NOTICE OF THE CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE, THE STATE COUNCIL, THE CENTRAL MILITARY COMMISSION AND THE CENTRAL CULTURAL REVOLUTION GROUP ON DEALING FURTHER BLOWS TO COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY ECONOMISM AND SPECULATIVE, PROFITEERING ACTIVITIES

January 18, 1968

Since the CCP Central Committee published on January 11, 1967, a "Notice on Opposition to Economism," the broad masses of workers of the whole country, holding high the great red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung and closely following Chairman Mao's great strategic plan, have repulsed the evil wind of counter-revolutionary economism raised by the class enemy and resolutely carried out Chairman Mao's great guideline of "grasping revolution and stimulating production," winning great victories in both revolution and production. At present, the nation-wide situation is excellent. However, the class enemies are not reconciled to their own extinction. In some areas recently, a small handful of Party power-holders who take the capitalist road, in conspiracy with demons and monsters in society and using various pretexts, have again incited a small number of people to raise the evil wind of counterrevolutionary economism in a vain effort to interfere with the successful progress of the great proletarian cultural revolution and socialist construction. Moreover, some speculative, profiteering activities are again in evidence on the market.

The CCP holds that, in order to win complete victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution, it is necessary to further mobilize

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Source: *Kuang-tieh Tsung-ssu (Canton Railways General H. Q.)*, Canton, No. 28, Early February, 1968; English version in *SCMP*, No. 4129.

and educate the masses for an extensive struggle against counter-revolutionary economism and speculative, profiteering activities. The following notice is issued with this end in view:

(1) All regions, departments, public offices, public organizations, enterprises, and business units must continue to carry out the "CCP Central Committee Notice on Opposition to Economism" of January 11, 1967, "Notice of CCP Central Committee and State Council" of February 17, 1967, "Emergency Notice of CCP Central Committee, State Council, Central Military Commission, and Central Cultural Revolution Group Requiring Educated Youths and Other Personnel Resettled in Hilly and Rural Areas to Persevere in Grasping Revolution and Stimulating Production in Rural Areas" of October 8, 1967, and other relevant documents. No one is allowed to distort or attack these documents.

(2) Reforms of systems concerning wages, welfare, cash awards, extra wages, allowances, workers' protective gear, and health-protection foods should be dealt with in a unified manner during and in the latter stage of the great cultural revolution by relying on the broad masses, in conjunction with struggle-criticism-transformation, and through investigation and study.

Units which have not yet effected the above-mentioned reforms at present should not do so for the time being. Those who put forward standards without proper authority or enlarge the scope must be strictly corrected.

The confirmation of appointment of workers and their grading should be done according to the provisions set forth in the notice of the State Council concerning the confirmation and grading of workers dated December 28, 1967, and on the basis of victory of the revolutionary great alliance and grasping of revolution and stimulation of production. All unauthorized confirmation of appointment, grading, and raising of wage levels not in accordance with these provisions shall be invalid.

(3) With regard to temporary workers, contract workers, workers working by rotation, and workers supplied by outside contractors, the Center is prepared to make reforms according to different circumstances and after investigation and study. Before a new decision is taken by the Center, none of them shall be changed to the status of permanent workers. At present, workers of collectively-owned units must not demand forcibly to be changed to workers under the system of whole-people ownership. None of the temporary workers, contract workers, workers working by rotation, and workers supplied by

outside contractors are allowed to form independent organizations. They must not exchange experience and establish revolutionary ties with one another or organize visits of personnel to the higher level. If they have problems, they should report to the local revolutionary committee (or preparatory group), military control committee or military district command.

Those whose grain rations are supplied by production teams shall not be supplied by the State. Youths who have gone to hilly and rural areas or to frontier regions shall not return to cities and demand urban resident's status.

(4) Division and distribution of liquid funds, public reserves and welfare funds of collectively-owned units is absolutely forbidden. Those who have already made such division privately should voluntarily return [the money].

Payment of year-end labor bonuses in handicrafts cooperatives and other collectively-owned enterprises must be stopped.

(5) Before new provisions are made by the Central Committee and the State Council, the allocation of graduates of all types of schools and their wages and treatment after allocation shall continue to be governed by existing provisions (including provisions made by provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions).

(6) With regard to economic demands put forward by some masses and mass organizations, terms and conditions signed and approved by some cadres who failed to observe principles firmly must be re-examined. Any terms and conditions which do not conform to the provisions of the Central Committee and the State Council should be withdrawn immediately and declared null and void. In addition, the cadres who signed and approved them shall make self-examination and admit their mistake before the masses. Any organization or individual who keeps and uses the money in his custody without proper authority, or who has forcibly drawn money from a bank, should return the money immediately, otherwise he will be held responsible.

(7) Mass propaganda activities should be developed. The principle of letting the masses educate and liberate themselves shall be firmly upheld. The masses should be urged to completely discredit counterrevolutionary economism.

All revolutionary masses should increase their revolutionary vigilance, so that they may see through the sinister scheme of the class enemy to sabotage the revolution and production by means of counterrevolutionary economism, resolutely find out the bad men who

hide at the back and carry out provocations and sabotage, and hand them over to revolutionary mass organizations and organs of dictatorship for severe action. Those whose case is especially bad must be punished according to law.

Propaganda organs at all levels must organize the writing of press articles criticizing and repudiating counterrevolutionary economism. They must give publicity to good persons and good deeds. They must teach the masses not to leave their production posts or go to other areas to exchange experience and establish revolutionary ties or visit the higher level, so as not to affect production.

(8) Market control shall be effectively strengthened, resolute blows shall be dealt to speculative and profiteering activities. The broad masses should be urged and the power of the proletarian dictatorship invoked to expose the crimes of speculators and profiteers and struggle against them. They must be completely discredited politically and toppled economically, and also punished according to law.

(9) Unlicensed traders and vendors and unlicensed individual handicraftsmen shall be resolutely repressed. Rural people's communes, production brigades, production teams and their members are all forbidden to engage in commerce.

Cooperative stores (groups), handicrafts cooperatives (groups), individual traders and vendors, and individual handicraftsmen must strictly observe the policies, laws and decrees of the State, accept the leadership of State-owned economy, obey the management of industrial-commercial administrative departments, and accept socialist transformation.

Unless authorized by local competent departments, all State enterprises, business units, agencies, schools and public organizations are forbidden to make private purchases in markets, fairs, and rural communes or production brigades and teams.

(10) Industrial-commercial administrative and control departments are administrative and control organs for the protection of socialist economy and maintenance of order of the socialist market. All organizations and individuals must respect their authority, and obey their management in the market, and are not permitted to raid or attack them.

Industrial-commercial administrative and control personnel, revenue personnel, and market control personnel must hold high the great red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's works, earnestly carry out the policies,

laws and decrees of the Party and government, humbly listen to the views of the masses, reform unreasonable regulations, and continuously improve their work. Anyone who violates the law while enforcing it and carry out speculative and profiteering activities by making use of their official powers shall be punished with increased severity.

This notice should be read aloud to urban and rural residents and posted in public places.

INSTRUCTIONS OF THE CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE, THE STATE COUNCIL, THE MILITARY AFFAIRS COMMISSION AND THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION GROUP UNDER THE PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE ON ESTABLISHMENT OF KWANGTUNG PROVINCIAL REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE

February 20, 1968

The Party Central Committee has consented to an application made by the Preparatory Group of the Kwangtung Provincial Revolutionary Committee for the establishment of Kwangtung Provincial Revolutionary Committee on February 12, 1968.

The Party Central Committee has consented to the formation of Kwangtung Provincial Revolutionary Committee comprising 108 members, including the following 33 comrades:

Huang Yung-sheng	(黃永勝)	Kung Shih-chuan	(孔石泉)
Chen Yu	(陳　郁)	Wang Shou-tao	(王首道)
Chiu Kuo-kuang	(邱國光)	Yen Chung-chuan	(閻仲川)
Huang Jung-hai	(黃榮海)	Chen Te	(陳　德)
Lin Li-ming	(林李明)	Lo Tien	(羅　天)
Chao Cho-yun	(趙卓雲)	Kou Ching-yen	(寇慶延)
Yuan Te-liang	(袁德良)	Sun Cheng-chien	(孫正乾)
Pai Ping	(白　平)	Tang Hsiang-min	(黨向民)
Shu Kuang-tsai	(舒光才)	Fan Hsi-hsien	(范希賢)
Wang Shih-lin	(王世林)	Liu Chi-fa	(劉繼發)
Chiu Hsueh-ko	(丘學科)	Mo Chao-hai	(莫超海)
Liang Chin-tang	(梁錦堂)	Liu Chun-i	(劉均益)

Source: *Yang-chun Feng-lei (Storm Over Yangchun Hsien)*, Yangchun, No. 24, February 23, 1968; English version in *SCMP*, No. 4150.

Chen Ting-chang	(陳定章)	Tien Hua-kuei	(田華貴)
Chung Jung-huan	(鍾榮歡)	Huang Yu-ying (f)	(黃育英)
Liang Hsiu-chen (f)	(梁秀珍)	Kao Hsiang	(高　翔)
Wu Chuan-pin	(武傳斌)	Lin Chang-wen	(林昌文)
I Tso-tsai	(易作才)		

and six other representatives to be elected, as members of the Standing Committee, and with Comrade Huang Yung-sheng as Chairman, Comrade Kung Shih-chuan as First Vice Chairman, and seven comrades including Chen Yu, Wang Shou-tao, Chiu Kuo-kuang, Yen Chung-chuan, Huang Jung-hai, Liu Chi-fa and Huang Yu-ying (female) and one or two alternates as Vice Chairmen.

The establishment of the Kwangtung Provincial Revolutionary Committee is a great victory of Mao Tse-tung's thought and a great victory of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. The Party Central Committee extends warm congratulations to the 40 million revolutionary people all over Kwangtung Province.

Our great leader Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Vice Chairman Lin Piao have shown kind concern for and given prompt guidance to the great proletarian cultural revolution in Kwangtung Province. In the past year and more, holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, closely following Chairman Mao's great strategic plan and implementing Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, the broad revolutionary masses in Kwangtung Province have dragged out the handful of Party persons who are in authority in Kwangtung and who took the capitalist road headed by Tao Chu and Chao Tzu-yang, have criticized and repudiated the conspiracies and activities of the provincialist clique to reverse the verdict on them, and have made tremendous achievements.

The Canton Military Region Command, the Kwangtung Provincial Military District Command and the Kwangtung armed forces units of the Chinese People's Liberation Army warmly respond to Chairman Mao's call that "the People's Liberation Army should support the broad masses of the Left," and have shouldered the glorious "three-supporting" and "two-military" work and made important contributions toward the great proletarian cultural revolution in Kwangtung.

Since its establishment, the Preparatory Group of Kwangtung Provincial Revolutionary Committee has tightly grasped the series of Chairman Mao's latest directives, vigorously implemented the Party Central Committee's "Decision on the Kwangtung Question" and

actively created conditions for the establishment of the Kwangtung Provincial Revolutionary Committee, thus fulfilling its historical task.

Kwangtung is the southern gateway to the motherland. It is of vital significance to carry out the great proletarian cultural revolution well in this area. The Party Central Committee hopes that Kwangtung Provincial Revolutionary Committe, after its establishment, will hold still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, firmly depend on and trust the People's Liberation Army, the broad revolutionary masses and the revolutionary cadres and, taking the "fight against self-interest and repudiation of revisionism" as the key point, continue to overcome bourgeois and petty-bourgeois factionalism, strengthen the proletarian Party spirit, actively "grasp the revolution and promote production and other work and preparations against war," sharpen revolutionary vigilance, do all work well, implement Chairman Mao's latest directives in an all-round manner and strive for an all-round victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution in Kwangtung Province.

ORDER OF THE CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE, THE STATE COUNCIL, THE CENTRAL MILITARY COMMISSION AND THE CENTRAL CULTURAL REVOLUTION GROUP ON THE DISMISSAL OF YANG CHENG-WU, YU LI-CHIN AND FU CHUNG-PI*

March 22, 1968

In accordance with a decision taken by Chairman Mao and Vice Chairman Lin:

(1) Since Yang Cheng-wu has committed an extremely serious mistake, it is decided to dismiss him from the post of Acting Chief of General Staff and from the posts of standing committee member of the Central Military Commission, secretary general of the Military Commission and 1st secretary of the Party Committee of the General Staff.

(2) Yu Li-chin has committed extremely serious mistake and is moreover a renegade. It is decided to dismiss him from the posts of Political Commissar of the Air Force and 2nd secretary of the Party Committee of the Air Force.

(3) Fu Chung-pi has committed a serious mistake. It is decided to dismiss him from the post of Commander of Peking Garrison District.

This order shall be issued down to the regimental level and transmitted to all commanders and fighters.

The CCP Central Committee, the State Council,
the Central Military Commission and
the Central Cultural Revolution Group
March 22, 1968

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*This order was read by Premier Chou En-lai at the 100,000-man rally in Peking on March 27, 1968. It is contained in *Chu-ying Tungfanghung (Pearl River Film Studio Tungfanghung)*, Canton, No. 20 — Special Edition, April 1968; and the English version is from *SCMP*, No. 4172.

ORDER OF THE CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE, THE STATE COUNCIL, THE CENTRAL MILITARY COMMISSION AND THE CENTRAL CULTURAL REVOLUTION GROUP ON THE APPOINTMENT OF HUANG YUNG-SHENG AND WEN YU-CHENG*

March 22, 1968

In accordance with a decision taken by Chairman Mao and Vice Chairman Lin:

(1) Comrade Huang Yung-sheng is hereby appointed Chief of General Staff of the PLA.

(2) Comrade Wen Yu-cheng (温玉成) is hereby appointed concurrently Commander of Peking Garrison District.

This order shall be issued down to the regimental level and transmitted to all commanders and fighters.

The CCP Central Committee, the State Council,
the Central Military Commission and
the Central Cultural Revolution Group
March 22, 1968

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*This second order was read by Premier Chou En-lai at the 100,000-man rally in Peking on March 27, 1968. It is contained in *Chu-ying Tung-fanghung (Pearl River Film Studio Tungfanghung)*, Canton, No. 20 — Special Edition, April 1968; and the English version is from *SCMP*, No. 4172.

TEN CATEGORIES OF PEOPLE WITHIN THE BOUNDS OF THE RELEVANT POLICY AS DEFINED BY THE PEKING MUNICIPAL REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE AND APPROVED BY THE CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE FOR CIRCULATION*

April 29, 1968

(1) Landlord, rich-peasant, counterrevolutionary, bad and rightist elements who firmly cling to the reactionary stand (including those who have got rid of their labels but have failed to give a good account of themselves).

(2) Landlord, rich-peasant, counterrevolutionary, bad and rightist elements for whom there is conclusive evidence to show they have not been so classified.

(3) Army officers (of a rank higher than company commander), government officials (of a rank higher than *pao* chief), police officers (of a rank higher than sergeant), gendarmes and secret agents of the enemy and puppet regime who have failed to give a good account of themselves.

(4) Intermediate and minor leaders of reactionary religious sects and professional religious personnel who have failed to give a good account of themselves.

(5) Hard-core elements of the reactionary Kuomintang and San-min Chu-i Youth Corps who have failed to give a good account of themselves.

(6) Capitalists and property owners who firmly cling to the reactionary stand.

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*This document is contained in a pamphlet jointly compiled in July, 1968 by the "Secondary Education Red Headquarters" and the "Primary Education Red Headquarters", Canton; and the English version is from *CB*, No. 864.

(7) Elements who have failed to give a good account of themselves after their release from prison, education through labor or surveillance.

(8) Corrupt elements, embezzlers, speculators and profiteers.

(9) Family dependents of counterrevolutionary killed, imprisoned, under surveillance or still at large who firmly cling to the reactionary stand.

(10) Ruffians and thieves who have committed crimes and have failed to make good despite repeated education.

(When making copies for internal circulation, the official text should be consulted.)

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THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE'S TWO-POINT DIRECTIVE CONCERNING THE MOVEMENT OF KWEILIN MUNICIPALITY

May 22, 1968

1. At present, the peasants are moving into the city. This is a very serious problem. It is a criminal act to sow discord in the worker-peasant alliance, shake the proletarian dictatorship and undermine the great cultural revolution. The Military Sub-District and the armed forces are hereby ordered to take steps at once to cope with this, and the peasants who have moved into the city must return to the countryside at once.

2. The Lao To of Kweilin is an old rebel faction with many members. In the past, it all along dominated things in Kweilin. From now on, the Lao To must be consulted more often when matters are dealt with.

Source: *Huo-chu Tung-hsun (Torch Bulletin)*, Canton, No. 1, July 1968; English version in *SCMP*, No. 622.

NOTICE OF TRANSMITTAL OF CHAIRMAN MAO'S COMMENT AND INSTRUCTION ON "EXPERIENCE OF MILITARY CONTROL COMMITTEE OF HSIN HUA PRINTING WORKS OF PEKING IN ROUSING THE MASSES TO CARRY OUT STRUGGLE AGAINST THE ENEMY"

May 25, 1968

Revolutionary Committees (or their preparatory groups) of all provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, all military control committees, all military regions and provincial military districts:

In accordance with Chairman Mao's comment and instruction of May 19, the Center decides to circulate this document throughout the whole country, to be used as reference in action.

Chairman Mao has specially pointed out in his comment and instruction: "Of all the materials of the same kind that I have seen, this is the best written."

It is hoped that you will, in accordance with Chairman Mao's directive, study the experience of Hsin Hua Printing Works in launching struggle against the enemy, and also take care to sum up the experience of your own areas. In the work of cleaning up the class ranks of teachers, employees and workers in factories, mining enterprises, public organs and cultural-educational units, it is necessary to carry out intensive and careful investigation and study. It is necessary to resolutely implement Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, distinguish between the two kinds of contradiction of different character, earnestly study and understand perfectly Chairman Mao's series of guidelines and policies which he had laid

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Source: "Special Collection of Materials" in *Kuang-chou Hung-tai-hui (Canton Red Guard Congress),* Canton, No. 9, June 22, 1968; English version in *SCMP,* No. 4221.

down over the years for the struggle against the enemy, and, relying on the proletarian revolutionaries, the broad revolutionary masses and revolutionary cadres, unite with all those who can be united with and hit at the small handful of class enemies steadily, accurately and relentlessly, so as to fully develop the great power of mass dictatorship and successfully carry out the work of cleaning up the class ranks step by step and under leadership.

The CCP Central Committee,
The Central Cultural Revolution Group
May 25, 1968

INSTRUCTIONS OF THE CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE, THE STATE COUNCIL, THE CENTRAL MILITARY COMMISSION AND THE CENTRAL CULTURAL REVOLUTION GROUP CONCERNING THE FORMATION OF SZECHWAN PROVINCIAL REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE

Chung-fa No. 68/75

May 28, 1968

The Center endorses the report of the Preparatory Group for Szechwan Provincial Revolutionary Committee concerning the formation of Szechwan Provincial Revolutionary Committee.

The inauguration of Szechwan Provincial Revolutionary Committee is a great event for our great proletarian cultural revolution.

Szechwan is in the rear of our socialist mother country, as it is situated in an extremely vital strategic position. Since the liberation, the class struggle has been particularly acute there. The small handful of top Party capitalist-roaders in authority — Liu Shao-chi, Teng Hsiao-ping, Tao Chu, Peng Te-huai, Ho Lung, Peng Chen, Li Ching-chuan, Lo Jui-ching, Lu Ting-i, Po I-po, Yang Shang-kun, An Tzu-wen, etc. — and their agents in Szechwan such as Liao Chih-kao (廖志高), Jen Pai-ko (任白戈) and Huang Hsin-ting (黃新亭) have tried by all possible means to oppose Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line by recruiting traitors and renegades and pushing the counterrevolutionary revisionist line in a vain attempt to turn Szechwan into an independent kingdom for restoration of capitalism. The vigorous, great proletarian cultural revolution has shattered their counterrevolutionary dream and exposed tho-

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Source: *Hung-chi Tung-hsun (Red Flag Bulletin)*, Canton, No. 4, undated; English version in *SCMP*, No. 4220.

roughly their counterrevolutionary features. This is a great victory for Mao Tse-tung's thought, a great victory for Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and a great victory for the great proletarian cultural revolution.

The victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution in Szechwan has not come about easily. It is a result of repeated struggles waged against the small handful of capitalist-roaders in authority by the province's proletarian revolutionaries and broad revolutionary masses under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. It represents a tremendous achievement in the "three-support" and "two-military" work of the PLA units stationed in Szechwan. We hereby warmly congratulate the 70 million civilians and armymen in Szechwan.

The Center agrees that Comrade Chang Kuo-hua (張國華) should head the Szechwan Provincial Revolutionary Committee, with the following persons serving as vice chairmen: Li Ta-chang (李大章), Liang Hsing-chu (梁興初), Liu Chieh-ting (劉結挺), Tien Pao (天寶), Chang Hsi-ting (張西挺, female), Hsu Shih (徐弛); Teng Hsing-kuo (鄧興國), Chiang Hai-yin (姜海銀, female), Wang Heng-lin (王恒霖), Peng Chia-chih (彭家治), Chang Ssu-chou (張洒洲), Feng Yu-te (馮玉德), Tsai Wen-pin (蔡文彬), Yang Chih-cheng (楊志誠), and Tan Kun-jung (female 但坤蓉).

The Center endorses the namelists of the Standing Committee and ordinary members as submitted by the Preparatory Group for Szechwan Provincial Revolutionary Committee.

The Center hopes that after the inauguration of the Szechwan Provincial Revolutionary Committee, effort will be made to hold still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought; to adhere firmly to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line; to mobilize the broad masses to raise their class consciousness and their awareness of the struggle between the two lines; to develop revolutionary mass criticism intensively and perseveringly; to make a serious and successful readjustment of the class ranks; and to unfold the struggle against the enemy. In accordance with Chairman Mao's latest directives, it will be necessary to deal hard and accurate blows at the small handful of renegades, special agents, unrepentant capitalist-roaders and other counterrevolutionaries who act either openly or covertly — in a bid to further consolidate the proletarian dictatorship and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

The Center hopes: After the inauguration of Szechwan Provincial Revolutionary Committee, the proletarian revolutionaries and

the broad revolutionary masses will continue to consolidate and develop the revolutionary great alliances and revolutionary three-in-one combinations, that they will continue, in response to Chairman Mao's great appeal, to lead some inter-trade organizations onto the orbit of revolutionary great alliances formed according to separate systems, separate trades, and separate school classes and become more united on the basis of Mao Tse-tung's thought. Where no revolutionary committees have been set up, effort must be continued toward their formation.

It is necessary to develop further the movement for "supporting the army and cherishing the people," expose those bad people who sow dissension between the army and the people, and strengthen vigorously unity between them and unity within the army itself.

It is necessary to firmly carry out Chairman Mao's policy of "grasping revolution, stimulating production." This is an important aspect to the all-round victory to be won in the great proletarian cultural revolution. The working class, the commanders and fighters of the PLA and the broad masses of the people of Szechwan must take as their glorious duty the fulfillment of the various major tasks entrusted to them by the State in industrial and agricultural production and in national defense construction. They must wage an uncompromising struggle against sabotage of production by the class enemy.

In compliance with Chairman Mao's instructions, the revolutionary committee must enforce unified leadership, eliminate overlapping of administrative organs, simplify the administrative structure, and organize a revolutionized leadership group in constant touch with the masses. The members and working personnel of the revolutionary committee must put in first place the creative study and application of Mao Tse-tung's thought and seriously study and implement Chairman Mao's instructions. It must maintain close ties with the masses and constantly listen to the opionions of the masses. It must take the revolution as a whole into account. In the course of struggle, the revolutionary committee is to be built into a strong fighting command post of the proletariat.

IMPORTANT INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN BY THE MILITARY AFFAIRS COMMISSION AND THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION GROUP UNDER THE PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE ON THE WUHAN QUESTION

May 28, 1968

The Military Affairs Commission and the Cultural Revolution Group under the Party Central Committee have given important instructions on the Wuhan question. Full text reads as follows:

Hupeh Provincial Revolutionary Committee and for transmittal to *San-kang* (三鋼), *San-hsin* (三新) and other revolutionary organizations in Wuhan:

The Party Central Committee asks them to immediately stop seizing guns and to firmly suppress this action violating its order. It also asks them to have their representatives ready for negotiations in Peking.

The Central Military Affairs Commission,
The Central Cultural Revolution Group
May 28, 1968

Source: "Across the Motherland" in *Hung-szu Tung-hsun (Red Headquarters Bulletin),* Canton, No. 2, June 22, 1968; English version in *SCMP,* No. 4224.

INSTRUCTIONS OF THE CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE, THE STATE COUNCIL, THE CENTRAL MILITARY AFFAIRS COMMISSION AND THE CENTRAL CULTURAL REVOLUTION GROUP ON ESTABLISHMENT OF ANHWEI PROVINCIAL REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE

Chung-fa No. 68/61

— Chairman Mao's Comment: Act accordingly —

The Party Central Committee agrees to the report dated April 10 by the Anhwei Provincial Military Control Committee on the establishment of Anhwei Provincial Revolutionary Committee.

The Party Central Committee agrees to the names, listed in the report, of members of this revolutionary committee and of the standing committee of this revolutionary committee. It also agrees to the selection of Comrade Li Te-sheng (李德生) as Chairman, and Comrades Liao Cheng-mei (廖成美), Sung Pei-chang (宋佩璋), Li Jen-chih (李任之), Yang Hsiao-chun (楊効椿), Hsu Wen-cheng (徐文成), Chang Hsiu-ying (張秀英, female) and Chang Chia-yun (張家雲, female) as Vice Chairmen, and the reservation of two vacancies of vice chairman to be filled in the future.

As soon as the unprecedented movement for a great proletarian cultural revolution initiated and led by our great leader Chairman Mao himself started, the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants, the revolutionary Red Guard young fighters and the masses of revolutionary people took an active part in the movement and waged an acute struggle against the agents of Liu and Teng in Anhwei like Li Pao-hua (李葆華) and Huang Yen (黃岩). Chair-

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Source: *Tzu-liao Chuan-chi (Special Collection of Information)*, Canton, No. 3, May 1968; English version in *SCMP*, No. 4195.

man Mao showed very close concern for the great proletarian cultural revolution in Anhwei province. On January 21, 1967, Chairman Mao gave to the armed forces in Anhwei the wise instruction that "the People's Liberation Army should support the broad masses of the Left." From late March to early April, Chairman Mao and Vice Chairman Lin approved the Party Central Committee's 9-Point Decision and 5-Point Instructions on the question of Anhwei. Around September, Comrade Kang Sheng received many times and talked to a delegation from Anhwei province which had come to Peking to make reports. On September 5, Comrade Chiang Ching made a very important speech to this delegation.

The series of important instructions given by great leader Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Vice Chairman Lin, the Party Central Committee and the Central Cultural Revolution Group on the question of Anhwei have not only led the great proletarian cultural revolution in Anhwei to one victory after another, but also directed the countrywide revolutionary struggle. The establishment of Anhwei Provincial Revolutionary Committee is a brilliant achievement made by the proletarian revolutionaries and the masses of revolutionary people all over Anhwei by perseveringly carrying out the revolutionary line of the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao with the assistance of Vice Chairman Lin. It is a great victory of the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung.

The class struggle in Anhwei province has been very acute and complex. During the great proletarian cultural revolution, renegades, secret enemy agents, capitalist-roaders and all monsters and demons hiding themselves in Anhwei were never reconciled to their fate of destruction, but wildly made their death-bed struggle and carried out sabotage. This gang of class enemies brutally suppressed the proletarian revolutionary rebels, or spread rumor, shot out poisonous arrows and carried out sabotage, or sneaked into and manipulated the mass organizations and provoked one group of the masses to fight another group, etc. They fully exposed their fierce, sinister, cunning, abominable features as counterrevolutionary.

Holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and closely following Chairman Mao's great strategic plan, the proletarian revolutionaries and the masses of revolutionary people in Anhwei matched strength repeatedly with and fought bravely against these class enemies. They profoundly disclosed, criticized and repudiated the counterrevolutionary crimes committed by Liu Shao-chi, Teng Hsiao-ping, Tao Chu, Peng Te-huai, Ho Lung, Peng

Chen, Lo Jui-ching, Lu Ting-i, Yang Shang-kun and their agents in Anhwei like Li Pao-hua and Huang Yen. They dragged out a group of renegades, secret enemy agents, and black hands which provoked one group of the masses to fight another group, and saw through all their conspiracies and schemes, and smashed the wild counter-attacks waged by the class enemies. Thus, they won a brilliant victory, rendered great meritorious service and received very good tempering.

Units of the Chinese People's Liberation Army in Anhwei firmly carry out all instructions given by Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Vice Chairman Lin, and by the Party Central Committee and the Central Cultural Revolution Group. When carrying out "three-supporting" and "two-military" work, they tightly grasp the class struggle, bring proletarian politics to the fore, support the Left and not any particular faction, keep in close contact with the masses, go deep into the grassroots level and have done a great deal of work and made enormous achievements, thus promoting the establishment of the Anhwei Provincial Revolutionary Committee.

The Party Central Committee hopes:

That the Anhwei Provincial Revolutionary Committee will hold still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, tightly grasp the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines, firmly implement the revolutionary line of the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao with the assistance of Vice Chairman Lin, thoroughly criticize and repudiate the counterrevolutionary revisionist line enforced by Liu, Teng and their agents in Anhwei, combat rightist conservatism, rightist splittism, and rightist capitulationism, combat the reactionary ideas which are "Left" in form but Right in essence, increase its awareness of enemy activities, heighten its revolutionary vigilance a hundred fold, and drag out all renegades, secret enemy agents and counterrevolutionaries and criticize, topple and discredit them.

That the Anhwei Provincial Revolutionary Committee will continue to vigorously organize Mao Tse-tung's thought study classes and, taking "first self-interest and repudiate revisionism" as the key, combat bourgeois and petty-bourgeois factionalism, strengthen the proletarian Party spirit, consolidate and develop the revolutionary great alliance and revolutionary three-in-one combination, carry out struggle-criticism-transformation in various units and promote the revolutionization of man's thinking.

That the Anhwei Provincial Revolutionary Committee will further carry out Chairman Mao's directive "support the army and

cherish the people," and vigorously strengthen the unity between the army and the people.

That, Anhwei being an important province for industrial and agricultural production in respect of coal, steel and grain in China and being land and water-borne transport center in Southeast China, the Anhwei Provincial Revolutionary Committee must further implement Chairman Mao's directive "grasp revolution, promote production and every other work and promote preparedness against war," bring proletarian politics to the fore, combat economism, practice economy while making revolution, prevent industrial and agricultural production from being sabotaged by the class enemies, and secure a bumper harvest of both revolution and production.

That the Anhwei Provincial Revolutionary Committee must firmly carry out Chairman Mao's great directive "the revolutionary committee should exercise unified leadership, eliminate duplication in the administrative structure, follow the policy of 'better troops and simpler administration' and organize a revolutionized leading group which links itself with the masses," consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, fortify its building, grasp and exercise power well, and build Anhwei province into a big bright-red school of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

TITLE OF HONOR CONFERRED POSTHUMOUSLY ON OUTSTANDING PLA ARMYMAN (EXCERPTS)

Our most respected and beloved great supreme commander Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Vice Chairman Lin Piao have approved an order which, issued jointly by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, its Military Commission and the Cultural Revolution Group under it, posthumously conferred on Comrade Men Ho the title of honour of "good cadre boundlessly loyal to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line" and called on commanders and fighters of the entire army to learn from Comrade Men Ho.

The order said that, resolutely responding to Chairman Mao's great call to "grasp revolution and promote production", Comrade Men Ho, deputy political instructor of the second battalion, fourth regiment, of a unit of the Chinghai provincial military area command, in carrying out the task of supporting the Left on the Pa Chang state farm, joined the revolutionary masses on September 5, 1967, in installing local-made rockets for dispersing clouds and preventing sleet in order to protect the crops. The charge exploded accidentally while they were installing the rockets. To protect the lives of 27 class brothers, Comrade Men Ho dived and covered the exploding charge with his body and gave up his life.

The order said that Comrade Men Ho was from a poor peasant family. From the time he joined the revolution 20 years ago, he had always been loyal to Chairman Mao, Mao Tse-tung's thought and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. He studied Chairman Mao's works eagerly and persisted in studying and applying them in a living way and combined study with application. In the struggle between the two classes, the two lines and the two roads, he always stood on the side of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, resolutely countered the wild attacks of the rightists, courageously exposed the extension

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Source: NCNA — English, Peking, May 27, 1968.

of plots for private use and of free markets, the increase of small enterprises with sole responsibility for their own profits or losses, and the fixing of output quotas based on the household which China's Khrushchev advocated in his conspiracy to restore capitalism, and strongly resisted the bourgeois military line pushed by Peng Te-huai and Lo Jui-ching. During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, he closely followed Chairman Mao's great strategic plan and made outstanding contributions in resolutely supporting the revolutionary Left. He always linked himself with the masses, cherished the people and, on several occasions, braved dangers and risked his own safety to save others, and fully displayed the lofty communist spirit. By his dedicated life, Comrade Men Ho carried out his own pledge to think always of Chairman Mao, obey him under all circumstances, follow him at all times and do everything for his sake.

The order said that to commend Comrade Men Ho's lofty quality of boundless loyalty to the people, to the party, to Mao Tse-tung's thought and to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, it was decided to confer posthumously on Comrade Men Ho the title of honour of "good cadre boundlessly loyal to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line", and to call on all the commanders and fighters of the army to learn from him: — his lofty quality of boundless loyalty to the people, to the party, to Mao Tse-tung's thought and to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, his revolutionary spirit of implementing resolutely and safeguarding with his life Chairman Mao's revolutionary line; his fine style of earnestly studying Chairman Mao's works and persevering in the living study and application of them and in combining study with application; his communist style of "utter devotion to others without any thought of self"; close ties with the masses and his unswerving quality of the working people of hard work and plain living. The order called on all the comrades in the army to hold still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, study and apply Mao Tse-tung's thought in a creative way, closely follow Chairman Mao's great strategic plan, carry out Chairman Mao's latest instructions in an all-round way and make new contributions for the people in the great fight for all-round victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

DIRECTIVES OF THE CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE, THE STATE COUNCIL, THE CENTRAL MILITARY COMMISSION AND THE CENTRAL CULTURAL REVOLUTION GROUP TO MOVE 'CENTRAL SUPPORT-LEFT MILITARY UNITS' INTO MILITARY REGIONS AND PROVINCIAL MILITARY DISTRICTS

June 10, 1968

Provincial, Municipal and Autonomous Region Revolutionary Committees (Preparatory Committees), Military Control Committees, Military Regions, and Provincial Military Districts:

The great proletarian cultural revolution personally launched and led by our great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman Chairman Mao has won decisive victories. The situation in our revolution is not just good but excellent.

Closely following Chairman Mao's great strategic plan in the great proletarian cultural revolution, the great People's Liberation Army of China has bravely defended the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, thoroughly crushed the frantic attack of the bourgeois reactionary line represented by Khrushchev, gloriously taken up the difficult "three-support" and "military control and military training" tasks, and established the greatest merit for the Chinese people and world people.

The greater part of provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions have formed revolutionary great alliances and set up revolutionary committees with proletarian authority. This is a telling blow to the imperialism, the modern revisionism and the reactionaries of various countries who vainly attempt to subvert the proletarian state

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Source: *Chinese Communism,* Vol. II, No. 8, August 31, 1968.

power of our country and to the handful of power-holders represented by China's Khrushchev taking the capitalist road within the Party. However, the enemy will not take their defeat lying down. Chairman Mao teaches us: "They are a group of anti-communist, anti-popular counterrevolutionaries, and their struggle against us is a life-and-death struggle." "They will wage their last-ditch struggle."

That no revolutionary committee has so far been set up in Fukien, Yunnan, and Kwangsi provinces and Tibet and Sinkiang autonomous regions is a reflection of the acuteness of class struggle within the Party. A handful of inveterate capitalist-roaders from the Party together with the landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad characters and rightists as well as the freaks and monsters in society have set up numerous obstacles to the great alliances of proletarian revolutionaries from the Center to localities in a vain attempt to undermine establishment of the revolutionary committees; they disturb our front from the right or extreme "left" or simultaneously from both sides, create splits within the revolutionary ranks, undermine unity and stir up the wind of rightist reversal of verdicts in a vain attempt to bring pressure to bear on Chairman Mao and on the Party Center.

Contrary to enemy's wishes, the more they hinder and undermine the establishment of the revolutionary committees the faster they go into extinction.

The PLA support-left units armed with invincible Mao Tse-tung thought, closely allying themselves with the revolutionary masses, have formed an irresistible mighty current which no reactionary force can stop.

To meet the needs arising from the present revolutionary situation and to consolidate the revolutionary committees already set up and promote establishment of the revolutionary committees in districts where great alliances have not been formed, the PLA support-left military units (called central support-left military units) are hereby empowered, on the basis of the spirit of Chairman Mao's latest instruction, by the Military Commission of the Central Committee to move into various military regions and provincial military districts to carry out the support-left tasks.

The functions, power and tasks of the "central support-left military units" are as follows:

I. THE QUESTION OF ASSISTING THE LOCAL MILITARY UNITS IN CARRYING OUT THE SUPPORT-LEFT TASKS.

(1) The "central support-left military units" are support-left military units under the immediate leadership and command of the Military Commission of the Central Committee and are the omni-competent representatives of the Military Commission in support-left work.

(2) The local military units should, with the assistance of the "central support-left military units," loyally carry out Chairman Mao's order — "The PLA should support the leftist masses" — and thoroughly take up the glorious tasks of "three-support" and "military control and military training," taking Mao Tse-tung thought as their weapon.

(3) The "central support-left military units" must move quickly into the districts where no support-left military units have moved in; particularly in the provinces and autonomous regions where no revolutionary committee has been set up or in districts where revolutionary committees have been set up but the revolutionary order is disturbed, the "central support-left military units" should strengthen the garrison so that together with the local military units they may assist the revolutionary masses in striking resolute blows at every reactionary current of attempting to undermine the revolutionary great alliance and split the revolutionary committee.

(4) The "central support-left military units" have the power to supervise local military units' support-left work and to rectify local military units' erroneous tendency in their support-left work. "Mountain stronghold mentality" and "splittism" — each district is for its own — should be resolutely prohibited.

(5) Those responsible persons of local military units of various services and arms of the PLA, who have committed principled errors in their support-left work and reject the "central support-left military units'" correction and help, may be taken into custody and dealt with. In the case of those who lead the troops in putting up resistance, the military units concerned may be disarmed and the case referred to the higher body for action.

II. DEAL WITH THE URGENT QUESTIONS OF REVOLUTIONARY MASS ORGANIZATIONS.

(1) The "central support-left military units" must take back on their own responsibility all the arms and ammunitions distributed

or seized by others during the movement. Both the bad leaders who refuse to surrender the arms and their inveterate followers may be put under arrest and dealt with by law, and they should be compelled to surrender the arms. Military action will be taken against all those who put up armed resistance.

(2) Those ringleaders who continue to stir up fights, engineer sanguinary incidents and interfere with the main orientation of the great proletarian cultural revolution must be severely punished.

(3) The "central support-left military units" have the right to strike back in self-defense and take the necessary action against the handful of inveterate leaders who continue to create chaos and instigate the masses to surround and attack the PLA.

(4) Where revolutionary great alliance has not been formed because of factional strife, the "central support-left military units" should assist both sides in holding talks and consultations on the spot at once. If their talks cannot lead to agreement, they may send their representatives to the provincial level for holding discussions. If the talks at the provincial level cannot solve their problems, they may send their representatives to the Center for holding discussion. Neither side may refuse talks on any excuse. Resolutely strike down bourgeois and petty-bourgeois factionalism and manifest the proletarian party spirit.

(5) The "central support-left military units" should vigorously conduct propaganda and education, making it clear to the revolutionary mass organizations that those directors on the scenes and behind the scenes in any district, who continue to stir up fights or incite people to boycott discussion of great alliances in an attempt to undermine establishment of the revolutionary committee or promote splittism, must honestly ask people's pardon and Chairman Mao's pardon. Those who remain stubborn to the end will be put under arrest and the hoodwinked who strike back will be credited with merits.

III. THE QUESTIONS OF "REHABILITATION" AND "GRASP REVOLUTION AND PROMOTE PRODUCTION."

(1) The "central support-left military units" should energetically support the revolutionary masses in continuously repudiating in deep-going and thoroughgoing ways and discrediting the handful of Party capitalist-roaders headed by China's Khrushchev, and resolutely combat the wind of rightist reversal of verdicts. However, in respect

of those revolutionary masses who have been branded "freaks and monsters" because of some mistakes made, the cases should be re-examined resolutely according to the "eight-point directive on the question of rehabilitation" promulgated by the Central Cultural Revolution Group on May 13, 1967.

(2) After formation of revolutionary great alliances, those revolutionary mass organizations which committed errors in viewpoint or orientation, may not be stigmatized with any label or discriminated against.

(3) After moving into the military regions and districts, the "central support-left military units" should proclaim emergency restore-production orders in the regions and districts, regulate the revolutionary order and carry out further the "grasp revolution and promote production" policy. Violators of the order will either be suspended from wage payment or regarded as ones voluntarily leaving their posts.

IV. THE QUESTION OF STRENGTHENING DICTATORSHIP OVER THE CLASS ENEMY.

(1) Strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, strike fierce blows at the sabotage activities of all class enemies, and maintain the new order of proletarian revolution.

(2) Strike firm blows at the activities of American and Chiang secret agents, Soviet revisionist secret agents and Japanese secret agents who worm their way into the revolutionary organizations to carry out subversive activities. Those active counterrevolutionaries who steal state intelligence, disclose state secrets and collude with foreign countries must be resolutely suppressed.

(3) Strengthen supervision and control over the landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad characters and rightists who are allowed only to behave themselves and not to be unruly in word or deed. To insure smooth progress of great alliance and consolidate the red state power of the proletariat, the elements of the four types should be placed under centralized control and reformed through labor according to the circumstances in the districts concerned.

(4) Resolutely deprive the four-type elements of all political rights to reverse verdicts and "rebel." Resolutely suppress and show no mercy to those who carry out class reprisal or undermine the great proletarian cultural revolution in various forms.

The CCP Central Committee,
The State Council,
The Central Military Commission,
The Central Cultural Revolution Group
June 10, 1968

Points to be noted:

(1) With the exception of the provincial military districts which may make copies of this document under unified plans for distribution to the administrative district revolutionary committees, military control committees and leading organs of local military units as rules to be observed internally, reprinting of this document is not allowed.

(2) The document may not be lost or circulated to other organ units and revolutionary mass organizations than the above organizations.

(Reproduced by political department of Yunnan Provincial Military District on June 16, 1968.)

NEW DIRECTIVE OF THE CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE ON THE KWANGSI PROBLEM

Telegram *Chi-fa* No. 68/44
(Specially Urgent)

June 30, 1968

To the Preparatory Group for the Revolutionary Committee of Kwangsi, and the Military Control Committee of the Liuchow Railways under the Canton Military Region — for transmission to the Rebel Grand Army, and "Lien Chih":

The heroic people of Vietnam are now waging a valiant struggle with US imperialism, that most vicious enemy of the world's revolutionary people. Our great leader Chairman Mao has instructed, "The 700 million Chinese people are the staunch supporters of the Vietnamese people, and the vast territories of China are the reliable rear of these people." Resolutely backing the Vietnamese people in their resist-US and save-the-nation war is our duty-bound internationalist responsibility. Kwangsi Province is located on the foremost front of China for supporting the Vietnamese in their resist-US struggle. The revolutionary employees and workers as well as the broad masses of revolutionaries are directly shouldering the significant, glorious responsibility of supporting the Vietnamese people in their struggle against the US.

Recently, in their armed struggles, certain mass organizations in the Liuchow district of Kwangsi, acting against the general order of the Central authorities, looted our country's support-Vietnam supplies and arms and equipment of the People's Liberation Army. They also carried out armed attack against trains and damaged railways, completely disrupting railway traffic in the Liuchow district. This

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Source: *Liuchow Kung-tsung (Liuchow Workers' Headquarters)*, Kwangsi, No. 7, July 12, 1968; English version in *SCMP*, No. 4226.

has badly affected the sending of support-Vietnam supplies and the transport of exports for foreign trade. Besides, it has directly affected part of the living of the people of Kwangsi, Kweichow and Yunnan provinces. Such acts are completely wrong and must be corrected immediately.

The Central authorities hope that you will hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, closely follow Chairman Mao's great strategic arrangements, and resolutely carry out the following:

1. The two opposing factions of railway mass organizations must immediately stop violent struggle. Personnel from outside units must immediately leave the various units of the railway system and are not permitted to take part in the great proletarian cultural revolution of the railway system.

2. All railway workers and employees and all personnel of various mass organizations should immediately return to their own work posts. They must not discriminate against one another, must not interfere with work, and must not give inferior treatment in livelihood to any side. They must, under the leadership of the railways military control committee, resolutely carry out Chairman Mao's great guideline "take hold of revolution, promote production," lose no time in restoring communications and transport, insure that railway traffic is not disrupted, and better fulfill the tasks of sending our support-Vietnam supplies and exports to foreign countries, so as to score a new victory in supporting the Vietnamese people's struggle against the US to save their nation and the world's anti-imperialist struggle.

3. All support-Vietnam supplies and the PLA's arms and equipment looted must be returned.

4. The various mass organizations and their responsible leaders, after they have truly implemented the above and corrected their errors, will no longer be held responsible for what they have done. The disputes between the two factions can be settled by sending their respective principal representatives to Peking to seek solution through consultations.

5. The Central authorities hereby instruct the preparatory group for the Revolutionary Committee of Kwangsi and the Liuchow Railways Military Control Committee to call the representatives of all mass organizations of the Liuchow district to discuss and devise concrete measures for the implementation of the present directive. The Central authorities believe that the workers and employees of Liuchow railways and the broad masses of revolutionaries will take

immediate action and show by tangible results in insuring smooth rail transportation their boundless loyalty to Chairman Mao, to his revolutionary line and to the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

The CCP Central Committee,
The State Council,
The Central Military Commission,
The CCP Central Committee Cultural Revolution Group

June 13, 1968, 23:30 hours

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DOCUMENT OF THE CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE CONCERNING ALLOTMENT OF WORK TO SCHOOL LEAVERS

(To be checked against official document)

Chung-fa 68/94

June 15, 1968

(1) All students of secondary specialized schools (including those with classes for senior middle school graduates), technical schools and part-work (or part-farming) part-study schools who should have graduated in 1967 shall graduate in July 1968, when allotment of work for them should begin.

(2) Allotment of work and other arrangements for graduates of the above-mentioned schools (including students who should have graduated in 1966 but who have not yet left school) should be made in accordance with the provisions laid down in this connection by the departments operating these schools. Wages shall also be paid in accordance with the original provisions (including provisions made by provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions). Students who were to be assigned to units under the system of whole-people ownership according to the original provisions may also be assigned to units of collective ownership. Students who were enrolled in rural villages and who were to return to their communes or production teams in accordance with the original provisions (including those enrolled under the "From the commune and back to the commune" program) shall return to their own communes or production teams to take part in farm labor. They shall be credited with workpoints awarded after assessment of their work. Students enrolled in urban

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Source: *Hung Tien-hsun (Red Telegraphic Dispatch)*, Canton, No. 4, July 1968; English version in *SCMP*, No. 4221.

areas but were to be sent to rural areas for work upon graduation should be properly taken care of by the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions in accordance with measures governing the placement of urban educated youths in rural and mountain areas.

Those who are to receive wages shall be paid by the employing units beginning from the third day of their reporting for duty.

Students who fail to report for work two months after the specified time shall not be allotted work. They shall be deprived of all privileges due to graduates and to students at their own schools.

(3) When necessary, the provinces, municipalities, autonomous regions and Central departments or agencies may make additional provisions for allotment of work to graduates in accordance with their special circumstances.

(4) In allotting work to graduates or making arrangements for their employment, the provinces, municipalities, autonomous regions and Central departments or agencies must hold high the great red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung, stand resolutely on Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, bring proletarian politics to the fore, and carry out political and ideological work carefully. On the other hand, graduates should put politics in command, "fight self and repudiate revisionism," bring public interest to the fore, go to rural areas, factories and places of the greatest hardship in accordance with the needs of the State, grow up amid tempering in the three major revolutionary movements, and earn new merits by winning complete victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

NOTICE BY THE CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND THE CENTRAL CULTURAL REVOLUTION GROUP

Chungfa No. 68/78

The Central Committee has recently received from a number of provinces and municipalities reports, asking for a conference of Mao Tse-tung thought study activists to be held. We consider that the holding of such a conference should take a rather careful preparation, and that those attending the meeting should be the advanced elements of the proletariat who truly hold high the red banner of Mao Tse-tung thought and who are approved by the revolutionary mass organizations, so they can identify themselves both in name and in fact, which will be conducive both to the revolutionary great alliance and to the revolutionary three-in-one combination. As this is the busy farming season, it is not an appropriate time to call a large number of people to the province to attend a meeting. For this reason, the provincial and municipal level at the moment should wait until later to call such a meeting. Under general circumstances, there should be held in the various places workers' representatives meetings, Red Guards representatives meetings, the poor and lower-middle peasants' representatives meetings, at which to transmit Chairman Mao's latest instructions and to integrate and exchange the advanced experience of flexible study and application of Mao Tse-tung thought.

Source: *The East Is Red*, No. 3, July, 1968.

NOTICE OF THE CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE, THE STATE COUNCIL, THE CENTRAL MILITARY AFFAIRS COMMISSION AND THE CENTRAL CULTURAL REVOLUTION GROUP

July 3, 1968

— Chairman Mao's Comment: Take action accordingly —

The great proletarian cultural revolution — personally initiated and led by our great leader Chairman Mao — is developing extensively, victoriously, and rapidly. The situation of the whole country has never been so good. The situation in the Kwangsi Chuang Nationality Autonomous Region, like that in other parts of the country, is equally excellent.

In the recent two months, however, in such areas as Liuchow, Kweilin and Nanning of Kwangsi, the small handful of top Party capitalist-roaders headed by China's Khrushchev and their agents in Kwangsi, the renegades, enemy secret agents, counterrevolutionaries as well as unreformed landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad elements and rightists, hoodwinking and deceiving a part of the masses, have continually created a series of counterrevolutionary incidents:

First, they have disrupted railway traffic. Traffic has not been restored up to the present.

Second, they have been so bold as to seize aid materials going to Vietnam, and refuse to return them.

Third, they have continually stormed the organs and armed forces units of the PLA, seized their arms and equipment, and attacked their commanders and fighters, killing or wounding them.

Source: *Chung-hsueh Hung-wei-ping (Middle School Red Guard)*, Canton, No. 8, late-July, 1968; English version in *SCMP*, No. 4232.

Fourth, after the issuance of the "June 13" emergency telegram by the Center, they refused to observe it but have continued to resist it stubbornly.

It is the Center's view that these are counterrevolutionary crimes perpetrated by a small handful of class enemies in subverting the proletarian dictatorship, undermining the struggle for resisting the US and aiding Vietnam, and destroying the great proletarian cultural revolution.

It is the belief of the Center that the revolutionary mass organizations of the two factions and the broad revolutionary masses in Kwangsi desire to make revolution. They are extremely dissatisfied with, and extremely indignant at, the counterrevolutionary crimes of this small handful of class enemies. Some have just followed others in doing bad things. The overwhelming majority are hoodwinked.

In order to put an immediate end to these counterrevolutionary crimes by this small handful of class enemies, the Center calls on Kwangsi's proletarian revolutionaries and broad revolutionary masses, under the leadership of the Preparatory Group of the Kwangsi Revolutionary Committee and with the support of the PLA forces stationed in Kwangsi, to make an effort to do the following:

1. Put an immediate stop to armed struggles, dismantle military works, and withdraw from all key points. First of all, withdraw from the various key points along the railways.

2. Unconditionally and promptly restore railway traffic and transportation on the entire line under the Liuchow Railway Bureau, stop all interference and exchange of experiences, and insure smooth flow of transport.

3. Unconditionally return all supplies destined for Vietnam.

4. Unconditionally return all weapons and equipment seized from the PLA.

5. All personnel from outside areas and youths who have returned to the city from the countryside and mountain areas where they had gone earlier should immediately return to their own areas and units.

6. Counterrevolutionaries whose crimes of murder and arson, destruction of communications and transportation, storming prisons, stealing State secrets and setting up private radio stations have been proven, must be severely punished according to law.

It has always been the policy of the Party that those who confess frankly are to be dealt with leniently, those who resist are to be dealt with severely, and the chief culprits are to be punished; that

those who are forced to do bad things are not to be interrogated, those who are hoodwinked are guiltless, and those who turn round and redeem themselves by attacking the organization to which they originally belonged will have performed meritorious service. Bad people in the mass organizations of the two factions are to be dealt with by the masses of the two factions concerned. At the same time, bad people who have sneaked into an organization must be separated strictly from [the masses of] that organization.

It is the belief of the Center that the counterrevolutionary incidents created by the small handful of class enemies can only confuse the enemies but temper the masses. Kwangsi's proletarian revolutionaries and broad revolutionary masses, the whole body of commanders and fighters of PLA units stationed in Kwangsi, and the large number of revolutionary cadres in that province will certainly hold higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, firmly adhere to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, resolutely grasp the main orientation of revolutionary struggle, and launch a fierce offensive against the class enemies. The plot of this small handful of class enemies will surely meet with an ignominious defeat. The situation of the great proletarian cultural revolution in the Kwangsi region will further improve and the Revolutionary Committee of Kwangsi Chuang Nationality Autonomous Region will be born amid the song of victory of the class struggle.

NOTICE OF THE CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE, THE STATE COUNCIL, THE CENTRAL MILITARY AFFAIRS COMMISSION AND THE CENTRAL CULTURAL REVOLUTION GROUP

July 24, 1968

— Chairman Mao's instruction: Take action accordingly —

The great proletarian cultural revolution which was initiated and is led by our great leader Chairman Mao himself is quickly developing toward an all-round victory. The situation throughout the country is unprecedentedly excellent. A scene of prosperity is emerging in Shensi Province as in other parts of the country.

However, the handful of top capitalist-roaders in the Party headed by China's Khrushchev, their agents in Northwest China and in Shensi, the renegades, secret enemy agents and counterrevolutionary elements, and the landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad elements and rightists who have not been successfully remolded have recently incited, hoodwinked and cheated a few people, continuously provoked armed struggles and organized forces specially for armed struggle in some areas in Shensi. They have created in succession a series of extremely important counterrevolutionary incidents:

1. Robbing of state banks, warehouses and shops;
2. Destruction, by burning and use of explosives, state warehouses, public buildings and private residential houses;
3. Robbing of motor vehicles and ships, disruption of railways, transport and posts and telecommunications, and unauthorized setting up of wireless stations;

Source: *Hsin Chu Ying (New Pearl River Film Studio)* and *Tung-feng Kung-jen (East Wind Workers),* Canton, August 1, 1968; English version in *SCMP,* No. 4258.

4. Continual attack on PLA units stationed in public organizations, seizure of arms and equipment from the PLA, and killing and wounding of PLA commanders and fighters;

5. Refusal to carry out the circulars, orders, notices and announcements issued by the CCP Central Committee and the Central Cultural Revolution Group.

The Party Central Committee holds that these are counterrevolutionary crimes committed by the handful of class enemies in undermining the dictatorship of the proletariat, disrupting the great proletarian cultural revolution and sabotaging the socialist construction of the state.

In order to quickly suppress these counterrevolutionary crimes of this handful of class enemies, the Party Central Committee specially reiterates:

(1) All mass organizations, collectives and individuals must resolutely, thoroughly and earnestly carry out the "July 3 Proclamation" approved by great leader Chairman Mao, and in no way should they violate it.

(2) Armed struggle must be stopped immediately, all bands formed specially for armed struggle must be disbanded, and the hoodwinked must be taught to return to production. Defense works, strongholds and checkpoints must be dismantled or removed.

(3) Cash and supplies seized must be returned quickly.

(4) Services of motor vehicles, ships and other transport and posts and telecommunications which have been disrupted must be resumed immediately.

(5) Arms and equipment seized from the People's Liberation Army must be returned immediately.

(6) Active counterrevolutionaries and behind-the-scenes manipulators, against whom evidence has been found to prove them to have committed murder, arson and robbery, destroyed state property, disrupted transport and communications, privately set up wireless stations, stormed into prisons and farms for labor convicts, and released labor convicts without authorization, must be firmly put under the dictatorship of the proletariat and severely punished according to the law.

Revolutionary committees at all levels, PLA units stationed in various areas and all revolutionary mass organizations must carry out political and ideological work penetratingly and carefully among the hoodwinked masses, propagate the Party's policy among them, and induce them to consciously expose and inform against bad elc-

ments. The Party's policy has always been: those who are frank are to be treated leniently and those who offer resistance are to be punished severely; arch culprits will be punished and those who have been coerced into taking part will not be prosecuted; it is guiltless to be hoodwinked and it is meritorious to strike back against the hoodwinkers. In handling cases of this nature, close attention must be paid to distinguishing the contradiction between the enemy and ourselves from the contradiction among the people, distinguishing the bad leaders of an organization from the broad masses of this organization, and distinguishing the active counterrevolutionaries who refuse to correct their mistakes after repeated education from the masses who have made mistakes. It is necessary to sharpen revolutionary vigilance and to strictly guard against sabotage and disturbance by the class enemies. When a counterrevolutionary incident occurs, it is necessary to fully mobilize the broad masses to struggle against the bad elements and bad deeds and firmly protect state property and maintain revolutionary order.

The broad masses of proletarian revolutionaries, revolutionary masses, PLA commanders and fighters, and revolutionary cadres and comrades! Let us hold still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, closely follow great leader Chairman Mao's strategic plan, firmly grasp the main orientation of the revolutionary struggle, resolutely struggle against the handful of class enemies and render meritorious service anew in the fight to defend the dictatorship of the proletariat and the great proletarian cultural revolution!