to help civilians and support the work of industrial production. You should co-operate well with the comrades from the People's Liberation Army.

We suggest that all workers and staff in factories and mines should, in their spare time, seriously discuss this letter sent to them by the Central Committee.

Unite under the guidance of the great thought of Mao Tse-tung!

Fight valiantly to win a bumper harvest both in the great proletarian cultural revolution and in industrial production!

(This letter should be read and posted up in all factories, mines and capital construction units.)

The Central Committee of the
Chinese Communist Party

March 18, 1967

CIRCULAR OF THE CCP CENTRAL
COMMITTEE
CONCERNING THE SUSPENSION OF
THE BIG EXCHANGE OF
REVOLUTIONARY EXPERIENCE ALL
OVER THE COUNTRY

Party committees at all levels, Party committees of all military regions and districts, revolutionary committees of all provinces and municipalities, and all revolutionary mass organizations:

At present, all localities, all schools, all public organs, all enterprises and all units are concentrating their strength on achieving a great alliance of proletarian revolutionary groups and establishing provisional organs of power in the form of revolutionary "three-in-one combination." Meanwhile, students and the masses who went to other parts of the country and other units to exchange revolutionary experience have just returned to Peking and to their units, and the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation are very complicated and heavy. The CCP Central Committee therefore has made this decision: Exchange of revolutionary experience all over the country should continue to be suspended and the original plan of carrying on the exchange of revolutionary experience after the coming of spring is cancelled. It is hoped that leaderships at all levels explain this decision well to the students and the masses.

This circular may be posted in cities, the countryside and armed forces units.

The CCP Central Committee

March 19, 1967

SOME REGULATIONS OF THE CCP
CENTRAL COMMITTEE CONCERNING
THE HANDLING OF GOOD AND
CHATELS CONFISCATED BY
THE RED GUARDS IN THE GREAT
CULTURAL REVOLUTION MOVEMENT

(March 20, 1967)

Party committees at all levels, Party committees of all military districts, all provincial and municipal committees:

A request from the Cultural Revolution Group under the CCP Wuchow Municipal Committee in Kwangsi for instruction concerning the handling of goods and chattels confiscated by the Red Guards in the great cultural revolution movement is now transmitted to you for reference. To avoid losses of such goods and chattels, it is hoped that all places will deal with them as soon as possible. The Central Committee hereby makes the following decisions:

(1) In regard to the goods and chattels confiscated from the landlord, rich-peasant, counter-revolutionary, bad, Rightist or other unlawful elements, apart from those articles for everyday use which should be returned to the owners, all should be surrendered to a higher level.

(2) Goods and chattels which really belong to the revolutionary masses and the working people and have been wrongly confiscated should all be returned to the owners. In the event of loss or damage, compensation should be paid according to the value of the articles lost or damaged.

(3) Those who have embezzled, stolen or confiscated goods and chattels for personal use should voluntarily return them for surrender to a higher level, otherwise they will be severely punished. However, in the case of small quantities of consumer goods and small sums of money which have been used by small

groups in the great cultural revolution, provided the circumstances have been explained, no further action will be taken.

(4) Landlord, rich-peasant, counter-revolutionary, bad, Rightist or other unlawful elements are not permitted to take advantage of the handling of confiscated goods and chattels to air grievances, counter-attack or settle accounts in the reverse, and all offenders will be severely punished.

(This document is issued to Party committees at all levels for internal handling).

DECISION OF THE CCP CENTRAL
COMMITTEE,
THE STATE COUNCIL,
THE CENTRAL MILITARY COMMISSION
AND THE CENTRAL CULTURAL
REVOLUTION GROUP
CONCERNING THE QUESTION OF TSINGHAI

(March 24, 1967)

According to comments made on March 11 by Chairman Mao and Comrade Lin Piao on the investigation of the Tsinghai question, the various quarters concerned have been investigated again and again, and the substance of the Tsinghai question has basically been clarified:

First, the question within the Tsinghai Provincial Military District is one of counterrevolutionary coup. Deputy Commander Chao Yung-fu, has overthrown with conspiratorial means the leadership of Comrade Liu Hsien-ch'uan, Secretary to the Party Committee of the Military District, and usurped military power.

Second, after usurping military power, Chao Yung-fu worked in collusion with Chang X X, Deputy Director of the X X X unit, to carry out ruthless armed suppression against the "August 18" and other revolutionary mass organizations of Hsining, killing and wounding more than X X of the revolutionary masses — even opening fire on 15 or 16 years old girls — and arresting X X of the revolutionary masses.

Third, Chao Yung-fu gave false military information to deceive the Central Committee and hoodwink the masses. He groundlessly claimed that the revolutionary mass organizations possessed plenty of guns and opened fire first. Investigations made among many of the revolutionary masses on the scene revealed that the masses of the "August 18" defending the *Tsinghai Daily* had no guns. Chao Yung-fu and others sent special groups to make a search, but up to now they have not found a

single gun.

Fourth, the above incident is directly connected with Secretary Wang Chao of the former Tsinghai Provincial Committee.

On the basis of these circumstances, it is now resolved to take the following measures to deal with the question:

(1) The Military Commission of the Central Committee orders that Comrade Liu Hsien-ch'uan, Commander of the Military District and Secretary to the Party Committee is charged with the responsibility and given full power to handle the Tsinghai question with the assistance of responsible comrades sent by the Lanchow Military Region.

(2) Apart from the Independent Division and the Independent Regiment which are under the command of Commander Liu Hsien-ch'uan, the X X X army unit, the X X X X army unit, and the X X X X army unit are also placed under the command of Commander Liu Hsien-ch'uan when the Tsinghai question is dealt with.

(3) It is hereby announced to the masses that the "August 18" is a revolutionary mass organization. Chao Yung-fu and Chang X X should be held responsible for the February 23 bloodshed incident. The revolutionary masses killed must be restored to good repute and granted gratuities. The masses wounded must be given medical treatment. All the revolutionary masses and cadres arrested because of this incident must be released at once, and all those branded as counterrevolutionaries must be rehabilitated.

(4) No further action will be taken on the deceived and hoodwinked masses. The problems between the mass organizations should be solved with the method of rectification. Be on guard against the bad people inciting the masses to fight against the masses.

(5) The People's Liberation Army is great. The February 23 incident was engineered by a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road, and the broad masses of the army

cadres and fighters stationed there are absolved of responsibility. All of the revolutionary masses must closely unite with the PLA units stationed in their place, firmly hit at a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road, and make a success of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

(6) Take steps to prepare for the formation of the Tsinghai Provincial Military Control Committee headed by Comrade Liu Hsien-ch'uan.

(7) Chao Yung-fu will be placed under solitary confinement for trial, and Chang X X and Wang Chao will be placed under solitary confinement so that they may carry out introspection and wait for action.

DECISION OF THE CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE CONCERNING THE QUESTION OF ANHWEI

In March this year the Party center called together responsible comrades of the Anhwei Military District Command, representatives of "Anhwei Revolutionary Rebel Command Headquarters," representatives of various Leftist mass organizations who held different views, and cadres of provincial and municipal organs, held many informal forums, and had separate talks with them on many occasions. Concerning the problem of Anhwei, the Center has taken the following decision:

(1) On the basis of an examination of the practice of the past two months, the "January 26" power-seizure in Anhwei has not brought about a proletarian revolutionary alliance, or pointed the spearhead at the small handful of power-holders in the provincial Party committee who followed the capitalist road, or practiced revolutionary "three-in-one combination." Individual leaders of "Anhwei Revolutionary Rebel General H.Q." have carried out a series of wrong policies and suppressed Leftist masses and revolutionary cadres who held dissident views. The Center thinks that a military control committee headed by Comrade Ch'ien Chün should immediately be set up to take into its hands the provincial leadership powers.

(2) The Military Control Committee must hold high the great red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, put politics in command, work resolutely in accordance with the "Decision Concerning the Proletarian Great Cultural Revolution" of the CCP Central Committee, follow firmly the proletarian revolutionary line headed by Chairman Mao, thoroughly criticize and repudiate the

bourgeois reactionary line, and concentratedly expose and hit the small handful of power-holders in the Party headed by Li Pao-hua who follow the capitalist road. It must resolutely carry out the "Important Notice" approved for circulation by the Center on November 20, 1966 and the Eight-Point Order of the Military Committee approved by the Center for circulation, and guarantee the normal progress of big blooming, big contending, big-character posters, and big debates. It must freely mobilize the masses and follow the mass line in its work instead of monopolizing everything. It must resolutely support all Leftist mass organizations and between Leftist organizations must not arbitrarily support one side against another. Leftist organizations must be helped to overcome their defects and mistakes and rectify their thought, style of work, and organization. It must win over to the side of Chairman Mao's line the masses who have joined conservative organizations, and can deal with according to law only those counter-revolutionaries against whom there is conclusive evidence. Any declaration that a mass organization is a counter-revolutionary organization must first be approved by the Center. Vigorous measures must be taken to prevent bad men from utilizing the Military Control Committee for the purpose of suppressing the masses.

Through its various work the Military Control Committee must bring about a true proletarian revolutionary great alliance and make preparations for a provisional power organ of revolutionary "three-in-one combination."

(3) Two groups, one for "grasping revolution" and the other "promoting production," shall be set up under the Military Control Committee, to provide leadership for the great proletarian cultural revolution and to control industrial and agricultural production, finance-trade work, and calamity-relief work.

(4) [The Military Control Committee] shall immediately take over the Public Security Department and Public Security Bureau, select and appoint competent cadres as military representatives who can correctly carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, support and rely on the true revolutionary factions, thoroughly expose the dark side of these two organs of dictator-

ship, and effectively carry out reform. The erroneous practice of indiscriminately ordering arrests and indiscriminate arrests must be resolutely corrected. The revolutionary masses and revolutionary cadres arrested because they held dissident views on the "January 26" seizure of power shall without exception be released, and those labeled "counter-revolutionaries" shall without exception be rehabilitated. Vigorous measures must be taken to prevent bad men from utilizing the organs of dictatorship to suppress the revolutionary masses and revolutionary cadres.

(5) [The Military Control Committee] shall immediately take over *New Anhwei Daily*, propagate the proletarian revolutionary line and all policies of the Party center headed by Chairman Mao, and forbid one revolutionary organization of one faction to attack another revolutionary organization of another faction. The erroneous propaganda that attitude toward the "January 26" seizure of power is the criterion for distinguishing revolutionaries from counter-revolutionaries must be stopped at once. In case newspapers cannot be published normally, New China News Agency new releases may be published as a temporary measure. The provincial radio broadcasting station should work according to the same principle.

(6) Judging by past and present facts, "August 27," "August 27 Revolution-to-the-End Liaison Post," "Red Revolutionary Committee," "Workers Rebel Joint Committee," Workers' 1st H.Q. and 3rd H.Q., and others, are all revolutionary mass organizations. All these organizations must carry out rectification, and both sides must stress self-criticism. Where differences of opinion in principle exist, normal discussions must be conducted. Beating people, smashing things, looting, ransacking, and arresting people is forbidden. Violent struggle is also forbidden.

(7) "Red Guard Army" of Hofei is a revolutionary mass organization which is opposed to the conservative "Chün Tsung" and which fights by the side of "August 27." However, this form of organization is not proper. It should be dealt with according to instruction from the Center. Members of this organization should go back to their original units and there join in the great cultural revolution. This organization shall not be

reactivated. The arrest of Comrade Yü Te-shui and the order for the arrest of Comrade Ch'eng Ming-yuan and others is wrong.

(8) The suppression of "Hofei Municipal Organs Revolutionary Workers Rebel H.Q. of Anhwei Province" is wrong. Provincial and municipal cadres should be supported in their effort to make revolution. The revolutionary cadres who have earlier come forward to support the revolutionary masses should in particular be given support.

(9) The case of suppression of "Red Guard Army" of Hofei and the death of Comrade Yü Te-shui should be investigated and made clear. An investigation group, formed of various revolutionary organizations (including the truly revolutionary cadres of the Public Security Department) and under the leadership of the military representative assigned to the Public Security Department, may conduct exclusive investigations.

Personnel who have taken part in the arrest of Yü Te-shui and handling of his case shall not be allowed to join this investigation group.

The CCP Central Committee

March 27, 1967

DOCUMENT OF THE CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Chung-fa No. 117 (67)

To Party committees of all military districts, Party committees of all levels, all provincial and municipal revolutionary committees, and all revolutionary mass organizations:

The decision of the CCP Central Committee on the Anhwei problem* is herewith conveyed to you. It is hoped that all localities will carry out with modifications where necessary the provisions of a policy character formulated in this document.

The Center points out with emphasis that revolutionary committees of all levels and all military district commands and garrison forces of the PLA, regardless of whether they are in districts, organs and units under military control or in places not under military control, must hold high the great red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, put politics in command, persevere in the mass line, and safeguard the better practice of big contending, big blooming, big-character posters, and big debates.

Attention is called to the following in particular:

First, mass organizations must not be declared counter-revolutionary organizations at will. The declaration of a mass organization as a counter-revolutionary organization must first be approved by the Center.

Second, the masses must not be hit and called "counter-revolutionaries," and indiscriminate arrests are forbidden. Those labeled "counter-revolutionaries" merely because they have trespassed against or criticized a military district command, or voiced

disagreement over the power-seizure in a place or unit, shall without exception be indicated. Those who have already been arrested shall without exception be freed, and orders for the arrest of others not yet in custody shall without exception be rescinded. Many students from outside areas trespassed on Chungnanhai on several occasions and some from military institutes and schools trespassed on the Defense Ministry, but the Center and the Military Committee did not rebuke them or order them to admit their guilt, repent or write self-examinations. The matter was settled through explanation of the position and they were told to go back to their own quarters. However, intrusions into military organs are regarded as too serious a matter in various localities.

Third, individual responsible persons of a mass organization, if found conclusively to be counter-revolutionaries or criminals, should be dealt with according to law. But they must be distinguished from the broad masses of the organization. When repressing an organization conclusively found to be reactionary, it is also necessary to strictly distinguish the few counter-revolutionary leaders at the top from the hoodwinked masses in general. Repression of mass organizations at random is forbidden. The practice of registering backbone elements, adopted in the early days of the liberation in dealing with reactionary party and youth league organizations, is also forbidden.

Fourth, problems relating to revolutionary mass organizations or revolutionary masses who have made some mistakes or even serious mistakes should be solved by means of rectification and developing criticism and self-criticism. They should not and must not be ordered to parade in the streets with big placards hanging on their necks, or to put up big posters and hold mass meetings to admit their guilt. Chairman Mao has more than once taught us that "it is not a crime to make revolution," "it is not a crime to speak out," and it is not a crime to practice extensive democracy. The practice of stressing admission of guilt by the masses is extremely wrong. Suppression of the revolutionary masses under the pretext of "suppression of counter-revolution" is strictly forbidden.

Fifth, resolutely and correctly support all Leftist revolutionary

mass organizations. Between Leftist organizations, there must be no arbitrary support for one side against another side.

The Central Committee of the Chinese
Communist Party

April 1, 1967

* See pp. 392-395.

CIRCULAR OF THE CCP CENTRAL
COMMITTEE CONCERNING
THE REHABILITATION
OF LIU CHIEH-T'ING AND OTHERS IN
IPIN DISTRICT, SZECHWAN PROVINCE

Our great leader Comrade Mao Tse-tung is very much concerned with the case of Liu Chieh-t'ing and other comrades of the Ipin District Committee in Szechwan Province, and has instructed Comrade Chou En-lai, Premier, and the Cultural Revolution Group under the Central Committee to bring the personnel concerned of the two sides to Peking to deal with the case. According to the Chairman's instructions, we have studied the appeals of Liu Chieh-t'ing and other comrades as well as all the records of the Szechwan Provincial Committee and the Central Control Commission concerning this question. We have heard the views of various quarters concerning the Ipin question and we think that the question is quite clear:

1. This case is a miscarriage of justice singlehandedly concocted by Li Ching-ch'uan, Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, and approved by Teng Hsiao-p'ing, P'eng Chen and Yang Shang-k'un. It has completely juggled black and white. For example, in regard to Li P'eng whom Comrade Liu Chieh-t'ing insisted on classifying as a Rightist, the Provincial Committee has clearly instructed that even if Li P'eng is a Rightist, he cannot be so classified." This is openly recorded in the "Report on Examination of Liu Chieh-t'ing and Chang Hsi-t'ing's Serious Offenses Against Law and Discipline and Their Attack and Betrayal of Comrades" by the Control Commission of the Szechwan Provincial Committee.

2. The case of Liu Chieh-t'ing should be rehabilitated. All comrades punished because of this case should have their punish-

ment revoked. Those expelled from the Party should be reinstated, and those imprisoned should be released without exception.

3. Liu Chieh-t'ing, Wang Mou-chü, Chang Hsi-t'ing, Kuo Lin-ch'uan and Li Liang who have been betrayed are good comrades. It is entirely correct that they should cling firmly to the revolutionary principle and fight against the attempt of Kuo ! and other Rightists to reverse the sentences passed on Li Ching-ch'uan and other persons. These comrades and other comrades in the same case have the right to participate in the great proletarian cultural revolution of Szechwan Province and Ipin District. The responsible comrades of the armed force units stationed there must help them and support them to make revolution.

4. This circular may be read among the masses in the places concerned. The masses must be mobilized to expose this case involving the miscarriage of justice.

April 4, 1967

ORDER OF THE CENTRAL MILITARY COMMISSION

COMRADE LIN PIAO:

THIS DOCUMENT IS VERY GOOD.

MAO TSE-TUNG

April 6

Chairman Mao directs the Chinese PLA to intervene in local great cultural revolutions and give the Left vigorous support. This is a great decision of strategic significance. It is a brand new historical task. Actively responding to the call of the great leader Chairman Mao, the broad masses of commanders and fighters of our Army have played a very great role in the work of supporting the Left. Recently we have examined the work of supporting the Left in some military districts, in some of which it is well done and in others not well done. Many new problems have at present appeared to which serious attention should be promptly called. With this end in view, the following order is promulgated.

(1) In dealing with mass organizations, be they revolutionary or controlled by reactionary elements, or when their situation is not clear, shooting is forbidden. Only political work may be conducted.

(2) Arbitrary arrests are forbidden, particularly large scale arrests. Counter-revolutionary elements, against whom conclusive evidence has been found, should be arrested. But the evidence must be conclusive, and the arrests must first be approved.

(3) It is forbidden to arbitrarily declare a mass organization a reactionary organization and repress it. It is moreover forbidden to call a revolutionary organization a counter-revolutionary organization. A mass organization which has made certain mistakes must be actively given education to help it. As for mass

organizations which have been conclusively found to be under the control of reactionary elements, work of differentiation and persuasion must be carried out to isolate the worst of their leaders and win over the hoodwinked masses. When it is absolutely necessary to declare them reactionary organizations and repress them, approval must first be obtained from the Center.

(4) No action shall be taken against the masses who intruded into or assaulted military organs in the past, regardless of whether they are the Left, the middle, or the Right. Only those Rightist leaders who are found to be particularly bad should be prosecuted. However, targets to be attacked should be limited as much as possible. [Persons or organizations?] should not be classified as Left, middle, or Right merely on the basis of their having or not having intruded into or stormed military organs.

(5) Before deciding on what attitude to take toward the large mass organizations, profound investigation and study should be made locally and class analysis should also be made. Before taking any important action, a report should be made to the Central Cultural Revolution Group and the All-PLA Cultural Revolution Group and their advice sought.

(6) No mass character "self-blaming" movement should be launched. Nor should the masses be forced to write self-examination and criticism. Self-examination and criticism voluntarily written by the masses should be returned to the authors themselves. In dealing with some of the masses who have not awakened for a long time and who moreover persist in their erroneous viewpoints, do not urgently demand them to admit their error. Instead, they should be allowed time so they may educate themselves in the course of struggle. Corporeal punishment and disguised corporeal punishment, such as making [people] don tall dunce caps, wear black placards, parade in the street, kneel down, etc., is forbidden.

(7) Education in the struggle between the two lines — the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and the bourgeois reactionary line — must be carried out deeply in the armed forces. Study of Chairman Mao's works must be

related to the struggle between the two lines. Extensively collect various concrete information exposing the reactionary line and the small handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. This should be printed and distributed among company-level units for the purpose of education, so that the broad masses of commanders and fighters may know their reactionary facts, carry out through criticism and repudiation, and eliminate their evil influence.

(8) Cadres sent to local areas or in charge of support-the-Left work must be carefully briefed with regard to policy. Counter-revolutionary elements of the Chao Yung-fu type (formerly a deputy commander of Tsinghai Provincial Military District and a counter-revolutionary who had sneaked into the Party and the Army, Chao Yung-fu usurped Army powers by adopting underhand and sinister tactics and carried out savage, armed suppression of revolutionary mass organizations) or persons with ultra-Right thought should be prevented from taking charge of support-the-Left work.

(9) In supporting the Left, it is necessary to learn to do mass work, trust the masses, rely on them, and consult with them on important matters. It is necessary to skillfully adopt means of persuasion and education instead of adopting simple and crude means of issuing orders.

(10) Acts already done which run counter to the above-mentioned points must be rectified immediately, and remedial measures should be actively taken. From now on, resolutely work according to the above-mentioned points.

This order must be speedily transmitted by telegram or telephone to all organs of the Army and within company units and widely posted.

The Central Military Commission

April 6, 1967

CIRCULAR OF THE CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE,
THE STATE COUNCIL,
THE CENTRAL MILITARY COMMISSION
AND THE CENTRAL
CULTURAL REVOLUTION GROUP
CONCERNING THE BROADCASTING OF
COMRADE LIN PIAO'S SPEECH

Chung Fa No. 123 (67)

Our great leader Chairman Mao has instructed that the recorded speech of Comrade Lin Piao on March 20, 1967 should be broadcast to all personnel of the Chinese People's Liberation Army and the Red Guards of the whole country. Comrade Lin Piao's speech is a most important report based on Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought. It is of extremely great significance to guiding the current great proletarian cultural revolution movement and giving an impetus to furthering the victory of the proletarian revolutionaries in the struggle between the two lines. The Party committees of all military districts, the Party committees at all levels, the revolutionary committees of all provinces and municipalities, all military control committees and all revolutionary mass organizations must seriously organize all people to study and firmly implement and carry out Comrade Lin Piao's speech.

The CCP Central Committee
The State Council
The Central Military Commission
The Central Cultural Revolution Group

April 7, 1967

DECISION OF THE CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE CONCERNING THE HANDLING OF THE INNER MONGOLIA QUESTION

1. Since February 5, certain leaders of the Inner Mongolia Military District have committed mistakes in orientation and line in work of supporting the Left. They have hit heavily at the Huhehot Third Headquarters and other revolutionary mass organizations, arrested large numbers of the revolutionary masses, and supported Wang I-lun and other agents of Ulanfu, Party person in authority taking the capitalist road in Inner Mongolia, and the conservative organizations under their manipulation.

Some comrades of the Party Committee of the Inner Mongolia Military District have, without the approval of the Central Committee and the Military Commission of the Central Committee, branded Comrade Wu T'ao, Secretary of the Party Committee and Deputy Political Commissar of the Military District, as a three-anti element, and suspended him from work. They have also arbitrarily arrested Secretaries Kao Chin-ming, Ch'uan Hsing-huan, K'ang Hsiu-min and other comrades of the Party Committee of the Autonomous Region who have come over to the side of the revolutionary masses, and declared them as counter-revolutionary revisionists. This is a serious political mistake and a serious act with no regard for organization and discipline. As to the mistakes made by Kao Chin-ming, Ch'uan Hsing-huan, K'ang Hsiu-min and other comrades in the great proletarian cultural revolution, they should be criticized and repudiated by the masses and rectified in struggle.

Some responsible members of the Inner Mongolia Military District still adopt a double-face attitude and carry out activities

against the Central Committee after the Central Committee has pointed out their mistakes. The responsibility for the Inner Mongolia incident is chiefly borne by Wan I-lun and Wang To and secondly by some leaders of the Inner Mongolia Military District.

2. The Central Committee hereby decides to appoint Comrade Liu Hsien-ch'uan formerly Commander of the Tsinghai Military District, as Commander of the Inner Mongolia Military District, and Comrade Wu T'ao as Political Commissar of the Military District. Comrades Liu Hsien-ch'uan and Wu T'ao shall head the reorganized leadership of the Inner Mongolia Military District and deal with all problems occurring in that Military District.

3. There shall be set up a preparatory group of the Inner Mongolia Revolutionary Committee headed by Comrades Liu Hsien-ch'uan and Wu T'ao. Those responsible for the revolutionary mass organizations may participate in the preparatory group, and Kao Chin-ming, Ch'uan Hsing-huan, K'ang Hsiu-min and other comrades of the Party Committee of the Autonomous Region may also participate the preparatory group subject to the consent of the revolutionary masses. The preparatory group of the Revolutionary Committee shall be held responsible for the formation of a revolutionary provisional organ of power based on "three-in-one combination" to lead the great proletarian cultural revolution in Inner Mongolia area, to assume responsibility in dealing with the question of rehabilitation, to organize a setup for "grasping the revolution and promoting production," and to take control of industrial and agricultural production and finance and trade work.

4. All revolutionary mass organizations, revolutionary masses and revolutionary cadres branded as counterrevolutionary shall be rehabilitated, and all those arrested shall be released (including the revolutionary cadres and fighters under attack within the army). The murderer in the Han T'ung incident must be dealt with according to law.

5. The problems of Ulanfu, Party person in authority taking

the capitalist road, must be openly exposed in Inner Mongolia. Wang I-lun shall be placed under confinement for introspection, and Wang To should be suspended from office for examination and handed over to the masses for struggle, criticism and repudiation.

The CCP Central Committee

April 13, 1967

CIRCULAR OF THE CENTRAL MILITARY
COMMISSION CONCERNING
THE REAFFIRMATION OF
THE SUSPENSION OF
EXCHANGE OF REVOLUTIONARY
EXPERIENCE IN OTHER PLACES

Concerning the question of stopping people from going to other places to exchange revolutionary experience and establish revolutionary ties, clearcut rules have been laid down in the "Circular Concerning the Suspension of the Big Exchange of Revolutionary Experience All Over the Country"* issued on March 18 by the CCP Central Committee, the Order of the Military Commission of the Central Committee dated January 28, and the "Circular Setting a Time Limit for Those Who Have Gone to Other Places To Exchange Revolutionary Experiences To Return to Their Own Units"** issued on February 11 by the Military Commission of the Central Committee. Recently it has been discovered that a few people of the literary and art troupes and units of certain colleges and schools have arbitrarily come to Peking or gone to some other places without approval. This is unfavorable to the concentration of forces to make a success of the great cultural revolution in their own units. All units should educate all personnel afresh with the above rules and sensibly carry out such rules. Those personnel who have gone to other places to exchange revolutionary experience of their own accord should be mobilized to return to their own places at once. From now on, whenever it is really necessary to send certain personnel to other places, the approval of a higher level must be obtained according to the stipulations of the January 28 notification. On receipt of this notification, all units should transmit it at once to all personnel.

The Central Military Commission

April 17, 1967

(Issued under the signature of Comrade Lin Piao)

* See p. 378. The date should be March 19.

** See pp. 244-245. The date should be February 8.

DECISION OF THE MILITARY
COMMISSION OF
THE CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE
CONCERNING THE ENFORCEMENT OF
MILITARY CONTROL IN
HIGHER MILITARY ACADEMIES
AND SCHOOLS

In order to implement and carry out better the instructions of our great leader Chairman Mao and the Military Commission of the Central Committee concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution in military academies and schools, and in order to safeguard the carrying out of the great proletarian cultural revolution with greater success, the Military Commission of the CCP Central Committee hereby decides to enforce military control in the higher military academies of the Chinese People's Liberation Army and to set up the Military Control Committee. The Military Commission of the Central Committee hereby appoints Comrade Ch'en Ch'i-han as Chairman and Ts'ao Kuang-yüan as Vice Chairman of the Military Control Committee.

1. The Military Control Committee must hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, bring proletarian politics to the fore, energetically publicize the thought of Mao Tse-tung, firmly support the proletarian revolutionaries, unite and rely upon the broad revolutionary masses and the revolutionary cadres, direct the spearhead of struggle at the top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, and thoroughly accomplish the task of first struggle, second criticism and third transformation.

2. The great proletarian cultural revolution and teaching and administrative work shall be carried out in higher military academies under the leadership of the Military Control Committee. It is imperative to carry out and implement resolutely the "Decision of the CCP Central Committee Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution", the January 28 "Order of the Military Com-

mission of the Central Committee", the June 6 "Order of the Military Commission of the Central Committee" and other relevant instructions and rules of the Military Commission.

3. The mass organizations of higher military academies must seriously carry out the rectification campaign, and overcome anarchism, the small group mentality, individualism and other non-proletarian thoughts. They must strive to realize the great alliance of the proletarian revolutionaries and the revolutionary "three-in-one combination". They must earnestly advocate struggle by reasoning and firmly curb struggle by force. Should struggle by force occur again, the murderers and their instigators should be disciplined or punished as required.

4. The guards, communications and transportation detachments of higher military academies shall be under the command of the Military Control Committee, which shall take over the control of wired broadcasting equipment.

5. All personnel must creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's writings, eradicate "self-interest" and establish "public interest" in a big way, firmly guard their work posts, work energetically, observe discipline, submit to command, and set up a good revolutionary order. The orders and decisions of the Military Control Committee must be firmly carried out.

The Central Military Commission

April 19, 1967

CIRCULAR OF THE CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE,
THE STATE COUNCIL,
THE CENTRAL MILITARY COMMISSION
AND THE CENTRAL CULTURAL
REVOLUTION GROUP ON EXCHANGE
OF REVOLUTIONARY EXPERIENCE
BY STUDENTS

Recently a small number of students and the masses have again begun to come to Peking and go to other areas to exchange experience and establish revolutionary ties. Some schools in Peking have again sent personnel to outside areas to exchange experience and establish revolutionary ties. In view of this, the Center hereby reiterates its decision to stop nationwide exchange of experience and establishment of ties. Those who are already in outside areas to exchange experience and establish revolutionary ties should return to their own areas immediately. Problems of the great cultural revolution that have cropped up in an area, a department, or a unit, should be solved wherever possible in that area, department, or unit, to avoid affecting the movement and production in the area, department, or unit.

This circular may be posted and displayed in both urban and rural areas.

The CCP Central Committee
The State Council
The Central Military Commission
The Central Cultural Revolution Group

April 20, 1967

DECISION OF THE CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE CONCERNING THE QUESTION OF SZECHWAN

1. For a long period of time, a handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road headed by Li Ching-ch'uan regarded Szechwan Province as an independent kingdom for opposing the Party, socialism and the thought of Mao Tse-tung. During the great proletarian cultural revolution, Li Ching-ch'uan and other persons persisted in carrying out Liu Shao-ch'i and Teng Hsiao-p'ing's bourgeois reactionary line. The CCP Central Committee has decided to relieve Li Ching-ch'uan of his office as First Secretary of the Southwest Bureau of the CCP Central Committee, and the CCP Central Committee and the Military Commission of the Central Committee have also decided to relieve him of his office as First Political Commissar of the Chengtu Military Region.

2. During the great proletarian cultural revolution, the Chengtu Military Regions has given a good account of itself in the struggle against Huang Hsin-t'ing, Kuo Lin-hsiang, obstinate followers of the top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. It has scored successes in rendering support to the local great proletarian cultural revolution — especially in the field of supporting industry and agriculture.

However, since the last ten days of February, the Chengtu Military Region has supported the conservative organizations hoodwinked by some conservative elements and manipulated by a handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. It has branded such revolutionary mass organizations as the "Chengtu Workers' Revolutionary Rebel Corps," the "August

26th Fighting Detachment of Szechwan University," etc., as counter-revolutionary organizations, and arrested a large number of the revolutionary masses. It has transformed the great proletarian cultural revolution movement into a "counterrevolutionary suppression movement."

Meanwhile, it has arbitrarily transferred troops to Ipin to support the Ipin Military Sub-District and a handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road within the Ipin District Committee, suppress the revolutionary mass organizations and the revolutionary masses, and make arrests on a large scale. It also has engineered the tragic case of bloodshed involving the armed suppression of the masses at the Wanhsien Military Sub-District. In some other military sub-districts and district committees, the Chengtu Military Region has committed such mistakes to a greater or lesser extent.

In work to support the Left, those responsible for the Chengtu Military Region have committed mistakes in orientation and line. After the Central Committee pointed out their mistakes, they have very quickly taken steps to rectify them. The leading comrades of the X X Army have opportunely made self-examination, and also have taken fast action to correct themselves.

In his comment on a document dealing with Szechwan, Chairman Mao has this to point out: "It is difficult to avoid making mistakes, but provided mistakes are rectified in real earnest, everything will be all right. Szechwan has arrested too many people and announced large numbers of mass organizations as reactionary organizations, but they have also quickly rectified these mistakes of theirs."

3. Comrade Chang Kuo-hua, the newly appointed First Political Commissar of the Chengtu Military Region, Comrade Liang Hsing-ch'u, Commander, Comrade Liu Chieh-t'ing, formerly Secretary to the Ipin District Committee, and Comrade Chang Hsi-t'ing, formerly Secretary to Ipin Municipal Committee, are held responsible for the organization of the Preparatory Group of the Szechwan Provincial Revolutionary Committee — with Comrade Chang Kuo-hua as head of the group, and Comrades

Liang Hsing-ch'u and Liu Chieh-t'ing as deputy heads of the group. Leading members of revolutionary organizations, army leaders, leaders in other fields, and local revolutionary leading cadres approved by the revolutionary masses should be invited to join the Preparatory Group.

4. In Ipin district, Comrades Wang Mou-chü and Kuo Lin-ch'uan are held responsible for organizing the Preparatory Group of the Revolutionary Committee of Ipin District, which will carry out work under the leadership of the Preparatory Group of the Szechwan Provincial Revolutionary Committee.

As to whether preparatory groups of revolutionary committees or military control committees should be set up in other administrative districts and municipalities directly under the province, this shall be discussed and decided by the Preparatory Group of the Szechwan Provincial Committee and subject to the approval of the Central Committee.

Members of the preparatory groups of the revolutionary committees of the various administrative districts and municipalities under the province shall be dealt with according to the principles stipulated in Article 3.

5. The Preparatory Group of the Szechwan Provincial Revolutionary Committee must properly deal with, rehabilitate and release all revolutionary mass organizations, revolutionary masses and revolutionary cadres that have been branded as "counterrevolutionary" in the great proletarian cultural revolution throughout Szechwan Province. It also must rely on the staunch backbone elements of the Left among them to make a success of the great proletarian cultural revolution. Gratuities must be granted to [the family dependents of] the revolutionary masses and revolutionary cadres killed. Active counterrevolutionaries with iron-clad evidence against them shall be dealt with separately.

The revolutionary mass organizations must be helped to rehabilitate and develop themselves. Such revolutionary organizations as the "August 26" of Szechwan University and the Workers' Rebel Corps must pay attention to strengthening their solidarity with the Chengtu Red Guard units and other revolutionary or-

ganizations. They must not attack each other, thus shifting the target of the struggle. All revolutionary organizations must creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's writings, overhaul their thought, style of work and organization, and realize the great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries and the revolutionary "three-in-one combination" on the foundation of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

6. It is necessary to respond to Chairman Mao's call, energetically launch the "support the army, cherish the people" campaign, give education by positive example to both the armed forces and the masses, strengthen the unity of the armed forces and the people, and guard against the bad people setting the armed forces and the people against each other. The great People's Liberation Army will no doubt be supported by the broad masses. It is necessary to propagate among all commanders and fighters and the broad revolutionary masses Chairman Mao's instructions on having faith in and relying on the masses, the People's Liberation Army and the great majority of cadres.

7. It is necessary to direct the spearhead of struggle at a handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, at Li Ching-ch'uan, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road in Szechwan, and his handful of accomplices. Within the armed forces of Szechwan Province and among the cadres and the masses, it is necessary to expose, criticize and repudiate Liu Shao-ch'i, Teng Hsiao-p'ing and Li Ching-ch'uan to the full extent. Such criticism and repudiation must be unified with the handling of current problems and making preparations for the formation of provisional organs of power based on revolutionary "three-in-one combination."

8. Give wide publicity to the Eight-Point Order and the Ten-Point Order of the Military Commission of the Central Committee, and the decision and comment on the question of Anhwei by the CCP Central Committee. The provisions and principles in these documents must be strictly carried out.

9. To deal with the conservative organizations manipulated by a handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist

road, the chief thing is to carry out political and ideological work, so that the broad masses among them may see light, rise in insurrection, break with individual chieftains and the Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road who manipulate them from behind the scenes, draw a clear line of demarcation with the bourgeois reactionary line, and return to the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. The revolutionary mass organizations which have been suppressed must be taught to carry out work according to the policies of the Party. They must not launch attack in retaliation against the masses of the conservative organizations, but must reason them into compliance, and regard them also as victims of the reactionary line. All mass organizations are permitted only to carry out struggle by reasoning, but not struggle by force. They are not allowed to beat up people, smash things, practice looting and ransacking, or arrest people. Those bad people who incite armed struggle must be traced and dealt with.

10. Concerning the incident of bloodshed that occurred on May 6 in Chengtu, the Central Committee will deal with it as an important special case. The murderers who have shot and killed people — especially the schemers of the incident — must be dealt with according to law. The Chengtu Military Region shall be held responsible for taking over and sealing up the arms and ammunition of all mass organizations. It shall also be held responsible for arranging medical treatment for the wounded among various mass organizations. Gratuities must be granted to [the family dependents of] those killed.

The CCP Central Committee

May 7, 1967

DOCUMENT OF THE CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Chung-fa No. 153 (67)

All revolutionary committees, all military districts, all Party committees at various levels, all revolutionary organizations:

“The Vulnerable Point of ‘Self-Cultivation’* Is Its Betrayal of the Proletarian Dictatorship”, which was published on May 6 by the *Red Flag* Magazine Editorial Department and the *People’s Daily* Editorial Department, is an important article discussed and passed by an enlarged meeting of the Standing Committee of the Politburo and personally approved by our great leader Chairman Mao. This article hits directly on the vulnerable point of the book “Self-Cultivation”, and also hits directly on the vulnerable point of the greatest person in authority in the Party taking the capitalist road. The whole article, using the method of presenting facts and stating arguments, forcefully smashes revisionism and forcefully establishes the thought of Mao Tse-tung on a basic question of the revolution. It is hoped that revolutionary comrades in all units will seriously organize studies and discussions, and further develop profoundly the great repudiation movement against the small handful of greatest persons in authority in the Party taking the capitalist road.

The CCP Central Committee

May 11, 1967

* “Self-Cultivation” is the abbreviated name for Liu Shao-ch’i’s book “On The Self-Cultivation of A Communist”, which previously was translated into “How To Be A Good Communist”.

OPINION OF THE CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE CONCERNING THE QUESTION OF CHUNGKING

(May 16, 1967)

The CCP Central Committee agrees with the view and opinion of the four comrades Chang Kuo-hua, Liang Hsing-chu, Lin Chieh-t'ing and Chang Hsi-t'ing of the Preparatory Group for Revolutionary Committee of Szechwan Province concerning the question of Chungking municipality.

1. All revolutionary organizations of Chungking municipality should direct the spearhead of struggle against the greatest persons in authority in the Party taking the capitalist road, the greatest person in authority in Szechwan taking the capitalist road, namely Li Ching-ch'uan, and his supporters, and the person in authority in the Party in Chungking municipality taking the capitalist road, namely Jen Pai-ko and his supporters. In the armed forces and the masses, there should be full exposure and thorough repudiation of the crimes of Liu Shao-ch'i, Teng Hsiao-ping, Li Ching-ch'uan, Jen Pai-ko etc. The Central Committee agrees with the announcement relieving Jen Pai-ko of his positions as Secretary of the Secretariat of the Southwest Bureau, First Secretary of the Chungking Municipal Party Committee, and First Political Commissar of Chungking Military Sub-district.

2. The Chungking Garrison Command must evaluate, on the basis of facts and with a truth-seeking attitude, its accomplishments, shortcomings and errors in the support-Leftist, support-workers, support-peasants, military-control and military-training programs, and deal with them. The outstanding accomplishments should be recognized. What they supported are all revolutionary mass organizations. Their shortcomings and errors consist in the

complete failure of certain responsible cadres of the Chengtu Military Region to prevent the wrong line in February and March turning the great proletarian cultural revolution into a "suppression of counter-revolutionary movement". And secondly, in dealing with the question of the revolutionary mass organizations holding different opinions, they erroneously supported one side and oppressed the other side; the Public Security department, erroneously supporting arrests of revolutionary masses, condemned the majority of the revolutionary masses to be "counter-revolutionary". They are now seriously correcting their shortcomings and mistakes.

3. The Central Committee agrees that the Preparatory Group for Revolutionary Committee of Chungking Municipality be established immediately, which is to be organized by Comrade Lan Yi-nung, Deputy Political Commissar of the local garrison, Deputy Army Commander Pai Pin, Comrade Tang Hsing-sheng, Commander of Chungking Military Sub-district, and others, and Comrade Lan Yi-nung as the Head of the Group and Comrade Pai Pin as the Deputy Head of the Group. Membership of the Preparatory Group for Revolutionary Committee should include responsible members of the major revolutionary mass organizations holding different opinions and other responsible persons.

The Central Committee agrees that the Preparatory Group for Revolutionary Committee of Chungking Municipality should rapidly establish Production Command Headquarters for industries and for agriculture.

4. Those revolutionary mass organizations erroneously declared as "illegal organizations" or "reactionary organizations" should be reinstated; those revolutionary masses and responsible members of revolutionary mass organizations erroneously arrested should be released immediately with their reputation restored. All revolutionary mass organizations should carry on a rectification campaign, strengthen studies of Chairman Mao's works, intensify activities in connection with political thought, and, on the main basis of self-criticism, carry on the rectification of thought, of style and of organization. Disputes should be settled by the method of presenting facts and stating reasons, never resorting to physical violence; beating, smashing things, looting, ransacking and making

arrests are not allowed. Bad elements who instigate armed struggle should be resolutely prosecuted.

5. Chairman Mao's great call of supporting the army and cherishing the people must be heeded. The Central Military Commission's Eight-Point Order and Ten-Point Order* must be thoroughly carried out. And the Decision of the CCP Central Committee Concerning the Question of Szechwan** must be enforced in earnest. The three-trusts and three-reliances proposed by Chairman Mao must be kept in mind, i.e. we must determinedly and unwaveringly trust and rely on the masses, trust and rely on the People's Liberation Army, trust and rely on the majority of the cadres. We must further strengthen, under the great red flag of Mao Tse-tung's thought, under the leadership of proletarian revolution represented by Chairman Mao, the unity of armed forces and people, the unity of all revolutionary mass organizations; we must realize the revolutionary great alliance, the revolutionary "three-in-one combination," thoroughly destroy the capitalist reactionary line, fulfill the great task of struggle, repudiation and reform, and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

* See pp. 211-213 and pp. 362-363.

** See pp. 434-438.

DIRECTIVE OF THE CENTRAL MILITARY COMMISSION CONCERNING THE MAY 25 ORDER OF THE INNER MONGOLIA MILITARY DISTRICT

The Five-Point Order dated May 25 of the Inner Mongolia Military District is very good. All cadres and fighters of the Inner Mongolia Military District should firmly carry out and implement it.

The armed force units of the Inner Mongolia Military District are charged with the glorious task of defending the frontier of the fatherland, and they should firmly implement Chairman Mao's great call for grasping the revolution and promoting war preparedness and work. Organs and armed force units should restore normal revolutionary order, and all personnel should firmly defend their work and fighting posts.

The Chinese People's Liberation Army is a people's army personally built and led by our great leader Chairman Mao and under the personal command of Vice Chairman Lin Biao. It should heed what Chairman Mao says, observe the Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention, uphold and develop the glorious tradition of our Army, firmly implement and carry out the April 13, 1967 "Decision of the CCP Central Committee Concerning the Handling of the Inner Mongolia Question,"* accomplish with great success the glorious task of supporting the Left, industry and agriculture, exercising military control and giving military training entrusted us by the great leader Chairman Mao, and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end!

The Central Military Commission *May 25, 1967*

Appendix:

ORDER OF THE INNER MONGOLIA MILITARY DISTRICT OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY**

After some cadres and fighters of the Inner Mongolia Military District came to Peking, they were received by the leaders of the Central Committee and the Military Commission on two occasions. These leaders heard the report of the Standing Committee of the Military District in Peking, and gave us extremely important instructions. They also sent responsible comrades to hold separate symposia in places garrisoned by our forces and hear the views of the public. This showed their greatest concern, greatest solicitude and greatest trust for the Inner Mongolia Military District. The untiring teaching of the leaders of the Central Committee and the Military Commission have greatly educated and inspired us.

In order to implement and carry out sensibly the "Decision of the CCP Central Committee on the Handling of the Inner Mongolia Question," in order to realize in real earnest the glorious task of supporting the Left, industry and agriculture, exercising military control and giving military training entrusted us by our great leader Chairman Mao, and in order to respond to Chairman Mao's great call for grasping the revolution and stimulating war preparedness and work, the following Five-Point Order is hereby promulgated:

First, in firm response to the call of the Central Committee and the Military Commission, the personnel of all units of the Military District who have gone to Huhehot and other places to establish revolutionary ties and exchange revolutionary experience must as a rule return to their own units before the end of May and may not stay in other places. Those who fail to return by the time limit set shall be dealt with as having left the Army of

their free will.

Second, firmly implement and carry out the Eight-Point Order and Ten-Point Order of the Military Commission and other orders and rules concerned of the Central Committee and the Military Commission.

(1) With the exception of such units as the infantry schools, guard schools, cultural work troupes, physical culture teams and brass bands in which full and frank airing of views, writing of wall posters and debates may be carried out, education by positive example shall as a rule be conducted in the leading organs and armed force units of the Military District.

(2) Establishment of revolutionary ties and exchange of revolutionary experience may not be carried out within the armed force units, nor may such units go to other places to establish revolution ties and exchange revolutionary experience. The masses of the locality should be advised against going to armed force unit to establish revolutionary ties and exchange revolutionary experience.

(3) There should be no militant organizations in the units in which education by positive example is conducted. All militant organization now in existence shall be abolished so as to insure the exacting and integral command systems of the leading organs and guarantee normal work and order in organs and armed force units.

(4) Without the approval of the Military District, armed force units may not participate in parade and assembly at random.

(5) The use of automobiles and gasoline should be rigidly controlled by logistics departments at all level. Stronger control should be exercised over all kinds of propaganda media such as wired broadcasts, propaganda vans, printing equipment, and other auxiliary instruments and materials. The use of these media should be rigidly controlled by leading organs.

Third, firmly support and protect the units and personnel who loyally carry out the "Decision of the CCP Central Com-

mittee on the Handling of the Inner Mongolia Question." Those who are dissatisfied with this decision of the Central Committee, who do not act as they preach, or who pretend to observe this decision must be educated and severely criticized. The few persons who are opposed to the "Decision of the Central Committee on the Handling of the Inner Mongolia Question" and who cling to their mistakes despite repeated education must be disciplined or punished.

Fourth, the commanders and fighters of the whole Military District must further unite on the basis of the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, and strive to raise their revolutionary spirit, scientific spirit, sense of organization and discipline, and policy level. They must firmly oppose fighting, smashing things, practice of looting and ransacking, and making arrests. They are absolutely not allowed to participate in armed struggle, and they should not discriminate against those holding views different from theirs, nor are they allowed to attack in retaliation.

Fifth, firmly support the Third Headquarters of Huhehot and the mass organizations of the Left in various places of Inner Mongolia. Efforts must be made to educate and unite the broad revolutionary masses who are deceived and do not understand the actual situation as well as their basic-level organization among the conservative organizations. Party committees at all levels of the whole Military District and leaders of all units should bravely stand forth to carry out exemplarily the decision of the Central Committee.

We are resolved to hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, stand together with the commanders and fighters of the whole Military District, firmly support the Left, educate and unite the hoodwinked revolutionary masses, direct the spearhead at a handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and at Ulanfu, Wang I-lun, Wang To and other persons in authority taking the capitalist road in Inner Mongolia, and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end in Inner Mongolia. We will never be unworthy of what is expected of us by the great leader Chairman Mao and Vice Chairman Lin Piao.

T'eng Hai-ch'ing, Acting Commander
Wu T'ao, Political Commissar

May 25, 1967

* See pp. 417-419.

** This document is adopted and translated from *World Political Materials* No. 272 (December 1967) published by the Communist Party of Japan. The original document was published in *Workers War Journal*, June 5, 1967.

DOCUMENT OF
THE CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE,
THE CENTRAL MILITARY COMMISSION,
THE CENTRAL CULTURAL
REVOLUTION GROUP AND THE
CULTURAL REVOLUTION GROUP OF
ALL-PLA*

Chung-fa No. 175 (67)

Tsinan Military Region, Shantung Provincial Military District and various military districts, various arms and services:

The "Report on the Public Examination of Mistakes Made in Work of Supporting the Left to the Revolutionary Masses" submitted by the Shantung Provincial Military District Party Committee on May 31 is very good. It sets forth three points:

1. A public examination is better than none at all;
2. High posture examination (raising it to the level of the struggle between two lines) is better than low posture one;
3. Early examination is better than late examination.

These points are correct. Such an action by the Shantung Provincial Military District was immediately warmly supported by the revolutionary masses, and its prestige, instead of being lower, is higher. This is an example of resolute execution of our great commander's directives. Now we are transmitting to you the report of the Shantung Provincial Military District Party Committee for your reference and emulation.

We request the Tsinan Military Region to distribute this comment of the Party Central Committee and the report of the Shantung Provincial Military District Party Committee to the companies to be read to all commanders and fighters.

The CCP Central Committee
The Central Military Commission
The Central Cultural Revolution Group
The Cultural Revolution Group of All-PLA

CHAIRMAN MAO'S COMMENT ON THE STATEMENT OF THE
SHANTUNG MILITARY DISTRICT COMMAND:

VERY GOOD! CORRECT. EXEMPLARY. TO BE EMULATED!

* This document bears no date. As the report of the Shantung Military District transmitted is dated May 31, this is taken to be the date of this document.

CIRCULAR ORDER OF THE CCP
CENTRAL COMMITTEE,
THE STATE COUNCIL,
THE CENTRAL MILITARY COMMISSION
AND THE CENTRAL
CULTURAL REVOLUTION GROUP
CONCERNING THE STRICT PROHIBITION
OF ARMED STRUGGLE,
ILLEGAL ARREST AND LOOTING
AND SABOTAGE

(June 6, 1967)

In order to maintain the order of the great proletarian cultural revolution, to protect the authority of the proletarian dictatorship, to safeguard the great democracy under the proletarian dictatorship, to ensure the normal carrying on of big contending, big blooming, big-character posters and big debate, to rectify the sinister practices of beating, smashing, looting, ransacking and arresting which have appeared of late, and to prevent counter-revolutionary elements and bad elements from fishing in muddy waters and taking the opportunity to carry on sabotage, the following circular order is issued:

1. Apart from organs of dictatorship of the State which may carry on their duty of making necessary arrests and detentions according to orders and law, no body or individual is allowed to make arrests, to set up courts or a disguised form of private courts.

2. Files, documents and seals of all organizations of the Party, the government and the army at all levels are not allowed to be seized, ransacked or destroyed by any body or individual.

3. Properties of the socialist State and collective properties are absolutely inviolable. All revolutionary masses have the responsibility to protect [these properties]; no body or individual is allowed to occupy, smash or seize these properties, or to carry on sabotage under any pretext.

4. It is strictly prohibited to carry on armed struggle, to beat up people, to fight in groups in one's own unit or in larger units, or to rob properties belonging to individuals.

5. Apart from organs of dictatorship of the State which may carry on their duty according to orders and law, no body or individual is allowed to carry on searches and raids against any body or individual.

6. The garrisons and local troops in various places are responsible for the enforcement of the above provisions; and, effective as of now, all violations of these provisions must be severely dealt with.

Garrisons and local troops are authorized to arrest, detain and punish according to law those who start troubles, those who instigate troubles, and those culprits who kill or injure other people. Cases of sabotage, violation or seizure of State property, collective property or individual property must be reclaimed or compensated at the same value. Bodies who violate these provisions will be publicly repudiated in accordance with the seriousness of the offence.

7. All revolutionary mass organizations should strive to be models in the implementation of this circular order, and help the garrisons and local troops in the programs of political thought. This circular order may be widely postered in urban and rural areas and announced widely among the masses.

CIRCULAR OF THE CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Chung-fa No. 199 (67)

(June 24, 1967)

Comrades of delegations for conferences in Peking from Chekiang, Kiangsi, Kwangsi, Hunan, Honan, Anshan Steel and Anshan Municipality, all the revolutionary committees, military control committees and preparatory groups for revolutionary committees of all provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, and Party committees of all military regions, provincial military districts and departments:

In order to insure the success of conferences of delegations from all places held in Peking, in order to facilitate the solution of problems in various places, the Central Committee requests that agreement be reached by the opposing sides in the delegations from various places, and that the following six provisions be guaranteed to be realized in all places:

1. No demonstrations are to be held in the streets.
2. No quarrels or mutual attacks are to be made.
3. No obstruction is to be made on railways, highways and in the transportation by shipping.
4. No peasants are to be mobilized to go to cities, and no obstruction is to be made on roads or against vehicles.
5. No arrests or detentions are to be made.
6. No seizure of arms or shooting of guns is to be made.

When these agreements are reached, both sides should be notified by telephone, and their enforcement must be definitely ensured.

CIRCULAR OF THE CCP CENTRAL
COMMITTEE CONCERNING
THE QUESTION OF
"CATCHING RENEGADES"

Chung-fa No. 200 (67)

Since the development of the great proletarian cultural revolution movement, Red Guard young generals and revolutionary masses have carried on a great deal of investigative work, exposed the groups of renegades who have long been protected by the small handful of greatest persons in authority in the Party taking the capitalist road, and uprooted a batch of renegades and special agents who have worked their way into the Party, thus making a very important contribution for the purification of the Party organization and for the thorough repudiation of the small handful of greatest persons in authority in the Party taking the capitalist road. For the sake of carrying on this work even better, the central authorities hereby lay down the following regulations:

1. To draw the conclusion whether a person is a "renegade" is a serious political question, which concerns his political life; it must be made only after thorough investigation and with a careful attitude. It would not do to declare that a person is a renegade on the basis of insufficient and unverified materials. Materials must not be publicized rashly.

2. The emphasis must be laid on the search and investigation of renegades belonging to the small handful of persons in authority in the Party taking the capitalist road. Those who have had renegade conduct historically are also to be investigated; but they should be treated differentially on the basis of the seriousness of their offences, whether they have made a clean breast of everything to the Party, whether they have done bad things together with the persons in authority in the Party taking the capitalist

road, and their performance in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

3. Cadres with general historical questions must be differentiated strictly from renegades and special agents.

4. Mass organizations must not use the pretext of "catching renegades" to carry on factional struggle, to attack each other, and thus to shift the general direction of the struggle.

5. Individual renegades and special agents have worked their way into some mass organizations, and should be investigated and searched out; but other mass organizations must not use this as a reason to attack these mass organizations.

The CCP Central Committee

June 28, 1967

CIRCULAR OF THE CCP CENTRAL
COMMITTEE CONCERNING
THE PROHIBITION OF
INSTIGATING PEASANTS TO CARRY OUT
ARMED STRUGGLE IN CITIES

Chung-fa No. 218 (67)

To Party committees of military districts and sub-districts at all levels, people's militia departments at all levels, revolutionary committees (preparatory groups) of all provinces and municipalities, and military control committees at all levels and for transmission to all mass organizations:

For a time of late, a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road in Kiangsi, Szechwan, Chekiang, Hupeh, Honan, Anhwei, Ninghsia and Shansi — especially a few comrades who have not satisfactorily transformed themselves ideologically in the local militia departments of some provinces, municipalities, administrative districts, county and communes — have instigated some peasants who do not understand the actual situation into going into cities to participate in armed struggle, and encircle and attack the revolutionary mass organizations of factories and mines, organs and schools. Some places have even advanced the slogan of "encircling the cities with the countryside" and other reactionary slogans, and organized the peasants to go into cities to suppress the revolutionary rebels. The Central Committee is of the view that this method of work is wrong in the extreme, and the broad revolutionary masses should see through this conspiracy of the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and wage a struggle against them.

To insure the smooth progress of the great proletarian cultural revolution, it is now decided:

- (1) That no person or organization may use any pretext

to instigate the peasants into going to town to carry out armed struggle, nor can the peasants be mobilized to manufacture weapons or be issued with guns and ammunition for the purpose of armed struggle.

(2) That no pretext may be used to instigate the peasants into setting up check points along railroads and waterways to block the movement of trains and boats and undermine communications and transportation.

(3) That the commune members who have gone into cities to participate in armed struggle or left the countryside to undermine communications and transportation must return to the countryside at once to "grasp the revolution and promote production," and all weapons issued must be recalled.

(4) That all kinds of so-called "preferential treatment" granted to commune members participating in armed struggle are null and void, and it is forbidden to put any of them in force. The instigators shall be held responsible for all casualties and accidents brought about by participation in armed struggle in the cities, losses in production, and compensation for loss of work.

(5) That from the day this circular is transmitted to the lower level, people who have committed any of the aforesaid mistakes should at once correct their mistakes, and perform deeds of merit to make up their demerits. Those people who obstinately refuse to correct their mistakes and act in contravention of the above articles again and again must be severely dealt with, and the evil ones should be punished according to law.

This circular should be publicised by production teams among the peasants masses.

July 13, 1967

COMMENT OF THE CCP CENTRAL
COMMITTEE FOR THE
TRANSMISSION OF THE PROCLAMATION
OF THE PLA WUHAN
MILITARY REGION COMMAND

(July 26, 1967)

The Party Committee of the Wuhan Military Region Command:

This is to acknowledge receipt of the telegram dated 20:10 hours, July 24 and the appended text of the proclamation of the Wuhan armed forces unit. The Center* has discussed its contents and gives its views as follows:

One, both the stand you have taken and the policy you have adopted are correct. The appended proclamation may be released.

Two, with regard to those cadres who have made grave mistakes, including Comrade Ch'en Tsai-tao whom you people and the revolutionary masses seek to overthrow, they may still step forward and join in the revolutionary ranks if they do not persist in their mistakes but mend their ways in all seriousness and have the forgiveness of the revolutionary masses.

Three, it is necessary to do work on those army men and members of the "Million Heroic Troops" who have not straighten out their thinking so they may transform themselves.

Four, it is also necessary to do work on the Left faction and refrain from taking advantage of the opportunity to take reprisals against them.

Five, be on guard against bad people making trouble. Undermining the social order will in no way be permitted.

The Center* *July 26, 1967*

* Contrary to usual practice, the name used here is merely *chung-yang*, ("central" or "the center"), instead of *chung-kung chung-yang*, (CCP Central Committee). So it is translated here "The Center", to mark the deviation which may or may not have some significance.

A LETTER OF
THE CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE,
THE STATE COUNCIL,
THE CENTRAL MILITARY COMMISSION
AND THE CENTRAL
CULTURAL REVOLUTION GROUP
TO THE REVOLUTIONARY MASSES
AND VAST COMMANDERS AND
COMBATANTS OF WUHAN MUNICIPALITY

Courageous proletarian revolutionaries of Wuhan Municipality, revolutionary workers, peasants and soldiers, all commanders and combatants loyal to our great supreme commander Chairman Mao and to the programs of our great Party!

In the past few days, you have created very great achievements in the defence of the great proletarian cultural revolution led and launched personally by Chairman Mao.

You have courageously defeated the extremely presumptuous attack of a small handful of persons in authority in the Party and in the army taking the capitalist road.

Your fearless spirit and resolute measures have brought ultimate defeat to the treasonous conduct of that small handful of persons.

Comrades Hsieh Fu-chi, Wang Li, Yu Li-k'in and others, who were representatives sent out by our Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee to solve the question of Wuhan, who are holding high the great red flag of Mao Tse-tung's thought and upholding the proletarian revolutionary line of Chairman Mao — they have now returned triumphantly to Peking.

The great proletarian cultural revolution in Wuhan most definitely can progress along the road directed by Chairman Mao, our great teacher, great leader, great commander and great helmsman.

The great proletarian cultural revolution in Wuhan is now moving into a new stage of victory.

The triumphant songs of your great proletarian cultural revolution are now cheering the whole country.

A new high tide of the great proletarian cultural revolution throughout the whole country has now begun.

Of course, there will be difficulties in your way of progress. The small handful of persons in authority taking capitalist road will attempt in vain to struggle in their death throes, and to suppress you. Therefore, you cannot afford to be negligent, and should maintain a hundred-fold vigilance.

You should take good care in rallying all masses.

You should take good care in enlightening and educating all people who have been deceived.

Comrades or mass organizations who have held different opinions in the past, as soon as they are awakened and willing to step up to the revolutionary line of Chairman Mao, should all be greeted and invited to fight with you shoulder to shoulder.

Individual responsible members of the Wuhan Military Region committed serious mistakes in direction and line in their program of supporting the Left. They dissolved the revolutionary organization "Workers' Headquarters", condemning it as "counter-revolutionary"; they arrested many people of revolutionary organizations, also condemning them as "counter-revolutionary". All these are absolutely not allowed, and should be resolutely reinstated and released.

Individual responsible members of the Wuhan Military Region exploited some deceived masses of the "Million Heroic Troops", leading them into wrong way by turning back into white with rumor-mongering and cheating.

Individual responsible members of the Wuhan Military Region publicly resisted Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, resisted the correct directives of the Central Military Com-

mission, instigated masses who did not know the truth to oppose the Central Committee, to oppose the Central Cultural Revolution Group, and they even resorted to the fascist barbarous means of attacking, kidnapping and beating up representatives of the central authorities.

The serious political incident caused by this small handful of persons in authority taking the capitalist road aroused the unparalleled indignation of the vast revolutionary masses and the vast commanders and combatants stationed in Wuhan, met with the severe censure of people throughout the country, and was confronted with the strong objection of the army, the navy and the air force of the whole nation. They have sunk into the ocean of the indignant condemnation of the hundreds of millions of soldiers and people.

The small handful of bad people who planned this serious political incident and the culprits who did the beating must be prosecuted immediately and punished according to law.

A series of revolutionary organizations of Wuhan Municipality, and the revolutionary masses of the Workers' Headquarters, the 2nd Headquarters, the September 13, the New China Engineering College, the New Hupei University, the New China Agricultural College, the 3rd Headquarters of Revolutionary Alliance, etc., have resolutely defended the great Mao Tse-tung's thought, defended Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. You have done right, and done very well! The struggle of the proletarian revolutionaries of Wuhan Municipality is by no means isolated. Victory shall certainly belong to you, to the vast workers, peasants and soldiers and revolutionary intellectuals, to our great Party, to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, to our great leader Chairman Mao.

The Party Central Committee calls: All deceived masses should wake up quickly, correct their mistakes, return to the correct line of Chairman Mao, unite with the revolutionary masses against our common enemy, and thoroughly expose the conspiratorial activities of the small handful of bad leaders in the "Million Heroic Troops" and "Security, Prosecution and Court" and the

individual bad people in the Wuhan Military Region.

The Party Central Committee calls: People who have made mistakes should wake up; if only they can seriously correct their mistakes and obtain the pardon of the revolutionary masses, such people are still good.

The Party Central Committee calls: Peasant masses in the Wuhan area must not fall into the traps of the bad people, and should not go into the cities to intervene in the great proletarian cultural revolution of the workers and students.

The Party Central Committee calls: The vast commanders and combatants stationed in Wuhan should continue to hold high the great red flag of Mao Tse-tung's thought, resolutely support and defend the vast masses of the Left, fight with them and triumph with them.

The Wuhan Incident is, for the revolutionary masses throughout the country, a most vivid lesson in class struggle, a most profound lesson in the two lines of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. It shall widely mobilize the revolutionary zeal of people in the whole nation, to carry to the end this unprecedented great proletarian cultural revolution!

Salute to the vast revolutionary masses in Wuhan!

Long live the victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution in Wuhan!

Long live the victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution in the whole country!

Long live the invincible, infinitely luminous Mao Tse-tung's thought!

Long live our great teacher, great leader, great commander, great helmsman Chairman Mao!

COMMENT OF THE CENTRAL-SOUTH
SECTION OF THE
CENTRAL CULTURAL REVOLUTION GROUP
ON THE REPORT ON THE
QUESTION OF WUHAN CADRES*

1. Those who have made three-anti remarks and conduct of a more serious nature should not be regarded as revolutionary leading cadres. But to those who have stood on the side of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in the great cultural revolution, supported the rebel faction with a more resolute stand and a more clean and vivid banner, and actively exposed and struggled against the faction taking the capitalist road — to these people the rebel faction should extend assistance and voluntarily unite with them.

2. Some cadres did not enforce the bourgeois reactionary line during the initial stage of the great cultural revolution, but have done many bad things during the reverse currents of the great cultural revolution. So long as he admits his mistakes and dares to expose others, he may still be united (with the rebel faction) after obtaining the understanding of the masses. But those who insist upon their reactionary stand after the July 20 incident must be firmly stricken down.

3. Questions concerning personal life (material life, sex, etc.), even if very serious, do not belong to the question of basic stand, and are not objects dealt with by the great cultural revolution. The great cultural revolution deals primarily with questions of political lines and basic stands.

4. For those counter-revolutionary revisionist elements who have undergone mass struggle, made thorough confessions, and are sincere in attitude, the rebel faction must offer a way out.

5. For those who waver around, following trends and cur-

rents, leaning to whichever side with the greater strength without insisting upon principles and firm stands, we should carry on education of class-stand so that they may correct their mistakes.

6. Persons taking the capitalist road and stubborn fellows, especially counter-revolutionaries with double-faces, must be firmly struggled against and stricken down.

7. Those deceived masses who, after the central authorities expressed their opinions, adopted an active attitude and rose up to make rebellion, should be treated according to the principle "It is not a crime to have been deceived; it is a merit to turn around and strike a blow," and according to the Sixteen-Point Decision.

8. The deceived masses in basic organizations, when they rise up to make rebellion, should be allowed to educate themselves, so long as they are not murderers.

9. Murderers and active counter-revolutionary elements should be severely dealt with. The two different kinds of contradictions should be correctly treated.

10. Leaders among cadres of basic levels, except for those who are extremely bad and obstinate, should be ardently assisted so that they may rapidly return to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

11. Those original members of the cultural revolution, who had carried on the reactionary line of the bourgeoisie without having been repudiated and had spearheaded the suppression of the masses during the reverse current of the great cultural revolution, should be dealt with as bad leaders, even though they were not regarded as bad leaders.

12. Departments of personnel and of security which were manipulated by the "Million Heroic Troops" should be taken over temporarily and be dealt with when things are straightened out.

13. Regulations of severe punishment for bad leaders (not allowed to be publicized, therefore omitted).

14. The relatives of those persons who were deceived into taking part in armed struggle, attacking others and thus were killed, should be treated according to regulations of the central authorities, in the same way for both sides.

15. Bad leaders in basic organizations, who have not aroused much indignation among the people, and have given up the wrong way to return to the right way, should be offered a way-out, and not be dealt with as bad elements.

[Reprinted from the despatch of Wuhan Steel Industries Headquarters Provincial Ching-kang-shan Corps]

* This document appears in *News In Brief*, No. 1, December 1967, published by Canton Primary Education Red Headquarters. It is not dated; but, judging from the content, it was probably issued in late July or early August 1967. Whether the "Central-South Section of the Central Cultural Revolution Group" was located in Canton or Peking is not disclosed.

CIRCULAR OF THE CCP CENTRAL
COMMITTEE CONCERNING
THE QUESTION OF CRITICISM AND
REPUDIATION BY NAME
IN PUBLICATIONS*

Chung-fa No. 251 (67)

(August 14, 1967)

To revolutionary committees (or preparatory groups) and military control committees of all provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, all headquarters and military branches and units of the People's Liberation Army, all military district commands, all departments and committees of the Party Central Committee and the State Council, all revolutionary mass organizations, and all propaganda units:

At present, an upsurge of mass criticism and repudiation is being whipped up all over the country. In order to criticize and repudiate penetratingly and thoroughly the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, to wipe out totally their viruses and pernicious influence, and to integrate this revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation better with the struggle-criticism-transformation in all areas and departments, it is necessary to name publicly for criticism and repudiation in the Central and local publications some persons in the Central departments and bureaus and provincial and municipal committees who are in authority and take the capitalist road.

(1) With the approval by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, those Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road who have been criticized and repudiated by their names in the Central publications include: P'eng Chen, P'eng Te-huai, Lu Ting-i, Lo Jui-ch'ing, Yang Shang-k'un, Chou Yang and Hsiao Wang-tung; those Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road who have been criticized and repudiated by their names in the local publications include: T'ao Chu, Wang Jen-

chung, Li Ching-ch'üan, Chia Ch'i-yün, Yen Hung-yen, Wang Feng, Ouyang Ch'in, Li Fan-wu, Ulanfu, Wang To, Wang I-lun, Wang Chao, Jen Pai-ko and Wang Ho-shou. Central and local publications should continue to penetratingly criticize and repudiate these revisionists who have been criticized and repudiated by name.

(2) Those Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road who are to be criticized and repudiated publicly by name in the next stage in the Central publications include: Po I-po, Lü Cheng-ts'ao, Lin Feng, An Tzu-wen, Yang Hsiu-feng, Chiang Nan-hsiang, Wu Leng-hsi, Chang Wen-t'ien, Chang Ching-fu and Han Kuang.

(3) Those Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road who are to be criticized and repudiated publicly by name in the next stage in local publications include: Liu Lan-t'ao, Hsi Chung-hsiin and Hu Hsi-k'uei of the Northwest Bureau; Ma Ming-fang of the Northeast Bureau; Ch'en P'i-hsien, Ts'ao Ti-ch'iu and Yang Hsi-kuang of Shanghai municipality; Wan Hsiao-t'ang and Chang Chun-san of Tientsin municipality; Lin T'ieh of Hopei province; Li Pao-hua of Anhwei province; Yeh Fei of Fukien province; Wen Min-sheng and Chao Wen-fu of Honan province; Chao Tzu-yang of Kwangtung province; Fang Chih-ch'un of Kiangsi province; Liao Chih-kao of Szechwan province; Chao Lin of Kirin province; Yang Ching-jen and Ma Yü-huai of Ninghsia autonomous region; T'ao Lu-chia, Wei Heng, Wang Ch'ien and Wang Ta-jen of Shansi province.

(4) The Central publications may reproduce those articles which have been published in local publications and written comparatively well to criticize and repudiate those revisionists whom the local publications, with the approval by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, have criticized and repudiated by name. They, too, may directly organize writing of articles to criticize and repudiate these revisionists.

(To be issued to the provincial and army levels.)

* Liu Shao-ch'i, Teng Hsiao-p'ing, Ho Lung, Hsiao Hua and Tan Chen-lin had been under attack of the rebel faction before August 1967; but they were not yet permitted to be criticized and repudiated by name in official publications.

NOTIFICATION OF THE
CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE,
THE STATE COUNCIL,
THE CENTRAL MILITARY COMMISSION
AND THE CENTRAL
CULTURAL REVOLUTION GROUP
CONCERNING THE SEIZURE OF
STATE SECRET FILES
BY THE "RED COMBAT CORPS" OF
THE MILITARY OF CHEMICAL INDUSTRIES

Party committees of departments of the Central Committee, ministries of the government, and departments of the Military Commission, all revolutionary committees (or preparatory groups) of provinces and municipalities (autonomous regions), all military districts, and all military control committees, and to be transmitted to all revolutionary mass organizations:

Certain responsible members of the "Red Combat Corps Headquarters" of the Ministry of Chemical Industries (to be abbreviated to "Red Combat Corps"), in the evening of August 20, violated the regulations of the central authorities concerning the protection of the security of the secrets of the Party and of the State, and seized by force eleven trucks filled with secret files and materials of the State belonging to the Ministry of Chemical Industries. For the sake of protecting the security of secrets of the Party and of the State, and strictly forbidding such seizure of secret files of the State which is a conduct detrimental to the great proletarian cultural revolution, the Central Cultural Revolution Group instructed its Office Group to notify, in five successive telephone calls, the responsible members of the "Red Combat Corps", asking them to submit the files and materials which they had seized to the custody of the Peking Garrison Command; but certain responsible members of the "Red Combat Corps" ignored the opinion of the Office Group of the Central Cultural Revolution Group, and refused to hand over the files and materials on various pretexts. When the Peking Garrison Command went, based on the notification of the Office Group of the Central Cul-

tural Revolution Group, to claim this batch of files and materials, they again deliberately caused difficulties. Afterwards, they not only did not carry on any self-criticism, but even unreasonably condemned the Office Group of the Central Cultural Revolution Group. We are of the opinion that the conduct of certain responsible members of the "Red Combat Corps" of seizing secret files against regulations of the central authorities is very wrong, and that it was wrong again when they refused to hand over the files at the request of the Office Group of the Central Cultural Revolution Group. We hope the proletarian revolutionary masses of the Ministry of Chemical Industries and comrades of the proletarian revolutionary faction of all central ministries and all units of Peking municipality will treat this incident seriously, and, with the attitude of (regarding this as a matter of) principle, gravely criticize this mistake of certain responsible members of the "Red Combat Corps", obliging them to make public examinations separately as to the causes of this incident. We must all learn a lesson from this incident, and must together protect the security of secret files of the Party and of the State. From now on, it is absolutely forbidden for any mass organization or individual to seize the secret files of Party, government or military organs, or of enterprise units. Offenders must be dealt with gravely in accordance with Party discipline and laws of the State.

August 31, 1967

(This document may be postered in organs, schools and factories.)

ORDER OF THE CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE,
THE STATE COUNCIL,
THE CENTRAL MILITARY COMMISSION
AND THE CENTRAL
CULTURAL REVOLUTION GROUP
CONCERNING THE PROHIBITION OF
THE SEIZURE OF ARMS, EQUIPMENT, AND
OTHER MILITARY SUPPLIES
FROM THE PLA

Chung-fa No. 288 (67)

(September 5, 1967)

To all provincial (municipal) revolutionary committees (or preparatory groups), military control committees at all levels, military district commands at all levels, and all revolutionary mass organizations:

The Chinese People's Liberation Army is a peerless people's army, an army of the sons and brothers of the working people personally formed and led by our great leader Chairman Mao and personally commanded by Vice Supreme Commander Lin Piao. It is dependent on the people as fish is dependent on water, and is linked with the people as blood is with flesh. The PLA must resolutely respond to the call of the great leader Chairman Mao, resolutely support the revolutionary Left, discharge all its duties, and care for and protect all proletarian revolutionaries, all Red Guard revolutionary young fighters, and all the revolutionary masses.

Chairman Mao says: "Without a people's army, the people will have nothing." The PLA is the pillar of the proletarian dictatorship. It shoulders the glorious and formidable tasks of defending the country and the great proletarian cultural revolution.

The Chinese People's Liberation Army must be constantly on the alert against sudden attacks by imperialism, reactionaries of all countries, and modern revisionism. It must firmly stick to

its fighting posts, strengthen war preparedness, and insure the perfect condition of its equipment, so that as soon as an order comes it may take action immediately.

In their "Call Concerning Development of a Support-the-Army and Cherish-the-People Movement" issued on August 25, the CCP Central Committee, the State Council, the Central Military Commission, and the Central Cultural Revolution Group pointed out: "The PLA and the arms, equipment and material supplies of all descriptions in its possession are inviolable. No outsiders are allowed to enter and occupy PLA command organs." All proletarian revolutionaries, Red Guard revolutionary young fighters, revolutionary masses, and patriotic people must strictly observe this and carry it out effectively. This is in response to the call of "Support the Army and cherish the people" made by our great leader Chairman Mao. To care for the PLA and support it is the common task of all revolutionary masses and patriotic people. True proletarian revolutionary comrades in particular must set an example in this respect.

All revolutionary mass organizations must correctly understand extensive democracy under the condition of proletarian dictatorship as well as the "Four No" of the PLA. In the complex, acute class struggle it must constantly increase its class vigilance, prevent its being used by the class enemy, prevent any provocation and sowing of discord by class enemies inside and outside the country and their fishing in troubled waters, and strictly guard against any attempt to weaken or lower the PLA's fighting strength and prestige by US and Chiang, Soviet revisionism, Japanese spies, and landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, and bad elements.

To resolutely implement the June 6 order and August 25 "Call Concerning Development of a Support-the-Army and Cherish-the-People Movement" by the CCP Central Committee, the State Council, the Central Military Commission, and the Central Cultural Revolution Group, it is here reiterated:

(1) All mass organizations and individuals, irrespective of their affiliations, are forbidden to seize under any pretext what-

ever the arms, ammunition, equipment, vehicles, materials and supplies of the PLA. They are forbidden to seize arms, ammunition, equipment, vehicles, materials and supplies from arsenals, military stores, and defense enterprises. They are forbidden to intercept arms, ammunition, equipment, materials and supplies being carried in trains, trucks, or ships and vessels. Outsiders are forbidden to occupy command organs of the PLA.

(2) In particular, in PLA academies and schools, cultural and sports units, and all units in which Four-Big is being developed, no organization or individual is allowed to seize arms, ammunition, equipment, vehicles, materials and supplies.

(3) Unless authorized by the Central Authority, all organs, armed services, institutes and schools, and other units of the PLA are absolutely forbidden to hand over to any organization or individual any arms, ammunition, equipment, vehicles, materials and supplies.

(4) Arms, ammunition, equipment, vehicles, materials and supplies of the PLA that have been seized must all be put under seal and stored, and a time-limit must be set for their return.

This order shall come into effect from the date of its proclamation. Anyone who violates this order from now on shall be dealt with as a case of violation of the State's law.

In carrying out the above order, local garrison forces must first patiently carry out political and ideological work, carefully reason [with offenders], and proceed to dissuade or stop [them from committing the offense]. When such dissuasion or prevention proves ineffective, shots should be fired in the air as a warning and they should be ordered to withdraw. When all dissuasion and prevention and warning are ineffective, such act of seizure may be declared a counter-revolutionary act, and action should be taken to arrest the few bad ring-leaders and trouble-making murderers so that they may be dealt with according to law. When such persons resist arrest or fight back, the PLA may act and hit back in self-defense.

Fighters on duty in coastal and frontier areas, off-shore

islands, and defense and security or important areas may hit back in self-defense if someone tries to seize their weapons from them.

This order shall be observed and carried out by all provincial (municipal) revolutionary committees, (or preparatory groups), military control committees at all levels, military district commands at all levels, and all revolutionary mass organizations.

CIRCULAR OF THE GENERAL
OFFICE OF THE
CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE

The Central-South Bureau, the Kwangtung Provincial Military Control Committee, the Canton Military Region, and the Kwangtung Provincial Military District:

The speech made by Comrade Chiang Ch'ing on September 5 at a conference of representatives of Anhwei who had come to Peking, made a correct analysis of the current situation of the great proletarian cultural revolution and set forth specific militant tasks for the proletarian revolutionaries. All revolutionary committees, military control committees, and revolutionary mass organizations should seriously organize reception of the broadcasting of this recorded speech and make study of it with a view to further mastering the general orientation of the great proletarian cultural revolution as indicated to us by Chairman Mao, making a success of mass criticism and forming revolutionary grand alliances, and doing a good job of the work of supporting the army and cherishing the people.

September 9, 1967

Appendix:

IMPORTANT TALK GIVEN BY COMRADE CHIANG CH'ING ON SEPTEMBER 5 AT A CONFERENCE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF ANHWEI WHO HAVE COME TO PEKING

(Edited version of the recorded speech, intended merely for reference)

Greetings to you all, comrades! (Loud shouting: Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!)

I have come rather hurriedly, and I have no idea of what is going on here. Old K'ang [K'ang Sheng] just dragged me here. Nor have I prepared for the few words which I shall say here. If what I am going to say is right, you may use it for reference; if not, you may criticize me. You may even bombard me or burn me!

I want to talk about the current situation. On the question of situation, there are some different views among us. We think that taking the nation as a whole, the situation of the great cultural revolution is excellent. If, however, the present situation is viewed in isolation, then of course it appears to be quite serious in certain areas and individual places. Actually, this is not so. Taking the country as a whole and from the historical point of view, isn't the situation this year greatly different from that at this time of the previous year?

At this time last year, the small handful of top Party capitalist roaders in authority and their jackals in the localities still had considerable strength and were able to carry out activities. What about now? They have been paralyzed. Some of them have been struck down by the revolutionary young fighters. Paralysis itself is a good thing because the capitalist roaders in authority can move no longer. That is why revolutionary committees have been set up in some localities.

What is being done at present? The Central Committee is tackling the problems province by province, and city by city

in the case of those large cities. Hasn't this been done in Anhwei, too? Now we have invited you comrades to come, so that both sides of you can sit down to solve the problems. This is also a good situation. Take your Anhwei for example. The situation there is quite different from last year, isn't it? The small handful headed by Li Pao-hua has been dragged out, and even such bad characters as Liu Hsiu-shan and such traitors as Ch'eng — I forget his name (A representative from Hofei said: Ch'eng Ming-yüan! Hasn't Ch'eng Ming-yüan also been exposed in broad daylight? (Members of the Good Faction* cheered for a long time: Long live Chairman Mao!))

Comrades, Liu Hsiu-shan is a bad man, and I have long known about it. It is not true that I know about it just now. I have evidence to prove that he is a bad guy pulling the string from behind. It is quite possible that some people have fallen into the trap. Now we must pay attention to this and must not put the good people and the bad together. We are faced with a question. Liu Hsiu-shan has been all along in hiding in Peking, but now it is not known where he has gone. (Some representatives: He is in Hofei exercising direct command) Comrades, whatever the case, and in spite of the fact that you had quarrels and fights before, you are now sitting down together for talks. Isn't this an excellent situation? (The Good Faction: An excellent situation) (Comrade Chiang Ch'ing turned to the Fart Faction*) Why is there no answer from comrades on this side? Do you approve of it. (The Fart Faction: An excellent situation.)

Looking back, from last year up to the present, tremendous changes have taken place. The campaign for mass criticism and repudiation of the top Party capitalist roader in authority is now gradually unfolding in the whole country, and fire is being opened against him on all fronts. It is necessary to pull him down, discredit him, and criticize him thoroughly and penetratingly. To do this, as I have said on many occasions previously, we must make it known to every household that we must criticize him more severely than we did Trotsky of the Soviet Union at that time in order to prevent China from changing color. This is because he has held power for a very long time, is a double-dealer, and has a whole set of cadre lines to protect his erroneous

line.

But the moment Chairman Mao gave his order for the great proletarian cultural revolution, the young fighters went to the battleground and dragged these fellows out. To be sure, comrades may say: "Comrade Chiang Ch'ing has said it well, but in our place the struggle is quite severe." Our struggle, too, is rather severe, although we do not use force. Nevertheless, I have let it be known that if some people insist on having a violent struggle with me, I will surely defend myself and strike back. (Loud shouting: Learn from Comrade Chiang Ch'ing, and salute her!) Learn from you comrades, and salute to you all!

Comrades, I am not in favor of armed struggle, and you must not think that I like it, because I am firmly opposed to it. I resolutely support Chairman Mao's call for "peaceful struggle, not armed struggle." What I mean is: when the class enemies attack us, how can we afford not to have an inch of iron in our hands [unarmed]? This is the situation I have in mind, but at present we need not have that kind of armed struggle.

Armed struggle always hurts some people and damages State property. Why, then, should we be prodigal sons? And such a problem as this must be clearly explained. This "attack by words and defend by force" must not be deprived of its class content; it must not be viewed in isolation from definite circumstances and conditions. It would be bad if, on your return, you stir up fights by wearing fighter's caps and raising spears. (Old K'ang interrupted: Not spears. We now have the machine guns.) After firing a round of ammunition, a machine gun will have to be reloaded. On the whole, I feel that the situation is excellent. It has tempered the younger generation and the young fighters. It has also tempered the revolutionary cadres as well as men of the older generation like old K'ang! (Old K'ang interrupted: You people are tempering me every day.)

Comrades, don't think that the question of Anhwei is exceptionally complicated. I, for one, do not think so. Each question has its own peculiarities. The present condition of Anhwei is much better than it was last year. And the situation now is

better than it was a moment ago. It is wonderful that we have been able to sit down and talk, instead of fighting things out. This is a favorable situation; it is a good beginning. Now in various provinces the case is generally like this: Talks are being held through arrangements made by the Central Committee, and although there have been reversals in some individual places, reversals are a normal phenomenon. Besides, there are imbalances in the situation, but imbalances are also a normal phenomenon.

On the whole the situation is satisfactory and is developing in a favorable situation. This calls for the following several conditions: Leadership by the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, which is the most important; the presence of the PLA as the pillar of the proletarian dictatorship to defend the great proletarian cultural revolution; and the gradual establishment of local revolutionary committees to promote revolutionary grand alliance and revolutionary "three-in-one combination" before we can carry out struggle-criticism-transformation and coordinate it with the nationwide mass criticism.

How do things stand at present in this connection? First, there are the Party capitalist roaders in authority, in addition to the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, wicked people and Rightists, in addition to US spies, Soviet spies, Japanese spies, and Kuomintang spies — all of them are bent on destroying us. With so many black hands hidden behind their backs, it is not easy for you to discern them. Appearing either as ultra-"Leftists" or as Rightists, they are set to undermine the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao. This shall never be permitted and those who do so are doomed to failure.

Comrades, come to think of it: Do you permit this? (The audience: No, we don't!) At present, let us take Peking as an example. There is a bad thing, and I call it a bad thing because it is a counter-revolutionary organization, called the "May 16" Corps. Numerically it is not a large organization, and superficially the majority of its members are young people, who are actually the hoodwinked. The minority consists of bourgeois elements who nurse deepseated hatred for us and who make use of the ideological instability of the young people. Those who

really pull strings behind the scene are very bad indeed.

What about Anhwei? There are also some people who oppose the Central Committee and its Nine-Point, Five-Point and other decisions. They have failed to carry them out. They have refused to carry them out. If things were done according to the Nine-Point Decision reversals would not have taken place, and when reversals occurred, they would be a good thing. Now that you have come we welcome you. The "May 16" assumes an ultra-"Leftist" appearance; it centers its opposition on the Premier. Actually, it has collected black material to denounce every one of us, and it may throw it out in public at any time. (Old K'ang interrupted: Did you people of Anhwei send any person to collect material concerning the Cultural Revolution Group of the Central Committee? The representatives replied: Yes. He was Liu Hsiu-shan. Old K'ang asked again: To be fair, you of the good group had also sent someone to collect material, as the Fart Faction had done. Liu Hsiu-shan had sent someone to collect material, and so had you of the two groups.)

We are not afraid of either group. With a clear conscience, what should we be afraid of? Go ahead and find the material you want! You people just eat and do nothing, so now you have chosen this thing instead of the revolution. Do what you like. I am not afraid. They had collected black material against me in the past, but only now have I discovered this. A case-study group while in Shanghai went to collect the material, saying that Comrade Ch'i Pen-yü had said the material concerned me. They had no choice but to bring out the material. When this material was brought back, I did not ask any questions. You see, a large trunk of it! Recently it has been found that in some places the so-called "special parties" have been set up. The setting up of these special parties is a tactic of the clowns, who cannot see the light. (Comrade Yao Wen-yüan interrupted: Clowns.) Clowns. From the right side they stirred up the gust of wind in February this year in opposition to the great proletarian revolution; while at present those who stir up the "Leftist" wind to oppose the Central Committee oppose the Premier as ultra-"Leftists."

The "May 16" is a very typical counter-revolutionary organization, and we must raise our vigilance against it. US-Chiang spies, Soviet revisionist spies as well as the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, wicked elements and Rightists will never act honestly but will try all possible means to wage a death-bed struggle. This requires that we raise our vigilance, discern them, and do propaganda among the masses, awaken the masses, and isolate these bad people. They are only a minority who cannot see the light. This is to say that we oppose people who oppose the leadership group of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao either from the Left, the extreme Left or from the Right side. I advise you comrades to be more alert on this question.

Now we come to the second question — the army. Some time earlier, there was this wrong slogan: Seize a "small handful in the army." As a result, "a small handful in the army" was seized everywhere and even the weapons of our regular troops were seized.

Comrades, come to think of it: Without the People's Liberation Army, is it possible for us to sit in the People's Great Hall holding a conference? (The audience: No.) If our field army were thrown into confusion and if trouble occurred, could we tolerate such a situation? (The audience: No.) Let us not fall into the trap. The slogan is wrong. Because the Party, the government and the army are all under the leadership of the Party. We can only talk about dragging out the handful of Party capitalist roaders in authority and nothing else. Were we to do otherwise, that would be unscientific, and the result would be that we got the wrong people everywhere, and almost all military districts would be raided, both good and bad. Even if some comrades, a minority of comrades, some individual comrades in our army committed serious errors, they need not be dealt with in such a way.

The Chinese People's Liberation Army is an army personally created by Chairman Mao and under the direct command of Vice Chairman Lin Biao. It may be asked: Is there such an army in other part of the world: (The audience: No. Loud shouting:

Learn from the PLA and salute to it.) Everywhere we seized their guns, beat them up, and scolded them. But they did not strike back, nor did they argue. Is there such an army in other part of the world? (Answer: No.) Now we must not fall into others' trap and drag out the small handful in the army everywhere and indiscriminately. I have talked with the young fighters of Peking about this question. Last year you went out to kindle the fire of the revolution and exchange revolutionary experience. But by going out again now, you will only do a disservice. You said that you were unable to drag out the small handful in the army and that you needed our help in doing this. In some places, this has been done. This is a wrong assessment of the situation, and the result of the fact that you have fallen into a trap set by others.

Young people are active of course. Struggle-criticism-transformation may be difficult, but if we ask you to sit down to read document and examine the data and then exercise your minds, that would be even more difficult and very arduous. Carrying out physical activities and even armed struggle are what the young people particularly like, and you too are fond of travelling from place to place. I heard that a rebel group in Wuhan — I do not know its name (Old K'ang interrupted: the Steel Second Headquarters). The moment it regained its strength, its members went from place to place in the whole country.

Therefore you must pay attention to this: When you go to a place, you may not understand the conditions there, and so you are liable to make mistakes there. It is for this reason that you must believe in the local masses and must not do the things which they should do themselves, just as we cannot make revolution on your behalf. All we can do is to consult with you and assist you.

The slogan of seizing the small handful in the army is wrong, and it has produced a series of undesirable consequences. Now this gust of wind has probably been checked.

You will ask: Does Comrade Chiang Ch'ing mean that the comrades in the army have made no mistakes. I do not mean this. Comrades in the army who have mistakes and shortcomings

should be given a chance to criticize themselves. Even among ourselves, some veteran cadres have made mistakes, said the wrong words, and done the wrong things. I also often make mistakes myself.

On the battlefields they are very brave and very reliable! Being unable to keep pace with the developments in the great cultural revolution, they have made some mistakes and said or done some wrong things. But if they want to mend their ways and criticize themselves, they should be allowed to do so, as we should observe Chairman Mao's instruction that "we must take warning from past mistakes in order to avoid future ones and cure the sickness in order to save the patient." I have not studied the condition of Anhwei before and I do not know much about it now. I heard that when X X army returned, they did not welcome it. (Old K'ang interrupted: Good Faction of Hofei and Huainan raided the headquarters of the 34th Division. I wonder if you know about the condition of Hofei. The present attitude which you have adopted should be criticized. T'ao Tsai-feng and Liang Shou-fu are quite wrong.) (The Good Faction of Huainan interrupted: The 34th Division is Linyen X X X X. This was disclosed by the peasants. It doesn't belong to Huainan.)

Whatever the way you see it, it is not good for the field army to be raided, and a precedent must not be set! Even the ammunition has been seized. (At this moment the two groups of Huainan started quarrelling with each other.)

Do you quarrel with me or with each other? Our field army is good. Our army is good. You see, the broad masses of commanders and fighters were formerly poor and lower-middle peasants and workers. They have resolutely executed the proletarian revolutionary line of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, and they did not involve themselves in the cultural revolution but did so only later. After getting themselves thus involved, they did not at first get at the truth and so it was inevitable that they should have made some mistakes. Just put yourselves in their positions, and ask yourselves if you would make the same mistakes? I think you would — and quite easily. But I mean mistakes of a general nature, not mistakes of line

or of principle: You cannot treat the army in such a way. When you seized their guns, some fighters wept. They knew that you were going to seize their guns, but they could not open fire, because they and you were all revolutionary masses.

At the front line of national defense, a strict order has been issued — an order which has already been approved by the Central Committee. If I were a garrison fighter, I would certainly fight back if someone seized my gun. Of course, opening fire is not good, but I have my own idea. If I were a garrison fighter and you came to take my gun, how could I know that you were a good or a bad man?

To be sure, guns are being seized on a nationwide scale. The greater part of the guns of the militiamen belonged to the conservative groups so that some of these guns were not seized but were surrendered. Only a small number of Leftists have guns (the representatives started arguing with one another).

Comrades, if my idea can play a good role, we should create the good conditions for its implementation. We must become revolutionaries of Mao Tse-tung's thought and not members of Chang's group or Li's group. The factional mentality is a petty bourgeois trait; it is the mountain-stronghold mentality, departmentalism, anarchism, anarchism in its grave form. (Yao Wen-yüan interrupted: We must properly study *Wen-hui Daily's* editorial "The Proletarian Party Character and the Petty Bourgeois Factional Character.")

If both sides of you make self-criticism, there will be no quarrels. It is good that both sides of you make self-criticism. When you oppose me, I go to your place to make self-criticism, and then you also make self-criticism. Later you too will feel ashamed. In this way we shall sit down and talk and seek agreement for the major issues while preserving differences over minor issues. The agreement over major issues refers to the revolution, to the great proletarian cultural revolution. Whether you stand on the side of the proletarian revolutionary line headed by Chairman Mao or on the side of the line taken by the capitalist roaders is a question of big right and big wrong. Under the

premise of this big principle, if you are all struggling against the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, is there any reason for being unable to unite and for not uniting? If we judge from your factional character, I think that, you work for yourselves and not for the revolution, the people and the proletariat.

If you are really proletarian revolutionaries, you must first show the spirit of self-criticism. You must make exacting demands on yourselves and on your own group and not on others. If you quarrel, fight, wage armed struggle, and seize weapons, you cannot keep your heads sober and cannot distinguish between the right and the wrong. The right can be distinguished easily from the wrong. In Anhwei, that depends on whether you struggle against the small handful of capitalist roaders headed by Li Pao-hua and against the top Party capitalist roader in the whole country. If we all follow this premise, we shall have agreement on the major issues; herein lies the criterion. Some different practices and views may exist.

In our group there are also views which are by no means identical. Sometimes old K'ang and I do not see eye to eye. But we are able to unite under the big premise and unify our views. (Old K'ang interrupted: You must correct yourselves, and oppose yourselves.) While it is easy to revolutionize others, it is difficult to revolutionize oneself. This is because in one's mind there is the dark side as well as the bright side. The dark side represents the petty bourgeois and bourgeois things. If one does not get rid of these things, one will certainly drop out from the ranks and head for the opposite. If in one's mind one has self-interest, individualism, the small-group mentality, departmentalism and even anarchism, then one will not listen to any advice. And chaos will be created in our field army with its good organization, good discipline, good equipment and good political work.

You will not do this. Those who want to do this are a minority of bad people. To attain their aim, they sow dissension among you. You must not fall into the trap; you must be alert and calm and be good at distinguishing between enemies, ourselves

and friends. Now, you even quarrel with friends sometimes, and sometimes willy-nilly you engage in fights for no cause. Don't we want splits? Or don't we want to form a revolutionary great alliance? Comrades, what is your answer? (The Good Faction: The alliance is good, the great alliance is great.) Comrade Chiang Ch'ing then turned to the Fart Faction: You are silent. Are you willing to form an alliance? (The Fart Faction answered: Willing.) It is only when we promote a great alliance and three-in-one combination and gradually establish revolutionary committees that we shall have people to lead us. The revolution cannot proceed without leaders!

Now the third question. It is necessary to set up gradually revolutionary committees and establish new leadership organs. At present, a gust of foul wind is blowing. Apart from being directed at the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao and at the People's Liberation Army, it is directed at the revolutionary committee — a new-born thing. It is inevitable that the revolutionary committee should have some shortcomings and mistakes, and it is inevitable that it is infiltrated into by some bad people. But it is after all a new-born product. It is born on the mass foundation. A wind is now being stirred up with the object of dissolving all revolutionary committees set up with the approval of the Central Committee. Isn't this a provocative act by those who harbor ulterior motives?

Comrades, are you aware of this? (Answer: We are.) After you have gradually established revolutionary committees, you must also be alert against this. Naturally, there may be some reversals, but we should not be afraid of them. Therefore, I think that under the present excellent situation we should be alert against this: that some people are trying from the extreme "Left" or from the Right side to undermine the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, to undermine the People's Liberation Army, and to undermine revolutionary committees. Behind them are not only the capitalist roaders in authority within the Party but also landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists as well as US-Chiang, Soviet revisionist and Japanese spies. We have data at hand and have caught them in large numbers. This is the merit of the young fighters.

Are you aware of a traitorous clique? (Answer: We are.) Great spy cases have been uncovered; these could not be uncovered in the past. That is why the merits performed in the present great cultural revolution are really tremendous. Until now we had no knowledge of the traitorous clique which had been lying low for several decades, and the credit for this must go to the Red Guards. Of course, so far as Anhwei is concerned, for the dragging out of that small handful of capitalist roaders, the credit must go to you. You must be on the alert all the time, because some people are bent on destroying the Party Central Committee, the PLA and the revolutionary committees.

The Party Central I mean is the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao. I want to remind you comrades that my opinions may not be necessarily perfectly all right, and you may criticize them. Now the Central Committee has adopted a document, and I shall read it to you here (Reading the CCP Central Committee's "Sept. 5" Order.) If we upset the operational system, what shall we do once trouble flares up? The imperialists are afraid of us; they are scared to death. The revisionists are also afraid of us; they are afraid of our great proletarian cultural revolution. Nevertheless, we must be on our guard! All proletarian revolutionaries, all Red Guard young fighters, all revolutionary masses, and all patriotic people must strictly follow and earnestly execute the Order. By doing so you will respond to our great leader Chairman Mao's call for "supporting the army and cherishing the people," love and support the PLA. This is the common duty of all revolutionary masses and all patriotic people.

Truly proletarian revolutionary comrades should set an example in this regard. All revolutionary mass organizations must correctly understand the extensive democracy under conditions of proletarian dictatorship. On this question I want to say a few words. Is there the same extensive democracy as we enjoy anywhere in the world? (The audience: No.). You may post big-character posters against anyone. This is something which cannot be done anywhere in the world, and which is unprecedented in history. This is the most extensive democracy, which is possible

only under conditions of proletarian dictatorship. We must correctly understand the "four-no" directive observed by the PLA; we must raise our vigilance in the complicated and sharp class struggle, guard against being used by the class enemies, prevent the class enemies at home and abroad from sowing dissensions and fishing in troubled waters. We must strictly guard against sabotages by the US-Chiang, Soviet revisionist and Japanese spies and the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, wicked people and Rightists, who attempt to weaken the fighting power and ruin the reputation of the PLA.

We must not paint a dark picture of the PLA, for they are our boys, and we must protect their honor. (Continuing to read out the Central Committee's Sept. 5 Order) Do you know what has happened? Military materials allotted for the support of Vietnam have been seized, and the ammunitions! (Yao Wen-yüan: Used for striking the US imperialists.) Those were ammunitions for striking the American imperialists! Later we issued an order to the effect that, no matter what group you belonged to, you must return the material you have seized, and if you do not return them, you will have to surrender your arms. They were so frightened that they returned the materials. Some people also seized foreign ships. In Peking a strange thing has happened: Some people went to the foreign embassies to make troubles and the office of the British Charge d'Affaires was burned down. We, of course, are determined to hit the American imperialists and reactionaries. But we must not make trouble at foreign embassies, and we must not go aboard foreign ships. It would be childish for good people to do so; and when bad people do this, they want to ruin the reputation of the country. (When she continued to read out and finished reading the Central Committee's September 5" Order, she was greeted with thunderous applause.) As I see it, everybody supports this order! (Thunderous applause. Loud shouting of slogans: Learn from Comrade Chiang Ch'ing, and salute to her! Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him).

[Printed by the Great Preparatory Committee of People's Automobiles, Red Flag, Municipal Communications and Transport Department]

September 18, 1967

**CIRCULAR OF THE
CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE,
THE STATE COUNCIL,
THE CENTRAL MILITARY COMMISSION
AND THE CENTRAL
CULTURAL REVOLUTION GROUP
CONCERNING THE STRICT PROHIBITION
OF SEIZING MATERIALS
AND COMMODITIES OF THE STATE,
RAIDING GODOWNS AND STORAGES, TO
SAFEGUARD THE PROPERTIES OF
THE STATE**

All provincial (municipal) revolutionary committees (or preparatory groups), military control committees at all levels, military districts at all levels, all revolutionary mass organizations:

Recently there occurred in some areas repeated serious cases of seizure of grain, cash and other materials of the State, raiding of godowns and storages, and demolition of machinery and equipment. These are violations against the law, which can never be tolerated, and must be strictly prohibited immediately. For the sake of strictly prohibiting the seizure of materials and commodities of the State and safeguarding the security of properties of the State, this circular is hereby issued:

1. The regulation in the circular order of the CCP Central Committee, the State Council, the Central Military Commission, and the Central Cultural Revolution Group, dated June 6, 1967, to the effect that "properties of the socialist State and collective properties are absolutely inviolable; all revolutionary masses have the responsibility to protect them; no body or individual is allowed to occupy, smash or seize these properties, or to carry on sabotage under any pretext," must be resolutely carried out. Occurrences of seizures of State properties and collective properties in all places must be firmly stopped according to this regulation.

2. Seizures of State properties that have already occurred

must be dealt with gravely. State properties that are seized must all be returned. If the original items are still available, they are to be returned; if they are damaged, there should be appropriate compensation; if they are consumed, there should be, besides a repayment in cash in equivalent value, a repayment of grain-coupons and cloth-coupons in equivalent quantities. Seized cash must be returned in its original sum; if the money has been used for personal purposes and cannot be repaid immediately, it must be deducted in installments from that person's wages.

For deceived masses who participated in incidents of seizures, there should be criticism and education, to help them recognize their mistakes, though they may not be prosecuted. For persons in authority taking the capitalist road who instigated the incidents, for the small number of bad leaders who started the seizures and robberies, and for the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists who sneaked into the ranks, there should be punishment according to their crimes in the enforcement of dictatorship, and the chief offenders must be severely dealt with.

3. The People's Liberation Army, the public security organs and the revolutionary mass organizations must be responsible for the security of State godowns, storages, vaults, materials and properties. No body or individual is allowed to raid, smash or ransack State godowns, storages, vaults, tanks, cold storages, business setups and production enterprises, or to occupy, seize or destroy commodities, labor insurance facilities, storage materials and properties of the State; no personnel from outside or persons unconnected with the organizations are allowed to move into the State godowns, vaults and places for the storage of materials.

4. Those masses who went out for the exchange of revolutionary experience and those who walked out from their original places must be mobilized to return to their own locality to make revolution, to observe labor discipline and to stand firm on their production posts. Revolutionary mass organizations which have come into power must not withhold the wages and grain-coupons of the working masses of other revolutionary mass organizations on account of differences in viewpoints; such wages and coupons

that have already been withheld must be released.

5. In the units which have stopped production as a consequence of armed struggle, wages should all be suspended from the time when production stopped to the time when it is resumed. After investigations, the wages of those who did not participate in the armed struggle will be paid later on.

6. We must hold high the great red flag of Mao Tse-tung's thought, carry on a profound and refined political thought program for the vast masses, cadres and workers, carry on a propaganda and education program for the protection of State property, form a strong public opinion that "it is glorious to protect State property, and a crime to destroy State property", mobilize the vast masses to rise up for the protection of State property and the surveillance and prosecution of bad people. There must be honoring and encouragement for masses and workers who showed merits in the protection of State property.

September 13, 1967

(This circular may be posted at all places.)

CIRCULAR OF THE GENERAL
OFFICE OF THE
CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Chung-fa No. 310 (67)

The Central Committee decides to transmit for study at all places a number of talks by Vice Chairman Lin, Comrades Chou En-lai, Chen Po-ta, Kang Sheng and Chiang Ch'ing. The talks are:

1. The talk of Vice Chairman Lin at the eighteenth anniversary celebration meeting of the People's Republic of China (which has been published in *People's Daily*, October 2);

2. The talks (recording) of Comrades Chou En-lai, Chen Po-ta, Kang Sheng, Chiang Ch'ing, Yang Cheng-wu, Chang Chun-chiao and the Central Cultural Revolution Group at the reception on September 26 for military cadres, local cadres and Red Guards from Honan and Hupei who came to the capital to participate in study classes;

3. The talks (recording) of Comrade Chiang Ch'ing at the celebration meeting for the establishment of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee on April 20, at the conference of representatives of Anhwei who came to Peking on September 5, and at the reception for military cadres, local cadres and Red Guards from Honan and Hupei who came to the capital to participate in study classes on September 26.

These talks are very important. All revolutionary committees (preparatory groups), all military control committees, all military districts, and all revolutionary mass organizations should immediately organize in earnest readings and listenings of the

recordings (in tapes or disks) of these talks, and to carry on studies. We should all follow Chairman Mao's teachings, act upon Chairman Mao's revolutionary theories, lines, principles and policies in regard to proletarian dictatorship, firmly grasp Chairman Mao's direction of revolutionary struggle, closely observe Chairman Mao's strategic arrangements, associate with the struggle, repudiation and correction in one's own unit in the great revolutionary criticism, consolidate and develop the great revolutionary alliance, consolidate and develop the revolutionary three-in-one combination, and carry on the great proletarian cultural revolution to its end.* Efforts should further be made in all places in active response to Chairman Mao's great call, to take "combat self-interest, repudiating revisionism" as the theme, in the strengthening of ideological education for military cadres, local cadres and Red Guards, so that the whole country may be turned into a great school of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

October 6, 1967

* This is a rather typical sentence of current Chinese Communist jargon.

CIRCULAR OF THE CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Chung-fa No. 313 (67)

All provincial, municipal, autonomous region revolutionary committees (or preparatory groups), military control committees, all military regions, all provincial military districts:

At the crucial moment when the great proletarian cultural revolution was winning a decisive victory, our great leader Chairman Mao made an inspection tour in the recent two months of the North China, Central-south and East China regions, and investigated the conditions of the great proletarian cultural revolution in the provinces and municipalities of Hopei, Honan, Hupei, Hunan, Kiangsi, Chekiang and Shanghai. During the inspection tour, Chairman Mao laid down some extremely important directives to the great proletarian cultural revolution movement in various areas.

The draft records of the important directives of Chairman Mao during his inspection tour of the North China, Central-south and East China regions are now transmitted to you. It is hoped that you will organize the masses to study them in earnest and to comprehend them in depth, to use our great leader Chairman Mao's directives as weapons to sum up the experiences and lessons of the movement in the previous stage, to form the specific measures for thorough application, to follow closely Chairman Mao's strategic arrangements, and to push the great proletarian cultural revolution to a new stage.

The conditions of the thorough application in various places should be reported to the central authorities.

These draft records have not been read by the Chairman, and must not be published in newspapers and journals of any size.

The CCP Central Committee

October 7, 1967

Appendix:

IMPORTANT DIRECTIVES OF CHAIRMAN MAO DURING HIS INSPECTION TOUR OF THE NORTH CHINA, CENTRAL-SOUTH AND EAST CHINA REGIONS

(Draft records, not having been read by himself)

Chairman Mao said that in the three months of July, August and September (1967), the situation developed very fast. The situation of the great proletarian cultural revolution in the whole country was excellent in a big way, not just excellent in a small way.

The situation as a whole was better than any time in the past.

An important indication that the situation was excellent in a big way was that the people and the masses had been fully aroused. There had never been a mass movement which was aroused as widely and as deeply as this time. In the factories, the countryside, the organizations, the schools and the troops in the whole nation, there was discussion everywhere of the problems of the great proletarian cultural revolution, and everybody was concerned about the national affairs. In the past, when a family gathered together, much of the time was spent in gossiping. Now it was different. Whenever they got together, there would be discussions of the problems of the great proletarian cultural revolution. Between fathers and sons, among brothers and sisters, between husbands and wives, and even including teenagers and old ladies — all participated in the discussions.

Chairman Mao said that in some places there seemed to

have been a lot of confusion in the previous period, but in truth it was confusion for the enemies and refinement for the masses.

Chairman Mao said that after a few more months, the situation would become even better.

Chairman Mao called the revolutionary mass organizations in various places to realize the great revolutionary alliance. Chairman Mao said that there was no fundamental conflict of interest within the workers' class. Within the workers' class under a proletarian dictatorship, there was even less reason for a split into two mutually intolerable factional organizations. When a factory split into two factions, it was mainly because the persons in authority taking the capitalist road instigated masses to struggle against masses for the sake of deceiving the masses and protecting themselves. Mass organizations were infiltrated by bad people; but they were in extremely small numbers. Some mass organizations were influenced by anarchism; that was another cause. Some people became conservatives and committed mistakes; it was a question of understanding. This is sometimes said to be a question of stand; but even (people of) questionable stand can change. If a person has stood in a wrong rank, it is all right if he steps over to the right side. Very few people have difficulty in changing their stand; the majority can change. Revolutionary Red Guards and revolutionary student organizations should realize the great revolutionary alliance. So long as the two factions are both revolutionary mass organizations, they should realize the great revolutionary alliance under the revolutionary principle. Both factions should refrain from talking about the shortcomings and mistakes of the others. Let people talk about their own shortcomings and mistakes. Each side should make more self-criticism, and should strive for common ground on major matters while minor differences may be left alone. This would be beneficial to the great revolutionary alliance.

Talking about the question of who should be nuclei of the great revolutionary alliance, Chairman Mao said that the attitude of "I shall be the nucleus" must be solved. Nuclei are born out of common recognition of the masses during the struggle and the practice, not out of self-appointment. It is most foolish for a person to propose "I shall be the nucleus." Wang Ming*, Po

Ku**, Chang Wen-tien — each of them wanted to be the nucleus, wanted people to recognize him as the nucleus; consequently they failed. What are peasants, what are workers, what are wars, what are striking down landlords and distributing land — they did not understand these.

Chairman Mao said that the deceived masses should be handled correctly. There must not be suppression of the deceived masses; and the major task is to carry out well an ideological political program.

On the question of dictatorship against bad people, Chairman Mao said that both the government and the Left faction should not make arrests, but should mobilize the revolutionary masses to deal with the problem by themselves. For instance, this is done by and large in such a way in Peking. The dictatorship is a dictatorship by the masses; it is not a good way to depend upon arrests by the government. The government may only arrest a very small number of people, on the basis of requests and assistance from the masses.

Bad leaders in an organization should be dealt with through mobilizing masses by that organization itself.

On the question of cadres, Chairman Mao said that the great majority of the cadres were good, and those who were not good formed a very small minority. It is essential to purify the persons in authority in the Party taking the capitalist road; but they are a small handful. Among our cadres, except for those who surrendered to the enemy, rebelled or betrayed the cause, the majority of them have certainly done something good in the past decades! We must unite with the majority of the cadres. We should even unite with, and educate those cadres who have made mistakes, including those cadres who have made serious mistakes, so long as they do not persist in not correcting their mistakes, or do not correct their mistakes after repeated education. We should expand our education front, and reduce our attack front; should use the formula "unity — criticism and self-criticism — unity" to solve the contradictions within ourselves. When repudiation and struggle are carried on, we must use civilized struggle, not armed

struggle, nor should we use armed struggle in some disguised form. Some comrades who made mistakes may not be able to think things through in a short time; they should be given more time, and be allowed to think for a further period. It should be allowed that their thoughts might have reverses; they may have thought things through at some time, but, when confronted with certain matters, would again be unable to think things through. For such cases we can still wait. We should allow cadres to make mistakes, and allow cadres to correct their mistakes. We should not strike them down as soon as they make mistakes. What's so important about making mistakes? It is good so long as the mistakes are corrected. We must liberate a batch of cadres, and let the cadres to step out.

Chairman Mao said that to handle the cadres correctly is the key question for the realization of revolutionary three-in-one combination, the consolidation of the great revolutionary alliance, and the success of struggle, repudiation and correction in each unit; and this must be solved properly. Our Party, after the rectification of styles in Yen-an, educated the vast cadres and unified the whole Party, thus insuring the victories of the resist-Japanese war and the liberation war. We must develop and enhance this tradition.

On the question of the relationship between superiors and subordinates, Chairman Mao said, why have some cadres suffered repudiation and struggle by the masses? One reason is that they had carried on the bourgeois reactionary line, and the masses were resentful. Another reason is that they were big shots with high salaries, being self-important and putting on airs, not consulting the masses, not treating people with equality, not being democratic, indulging in scolding and lecturing people, and seriously alienating themselves from the masses. Thus the masses have a lot to say about them. In usual times there was no opportunity for them to speak out; but it exploded in the great proletarian cultural revolution; and once it exploded, there was no end to it, which put these cadres in a very awkward position. From now on, we should absorb these lessons, properly solve the problem of the relationship between superiors and subordinates, and improve the relationship between cadres and the masses.

From now on, cadres should make trips individually to the lower places and take a look; when there are important issues they should consult the masses, and be the pupils of the masses. In a certain sense, the cleverest and most talented fighters are those who have the most experience in practice.

There must be unity. When a cadre has made mistakes and is in trouble, do not talk about him at his back, but should talk with him in private, or talk about it in meetings.

Now what we have got is an excess of graveness and tension, but not enough of unity and liveliness.

On the question of educating cadres, Chairman Mao said that the question of cadres should be approached from education and the expansion of the education front. Not only those who are armed (military) should be educated, but also those who are not armed (Party and government) should be educated as well. Studies should be strengthened. Study classes should be set up at the central level, and in all regions, all provinces and municipalities, for the cadres to be trained in turns in different periods. In each province, there should be held cadre meetings at all levels above the county people's armed forces department level, with the attendance of two to three hundred persons each province, or up to four to five hundred persons, and even to about one thousand persons in the big provinces. We should strive to accomplish this within half a year; or, it may be accomplished in one year.

Afterwards, we should strive to carry on this program once a year; each time for a not very long duration, roughly about two months.

Chairman Mao taught us that there must be education and strengthened study programs for the Red Guards. Leaders of the revolutionary rebel faction and little generals of the Red Guards should be told that now is exactly the time when it is possible for them to make mistakes. They should be educated with the experiences and lessons of those of us who have made mistakes. To carry on ideological political program for them is

primarily to argue things out with them.

During the inspection tour, Chairman Mao highly praised the accomplishments established during the great proletarian cultural revolution over the past year or so by the vast masses of workers and peasants, commanders and combatants of People's Liberation Army, the little generals of the Red Guards, the revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals. Chairman Mao called for them to combat against self-interest to repudiate revisionism, to support the army and cherish the people, to grasp revolution, promote production, promote work and promote combat preparedness to do the works in all aspects even better, and to carry on the great proletarian cultural revolution to its end.

The Secretariat Bureau of the General
Office of the CCP Central Committee

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* Wang Ming, an alias of Chen Shao-yu, Secretary General of the CCP Central Committee 1931-1933. He was reported to be in Moscow during the cultural revolution, leading a "CCP Extraordinary Committee".

** Po Ku, an alias of Ch'in Pang-hsien, Secretary General of the CCP Central Committee 1933-1935.

URGENT CIRCULAR OF THE CCP
CENTRAL COMMITTEE,
THE STATE COUNCIL,
THE CENTRAL MILITARY COMMISSION
AND THE CENTRAL
CULTURAL REVOLUTION GROUP
CONCERNING THE NECESSITY
FOR EDUCATED YOUTHS AND OTHER
PERSONNEL ASSIGNED TO WORK
IN RURAL AND MOUNTAINOUS AREAS
TO PERSIST IN STAYING
IN THE COUNTRYSIDE TO GRASP
REVOLUTION AND PROMOTE PRODUCTION

All provincial, municipal and autonomous region revolutionary committees (preparatory groups), military control committees, all military regions, provincial military districts, all mass organizations in the cities and the countryside:

That the educated youths and other personnel should go to work in the rural and mountainous areas to associate with the masses of workers and peasants, to participate in the three great revolutionary movements, and to construct the socialist new countryside is a great directive of Chairman Mao which should be persisted in without any wavering. However, on account of the instigation of a small handful of persons in authority in the Party taking the capitalist road, part of the personnel working in the rural and mountainous areas have left the countryside and stayed in the cities for long periods. This is disadvantageous both to the revolution and to the production. For the sake of persisting in the correct direction for educated youths to go to rural and mountainous areas, and persisting in Chairman Mao's great strategic principle of "grasping revolution and promoting production" so as to solve the currently existent problems, it is hereby regulated:

1. Educated youths and other personnel assigned to work in rural and mountainous areas should hold firmly their produc-

tive posts in the countryside and become models of "grasping revolution and promoting production." Those youths and other personnel assigned to work in rural and mountainous areas who are still staying in cities and towns, including those support-frontier personnel, workers and staff of farms, discharged combatants, down-assigned personnel, commune-exchange personnel, and the personnel mobilized to settle down in the countryside during the great cultural revolution, should all rapidly return to the countryside, to make revolution on the spot, to plunge actively into the "three autumn" fight*, to achieve assuredly the "six good" standards**, to be with the local revolutionary masses and make the revolution and the production better and better. The revolutionary mass organizations in the cities and towns and the relatives of the personnel assigned to the countryside should actively support this revolutionary action. Revolutionary cadres should take the initiative in mobilizing their children to return to the countryside.

2. The various kinds of organizations and liaison stations established in the cities and towns by the educated youths and other personnel assigned to work in rural and mountainous areas must be dissolved immediately. Mass organizations in cities and towns are not allowed to enlist personnel assigned to the countryside. Those who insist upon staying in cities and towns should be denied residence registration. Those residence registrations obtained in cities and towns through illegal means should all be nullified. Against the small numbers of bad leaders who planned, organized and directed the fighting, smashing, snatching, ransacking and arresting, and against those landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightist elements who infiltrated into our ranks, measures of dictatorship must be taken.

3. Revolutionary workers and staff members and revolutionary cadres of rural people's communes and State farms should give prominence to politics, unite with and assist the personnel assigned to the countryside actively and positively. The personnel assigned to the countryside should be treated politically and economically on an equal basis with the old commune members and old workers and staff members; there must not be any discrimination, any reduction in work-points, any harassment,

persecution or attempt to drive them back to cities and towns. Instead, there should be a voluntary cooperation to the task of mobilizing the personnel assigned to the countryside but staying in cities and towns to return rapidly to the countryside. Besides, there must be sharpened alertness against the instigations and the divisive efforts of class enemies.

4. Educated youths and other personnel assigned to work in rural and mountainous areas should correctly handle the practical difficulties confronting them in the way forward, and should follow Chairman Mao's teaching of "using one's own hands to acquire abundant clothing and adequate food", to strive hard, to start a new life through one's own efforts, to labor in earnest and overcome difficulties. Communes (farms) and brigades should be concerned with the production and the livelihood of personnel assigned to work in rural and mountainous areas. Their grain ration must be definitely arranged in the autumn harvest and distribution, and their imminent problems of housing, passing the winter safely, etc., should be properly solved.

5. Educated youths and other personnel assigned to work in rural and mountainous areas must persist in making revolution on the spot in the countryside, making revolution in their spare time, making revolution with thriftiness, and making revolution together with the poor, lower-middle peasants. They must not leave their productive posts at random to go out to call on people at higher levels or to exchange revolutionary experiences. Their opinion to the work in rural and mountainous areas and to their original units may be expressed through sending small-character posters and big-character posters to their superior leading organs and concerned units.

6. Revolutionary committees (preparatory groups) at all levels, military control committees at all levels, Party committees of all military districts and military sub-districts, and people's armed forces departments at all levels must hold aloft the great red flag of Mao Tse-tung's thought, take the work of assignment to rural and mountainous areas as an important political task, and seriously grasp it and manage it well. We must trust and rely upon the masses, trust and rely upon the People's Liberation

Army, trust and rely upon the majority of cadres, and should require all concerned departments to shoulder their responsibilities in a division of labor, and correctly handle the problems in the work of assignment to rural and mountainous areas.

October 8, 1967

(This circular may be posted widely in cities and in the countryside.)

* "Three autumn" refers to autumn harvest, autumn distribution and autumn purchase (by the State).

** "Six good" refers to good in production, good in harvest, good in selecting seeds, good in purchase by the State, good in distribution, and good in preservation of products. This "six good in agriculture" was first proposed in the editorial of *People's Daily* on September 24, 1967.

CIRCULAR OF THE
CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE,
THE STATE COUNCIL,
THE CENTRAL MILITARY COMMISSION
AND THE CENTRAL
CULTURAL REVOLUTION GROUP
CONCERNING THE RESUMPTION OF CLASSES
AND REVOLUTION OF UNIVERSITIES,
SECONDARY AND PRIMARY SCHOOLS*

All provincial, municipal and autonomous region revolutionary committees (preparatory groups), military control committees, all military regions and provincial military districts, and for transmission to all mass organizations:

1. Universities, secondary and primary schools in all places are to commence classes immediately without exception.
2. All schools must seriously carry out Chairman Mao's directive concerning the combat against self-interest and the repudiation of revisionism.
3. All universities and secondary and primary schools are to carry on teaching and study, while carrying on at the same time reforms. In the practice of teaching and study, Chairman Mao's thought of educational revolution should be thoroughly applied, and revolutionary plans for teaching and study systems and teaching and study contents should be proposed step by step.
4. All the schools should obey Chairman Mao's directive of March 7, 1967, and should realize the revolutionary great alliance, and establish the leadership of revolutionary three-in-one combination, under the principle of revolution and according to the systems of classes, grades and departments.
5. Teachers and cadres of all the schools, for the most part, are good or relatively good. Except for landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightist elements, those who committed mistakes in the past, if only they

can recognize and correct their mistakes, should be allowed to step up and continue to work.

6. All universities and secondary and primary schools should start immediately to prepare for the recruitment of new students.

The CCP Central Committee
The State Council
The Central Cultural Revolution Group
The Central Military Commission

October 14, 1967

(This document is to be posted in all schools.)

* This document is adopted from *Studies of Communism*, Vol. 1, No. 10, published in Taipei, October 1967.

CIRCULAR OF THE
CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE,
THE STATE COUNCIL,
THE CENTRAL MILITARY COMMISSION
AND THE CENTRAL
CULTURAL REVOLUTION GROUP
CONCERNING THE FORGING
OF REVOLUTIONARY GREAT ALLIANCE
IN INDIVIDUAL SYSTEMS

All provincial, municipal and autonomous region revolutionary committees (preparatory groups), military control committees, all military regions and provincial military districts and for transmission to all mass organizations:

1. Various factories, schools, departments and enterprises must bring about revolutionary great alliances in the principle of revolution and in individual systems, trades and classes, so as to facilitate the establishment of revolutionary three-in-one combination, the mass criticism and repudiation and the struggle-criticism-transformation in various units, the grasping of revolution and the promotion of production, work and combat preparedness.

2. On the basis of Mao Tse-tung's thought, after full consultation, and in accordance with their different concrete conditions, all revolutionary mass organizations should follow Chairman Mao's instructions mentioned above. All organizations formed by two different trades should voluntarily make necessary adjustments.

The CCP Central Committee
The State Council
The Central Military Commission
The Central Cultural Revolution Group

October 17, 1967

FOUR-POINT DIRECTIVE OF
THE CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE,
THE CENTRAL MILITARY COMMISSION,
THE CENTRAL CULTURAL
REVOLUTION GROUP AND THE
ALL-PLA CULTURAL REVOLUTION GROUP
CONCERNING PROPAGANDA WORK*

Chung-fa No. 312 (67)

(October 17, 1967)

Many rumors are being circulated at present in all parts of the country. These rumors express doubt about the health and existence of our leader. Very obviously these are deliberately spread by certain class enemies with ulterior motives. Their object is to hoodwink and deceive the people and shake the boundless confidence of the revolutionary masses in the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao and their determination to support it. To enable the broad masses to see clearly the face of the class enemies and in order to expose their sinister scheme, the following Four-Point Directive is made:

- (1) Chairman Mao is physically healthy. This should be actively propagandized.
- (2) All irresponsible rumors must be resolutely scotched.
- (3) The news that Chairman Mao is not working, which was recently disseminated, was due to a misunderstanding.
- (4) All propaganda or posters about the slogan "Down with Liu, Teng and Ch'en" should be banned.

This is for distribution to:

Revolutionary Committees (or Preparatory Groups) of all provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions

All military regions, provincial military districts, and military control committees;

All ministries and commissions of the State Council;

All revolutionary mass organizations.

The CCP Central Committee,
The Central Military Commission,
The Central Cultural Revolution Group,
The All-PLA Cultural Revolution Group.

* This document is noteworthy in at least four aspects: 1) The term used in the first sentence is "health and existence", not merely "health"; 2) the terms used in the third point are "news" and "misunderstanding", not "rumor" and "misinformation"; 3) the fourth point, banning the slogan "Down with Liu, Teng and Ch'en", should have some connection with the previous three points, but this document does not show what this connection might be: (the "Ch'en" in the "Liu, Teng and Ch'en" group indicates Ch'en Yi, the slogan having been advanced by Yao Teng-shan.) and 4) the organs issuing this circular do not include the State Council, but includes the All-PLA Cultural Revolution Group.

CENTRAL MILITARY COMMISSION ISSUES
CIRCULAR CALLING ON THE
WHOLE ARMY TO IMMEDIATELY
WHIP UP A HIGH TIDE OF STUDYING THE
LATEST DIRECTIVES OF CHAIRMAN MAO*

After the latest directives of Chairman Mao were relayed to the whole country, the broad revolutionary masses have whipped up a new upsurge in the study and implementation of Chairman Mao's latest directive.

Recently, the Central Military Commission issued a circular calling on the whole Army to whip up immediately a movement for the study of the extremely important directives which our great leader Chairman Mao made during his inspection tour of the North China, Central-South and East China regions.

The circular says that at a moment of decisive victory won by the great proletarian cultural revolution, our great leader Chairman Mao made an inspection tour of the North China, Central-South and East China regions and issued a series of very important directives concerning struggle against selfish ideas, criticism of revisionism, making further vigorous effort to promote the revolutionary great alliance and revolutionary three-in-one combination, and the setting up of study classes on a grand scale.

Chairman Mao's directives constitute a great historical document of Marxism-Leninism. They are the most scientific, most complete, most profound and most thorough summing up of the great proletarian cultural revolution for the past year and more. They are the beacon guiding the whole Party, the whole country and the whole Army to advance bravely. They are the latest and the mightiest ideological weapons for insuring a complete victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution. All personnel

of the whole Army must resolutely obey these directives to the letter.

The circular says that all units, in accordance with the circular of the Party Central Committee concerning study of Chairman Mao's vital directives, should immediately relay them in full to all army personnel (including all cadres, fighters, staff members, and dependents), so that these directives may be known to every household and every one. The most central task at the moment is to whip up forthwith an upsurge in the study of Chairman Mao's important directives.

The circular says that Party committees at all levels must convene special conferences and devote sufficient time to using the great leader Chairman Mao's important directives as the weapon to sum up seriously the experiences and lessons of the movement at the preceding period as well as to map out practicable concrete measures in the light of the actual condition in their areas and units, so that the important directives of Chairman Mao may all be implemented. Both at the higher and lower levels, the whole Army must closely follow Chairman Mao's great strategic plan, and push the great proletarian cultural revolution to a new stage.

The circular says that army units charged with the task of "three-support" [supporting the Left, industry and agriculture] and "two-military" [military training and control] should organize forces and go deep into factories, rural areas, and schools, where they should vigorously carry out propaganda among the broad masses and study and implement Chairman Mao's directives with them.

* This document is a news release of New China News Agency from Peking on October 17, 1967, reporting the circular issued by the Central Military Commission calling on the whole army to study Chairman Mao's latest directives. The original text of the circular is not published.

REGULATIONS OF THE
CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE
CONCERNING THE QUESTION OF
FORBIDDING LANDLORD, RICH-PEASANT,
COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY, BAD
AND RIGHTIST ELEMENTS
TO AVAIL THEMSELVES OF
THE OPPORTUNITY TO REVERSE
THE SENTENCES PASSED ON THEM

Chung-fa No. 325 (67)

All provincial (municipal, autonomous region) revolutionary committees (preparatory groups), military control committees at all levels:*

According to the report of the work group of the Tsinghai Provincial Revolutionary Committee, some landlord, rich-peasant, counter-revolutionary, bad and Rightist elements are making appeals and complaints everywhere during the great cultural revolution movement. They make a fuss of things for no reason at all and want to take the opportunity to disown their past offenses. The Central Committee hereby reiterate its past stipulations forbidding the landlord, rich-peasant, counter-revolutionary, bad and Rightist elements to take advantage of the great cultural revolution movement to reverse the sentences passed on them. Some misjudged cases which really call for retrial must also be dealt with at the latter stage of the movement.

Prisons under detention and serving their sentences by reform through labor in factories and farms must be placed under surveillance as usual and must not be allowed to speak or act in an unruly manner.

The CCP Central Committee

October 26, 1967

(Comment)** The document of the CCP Central Committee bearing the code number "*Chung-fa* No. 325 (67)" has been

issued on the strength of the fact that the demands for rehabilitation in Tsinghai province, as reflected by that province to the Central Committee, all involve sentences given in 1952 through 1965. This document is entirely correct. The spirit of the document is to indicate that, as far as those who have been branded as landlords, rich-peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad or Rightist elements are concerned, any case which has been wrongly sentenced among them may be dealt with at the latter stage of the movement.

However, some persons who obstinately carry out the bourgeois reactionary line — fearing that the persecuted revolutionary masses may return to demand rehabilitation and thus expose their offense in carrying out the bourgeois reactionary line — have deliberately distorted the spirit of this document by stating that the large number of revolutionary masses, who have suffered from persecution in the cultural revolution movement and should be rehabilitated at once, must also be dealt with at the latter stage of the movement. This is in contravention of the Central Committee's rehabilitation policy.

In order to insure that the broad revolutionary masses are not fooled by some persons with an ulterior object in view, we hereby publish below the full text of document No. 325 together with its appendix so as to expose the plot of some persons who deliberately misinterpret the content to hoodwink the broad masses.

* According to the original text in the Chinese document, this should read: "All provincial (municipal autonomous region revolutionary committees preparatory groups), military control committees at all levels:", which seems to contain some mistakes in copying, when two parentheses were omitted; it is therefore corrected with reference to other documents.

** This "Comment" was, it seems, added by some responsible person of the CCP Central Committee.

DECISION OF THE
CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE,
THE STATE COUNCIL,
THE CENTRAL MILITARY COMMISSION
AND THE CENTRAL
CULTURAL REVOLUTION GROUP
CONCERNING THE QUESTION
OF KWANGTUNG

(1) The Canton Military Region Command is trusted by the Center. They followed Chairman Mao and Comrade Lin Piao closely in the past. Since their intervention in the local great proletarian cultural revolution movement, they have produced very great results in "three-support" and "two-military" work. They made some mistakes in supporting the Left in certain places, but after April this year, with the help of the Center and the revolutionary masses, these have been rectified and marked results have been achieved. In the "Examination of Mistakes Made in Support-the-Left Work in Canton Area" which they recently made, the attitude is sincere and understanding is comparatively profound. The Center concurs with this examination and hopes that Canton Military Region Command will closely follow Chairman Mao's great strategic plan, firmly adhere to the main orientation of struggle, and earn new merit in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

(2) Canton being at the forefront of frontier defense where secret agents of the US, Chiang [Kai-shek], Britain, Japan, and Soviet revisionists attempt to carry out sabotage activities by various ignoble means, the class struggle there is extraordinarily acute. The broad revolutionary masses and the whole body of commanders and fighters should raise their revolutionary vigilance, actively respond to Chairman Mao's great call to "support the army and cherish the people," seriously implement the Center's "September 5" Order, strengthen the unity between the Army and the civilian population, and vigorously support the Military District Command in the work of supporting the Left.

(3) The Center agrees that the "Agreements on 'Support the Army and Cherish the People,' 'Suppression of Armed Struggle,' 'Grasp Revolution and Promote Production,' and 'Develop Revolutionary Mass Criticism and Repudiation, Realize Revolutionary Great Alliance'" are very good, being in conformity with the spirit of the latest instructions made by the great leader Chairman Mao in his inspection tour of the North China, Central-south, and East China regions. The Center concurs with and supports these agreements. Local garrison forces and various revolutionary mass organizations should widely distribute and propagandize these agreements and take effective measures to insure their effective implementation. The Center notes with pleasure that initial results have already been achieved in the forming of revolutionary great alliances in Canton area, particularly the union, on the basis of the principle of the thought of Mao Tse-tung and in various forms, of the broad masses of workers, seamen, and railway personnel.

(4) The Center decides to set up a Preparatory Group for Revolutionary Committee of Kwangtung to be formed of Comrades Huang Yung-sheng, Ch'en Yu, K'ung Shih-ch'uan, Wang Shou-tao, and Ch'en Te and representatives of revolutionary mass organizations which have brought about a revolutionary great alliance. Under the direct leadership of the Preparatory Group for Revolutionary Committee, all revolutionary mass organizations must earnestly study and implement the latest instructions made by Chairman Mao in his inspection tour of the North China, Central-south, and East China regions as well as Comrade Lin Piao's National Day speech on October 1, and be on the alert against attempts by class enemies to sabotage, from the ultra Left or the Right, the proletarian headquarters of the Party center headed by Chairman Mao. They must "combat self-interest and repudiate revisionism," realize revolutionary great alliances and revolutionary "three-in-one combination" in the revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation, grasp revolution and promote production, do a good job of struggle, criticism and transformation in their respective units, and win a thorough victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution in Kwangtung!

The CCP Central Committee
The State Council
The Central Military Commission
The Central Cultural Revolution Group

November 12, 1967

DOCUMENT OF THE CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Chung-fa No. 354 (67)

All provincial, municipal, autonomous region revolutionary committees (preparatory groups), military control committees, all military regions and provincial military districts:

The talk given by Comrade Chiang Ch'ing in the evenings of November 9 and November 12 at the Peking Forum on Literature and Art is very important. This talk analysed, on the basis of our great leader Chairman Mao's latest directives, the current situation of the great proletarian cultural revolution in the literary and artistic circles, and made important directives to the problems and missions of the great proletarian cultural revolution in the literary and artistic circles.

Now the record of this talk at the two meetings is transmitted to you. Please organize the literary and artistic circles, the press and publishing circles, the literary and artistic units in the army, and the mass organizations in universities and secondary and primary schools to carry on studies and discussions, and to implement it in earnest in connection with the concrete conditions in the various units.

The CCP Central Committee
The Central Cultural Revolution Group

November 13, 1967

Appendix:

TALK OF COMRADE CHIANG CH'ING

In the evenings of November 9 and November 12, Comrades Po-ta, Kang Sheng and Chiang Ch'ing summoned the military representatives and revolutionary mass representatives of a part of the units in the central propaganda system and held two sessions of a forum, participants of the forum including also Comrades Chang Chun-chiang, Chi Pen-yu, Yao Wen-yuan, Yang Cheng-wu, Wu Fa-hsien and others. Comrade Chiang Ch'ing made two talks at the forum:

I feel very sorry that for a very long time I have not had hearings of opinions of comrades. I can well understand it if comrades should have some opinion against us; for comrades know about our conditions.

Before the great proletarian cultural revolution, I worked wholeheartedly together with comrades for drama revolution and music revolution. This was a very burdensome task, a very serious work. It could not be accomplished in a day or two, or even in one month or two; it needed a lot of energy. On this question I spoke repeatedly to some comrades. Since the great proletarian cultural revolution started, as the working conditions changed, my energy was wholly committed to other aspects. Therefore, I have not been able to keep track of the plays, music and movies which you produce, as I did in the earlier years when I was together with you in the specific task of literary and artistic revolution. Having made this point clear, I may perhaps be pardoned by comrades.

During the period when the Chairman gave his talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art, my work was not concerned with cultural programs, and I only ran into occasional encounters in the cultural circles. In the initial stage after entering the cities, I followed Chairman Mao's teachings and guidance, and wanted to establish two armies for the worker-peasant-soldier, for the proletarian revolutionary line: one army of creative writers, and one army of critics. But, on this front, other people imposed a dictatorship over us; they used all kinds of means to prevent the

implementation of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and literary line. As for us, there was also a process for recognition, and there was further the question of work-post.* The Chairman certainly paid much attention to this aspect! I was merely a roving patrol. It was only in the process of the current great proletarian cultural revolution movement that the problem of troop formation in the cultural circles is basically solved.

Having listened to some utterances at this forum, I feel that they are of a relatively high level, and can point out the unbalanced development of the great proletarian cultural revolution. In fact it is unbalanced. You can see the objective rules of this class struggle. In some places it is done better; in some other places it is done not so well; and in still other places it looks very tranquil, but is in essence a pool of stagnant water. But for such a situation we must not say that all has not done well, that there should be great confusion for all again. Units such as "New Movies" and "Ballet Troupe" belong to the category of the smothered. Units which have not yet really made a success of the great revolutionary alliance and the revolution three-in-one combination, naturally cannot make a success of the struggle-repudiation-transformation and the great criticism. For such units, it would be good to have another spell of confusion. Confusion to the enemy! Confusion to the enemy!! Some units have realized the great revolutionary alliance, but have not yet made a success of the revolutionary three-in-one combination; they should, on the basis of further consolidation of the great revolution alliance, make a success of the revolutionary three-in-one combination, through debate, criticism and the solution of cadre problems. Only then can they effectively carry on the struggle-repudiation-transformation and the great criticism. For some units which have done comparatively well, where the great revolutionary alliance is relatively successful and the revolutionary three-in-one combination is also carried out, their total effort should be committed to the struggle-repudiation-transformation and the great criticism.

Generally speaking, it is to establish revolutionary troops. The establishment of troops in the cultural circles has this problem: the class element is relatively complicated. But, while a person

cannot decide his own origin, his performance and attitude still count. The Chairman has taught us that in the establishment of the class troops, the class element should indeed be inspected, but this element is not the sole consideration. The majority of youths and revolutionary young generals will surely take Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and the majority of cadres will also follow Chairman Mao's line — for this we should all be full of confidence.

To carry on the great revolutionary alliance, all organizations should conduct more self-criticisms, and conduct more investigations and studies and self-criticisms in one's own organization. This would facilitate the alliance. Otherwise, the enemy can easily exploit our weaknesses. In this aspect, the Chairman has issued important directives, which comrades have studied, so I shall not elaborate. In short, for matters belonging to contradictions within the people, it is best to conduct more self-criticism and less criticism against others; if it is contradiction between the enemy and ourselves, then we must carry on the struggle and the repudiation until the enemy falls and stinks.

The literary and artistic circles are relatively complicated. This can be perceived from your utterances and from the materials you sent us. Has the movement been carried profoundly and thoroughly? I think not. For the enemy is very shrewd. They have many sets of groupings. As soon as you get rid of one set, another set gets into place. So I feel that there must be a penetrating investigation and study of the literary and artistic circles.

We should be steady, accurate and harsh — towards our enemy; towards ourselves we should not wage civil war all the time, nor should we wage civil war all the time against our friends. If we engage in civil war, we are apt to be exploited by the enemy; sometimes the enemy manipulates behind the scenes so that wage civil war, then he takes the opportunity to sneak away. You should recognize this trick.

Recently the New Movie Studio produced a documentary of a few modern revolutionary Peking operas, taking much time

in the project. I am told that you did not film it on stage. But you did it without first thoroughly comprehending the ideological themes and the artistic qualities of these operas; this was done in the past. After I saw the movie last evening, I felt uneasy. Is it possible for you to make some supplementary filming? If it is shown in the whole country as it is now, those workers, peasants and soldiers who have not seen these operas before would not be able to understand them; for they, unlike us, are not familiar with these operas. You should not be impatient to show it, but should see how to reform it well.

Comrade Tan Yuan-shou of Peking First Troupe of Peking Opera is one of the impatient ones. He complained that no new operas have been produced (of late). This sentiment is understandable; but, if new ones are produced crudely as was done in the past, people would still strike us down. It would be preferable that our eight model operas occupy the stage for the time being. These eight model operas have already cleared the stage and the screen of emperors and generals and the bourgeoisie. Besides there has been a reform in ballet and symphony; though there are still many shortcomings and many areas which need further probing, this has also created a sensation and shock in the world. The adoption of "The White-haired Girl" by the Ballet Troupe this time was, on account of impatience, done crudely — (but) I believe the adoption of "The White-haired Girl" can definitely be a success. And such products cannot stand up on their feet. Of course I am also responsible for this, because I have not spent much time to work together with comrades. But shouldn't you yourselves get organized and carry on the program seriously?

There is a question of popularization versus elevation. Some one just said that we should organize small detachments and send them down to produce fragments and minor items for the viewing of workers, peasants and soldiers. This of course can be done. But, the central task now is still to combat self-interest and repudiate revisionism, and to organize the revolutionary troops. Otherwise it would be impossible to produce things really serving socialism and really suitable for the needs of workers, peasants

and soldiers. To combat self-interest and repudiate revisionism is a hard and difficult matter. It would be wrong indeed if some people should attempt to escape from it by exploiting the activities of going to the countryside and the factories. Comrades do not necessarily have such ideas, but should be alert for them.

Can we say that the eight revolutionary model operas now are the peak of our national art? As we all know, it is not easy to produce a model opera, which takes thousands of actions to refine, and usually a period of two to three years. Therefore it is not possible for each opera to become a model. Model operas are the peak; they represent the direction. In order to produce more revolutionary model operas, it would be necessary to pass through various ways. Therefore, I feel comrades should set up a determination to make a success of the combat against self-interest and the repudiation of revisionism. This, for the present time, is the most important and the most fundamental.

Now there is still half a month left of November, there will be the whole month of December, and there are two to three months before the Spring Festival. Shouldn't we first establish our troops in various units, and struggle harshly, repudiate harshly against our enemy until he falls and stinks! Otherwise, there is great ideological confusion in creative writing, and then creative writing cannot be done. During this period, some units will have to have some confusion; some other units have had enough, and do not necessarily have to have more confusion. The confusion in some units is to confuse the enemy, not to confuse ourselves; this is entirely proper. To cover up the contradictions is neither a good method nor a correct one. We are not afraid of confusion; but those units which have done relatively well, and have had the great revolutionary alliance and the revolutionary three-in-one combination, need not be submitted to confusion again. That is to say, we must have analysis. On this question, our revolutionary comrades and revolutionary young generals must have, on the one hand, the fearless style of a proletarian revolutionary, being unafraid of confusion and capable of sustaining pressure and refinement, and, on the other hand, the hard-working spirit of a pragmatist, using his head for scientific analysis, overcoming and pushing aside the interference of various kinds of

un-proletarian ideologies; thus he may truly march victoriously along the revolutionary line of Chairman Mao.

There is also the question of the seventeen years and the fifty days.** I feel that the opinion of certain revolutionary young generals is very good. Accounts must be settled for the fifty days, for the seventeen years, and for the nineteen thirties as well — the roots trace a long way back! One young general said that some people only pay attention to the fifty days, and not the seventeen years, and that this is in effect to use the fifty days to protect the seventeen years and the thirties. This view is very profound. Besides, to separate the fifty days with the seventeen years would mean to separate Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line with Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary literary line; and that would also be wrong. Of course, for the thirties, for the seventeen years, and for the fifty days, the principle of "one dividing into two" should be applied. In the thirties, there was also the Leftist faction led by Lu Shun; in the seventeen years, there was also some revolutionary Leftists; and there were more in the fifty days, who rose up to fight against the literary black line. The work-teams in effect were meant to protect the seventeen years, to protect the thirties, even to protect the twenties. Some young comrades and revolutionary young generals with a higher level (of political consciousness) have clearly recognized this question.

Concerning the question of joining the army, you should not be impatient. Now Vice Chairman Lin has issued an order, asking Comrade Yang Cheng-wu and his Office Group of Military Commission to select several cadres of the army or division level to take charge of this matter; this is a good news that I report to you. If you clamor for joining the army all day long, you would forget about everything else.

I was not prepared for giving a talk today; perhaps I have not failed to give a whole picture, and may have been mistaken in some aspect, for which comrades may criticize me. That is all I talk now; we shall meet again in such forums later.

Comrade Chen Po-ta:

I have a suggestion. The talk given by Comrade Chiang Ch'ing today is very very good! It covers almost all the problems in our literary and artistic circles at the present, and covers them in a systematic way. The recording of Comrade Chiang Ch'ing's talk may be played in all units of the literary and artistic circles, in Peking, in Shanghai, in the whole country, so that all may discuss it and enable the programs of the literary and artistic circles to take a long stride ahead.

* This sentence seems to mean: It took some time for "us" to realize that the cultural departments were not truly implementing Chairman Mao's literary line, but, on "our" work-post at that time, "we" could hardly interfere.

** The "seventeen years" refers to 1949 — 1966, i.e. the period from the establishment of the regime to the outbreak of the great cultural revolution. The "fifty days" refers to the period from late-May 1966 to mid-July 1966, when Mao Tse-tung was not in Peking, and CCP central organizations were controlled by Liu Shao-ch'i and Teng Hsiao-p'ing, who sent out work-teams to carry on the cultural revolution. This period was later condemned by Maoists as a period of suppression of the revolutionary Left by those in authority in the Party taking the capitalist road in an attempt to abolish the great cultural revolution.

DECISION OF THE
CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE,
THE STATE COUNCIL,
THE CENTRAL MILITARY COMMISSION
AND THE CENTRAL
CULTURAL REVOLUTION GROUP
CONCERNING THE QUESTION
OF KWANGSI

(1) It is the view of the Party Center that the Kwangsi Military District Command has done a large amount of work and obtained certain results in its "three-support, two-military" work in the great proletarian cultural revolution. On the present occasion, the examination made by the Military District Command of its mistakes and shortcomings that have appeared in the work of supporting the Left is a profound one, and is endorsed by the Party Center.

Although Comrade Wei Kuo-ch'ing has committed some errors in the present great cultural revolution, he has not persisted in them and is able to examine them with sincerity. His attitude is a good one. This examination has been approved by the CCP Central Committee and the Cultural Revolution Group of the Central Committee. It has also been read by our great leader Chairman Mao, who wrote the comment, "Act accordingly," on it.

The two comrades, An P'ing-sheng and Wu Chin-nan have also made mistakes in the course of the movement, and they have both made preliminary self-examinations. Comrades Wei Kuo-ch'ing, Wu Chin-nan and An P'ing-sheng signed a joint examination expressing their willingness to rectify their mistakes. The Party Center endorses this examination.

The Party Center expresses the hope that the Kwangsi Military District Command and comrades Wei Kuo-ch'ing, Wu Chin-nan, An P'ing-sheng and others will follow closely Chairman Mao's

great strategic plan and earn new merit in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

(2) The two Peking-bound delegations sent by the two factions of Kwangsi area, during their stay in Peking, signed a "Ten-Point Agreement on Promotion of the Revolutionary Great Alliance by the Two Factions of Kwangsi." Very fine in itself, this document has been approved by the CCP Central Committee, the State Council, the Military Commission of the CCP Central Committee and the Cultural Revolution Group of the CCP Central Committee. Our great leader Chairman Mao personally has endorsed its execution.

The agreement signed by the two factions concerning immediate cessation of violent struggle and the Ten-Point Agreement concerning surrender of arms and ammunition to the higher authorities were also good. The Party Center endorses and supports these agreements.

It is hoped that the Kwangsi Military District Command, the army garrisons in various places and various mass organizations will implement them in earnest. At present, the revolutionary great alliances in the Kwangsi area have produced initial fruit. In those areas where the agreements of the two factions have not been fulfilled satisfactorily or where the Ten-Article Agreement has not been implemented at all, prompt and effective measures should be taken to insure their execution.

(3) Kwangsi is on the front line of aiding Vietnam and resisting the US. The Vietnamese people call it the most reliable rear. The Kwangsi April 22 Group and the Kwangsi Proletarian Revolutionary Groups' Joint Command Headquarters and revolutionary mass organizations of the two factions must respond to the call of the great leader, support the army and cherish the people, and vigorously support the Military District Command and the local garrisons in carrying out properly the work of supporting the Left and aiding Vietnam and resisting the United States. On the fundamental basis of Mao Tse-tung's thought, the two factions must unite to realize a revolutionary great alliance, raise their revolutionary vigilance, and strictly guard against the

sabotage activities by US-Chiang secret agents.

(4) The Party Center resolves that a Preparatory Group for Kwangsi Chuang Nationality Autonomous Region Revolutionary Committee be set up, to be composed of Comrades Wei Kuo-ch'ing, Ou Chih-fu, Wei Yu-chu, Sun Feng-chang, Chiao Hung-kuang, Hao Chung-yün, Wang Pin, Wu Chin-nan, and An P'ing-sheng and representatives of revolutionary mass organizations.

All revolutionary mass organizations must treat cadres correctly in accordance with Chairman Mao's latest directives. Class analysis must be made of the ranks of cadres, the great majority of the cadres must be united with, and the policy of "reducing the scope of attack and expanding the scope of education" must be adopted toward cadres who have erred. If only they will profoundly examine themselves, are willing to correct their mistakes, return to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, realize a revolutionary great alliance, and observe the agreements reached by the two factions, they should be united with by the revolutionary masses and be helped to come forward to make revolution.

From now on the various revolutionary mass organizations, under the leadership of the Preparatory Group of the Revolutionary Committee, must seriously study and thoroughly implement Chairman Mao's latest directives, "fight self and repudiate revisionism," launch revolutionary mass criticism, realize revolutionary three-in-one combinations, grasp revolution and promote production. They must conduct struggle-criticism-transformation in their own units successfully and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution in Kwangsi area through to the very end.

November 18, 1967

NOTIFICATION OF THE
CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE
AND THE CENTRAL
CULTURAL REVOLUTION GROUP
CONCERNING THE INQUIRY OF
OPINIONS ON THE CONVENING OF
THE "NINTH CONGRESS"

Chung-fa No. 358 (67)

All provincial, municipal and autonomous region revolutionary committees (preparatory groups), military control committees, all Party committees of military regions and provincial military districts:*

After the "Circular Concerning the Inquiry of Opinions on the Question of the 'Ninth Congress'" was issued by the central authorities**, the vast revolutionary masses, revolutionary cadres and Communist Party members were all greatly rejoiced and passed the news to each other excitedly. It is unanimously acclaimed as a brilliant insight of our great leader Chairman Mao, a major event connected with the Chinese revolution and the world revolution. Ardent forums and discussions were held in many troops, organizations, schools, factories and villages. The first batch of reflected opinions is hereby notified; and it is hoped that the inquiry of opinions will continue in all places and be reported to the central authorities:

1. It is generally proposed that the most fundamental task of the "Ninth Congress" is to hold aloft the great red flag of Mao Tse-tung's thought, to take Mao Tse-tung's thought as the guidance, to sum up the experiences of the socialist revolution and socialist reconstruction in our country since the "Eighth Congress", especially the experiences of the current great proletarian cultural revolution, to sum up the experiences of the historical struggle of the two lines in our Party, to sum up the experiences of the international Communist movement, to revise the Party program and the Party constitution, to rectify and

purify the Party organization, and to elect a Central Committee infinitely loyal to Chairman Mao, loyal to Mao Tse-tung's thought, and loyal to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

Many comrades earnestly hope that, before the "Ninth Congress" is convened, the fifth and sixth volumes of "Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung" will be published, that an outline of the history of the struggle of the two lines will be published, and that a new edition of "Quotations of Chairman Mao Tse-tung", revised and enlarged to include the numerous important directives of Chairman Mao during the great proletarian cultural revolution, will be published.

Many comrades suggest that the "Ninth Congress" should forcefully propagandize the point that Vice Chairman Lin is the close comrade-in-arms of Chairman Mao and the successor of Chairman Mao, and that this should be written into the report and resolutions of the "Ninth Congress", so as to further enhance the lofty prestige of Vice Chairman Lin.

2. Mao Tse-tung's thought should be used for the construction of the Party and the revision of the Party program and the Party constitution; and the poison of Liu-Teng revisionist Party-construction line should be thoroughly repudiated and abolished. The Party program and the Party constitution adopted by the "Eighth Congress" and the reports of Liu and Teng at the "Eighth Congress" did not give prominence to Mao Tse-tung's thought, did not embody the characteristics of our times, and contained many revisionist viewpoints; they should be throughly repudiated. The new Party program and Party constitution of the "Ninth Congress" must give prominence to Mao Tse-tung's thought, must link up Chairman Mao's red line of theories concerning social contradictions under socialism, class and class struggle, proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship, must fully reflect the new, creative, epoch-making development which Chairman Mao achieved for Marxist-Leninism in the respect of Party construction. The "Ninth Congress" should be a new milestone in the history of development of our Party.

Some comrades suggest that the central authorities should

set up now draft committees for the new Party program and Party constitution, and that the drafts of Party program and Party constitution should be issued to the vast number of committee members and revolutionary masses for discussion, before the convening of the "Ninth Congress".

3. It is suggested that the experiences of the struggle of the two lines should be summed up, and that the education of the struggle of the two lines be developed penetratingly throughout the whole country. Since the establishment of our Party, there has always been the struggle of the two lines. Especially in the current great proletarian cultural revolution, the struggle between Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and Liu-Teng's bourgeois reactionary line is even more huge in scale, more penetrating in conflict, and more important in significance. The "Ninth Congress" should discourse emphatically upon the struggle of the two lines and sum it up. We should compile a volume of the materials on the history of the struggle of the two lines in the Party; we should compile Chairman Mao's writings in this aspect, and use them to educate Party members and cadres, to help all people to understand correctly the history of the Party, to understand how Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line developed in the struggle against the bourgeois reactionary line, and to understand the great illuminating effect of Chairman Mao in the construction of our Party. Some comrades suggest that the central authorities should adopt a new resolution on historical questions, to replace the erroneous "Resolution Concerning Certain Historical Questions".***

4. It is suggested that the Party organization be rectified, and the organs of leadership be reformed, so that the purity of the Party may be insured, so that the Party organization may become the troops of proletarian pioneers, the vigorous vanguard organization capable of leading the workers' class and the revolutionary masses to fight against class enemies.

Some comrades say: the slogan "Revive the Party organization" is not proper; the slogan "Reform the Party organization" is also not proper; it is more proper to call it "Rectify the Party organization". The work of rectifying the Party organization,

some suggest, should be done before the convening of the "Ninth Congress", being incorporated with the preparatory work for the convening of the "Ninth Congress"; others are of the opinion that it is better to carry out the rectification after the convening of the "Ninth Congress", on the basis of the new Party program and Party constitution.

Units where revolutionary committees have already been established should resume organizational life of the Party, according to directives from the central authorities. Organizational life will mainly consist of studies of Chairman Mao's works, "combat self-interest, repudiate revisionism". Party members who committed serious mistakes during the great proletarian cultural revolution must conduct self-criticism. The level of Marxist-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought among the Party members must be elevated, and Party membership must be reviewed, thus making ideological and organizational preparations for the convening of the "Ninth Congress".

During the discussions it is universally suggested that, for the sake of purifying the Party organization and strengthening the fighting power of the Power, one batch should be developed, while another batch should be wiped off. Those excellent workers, poor and lower-middle peasants, revolutionary fighters and revolutionary intellectuals, who have been tested by the great proletarian cultural revolution, should be absorbed into the Party, to increase the new blood of the Party. The renegades, special agents, elements who once surrendered to the enemy, and counter-revolutionary revisionist elements, who have been hidden in our Party, should all be wiped off, to prevent any potential trouble.

Many comrades are concerned about the question of the Communist Youth League, and hope that the "Ninth Congress" will make a decision on this issue.

5. It is suggested that the five conditions concerning successors as laid down by Chairman Mao, and the three standards for selecting cadres as laid down by Vice Chairman Lin**** be used as the criteria for electing the new Central Committee. Membership of the Central Committee should be larger than the

(Central Committee of the) "Eighth Congress". The batch of talented, growing force holding aloft the great red flag of Mao Tse-tung's thought, that has surged up in the great proletarian cultural revolution, should be elected into the Central Committee.

Renegades, special agents, and counter-revolutionary revisionists who are exposed in the great proletarian cultural revolution cannot be members of the Central Committee again. If there should be some "teachers by negative examples" to be kept in the Central Committee, first of all, "it can only be of a very, very small number"; secondly, they must be those who have "confessed their crimes and have reformed well". "People like Liu (Shao-ch'i), Teng (Hsiao-p'ing), Tao (Chu), P'eng (Te-huai), Ho (Lung), P'eng (Chen), Lo (Jui-ch'ing), Lu (Ting-i), Yang (Shang-kun), and Wang Ming must never be kept in the Central Committee." "There must not be any teacher by negative examples in the Politburo, especially not in the Standing Committee of the Politburo." Comrades made it clear that whether we should keep some teachers by negative examples will be considered by Chairman Mao, and that we firmly obey Chairman Mao's bidding.

6. In regard to the time for the convening of the "Ninth Congress", most comrades suggest that it be convened before the national anniversary in the autumn next year. After the "Ninth Congress" the "People's Congress" should be convened immediately, to remove Liu Shao-ch'i and solve the problem of the Chairmanship of the State. Thus, the people who will step up on Tien-an-men on the national anniversary next year will all be new leaders of the Party and of the State belonging to Chairman Mao's proletarian headquarters. Some suggest that if the situation develops fast, (the "Ninth Congress") might be convened in the first half of next year.

7. Many comrades suggest that the "Ninth Congress" should be large in size, with a great number of participants, "convening a meeting of ten thousand people, filling all the seats of the People's Auditorium". Representatives should be the expression of three "three-in-one combinations", i.e. the three-in-one combination of representatives of the army, the revolutionary cadres,

and the revolutionary mass organizations; the three-in-one combination of workers, peasants, and soldiers; and the three-in-one combination of the old, the middle-aged, and the young. A greater number of representatives should be selected from among the troops, the workers, the poor and lower-middle peasants, and the Red Guards.

Can Liu, Teng, Tao, P'eng, Ho, P'eng, Lo, Lu, and Yang be elected representatives? The unanimous opinion is that they cannot be elected representatives, that they must not be elected. "To let these people be representatives would be opposed a hundred percent at the lower levels." "For such people, it is not a question of whether to elect them representatives, but a question of discussing how to deal with them and expel them from the Party." "Wang Ming is a special agent, a traitor against our nation who will never relent until his death; not only unqualified as a representative, he should be expelled from the Party and have his nationality cancelled."

On the method of nominating the representatives, most comrades are of the opinion that the nomination should be by the method of from the higher to the lower, combining the higher and the lower, combining the inner and the outer, and consultation by all concerned. Those whom the central authorities know about may be nominated by the central authorities, to be discussed and passed at lower levels; those whom the central authorities do not clearly know about may be nominated through consultation with local authorities in a combination of the higher and the lower and a combination of the inner and the outer. In the system of the armed forces, as the Party life has been maintained normally, the nomination may still be conducted by the method of from the lower to the higher; but, whatever method is adopted, one principle is unshakable, that is, the Party members elected representatives must be those loyal to Chairman Mao, loyal to Mao Tse-tung's thought, and loyal to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

8. Concerning the way the Congress is to be conducted, most comrades are of the opinion that it is better to hold meetings from the higher levels to the lower levels. The "Ninth Congress"

should be convened first, to adopt the new Party program and Party constitution; then the Party representatives conferences at all lower levels are to be convened. Thus, "there is a program above, and there is a direction below"; "this can insure the quality of the local Party representatives conferences."

9. It is generally suggested that Chairman Mao's directive concerning "refinement of troops and simplification of administration" must be firmly carried out. Identical organizations of the Party and of the State may be combined together. The phenomena of overlapping and over-staffing must be changed. The newly established revolutionary committees must be refined and simplified in their organization. This is the only way to overcome bureaucracy, to effectively oppose and prevent revisionism, and to promote the revolutionarization of people's thought and work.

The CCP Central Committee
The Central Cultural Revolution Group

November 27, 1967

(This document may be issued to Party branches of company level and equivalent local organizations.)

* This document was published in *Tien-shan feng-ho* ("Signal Fire on Tianshan"), No. 4/5, January 24, 1968, by the Sinkiang Red 2nd Headquarters 8th Agricultural Corps and the Sinkiang Corps Revolutionary Workers. The recipients of this document are denoted as: "All provincial, municipal and autonomous region revolutionary committees (preparatory groups), military control committees, all Party committees of military regions and provincial military districts"; and do not include the "regional bureaus of the Central Committees" or the "provincial, municipal, and autonomous region Party committees". It is indeed strange that the local Party committees are ignored on the matter of convening the national Party Congress. Even though most of the "regional bureaus of the Central Committees" and the "provincial, municipal, and autonomous region Party committees" had been put out of action, they might still be listed as recipients of such an important document. The fact that the local Party Committees are deliberately omitted from the list of recipients of such a document seems to indicate that the Maoist central authorities wish to reconstruct the Party organization on the basis of the provincial revolutionary committees and the Party committees of the armed forces, bypassing the original Party apparatus.

** Adopted by the 7th Plenary Session of 6th Central Committee in April 1945.

*** Five conditions: 1) Must be a real Marxist-Leninist; 2) Must be a revolutionary wholeheartedly serving the great majority of the people of China and of the world; 3) Must be a proletarian statesman capable of uniting the majority of people to work together; 4) Must be a model practician of the democratic centralism of the Party, must have learned the method of leadership of "from the masses and to the masses", and must have cultivated the democratic style of being good at listening to the opinions of the masses; and 5) Must be modest and careful, not being proud and impatient, richly endowed with the spirit of self-criticism, and anxious to correct the shortcomings and mistakes in his own work. (See the editorial of *People's Daily*, August 3, 1964, "Cultivate and Produce Millions of Proletarian Revolutionary Successors".)

**** Three standards: 1) Holding aloft the great red flag of Mao Tse-tung's thought, loyal to Chairman Mao and loyal to Mao Tse-tung's thought; 2) Giving prominence to proletarian politics and closely associating with the masses; and 3) Possessing revolutionary zeal. (See the editorial of *Liberation Army Daily*, January 2, 1967, "Hold More Aloft the Great Red Flag of Mao Tse-tung's Thought Push the Mass Movement of Creatively Studying and Applying Chairman Mao's Works to A New Stage and Make Our Army Become Really A Great School of Mao Tse-tung's Thought".)

CIRCULAR OF THE
CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE,
THE STATE COUNCIL,
THE CENTRAL MILITARY COMMISSION
AND THE CENTRAL
CULTURAL REVOLUTION GROUP
CONCERNING THE CORRECT HANDLING
OF OLD REBELS
WHO HAVE COMMITTED MISTAKES

Chung-fa No. 367 (67)

All provincial, municipal and autonomous region revolutionary committees (preparatory groups), military control committees, all military regions and provincial military districts:

Chairman Mao recently laid down an important directive concerning how Chekiang correctly handled the question of the Red Mob Faction.

Chairman Mao said: "The Red Mob of Chekiang, quite different from the Million Heroic Troops of Hupei, is an old rebel faction which has committed mistakes, and it has a lot of mass support. It seems that the principle to be adopted towards it should be one of assisting, criticizing and uniting." This most important directive of Chairman Mao has a significance of general guidance for our work in various places. At the present there exist in many places old rebel factions which differ from the Million Heroic Troops but have committed some mistakes. A correct policy should be adopted towards them, that is, the policy proposed by Chairman Mao, a policy of assisting, criticizing and uniting. It is not proper to adopt a policy of exerting pressure and imposing absolute exclusion against the masses of such organizations. This is the only way to promote the revolutionary great alliance and the revolutionary three-in-one combination. We should organize Mao Tse-tung's Thought Study Classes with the participation of all factions, which will take "combat self-interest and repudiate revisionism" as the theme and effectively help them to study Mao Tse-tung's thought. We should criticize their mis-

takes, and urge them to correct their own mistakes voluntarily. Meantime, we should forcefully push them to carry on, together with other proletarian revolutionaries, revolutionary great criticism, to realize revolutionary great alliance, while a certain quota may be reserved for them in the leading organ of the revolutionary three-in-one combination. The adoption of such a policy will be beneficial for the rallying of the majority, so that places where there has not yet established a revolutionary leadership might realize sooner the revolutionary great alliance and the three-in-one combination, so that the revolutionary regime in places where there are already established provisional power organs might be further consolidated. Chairman Mao teaches us: "Contradictions of different natures can only be solved by methods of different natures." (On Contradiction) It is only by the application of the method of assisting, criticizing and uniting, as proposed by Chairman Mao, that the kind of contradiction such as old rebel factions committing mistakes can be correctly solved. And the use of methods such as high pressure, exclusion, power-seizure by one faction alone, etc. cannot solve this kind of contradictions. Towards the small handful of persons in authority in the Party taking the capitalist road, and towards special agents, traitors and other bad people who use various means to sabotage the revolutionary great alliance and instigate armed struggle, it is necessary to maintain our alertness. It is hoped that comrades will carefully comprehend and firmly implement this latest directive of Chairman Mao.

The CCP Central Committee
The State Council
The Central Military Commission
The Central Cultural Revolution Group

December 2, 1967

(To be issued to the county and regimental levels.)

DIRECTIVE OF THE
CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE
CONCERNING THE GREAT CULTURAL
REVOLUTION IN THE COUNTRYSIDE IN
THIS WINTER AND NEXT SPRING

1. After the progress of the great proletarian cultural revolution for over one year, the invincible Mao Tse-tung's thought has penetrated into human minds, and the vast poor, lower-middle peasants in the countryside have been further mobilized, and have seized a dual victory in revolution and production. The current situation in the countryside is highly excellent. The conditions are not good only in those small areas seriously affected by natural disasters or controlled by persons taking the capitalist road and landlords, rich-peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightist elements.

2. The great proletarian cultural revolution in the countryside in this winter and next spring is to be carried on in accordance with the "Decision Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" of the CCP Central Committee, i.e. the Sixteen Articles, and the "Directive Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in the Countryside (Draft)", i.e. the Ten Articles. The spearhead of the struggle should always be directed against the biggest small handful of persons in authority in the Party taking the capitalist road and their agents in all places. We must resolutely rely upon the poor peasants and the lower-middle peasants. We must mobilize the masses without reservation, let the masses educate themselves, and not send work-teams to do a lot of gesticulation. Workers, town residents, cadres in organs, and students should all refrain from going out for exchange of revolutionary experience. Peasants are not to go to cities for exchange of revolutionary experience. When necessary, the People's Liberation Army may organize small but well-selected

Mao Tse-tung's Thought Propaganda Teams to propagandize Mao Tse-tung's thought and the principles and policies of the Party.

3. All units of municipalities, counties, people's communes, production brigades and production teams should participate in the Mao Tse-tung's Thought Study Classes. The vast commune members, cadres and militia should all take part in the study. We should hold aloft the great red flag of Mao Tse-tung's thought, take "combat self-interest and repudiate revisionism" as the theme, and carry on education by positive examples. We should profoundly study "The Three Constantly-read Articles"*, study Chairman Mao's important directives concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution. We should develop a revolutionary great repudiation, to expose deeply and repudiate thoroughly the reactionary absurdities advocated by the biggest person taking the capitalist road in China such as "the theory of extinction of class struggle", "exploitation being not without merits", "the three-self and one assignment"**, "the four major forms of freedom"***, "the Tao-yuan experience",****, etc., and also the criminal conspiracy of "striking at the cadres at large and protecting the small handful" which they engage against cadres, as well as other criminal conducts which they engage in against the revolution for the restoration of capitalism. Meantime, the study of the study classes should be combined with the struggle, repudiation and reformation of one's own unit.

4. We should continue to carry out thoroughly Chairman Mao's principle of "grasping revolution and promoting production". We should learn from the experience of Ta-chai. We should persist in the road of socialism, and consolidate collective economy. We should make revolution with thriftiness, and should oppose speculation, corruption, thievery, dividing the land to the level of household, and farming on individual basis. We should forcefully abolish the four-olds of the exploiting class, and forcefully establish the four-news of the proletariat*****. The current system in the rural people's communes by which the ownership (of means of production) is held at three levels but with (production) team as the basis, and the system concerning self-retained land, should not be changed as a rule, and there should

not be movements for donations.

5. On the basis of organizing Mao Tse-tung's Thought Study Classes, the questions of the revolutionary great alliance and the revolutionary three-in-one combination at the county level and the commune level should be solved, and revolutionary leaderships at the county level and the commune level should be formed up, so as to lead better the great proletarian cultural revolution in the production brigades and production teams. As a rule, there should not be power-seizure in the production teams. In production brigades where power-seizure is needed, the question should be solved by firmly relying upon the poor peasants and the lower-middle peasants, realizing the revolutionary great alliance and the revolutionary "three-in-one combination", and re-electing the leadership. It should be affirmed that the majority of the rural cadres are good or relatively good.

6. Revolutionary masses should sharpen their class-alertness and strengthen the proletarian dictatorship. Landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightist elements are not allowed to launch counter-attacks and back-reckoning, not allowed to engage in rumor-mongering, instigation and sabotage among the masses. In areas controlled by persons taking the capitalist road and by landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightist elements, the leadership must be seized and put into the hands of proletarian revolutionaries composed mainly by poor peasants and lower-middle peasants. We should realize the revolutionary great alliance, oppose factionism, persist in unarmed struggle, and prevent the small handful of persons in authority in the Party taking the capitalist road and other bad people from instigating armed struggle and instigating the masses to fight among themselves.

7. The Decision of the CCP Central Committee Concerning Certain Questions in the Current Rural Work (Draft) issued on May 20, 1963, i.e. the Earlier Ten Articles, and Certain Question Raised in the Current Rural Socialist Education Movement issued on January 14, 1965, i.e. the Twenty-three Articles, were laid down under Chairman Mao's personal leadership. The Four Clean-Ups Movement carried out on the basis of these two

documents achieved great results and must be affirmed. Certain problems left over from the Four Clean-Ups Movement can be solved during the great proletarian cultural revolution movement.

December 4, 1967

* The Three Constantly-read Articles written by Mao Tse-tung: 1) *Serving the People*, 2) *In Memory of Norman Bethune*, and 3) *The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains*.

** "Three-self and one assignment", suggesting the giving of more land as self retained land (private plots), granting of a free market, and giving more responsibility to the enterprises to handle their own profit and loss, and assigning production to the household (instead of the collectives).

*** The "four major forms of freedom": freedom to practice usury, to hire labor, to buy and sell land, and to do business.

**** The Tao-yuan Experience refers to the experience of Wang Kuang-mei (wife of Liu Shao-ch'i) who was sent to work, on an experimental basis, in the Tao-yuan Production Brigade in Tangshan District, Hopei Province, from December 1963 to April 1964, to carry out the Four Clean-Ups Movement (or Socialist Education Movement). Her findings and recommendations were reported, and were approved by Liu Shao-ch'i for transmission to the whole country. Based on the Tao-yuan Experience, Liu drafted and persuaded the central authorities to pass a directive usually referred to as "The Later Ten Articles", which is now condemned by the Maoists as a betrayal of "The Earlier Ten Articles" drafted by Mao Tse-tung, i.e. "Decision of the CCP Central Committee Concerning Certain Questions in the Current Rural Work (Draft)" issued on May 20, 1963.

***** Four-olds and four-news: the old ideas, culture, customs and habits of the exploiting class and the new ideas, culture, customs and habits of the proletariat.

THE CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE APPROVES
THE ADDITION OF FIVE MEMBERS TO THE
HUNAN PROVINCIAL REVOLUTIONARY
COMMITTEE PREPARATORY GROUP*

According to the circular of the CCP Central Committee and the Central Cultural Revolutionary Group, dated December 16, 1967 [Document *Chung-fa* No. 384 (67)], Comrades Chang Ch'i, Shang Chun-jen, Chen Yung, Liang Yu-ch'i and Tsou Ting-kue are added as members of the Preparatory Group for the Hunan Provincial Revolutionary Committee.

* This is not the text of the document original, but a report on the gist of the circular published in *Red Iron Army*, a Red Guard publication in Hengyang, Hunan Province. The five additional members are not well known persons.

COMMENT OF THE
CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE
AND THE CENTRAL
CULTURAL REVOLUTION GROUP
CONCERNING THE EXAMINATIONS OF
COMRADES P'AN FU-SHENG AND
WANG CHIA-TAO

Chung-fa No. 396 (67)

Since its establishment, the Heilungkiang Provincial Revolutionary Committee has done a great deal of work and scored enormous results. Its main orientation has been basically correct. But, after seizing power, it has made some mistakes in dealing with the criticism put forth by the masses and handling the struggle between the revolutionary mass organizations of the two groupings. It is fine that it now obeys our great leader Chairman Mao's teachings and has adopted a high standard in earnestly examining its mistakes. The Party Central Committee agrees with this examination.

The revolutionary committee is a new-born thing produced in the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution. Shortcomings and mistakes of one sort or another in the road of its progress can hardly be avoided. Comrades of the proletarian revolutionary groups should help it actively and eagerly. The Party Central Committee hopes that the revolutionary mass organizations of the two groupings in Heilungkiang province will get united closely and, under the leadership of the revolutionary committee, "fight self-interest and repudiate revisionism," achieve a revolutionary great alliance, closely follow Chairman Mao's great strategic plan, and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution in Heilungkiang province through to the end.

Heilungkiang province is situated in the forefront of the struggle against Soviet revisionism. There, the situation of confrontation against the enemy is relatively complex and the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, the land-

lords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists who have not been successfully remolded, and foreign secret agents of various kinds are still seeking opportunities to carry out sabotage. All revolutionary mass organizations must sharpen their revolutionary vigilance and prevent the bad elements from using the contradictions among the people to sow dissension and carry out sabotage.

Comrades of the revolutionary committee must continue to hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, humbly listen to the opinions of the masses, behave as pupils to the masses, act humbly and prudently, fight against hardships and lead the broad revolutionary masses to build Heilungkiang province into a bright-red big school of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

The CCP Central Committee
The Central Cultural Revolution Group

December 22, 1967

MESSAGE OF GREETINGS OF THE CENTRAL
CULTURAL REVOLUTION GROUP AND THE
STATE COUNCIL FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF
THE CANTON AREA COLLEGES RED GUARD
REPRESENTATIVE CONFERENCE*

*Kwangtung Provincial Revolutionary Committee Preparatory
Group, to be transmitted to the Canton Area Colleges Red
Guard Representative Conference.*

The Inaugural Meeting of the Canton Area Colleges Red Guard
Representative Conference:

Our great leader Chairman Mao teaches us that: REVOLUTIONARY RED GUARDS AND REVOLUTIONARY STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS SHOULD REALIZE GREAT REVOLUTIONARY ALLIANCE. SO LONG AS BOTH FACTIONS ARE REVOLUTIONARY MASS ORGANIZATIONS, THEY SHOULD REALIZE GREAT REVOLUTIONARY ALLIANCE UNDER THE REVOLUTIONARY PRINCIPLES. You have closely followed Chairman Mao's great strategic deployment, seriously applied this supreme directive of Chairman Mao, and realized great revolutionary alliance with "COMBAT SELF-INTEREST, REPUDIATE REVISIONISM" as the thesis and on the the principles and basis of Mao Tse-tung's thought. This is another great victory in the excellent situation of the great proletarian cultural revolution in the Canton area. We extend to you our cordial congratulations!

The basic task of the universities, middle and primary schools is to resume classes and make revolution, in accordance with the great proletarian educational revolutionary thought as expounded in Chairman Mao's "On Educational Revolution", to achieve great revolutionary repudiation, great revolutionary alli-

ance, revolutionary three-in-one combination, and the struggle, repudiation and reformation in one's own unit. It is hoped that you will resolutely undertake this glorious yet difficult task, and obtain new credits establish in the proletarian educational revolution!

The Central Cultural Revolution Group
The State Council

December 30, 1967

* This seems to be the first time that the Central Cultural Revolution Group precedes the State Council in the listing.

第 二 部

北 京 市 文 件

PART II

**DOCUMENTS OF PEKING MUNICIPAL
AUTHORITIES**

DECISION OF THE
CCP PEKING MUNICIPAL COMMITTEE*
CONCERNING THE ABOLITION OF
WORK GROUP IN VARIOUS UNIVERSITIES,
COLLEGES AND SCHOOLS

(July 28, 1966)

According to the instruction of the CCP Central Committee, in order to take better steps to boldly arouse the masses, rely on the high degree of revolutionary enthusiasm and self-consciousness of the revolutionary teachers and students, and make stronger efforts in toppling by struggle those in authority taking the capitalist road, criticizing and repudiating the reactionary academic authorities, and reforming the educational systems, policies and methods, it has been proved that the method of sending work groups to universities, colleges and schools adopted at the moment is no longer capable of meeting the above revolutionary demands. Consequently, it has been decided to abolish the work groups of various universities, colleges and schools. After the abolition of work groups, the teachers, students and staff members of all schools shall separately elect and set up mass organizations at various levels to carry out the great cultural revolution in the universities, colleges and schools.

The various universities, colleges and schools should convene general meetings of teachers, students and staff members in central meeting places to announce this decision.

According to the concrete conditions of various schools, the various units of each school shall nominate persons for forming a temporary or preparatory committee to make preparations for the election of the cultural revolution committee of the whole school.

After the announcement of the above decision, the work

groups sent by a higher level to various school should conduct centralized study and listen to the views of the masses. Some work groups may leave their schools to meet the needs of work, but the whole group or some of its members must return to the school in question when summoned by the cultural revolution committee.

This decision is also applicable to secondary schools.

* By this time, the Peking Municipal Committee had been reorganized. P'eng Chen was dismissed, and Li Hsueh-feng was the 1st Secretary of the Peking Municipal Committee. But later on Li was also attacked as an anti-Maoist.

URGENT CIRCULAR OF THE CCP PEKING MUNICIPAL COMMITTEE

Chung-fa No. 080 (66)

Under the wise leadership of our great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman Chairman Mao, the great proletarian cultural revolution of Peking municipality has scored brilliant achievements. With the broad masses aroused, powerful blows have been dealt to those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party, a number of bourgeois Rightists and counterrevolutionary revisionists have been dragged out, monsters and demons in society have been swept away, and the features of the whole society and the spiritual features of the people have all undergone tremendous changes. The thought of Mao Tse-tung is more popular and is penetrating deeper into the hearts of the people. Under Chairman Mao's call for "grasp the revolution, promote production," the great cultural revolution has given a powerful impetus to production.

At the initial stage of the great cultural revolution, however, because the Municipal Committee carried out the bourgeois reactionary line, the work teams of some industrial, communications, local construction, finance and trade, cultural and educational, and other enterprise units, organs and organizations, or the leaders of some units, branded some of the revolutionary masses as "counterrevolutionaries," "anti-Party elements," or "Rightists." It is extremely wrong to act in contravention of the provisions of the Sixteen-Point Decision in this way.

In order to carry out completely and thoroughly the "Sixteen-Point Decision," defend the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, and carry the great proletarian cultural

revolution through to the end, it is necessary to criticize and repudiate thoroughly the bourgeois reactionary line, and thoroughly eliminate its pernicious influence. Meanwhile, it is necessary to effect firmly and seriously the rehabilitation of the revolutionary masses who have been branded as "counterrevolutionaries," "anti-Party elements," or "Rightists." In view of this, the Municipal Committee is hereby resolved:

1. To rehabilitate without exception in public all the revolutionary masses who have been branded as "counterrevolutionaries," "anti-Party elements," "Rightists," etc., at the initial stage of the great proletarian cultural revolution, to conduct open examinations, to tender apologies, and to announce their rehabilitation.

2. To reinstate all workers who have been branded as "counterrevolutionaries," "anti-Party elements," "Rightists" at the initial stage of the great proletarian cultural revolution, or have been dismissed for criticizing the leaders of work groups.

3. To deal with seriously all kinds of material for the purge of the masses in the great proletarian cultural revolution according to the provisions of the CCP Central Committee.

4. To repay wages in arrears to the revolutionary workers whose wages have been stopped or withheld on the ground of their having been branded as "counterrevolutionaries."

This circular must be announced and read to all of the revolutionary masses.

The CCP Peking Municipal Committee

November 15, 1966

OPINION OF THE CCP PEKING MUNICIPAL COMMITTEE CONCERNING REHABILITATION*

A firm grip must be exercised on the handling of materials, and as the Central Committee has instructed, it is best to implement this as soon as possible. Action must be taken according to the October 5 document of the Military Commission and the November 16 document of the Central Committee**, and the materials of the great cultural revolution must be separated from those of the Four Clean-Ups Movement.

(I) Materials that should be burned:

With the exception of self-examination materials that should be returned to the writers and not burned, the materials organizationally compiled against those branded as "counterrevolutionaries," the summary reports of work groups, the notes made by work groups, Party committees and group members (they should be urged to hand over such notes or tear out relevant materials), and materials delineating the Left, the middle-of-the-road and the Right [should be burned]. It is necessary to avoid entanglement on side issues. The materials that should be burned must not be made public nor read, otherwise their destruction is of no significance.

(II) Materials that should not be burned:

1. Materials and dossiers of the double cleanups targets.
2. Materials of those in authority (those in authority are defined according to the four cleanups campaign, and they include cadres of the intermediate level).

3. Materials furnished in the movement by the masses for denouncing certain people, for dealing with certain cases, and materials provided by the masses in their letters and during their calls — for example, materials for purging the masses — must be burned, with the exception of those dealing with important historical questions and the power-holders.

(III) Who must be rehabilitated:

1. Anyone whose character has been wrongly determined must be rehabilitated.

2. Those whose character has not been determined but against whom materials have been compiled, struggle has been waged and a converging attack has been made in wall posters, must be rehabilitated.

3. Although the character of some persons has not been determined, yet because materials have been compiled organizationally, and a converging attack against them has been organized in wall posters, they have as a result actually been dealt with as counterrevolutionaries. Those who have been wrongly dealt with in this way must be rehabilitated.

4. Although no rehabilitation is called for, those who have not been criticized or struggle against — no material has been compiled against them, nor have they been attacked in wall posters — but have been deprived of their political rights (for example, they are not invited to attend meetings and have been relieved of their duties) should also be restored to good repute and given back their political privileges.

5. In the case of those who have made certain mistakes — such as making reactionary statements — which are not contradictions between the enemy and ourselves, but which have been branded as anti-Party and anti-socialist and regarded as contradictions between the enemy and ourselves, the label of contradiction between the enemy and ourselves must be removed.

(IV) Who and what must not be rehabilitated:

1. Landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad

elements and Rightists.

2. The question of power-holder does not come under the question of struggle between the two lines. Those who have been wronged, should be dealt with at the latter stage.

3. Cases connected with the double cleanups should not be rehabilitated and should be dealt with as special cases.

4. The wall posters put up by the masses against each other may have exaggerated things, but this is an unavoidable phenomenon in the development of extensive democracy among the masses, and the question of rehabilitation does not exist.

5. After writing materials under the pressure of mistakes in line, explanation may be made and education conducted to untie the knots.

* This document bears no date: it was probably issued in the later half of November, or in December 1966.

** See pp. 89-92 and pp. 103-105.

BULLETIN OF THE MINISTRY OF
PUBLIC SECURITY OF
THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA
AND THE PEKING GARRISON
HEADQUARTERS OF THE
CHINESE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY

As ordered by the State Council and the Military Commission of the Central Committee, the Peking Garrison Headquarters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army has taken over the control of the Peking Municipal Public Security Bureau, set up the Military Control Committee, appointed Comrade Mou Li-shan as Chairman and Comrades Liu Ch'uan-hsin and Wang Keng-yin as Vice Chairmen of the Military Control Committee, and sent military representatives to all organs under the jurisdiction of the Municipal Public Security Bureau to enforce military control.

1. The tasks of the Military Control Committee of the Peking Municipal Public Security Bureau are to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, firmly suppress all counterrevolutionaries, preserve revolutionary order, firmly support and protect the proletarian revolutionaries, and defend the great proletarian cultural revolution. The whole body of the people's police and public security personnel of Peking municipality should firmly cling to their work posts, work energetically, take orders and obey the command under the leadership of the Military Control Committee.

2. The Military Control Committee of the Peking Municipal Public Security Bureau should firmly support the proletarian revolutionaries within the Public Security Bureau, makes revolution to the end, have faith in, rely on and unite with the masses, thoroughly wipe out the pernicious influence of counter-revolutionary revisionists P'eng Chen and Lo Jui-ch'ing and the influence of the bourgeois reactionary line, completely reorganize

the former Public Security Bureau, and set up an extraordinarily revolutionized Public Security Bureau of the proletariat with Mao Tse-tung's thought in command of everything.

3. All organizations of the revolutionary masses have the obligation to give the Peking Municipal Public Security Bureau support and assistance to preserve revolutionary order. The revolutionary masses may make complaints against the people's police and the public security personnel to the military representatives of the Military Control Committee. When problems are serious, the proletarian revolutionaries of the Public Security Bureau, with the consent of the Military Control Committee, may invite the representatives of the revolutionary masses concerned to participate in criticism and repudiation. Criminal acts supported by iron-clad evidence shall be dealt with by the Military Control Committee according to law. No mass organization or individual may secretly deal with the people's police and the public security personnel.

The Ministry of Public Security of the
People's Republic of China
The Peking Garrison Headquarters of the
Chinese People's Liberation Army

Peking, February 11, 1967

BULLETIN OF THE PLA MILITARY CONTROL COMMITTEE OF THE PEKING MUNICIPAL PUBLIC SECURITY BUREAU

It has been found after investigations that the National Red Laborers Rebel General Corps, National H.Q. of Destroy-Capitalism Army Rebel Corps, and National State Farms Red Rebel Corps are reactionary organizations. They have unrestrainedly made rumors and slanderous statements, provoked armed struggle, energetically carried out economism, intruded into and assaulted state leading organs, looted and destroyed state property, occupied buildings without proper authority, raped women, and carried out other criminal activities. In accordance with the unanimous demands of the broad revolutionary masses, it is decided to repress them and arrest their leading elements and a few extremely bad elements. As for their hoodwinked members in general, they will generally not be prosecuted provided they admit their mistakes, expose the crimes of their reactionary leaders, and immediately go back to their own areas and units.

It has also been found after investigation that the National Defend-the-Truth Revolutionary Rebel Corps of Educated Youths Sent to Hilly and Rural Districts, National Red Rebel Corps of Educated Youths Sent to Hilly and Rural Districts, National Red First Line Combat Detachment of Educated Youths Sent to Hilly and Rural Districts, National Army Reclamation Fighters Revolutionary Rebel Corps, China Detachment of the International Red Guard Army, and National Deaf People Revolutionary Rebel Combined Headquarters are illegal organizations. It is decided to repress them. All other so-called nationwide mass organizations in Peking are also illegal. In compliance with a

notice by the CCP Central Committee and the State Council, they should disband immediately, and their members must immediately return to their own areas and units.

The PLA Military Control Committee of the
Peking Municipal Public Security Bureau

February 25, 1967

CIRCULAR ORDER NO. 1 OF THE PLA
MILITARY CONTROL COMMITTEE
OF THE PEKING MUNICIPAL
PUBLIC SECURITY BUREAU

For the purpose of establishing revolutionary order and working order within the Public Security Bureau, so as to expedite the effective carrying out of the three tasks of the Military Control Committee, strengthen the proletarian dictatorship, and defend the great proletarian cultural revolution, this order is specially promulgated:

(1) All people's police and public security personnel must firmly remain at their posts, observe discipline, and obey orders. All cadres and policemen who have gone to outside areas to exchange experience and establish revolutionary ties or who are away without leave must return to their posts within five days. Those who fail to do so will be subject to disciplinary action and may even be dismissed from public office.

(2) No people's policemen and public security personnel are allowed to go outside to exchange experience and establish revolutionary ties. Outside mass revolutionary organization and revolutionary masses are also not allowed to exchange experience and establish revolutionary ties within the Public Security Bureau.

(3) Revolutionary mass organizations of the Public Security Bureau should be formed according to its administrative units (departments, sections, sub-bureau, and county-bureau). Exchange of experience may be conducted between departments and sections, but they may not exchange experience with sub-bureaus and county-bureaus. No exchange of experience may be conducted during working hours.

(4) Cadres sent from the public security system and the Liberation Army to seize power at the early stage of the great proletarian cultural revolution in 1966 shall immediately be liberated. The overwhelming majority of them shall be reinstated in their office, and in general no more self-examination shall be required. Individuals whose mistakes are more serious shall work under the supervision of the Military Control Committee. Without prior approval of the Military Control Committee, no one shall be dragged out and struggled against at will.

The entire force of cadres and policemen are expected to observe the above effectively.

The PLA Military Control Committee
of the Peking Municipal
Public Security Bureau

March 3, 1967

BULLETIN OF THE
MILITARY CONTROL COMMITTEE OF
THE PEKING MUNICIPAL
PUBLIC SECURITY BUREAU

Our great leader Chairman Mao has taught us: In the case of reactionaries, it is necessary to "carry out dictatorship and arbitrary rule to suppress these people, allowing them only to behave themselves properly but not allowing them to do or say things as they please. If they do or say things as they please, they shall be repressed at once and prohibitive action taken against them."

Holding high the great red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung in the great proletarian cultural revolution, the broad masses of Red Guards and the revolutionary masses of Peking have sent a number of landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements, and Rightists who persist firmly in their reactionary stand as well as the scum of society to rural villages, there to labor under surveillance. This is of great significance to the consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship. In recent months, however, some of the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists sent to rural areas have secretly come back to Peking. Some of them are trying to vindicate themselves, start a hullabaloo, carry out sabotage activities, and disturb social order.

For the sake of strengthening dictatorship over the enemy and maintaining revolutionary order in the Capital, and in accordance with the demands of the broad revolutionary masses, these "Measures for Dealing with Persons Back in Peking after Having Been Sent Away in the Great Cultural Revolution" are

hereby promulgated. All are expected to observe and carry them out.

March 18, 1967

Appendix:

MEASURES FOR DEALING WITH PERSONS BACK IN PEKING AFTER HAVING BEEN SENT AWAY IN THE GREAT CULTURAL REVOLUTION

(1) None of the following persons sent away shall in principle be allowed to come back to Peking. Those who have already come back should immediately go back to the place to which they were first sent, and there accept the supervision of the revolutionary masses and reform.

i) Landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements, and Rightists who firmly persist in their reactionary stand (including those who have had their labels taken away but who behave badly);

ii) Landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries and bad elements who have escaped being labeled as such but against whom conclusive evidence have been found;

iii) Elements of the enemy or puppet army (company commander and above), administration (*pao* chief and above), police force (police sergeants and above), gendarmerie, and secret service agents who behave badly;

iv) Intermediate and lower-level heads of reactionary secret societies and religious sects and professional personnel of these sects, who behave badly;

v) Backbone elements of the reactionary party and league who behave badly;

vi) Capitalists and real estate owners who persist firmly in their reactionary stand;

vii) Elements who have served prison sentences and are released, or who have been released from education through labor or from surveillance, but who behave badly;

viii) Corrupt and thieving elements, and speculators and market manipulators;

ix) Families of counter-revolutionaries who have been killed, jailed, placed under surveillance, or have fled to other areas, who persist firmly in their reactionary stand;

x) Elements who have committed scoundrelly acts, theft or other criminal acts and who fail to reform after repeated education.

Families and children who formerly depended on the above-listed ten categories of people and who have come back to Peking, should in general be urged to go back to the places where they were sent in the first instance. A few who really have valid reasons [for staying in Peking] and who are cared for by relatives in Peking, may not go back to the places to which they were sent. Those who have already settled down in these places must not come back to Peking.

(2) Persons back in Peking after having been sent away be resettled in the city if the following descriptions are applicable to them:

i) Persons other than those in the ten categories listed in (1) who have already returned to Peking should be given resident status. Those who formerly belonged to public organs, factories and mines, enterprises, or schools should be cared for by these units;

ii) Of the ten categories, those who were sent to coastal and frontier areas or important defense areas and who have come back to Peking may be given resident status;

Persons of the above description who have already settled down in the areas to which they were sent must not come back to Peking;

iii) Of the ten categories, persons who are aged, ill, or disabled, who cannot make an independent living, who have nobody to depend on in their native places but have people in Peking to care for them, or those who have other special reasons, may be given resident status.

(3) As to which persons may be resettled in the city, views should be put forward by the revolutionary mass organizations of the units or streets concerned, for examination and approval by the relevant administrative leadership and public security organs.

(4) Persons who should go back to the place to which they were sent must leave Peking immediately. Those who fail to leave shall be forcibly sent away by revolutionary mass organizations and public security organs. Those who set up a clamor without any reason or who are engaged in sabotage shall be dealt with according to law and individual circumstances.

(5) With regard to those sent to various county of the municipality, the local basic level cadres and revolutionary masses should take consideration of the situation as a whole and properly carry out work for the resettlement of these persons sent away [from Peking] and not let them return to the urban area.

March 18, 1967

BULLETIN OF THE PLA MILITARY CONTROL
COMMITTEE OF THE PEKING
MUNICIPAL PUBLIC SECURITY BUREAU

For the purpose of effectively carrying out the guideline of "grasping revolution and promoting production" put forward by the great leader Chairman Mao, strengthening traffic control in the streets, maintaining revolutionary order in the Capital, and defending the great proletarian cultural revolution, it is provided as follows:

(1) Pedestrians and drivers of all types of vehicles must consciously maintain order of traffic, strictly observe traffic regulations, and obey the directions of the people's police. All heads of families should teach their children to observe traffic regulations in an exemplary manner.

(2) Persons without a driving licence are strictly forbidden to drive cars. It is forbidden to drive cars which belong to other people. It is also forbidden to use without proper authority licences of all types of vehicles.

(3) Vehicles of all types are forbidden to be driven in areas where through traffic is forbidden. Overtaking at road junctions is forbidden. Bicyclists are forbidden to carry passengers. Unauthorized parking of bicycles and other vehicles on pavements on both sides of main streets in the urban area is not allowed.

(4) To avoid accidents, it is not allowed to distribute leaflets or handbills from moving vehicles.

(5) Private selling or exchange of all types of commemora-

tive badges, placards bearing quotations, photographs, newspapers, and other materials is prohibited.

All public organs, colleges and schools, factories and mines, enterprises, and revolutionary mass organizations are expected to take action actively to carry out propaganda education among their personnel and energetically help maintain revolutionary order in the Capital.

The PLA Military Control Committee of the
Peking Municipal Public Security Bureau

April 11, 1967

IMPORTANT NOTICE OF THE PEKING MUNICIPAL REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE

(Passed by plenary session of Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee and approved by the Center)

(1) All revolutionary masses must resolutely carry out the directive of Chairman Mao and the Party center concerning "grasp revolution, promote production, promote work," and strive to reap a twin bumper harvest of revolution and production.

(2) Resolutely carry out Chairman Mao's instruction of civil struggle and not violent struggle. Beating up people, smashing things, looting, ransacking, and arrests are strictly forbidden. The few bad men who incite violent struggle and those seriously guilty of assaulting people should be punished by proletarian state law.

Peking Garrison forces of the PLA and military representatives have the power to deal with incidents of armed struggles. Their words must be obeyed by the parties concerned, who must not refuse to carry out orders.

(3) Destruction of state property is forbidden. Use of vehicles for armed struggle is forbidden. Sending of personnel to take part in armed struggle in other units is forbidden.

(4) Resolutely carry out Chairman Mao's instructions, "It is necessary to resolutely overcome the lack of discipline or state of anarchy existing in many places." Violation of labor discipline is forbidden. Absence from work without valid reason is forbidden. Resolutely struggle against everything that disturbs the

revolutionary and production order.

(5) Organs of proletarian dictatorship should, in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings, resolutely support the proletarian revolutionaries and shoulder the sacred duties of maintaining and consolidating the revolutionary order of the proletarian dictatorship, protecting state property, and safeguarding the great proletarian cultural revolution.

(6) Resolutely carry out the April 20 Notice of the CCP Central Committee, the State Council, the Central Military Commission, and the Central Cultural Revolution Group on cessation of travel to outside areas to exchange experience and establish revolutionary ties. With the exception of those specially authorized by the Center, Peking students and masses who are already in outside areas to exchange experience should immediately return to Peking. Similarly, students and the masses from outside areas who have come to Peking to exchange experience should also immediately return to their own areas.

This notice will take effect from the date of its promulgation. Concrete measure [for its implementation] will be taken separately by the Revolutionary Committee and the Standing Committee.

The Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee

May 14, 1967